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and dismissed the service by the sentence of a court martial.

Notwithstanding this disgraceful termination of the campaign, Mahfúz Khán remained in possession of the open part of the two provinces, and probably continued to receive some portion of the tribute from the Poligárs. He was supported by a detachment of 1,000 English sepoys under the command of a native officer. The northern part of the Carnatic, though not in revolt, was far from being in perfect obedience; the nabob himself, accompanied by a British detachment, now marched from Trichinopoly for the purpose of restoring it to order. He first went to Arcot, which he had not visited since the death of Násir Jang, and made his entry in great pomp. He then repaired to Madras, and after some discussions with the Governor, he granted assignments on the revenue for the gradual payment of his debt to the Company, and as he still required assistance against some Poligárs in the north, it was settled that whatever tribute was recovered from them should be equally divided. A member of council accompanied the camp, to concert means for conducting this affair and such others as might arise.

July 9, A.D. 1755.

August 30, A.D. 1755.

When the monsoon drew near, Admiral Watson retired with his squadron, as he had done in the preceding year, to the coast of Malabar.

October 10, A.D. 1755.

When he reached Bombay he found several ships, with a considerable body of troops arrived from England under the command of Colonel Clive. The troops were intended for an expedition to the Deckan.

November 10, A.D. 1755.

The progress of M. Bussy had excited just alarm in England, and there seemed to be no better way of checking it than to assist the Marattas in their war against the viceroy. The plan was well conceived,

and the point for commencing it well chosen, as Bombay was contiguous to the Maratta territory and within less than 200 miles of Aurangábád. Before the expedition reached India, the truce had been concluded, and the Government of Bombay judged it necessary to suspend this hostile operation. The Government of Madras took a different view of the terms of the pacification, and strongly recommended proceeding with the original design, but before this opinion was received the Government of Bombay had employed the troops on another enterprise in their own neighbourhood.

The coast of Malabar had been celebrated from the time of the ancients for its piratical inhabitants. When Sévají took possession of the Concan, he employed this disposition of his new subjects against the Moguls and his other enemies. He built forts all along the coast, and sent out fleets which captured vessels at sea and made descents on the parts of the coast subject to Bíjapúr. The forts were commanded by Marattas, and about twenty years after Sévají's death, the chief naval authority of the district was Cánojí Angria. The A.D. 1698. contest between Sévají's descendants which was raging at that period enabled Angria to disregard their authority, and although he continued to profess himself a servant of the state, he became in fact independent, and plundered on his own account without confining his depredations to the enemies of his nation. His head station, Colába, was within less than twenty miles of Bombay, and he had forts all down the coast of the Concan. He used to send out squadrons of eight or ten frigates of a peculiar construction, and forty or fifty galliots which carried light guns and could row as well as sail. With these vessels crowded with men, he surrounded and overpowered single ships of

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whatever size, and even on one occasion destroyed a Dutch squadron of three men-of-war, taking one and burning the others. The European nations, thus harassed by Angria, made several strenuous but unsuccessful attempts to put him down.

A.D. 1721.

The most considerable in which the English engaged was an attack by land and sea on Ali Bágh, near Colába. It was made by four King's ships and several belonging to the Company, with a land force and a train of artillery from Bombay, to which was united a Portuguese army under the Viceroy of Goa in person. The confederates were repulsed in an attempt to take the place by escalade, fell out among themselves, and finally gave up the enterprise.

A.D. 1740.

The Péshwa took advantage of some dissensions that followed the death of Cánojí, and secured the succession to one of that usurper's sons on condition of obedience to the Maratta Government.[6] The chief thus set up was driven out after some years, and the Péshwa proposed to join with the English in an attack on his brother who had expelled him. The expedition went on well till the death of the Péshwa compelled the Marattas to withdraw.

These repeated failures discouraged the Bombay Government, and brought it to believe that Angria's strongholds were impregnable.

Their terror was first dissipated by Commodore James, of the Company's marine service, who was sent in 1755 to co-operate with a Maratta fleet and army in an attack on Severndrúg, but was specially instructed to confine his operations to the sea and not risk his ships by approaching any of the forts. James had only a forty-four-gun ship, a ketch of sixteen guns,

[6] Vol. ii. 636.

and two bomb-vessels, but, finding the Maratta fleet useless, and the army little better, he took the responsibility of attacking Severndrúg himself, and by a severe cannonade and bombardment, which luckily set fire to the huts of the soldiers and blew up a magazine, he compelled the garrison to surrender, and frightened Angria's other governors into the evacuation of some places of less consequence. He returned to Bombay for the monsoon, and by the time the season was again opened, the Government found itself so strengthened by the arrival of Clive's detachment and the fleet under Admiral Watson, that they resolved to besiege Ghéria (or Vijeidrúg), which was now Angria's residence and his chief arsenal. The English had been twice defeated in attempts on this place in former times, and were cautious in attacking it even with the present great force. The expedition consisted of fourteen vessels, of which three were of the line and one a forty-four, with 800 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys under Clive.

When they reached Ghéria, they found the Maratta army had already arrived, after reducing most of Angria's other places. February 11, A.D. 1756.

As soon as the English fleet appeared, Túlají Angria, then head of the family, repaired to the Maratta camp, in the hopes of obtaining tolerable terms from his countrymen, but the commander immediately made him prisoner, and compelled him to give an order for the surrender of the fort to the Péshwa. The English, who had already agreed to divide the property in the place among themselves, were much dissatisfied with this proceeding, by which they would have been anticipated in their intended appropriation. To prevent its accomplishment, they sent ashore their land force, and distributed it in such a manner as to allow no

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intercourse between the camp and the garrison. Ghéria stands on a rock connected by a slip of sand with the mainland, and protects a large harbour in which Angria's fleet then lay. The ships drew close up to the place and commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment. The Maratta general, perceiving the design of the English to exclude him, endeavoured by a great bribe to induce a member of the Bombay Council (who accompanied the expedition) to suspend their operations, and afterwards tempted the fidelity of Captain Buchanan, who commanded the picket, by an offer of 8,000*l.* if he would allow him with a party to pass into the fort. Both offers were rejected with disdain; the English pressed their operations, and on the 13th the place surrendered. The fleet, together with two ships (one of forty guns) which were on the stocks, was burned during the attack. The English troops divided the captured property, amounting to 120,000*l.*, among themselves, reserving nothing for their own Government or their allies;[7] and the Government of Bombay took advantage of some evasions by the Marattas of the terms agreed to at the time of the attack on Severndrúg, and insisted on retaining Ghéria,

[7] The self-interest shown by these officers in their treatment of their allies did not influence their conduct among themselves. In settling the division of prize-money at Bombay, Clive was only assigned the share of a post-captain. When this was communicated to the military officers, they were offended at the little regard shown to their profession in the person of their commander, and urged Clive to insist on a more suitable share. Admiral Watson, to avoid further irritation, agreed to make up Clive's share to the amount demanded from his own prize money. When the division afterwards took place, he sent him the requisite sum, but Clive immediately returned it, with warm acknowledgments, and an assurance that, although he had deemed it necessary for preserving unanimity to acquiesce in the proposal, he had never entertained a thought of profiting by the admiral's disinterestedness. (Ives's *Voyage*; *Lord Clive's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons*, 1772, 146).

which they had expressly promised to give up to the Péshwa.

Túlají died in confinement many years after. Some member of his family had been set up in his place by the Péshwa, and enjoyed part of the possessions of the family, but no longer infested the seas as before.[8]

After this expedition, the fleet returned to Madras, accompanied by Clive and his force. Nothing very material had occurred in the Carnatic since the truce, but there had been disputes about the interpretation to be put on that convention which at one time ran so high as to threaten a renewal of hostilities. The aggression was chiefly on the part of the English; the principal instances were their attack on Madura and Tinivelly, which had at one time declared for Chanda Sáheb, and which had never recognised Mohammed Ali, and an attempt to besiege Vellór, the capital of Mortezza Ali, whom the French still acknowledged as Nabob of the Carnatic. March 12, A.D. 1756.

These differences were accommodated, but the most irreconcilable differences relating to the observance of the truce arose from the nature of M. Bussy's situation in the Deckan.[9]

The occupation of the territory ceded in December 1753 did not prove a peaceful undertaking. Jfiár Ali Khán, the Mogul governor of part of the districts, and Vijei Rám Ráz, a dependent zemindar of another portion, combined to resist the entrance of the new claimant. M. Moracin adroitly brought over Vijei Rám by granting the farm of the whole of the cessions to him, and Jáfir Ali, thus deserted, called in the

[8] Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, ii. 85-92. See also Orme, and Ives's *Voyage*.

[9] Orme, i. 372.

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Berár Marattas, of whom Jánojí, the son of Ragují, was now chief. These invaders, after ravaging the country for some time, were driven out by M. Moracin with his small force of regulars joined to the troops of Vijei Rám. Jáfir Ali, on this, threw himself on the viceroy's clemency, was pardoned, and allowed to retain a jagir in the Upper Deckan.

During this time M. Bussy had been employed against the Náik (or Poligár) of Nírmal, a wild tract in the south-east of Berár inhabited by forest tribes, but as soon as that duty was performed, he set out for Masulipatam, and arrived there in July 1754. He found full occupation in reducing the half independent zemindars and levying tribute on the hill chiefs, until, in January 1755, he was summoned to join Salábat Jang on an expedition which he contemplated to recover his arrears of tribute from Mysore. This design involved M. Bussy in great embarrassment. The Rája of Mysore was in close alliance with the French, and yet M. Bussy was bound by the conditions on which he received the cessions to assist the viceroy against all enemies. His desire to preserve the reputation of a faithful ally to the viceroy did not (as he says) allow him to hesitate in joining his army, but he did so with the firm resolution of preserving the same reputation with the Rája of Mysore.[1] His expedient was to injure the Mysoreans as little as he could, and to use all his influence to bring about an accommodation. His double game was disturbed by the obstinacy of the Mysoreans. Several of their forts only surrendered on the appearance of the French; others held out, and were not taken without bloodshed; and when the invaders approached Seringapatam, the brother and

[1] *Mémoire pour Bussy*, 53.

colleague of the Dalwái, who resided there, announced his intention of defending the place to the last. All this time M. Bussy continued his endeavours to bring about a peace, and enforced his arguments by the rapidity with which he urged on the operations of the siege. It is probable he would have taken the town by assault in a few days, when the invasion of Mysore by the Péshwa brought a new motive for the submission of the besieged. M. Bussy engaged to procure the retreat of the Marattas, if the Mysoreans would satisfy the claims of Salábat Jang; and the Mysoreans, pressed on all sides, agreed to pay arrears to the amount of fifty-six lacs of rupees. This was exactly double the amount due at the most liberal calculation, and a large portion was required to be paid immediately. The payment could only be made by giving up the jewels and plate belonging to the rája (including the ornaments of his women), as well as the same description of property belonging to the temples; hostages were taken for the second payment, most of whom died in prison; and M. Bussy speaks with more than usual complacency of the applause and gratitude expressed by both parties for this conciliatory arrangement.[1] By this time the Marattas were in some measure satiated with plunder, and the fear of a quarrel with the viceroy, added perhaps to some share of the money received at Seringapatam, induced the Péshwa to retire to his own frontier.[2]

The viceroy also returned to Heiderábád, where he arrived in July 1755.

The attack on Mysore by the French was contrary

[1] *Mémoire pour Bussy*, 54. The account of his proceedings is from Orme, i. 403, and Wilks, i. 346.

[2] Orme, i. 404, and for the pecuniary payment Grant Duff, ii. 66.

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to the spirit of the truce, and it so much alarmed the Madras Government that they called in the troops from Madura (as has been stated) for the defence of their own possessions. When they remonstrated with M. de Leyrit, the French Governor, they were told that the truce did not stipulate for the recall of M. Bussy, and in fact was only intended to provide for the tranquillity of the province of Arcot. The time soon came when this view of the question was favourable to the interests of the English, and the Government of Madras made it their chief argument in the discussion with that of Bombay, whether the troops sent from England under Clive could justly be employed in the Deckan during the existence of the truce. But though the exemption of the French army in the Deckan from the truce was insisted on at different times by both parties, it is difficult to find the least ground for the position. No exception is made in its favour in the truce, and the treaty plainly extends to it, since it assigns an equal number of factories to the French and English in the Northern Sircars, the whole of which were at this time in exclusive possession of the French.

In February 1755, Salábat Jang and M. Bussy marched against the Nabob of Sháhnúr (or Savanore) one of the three Patán nabobs, who had probably been left unmolested after the death of Mozaffer Jang, and now affected independence. His country is detached from that of the two other nabobs, and lies near the southern frontier of the Marattas, about 260 miles from Púna. Morár Ráo's fort of Guti lies 150 miles east of Sháhnúr, but his original seat of Sóndúr is about half-way between those places. About the time when the viceroy marched against the Nabob of

Sháhnúr, the Péshwa Bálají Ráo moved from Púna to reduce Morár Ráo; and as neither of the refractory chiefs was without apprehension on his own account from the enemy of the other, they formed a close connection, and Morár Ráo threw himself with a select body of troops into the town of Sháhnúr.

The viceroy and the Péshwa, on the other hand, united their armies, and supported as they were by the French, must soon have made themselves masters of the place. But Morár Ráo had a claim for about 150,000*l.* on the French Government, and had often applied for it to the Council at Pondicherry in a tone of menace which made them very anxious that it should be settled. He now offered to cancel this debt if M. Bussy would obtain for him the protection, or at least the neutrality, of the viceroy. Bussy closed with the offer, and the bonds were deposited with a common friend. On the other hand (says M. Bussy), Bálají Ráo appealed to the faith of treaties and his alliance with the French nation: it was necessary to serve one party in affecting to serve the other, while the viceroy (by whom M. Bussy was subsidised) wished that no service should be done to either.[4] The boldness with which M. Bussy managed these conflicting engagements would have been admirable in an honest cause. Instead of retarding hostilities, he pushed them on with the greatest vigour, and exulted when he saw the siege of Sháhnúr about to open, and all parties reduced to dependence on his military skill and resources. He was then chosen arbiter by all; he dictated the conditions of the peace,

[4] 'D'un autre coté, Balajírao réclamoit la foi des traités et l'alliance de la nation Française. Il falloit servir l'un et affecter de servir l'autre. Des vues du dorbar étoient de ne servir aucun des deux.' (*Mémoire*, 57.)

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and it was concluded (says he), to the glory of the French name and the satisfaction of all parties.[5]

This satisfaction was not quite so general as M. Bussy describes it, and an opposite feeling almost immediately led to a rupture of the French connection with the viceroy.

Sháh Náwáz Khán had watched the whole of the preceding negotiations, but abstained from all interference, and saw with pleasure M. Bussy involving himself in transactions which must destroy all reliance on his fidelity. Not long before the present campaign, M. Bussy had undertaken to exert his irresistible influence in procuring the government of Burhánpúr for one of the French Company's creditors on his renouncing his debt of 12,000*l.* or 13,000*l.* M. Bussy (as he truly observes) might have sold this patronage on his own account, and the use he made of it was a proof of his public zeal; but, admitting the most perfect personal integrity on his part, he had many parties to conciliate for his nation, and it is not to be supposed that all his native agents were as disinterested as himself. We may therefore imagine how burdensome his ascendancy was to the minister, and how general must have been the hatred borne to him by all who looked to promotion from the court. A strong party was thus formed against the French, the real heads of which were Sháh Náwáz Khán and Jáfir Ali Khán, the displaced governor of the Northern Sircars. By their means the viceroy was impressed with a conviction that his interests both in the Deckan and the Carnatic were sacrificed to the separate views of the French, and he was induced to give his consent to the removal of the troops of that nation from his service. Bálají was also

[5] *Mémoire*, 57.

applied to for assistance in expelling these intruders from the Deckan, and joyfully agreed to a measure which would have left the viceroy at his mercy. He even entertained hopes of engaging the dismissed French to take service in his own army.

After this co-operation had been settled, and the additional precaution of assassinating M. Bussy had been considered and laid aside, the dismission of the French was announced to them, together with an order for their immediate departure from the viceroy's territories. M. Bussy, though astonished at this sudden revolution, took a calm view of his situation. Threatened by so great a force, and at such a distance from his resources, he saw that his only safe course was to yield to circumstances and to wait for some favourable change. He therefore affected ready acquiescence, and marched off with his army, professedly for Masulipatam. He had been promised in the viceroy's name to be allowed to retire unmolested, but found himself followed by a body of 6,000 Marattas belonging to the viceroy's jágírdárs of that nation,[6] and as the zemindars of the country were ordered to obstruct his passage, he was harassed during the whole of a month's march which he was obliged to make before he found a ford over the Kishna. A greater danger now awaited him in the approach of Jáfir Ali, who had been despatched in pursuit of him with 25,000 horse and foot, and who came up just as he had crossed the Kishna. But the river rose soon after the

May, A.D. 1756.

[6] Orme supposes these horse to have been the Péshwa's, and sent by Bálají, from a high chivalrous feeling, to protect Bussy's retreat. Wilks believes the fact, but tries to find more probable motives. But Bussy mentions no such allies; on the contrary, he expressly states that Bálají joined in the confederacy against him; and Grant Duff, from the family names of the chiefs, proves beyond doubt that they were the viceroy's jágírdárs, the same who soon after attacked M. Bussy at Heiderábád.

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French had forded, and it was fifteen days before Jáfir Ali could effect his passage. M. Bussy's force consisted of 200 European cavalry, 600 European infantry, and 5,000 well-disciplined sepoys, with a well-appointed train of artillery. With such troops he could easily have gained a battle over any force that could be brought against him, but there were still upwards of 200 miles of poor country between him and Masulipatam, and it would be easy for the enemy to cut off his provisions, which already began to fail. This last circumstance, and the want of money to pay the troops, produced sickness among the Europeans and discontent and desertion among the sepoys. On the whole it appeared to M. Bussy to be the most prudent course to prosecute his retreat no further, but to adopt the bold measure of seizing on Heiderábád, and standing on the defensive in the viceroy's own capital. He encamped near that city in the middle of June, and as the garrison was too weak to resist him, he was allowed a friendly communication with the town, and enabled to raise some money among the bankers to relieve his immediate wants. But the governor was son-in-law to Jáfir Ali, and animated with the same hostility to the European intruders. All danger from him was removed by his assassination at an interview with Rúmi Khán, one of M. Bussy's principal interpreters; Rúmi Khán was killed on the same occasion, and the whole catastrophe is ascribed by Orme to a sudden quarrel. It is alleged with much greater probability by a native historian[7] to have been the contrivance of Heider Jang, M. Bussy's Díwán, who sent four assassins to the conference unknown to the unfortunate interpreter, on whom this act of perfidy was avenged. After this M. Bussy remained master of the

[7] Translated in Hollingberry's *History of Nizám Ali Khán*, 4.

town. The next event of consequence was the arrival of the Maratta jágírdárs, whose numbers were now doubled. They summoned Bussy to give up such of his guns as belonged to the viceroy, together with the emblems of his Mogul dignities. On these conditions they promised to allow him to proceed to Masulipatam. Bussy rejected their demand, and some success against a reconnoitring party having encouraged them to raise their terms, he broke off all negotiation and thought only of defence. He occupied the garden of the last king of Golconda, an extensive enclosure with high walls, containing a large reservoir of water, and palaces which afforded quarters for the troops. It was separated from the city by the river Músi, but M. Bussy stationed a strong party at a near point within the city walls, in an ancient and substantial building, the terrace of which was so solid as to allow four eighteen-pounders to be mounted on it. At the same time he seized on all the viceroy's magazines, and removed the cannon from the walls to his own quarters.

June 26, A.D. 1756.

July 5, A.D. 1756.

At length Jáfir Ali came up, and his first design was to attack the city, but M. Bussy mounted some guns of small calibre on the terrace of an archway that overlooked the town, and not only threatened to cannonade the surrounding houses, but to set fire to the whole if any attempt was made by the viceroy's troops to pass the gates. This menace succeeded; the attack on the town was given up, and the operations continued in the open country by a succession of surprises, skirmishes, and field actions at which the romantic adventures of Trichinopoly seem to be renewed.

A great change took place in M. Bussy's situation when 4,000 sepoys in the viceroy's service arrived in Jáfir Ali's camp. They were raised, disciplined, and

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commanded by Mozaffer Khán, a native officer of French sepoys who had gone over to the Péshwa in 1751, and had since successively transferred his services and those of his corps to the Rája of Mysore, the Nabob of Sháhnúr, and after the quarrel with the French, to the viceroy. He still retained great influence with the French sepoys, and had kept up a correspondence with some of their officers. On the very day of his arrival near Heiderábád, a whole company went out on pretence of exercising, and marched straight with shouldered arms to his camp; and a continuance of his intrigues, joined to the previous distress and discontent of the sepoys, produced a spirit of defection of the most alarming character. The knowledge of this feeling emboldened the Moguls, and determined M. Bussy to keep within his walls until he should be joined by reinforcements which were now near at hand. He had earnestly applied for additional troops from the time of his march from Sháhnúr, and had likewise employed the French agent at Surat to entertain 600 Arabs and Abyssinians for his service. The latter body was destroyed by the viceroy's troops while on its way to join him, but a force of 480 Europeans and 1,100 sepoys, with eleven pieces of cannon, from Pondicherry and Masulipatam, were assembled at the latter place and marched about the end of July, under the command of M. Law. On August 10 this detachment had arrived within fifteen leagues of Heiderábád, and on the 11th they renewed their march through a woody and rocky country which obliged them to narrow their front and confine themselves to the beaten road. While advancing in this manner, they perceived signs of the approach of an enemy. Sixteen thousand horse (12,000 of whom were Maratta jágírdárs), and 10,000 infantry commanded by

Mozaffer Khán, had been sent out to intercept them, and it was their parties which were now descried. The advanced guard of the French consisted of 400 sepoys, commanded by a native officer named Mahmúd Khán. He no sooner came in sight of the enemy than he quickened his pace as if impatient to engage them, and was soon seen to join their ranks and unite in the attack on his old masters. Nothing of much consequence was attempted during the rest of that day. Next morning the French found the enemy in possession of a village which they proceeded to attack. The whole of the enemy's cavalry surrounded them, and presented a very threatening aspect to troops about to be engaged in front. But M. Bussy had opened a negotiation with the two greatest of the Maratta jágírdárs. He had had a secret interview with them the night before they marched, and, by means not ascertained, prevailed on them to promise that they would not act against the detachment further than was required to save appearances. Favoured by this understanding, the French carried the village and halted there for the rest of the day. But that part of the cavalry which remained faithful to its duty had in the meantime attacked their baggage and seized or dispersed the oxen by which it was carried. In consequence of this misfortune, the French lost all their provisions and were obliged to kill some of the draught bullocks of their artillery before they could get a meal. They marched at night, and before morning made out fifteen miles to Meliapúr. The road was peculiarly difficult, and they were harassed by the infantry during the whole march, so that, although they had sustained scarcely any loss, they were fatigued and exhausted by the time they reached Meliapúr. At this village they halted to refresh, but the leisure thus afforded left time

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for gloomy reflections. The loss of their baggage; the uncertain attachment of their sepoys; the difficulty of the country which they had still to traverse, and the neighbourhood of the enemy's main body indicated by the increasing number of their opponents, disheartened both men and officers. They thought it impossible to proceed unless assisted from Heiderábád, and prevailed on M. Law to represent their danger to M. Bussy.

M. Bussy had that day made a diversion in their favour by a partial attack on the grand camp made with Europeans alone, but he was afraid to divide his force in present circumstances or to trust his sepoys in the neighbourhood of Mozaffer Khán. He never showed greater decision than in this critical juncture. He sent positive orders in the King's name to M. Law to march at all events on the receipt of his letter, and he crossed the Músi with all the troops he could trust, so as to alarm the enemy with the prospect of a general attack.

M. Law had gained little rest for his troops by the halt at Meliapúr, having been harassed night and day by the attacks of the enemy. As soon as he received M. Bussy's letter, he issued orders for marching at nightfall. He had a narrow defile to pass, which was lined with scattered infantry, and he was assailed by the cavalry wherever there was an opening for them to charge. His troops were thrown into some confusion, but their flanks were in some degree protected by the defile, and, as they had no baggage, they continued to move on at a rapid pace. When they reached the mouth of the defile, they found twenty pieces of cannon drawn up to bear on them. They were, however, ill-pointed and ill-served, and were soon silenced by

August 14, A.D. 1756.

the French artillery. In the open country they had to fear the charges of the cavalry, but the backwardness of the friendly jágírdárs discouraged the rest, and at five in the afternoon they reached Heiátnagar, within six miles of Heiderábád, after eighteen hours of incessant marching and fighting. Here M. Bussy sent a detachment to reinforce them, and what was still more acceptable, a supply of provisions ready dressed. On the next day they entered Heiderábád, having lost in the last day ninety Europeans killed and wounded, and a greater number of sepoys. The whole march from the frontier did great honour to M. Law, and gives an unfavourable impression of the Nizam's troops, even when supported by disciplined sepoys. Salábat Jang and Sháh Náwáz Khán had arrived in camp about a fortnight before this crisis, and on the same day on which the reinforcement entered, they sent proposals of peace to M. Bussy. August 15, A.D. 1756.

Both parties were disposed to an accommodation. M. Bussy did not require the removal of Sháh Náwáz; Jáfir Ali came to Bussy of his own accord, and was reconciled after frankly acknowledging his error. Mozaffer Khán and Mahmúd Khán were ordered to separate from the viceroy's camp. Mahmúd soon after was taken prisoner by the French, but was pardoned in consideration of his former services. Mozaffer entered the service of Bálají Ráo, and was afterwards put to death for his share in a conspiracy.

Thus ended a long train of dangers from which M. Bussy owed his deliverance to his admirable resolution and ability. He had an interview with Salábat Jang, and was received, if possible, with more respect and apparent affection than ever. His rank and honours were fixed as high as they ever had been,

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but he no longer attempted to exercise the complete control which he formerly possessed over the government of the Deckan.

The sudden submission of Salábat Jang must doubtless have been in part occasioned by his own irresolution, and the failure of all the expectations held out by his minister, but it is probable that it was chiefly produced by events which were taking place in a distant quarter. From the first moment of the rupture with M. Bussy, Sháh Náwáz Khán had been soliciting assistance from the Madras Presidency. It was only by the aid of English troops that he could hope finally to expel the French, or to make head against the Marattas after this separation from his former protectors.

The English had entered into these views, and had prepared a detachment for the support of their new ally, when the intelligence of the total subversion of their establishment in Bengal compelled them to renounce all other objects, and turn their whole power to revenge the disgrace of their nation, and to afford immediate protection to the survivors of their countrymen.

July 15, A.D. 1756.

The news of this calamity reached Madras a month before the viceroy's overtures to the French, and must have been still earlier known at Heiderábád by direct communications from Bengal. It at once destroyed all hope from the English, and scarcely left an alternative for the viceroy but to renew his alliance with the French.

The war with the French in the Carnatic has been described with more minuteness than will henceforward be required. It was the contest which decided the fate of India, and the school in which the system of

war and policy pursued by European nations in that country was formed.

The military establishment of each Presidency at first consisted of a very small number of Europeans, who were reinforced in times of danger by native matchlockmen hired for the occasion, and by the inhabitants serving as militia. It soon became the practice to arm these men with European firelocks, but when they were first taught to move and act together, and by word of command, has not been recorded.[8]

In 1682 (as has been mentioned) the Bombay Government had repeatedly pressed on the Court of Directors the necessity of sending out European officers to train up and exercise the militia, but it does not appear that their request was complied with. The common opinion is, that disciplined sepoys were first introduced by the French ; it was certainly the French that soonest employed them extensively, and made them an important part of every army. Four hundred men of this description served at the siege of Madras in 1746, while the English had only irregulars to oppose them. In 1747 a detachment of 100 sepoys arrived from Bombay, together with 400 from Telicherry ; which would lead us to conclude that such troops had already been trained on the coast of Malabar, but we do not know to what extent these sepoys were disciplined. At the siege of Pondicherry in 1749 the English had 1,100 sepoys, scarcely better disciplined than the common foot soldiers of the country. The English sepoys made little figure until the rise of Clive. They first distinguished themselves in the defence of Arcot, up to which time they appear to have been very inferior to

[8] iii. 145.

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the French sepoys. Even at the close of the first siege of Trichinopoly, the best sepoys in the English service were those who had come over from the French.[9]

But about this time the English sepoys began to assume a superiority which they afterwards retained, and to be favourably contrasted with their rivals both in spirit and fidelity.

The earliest sepoys probably wore the native dress, with turbans of a uniform colour. The progress was very gradual, until they assumed the red jacket and a glazed cap on the model of a turban, and, after many changes, arrived at the close resemblance in dress to European soldiers which they now exhibit.[1]

The command of large bodies of sepoys was at first entrusted to natives, and they seem to have had corresponding rank. Mohammed Eusof was second in command to Colonel Heron, though many European officers must have been present. The trust seems to have been too great a trial for the natives at that time. Mozaffer Khán and Mahmúd Khán carried off their troops from the French army in the Deckan. Ibrahim Khán (known by the name of Gárdi, a corruption from the French 'Garde') deserted in like manner about 1758, gained great reputation under the Marattas, and was killed at

[9] Orme, i. 234.

[1] The translator of the *Seir ul Motakherín* (a French convert to the Mahometan religion), who wrote in 1789, gives the following account of the French sepoys of early times, who, he says, scarcely bore a resemblance to the English sepoys of his own day. 'The French could neither change their dress, or clothe them uniformly, or keep their arms in order, or punish them, or prevent their firing away their ammunition at the new moon, or pay them themselves, or bring them under the least restraint or discipline. They were a rabble with immense turbans and immense trousers; with muskets so ill-used that not one in twenty was in order.' (*Seir ul Motakherín*, iii. 152, note.)

Pániput. Mohammed Eusof himself revolted from the English, as will appear hereafter, but no sepoys under the exclusive command of natives ever seem to have approached the efficiency of those commanded by Europeans. Intermediate between the sepoys and the Europeans, were at one time a class called Topasses. They were mixed descendants or converts of the Portuguese ; they did not object to wear the European dress or submit to discipline, and though not superior to other natives, were classed with Europeans.[2] They were employed in Bombay as early as 1683.[3]

We can imagine the degraded state of the early Europeans, employed on low wages, as watchmen rather than soldiers, in small and scattered factories. When their numbers increased, they were still the lowest or most desperate of the population of the capital,[4] until the exploits of the Company's army and the reports of the wealth of India drew young men of adventurous disposition into their ranks. The recruits had little or no training until they were sent on board ship, and

[2] Orme, i. 80.

[3] Orme's *Fragments*, 130.

[4] [In the early days of the Company they are said to have gladly accepted for service felons who were respited from capital punishment on condition of their being sent to the East Indies, but after the middle of the last century they resolutely refused to accept them, though much pressed by the Treasury. There is much correspondence in the India Office relating to the respiting of convicts in former days, which is noticed in the first of a series of papers lately published on 'Some of the India Office Records.' A letter of St. John is quoted showing how strongly the Government of the day insisted on convicts being sent to the East Indies. It is dated January 1, 1711: 'Gentlemen,—Having last night in Cabinet Council acquainted y^e^ Queen with your desire that she would be pleased to permit Thomas Abraham to be transported to the West Indies, Her Majesty has commanded me to let you know she was induced by your former application to spare his life provided he was sent to y^e^ East Indies and sufficient security given y^t^ he shall never return into her dominions, but y^t^ she will not consent to pardon him on any other condition.—I am, gentlemen, &c., H. St. John.'—Ed.]

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probably marched off into the field before they had ever manœuvred even on a parade. Some of the officers sent from England had seen service in the British or foreign armies, but others were inexperienced; and many young civil servants joined the troops in India. Their frequent panics, interspersed with instances of romantic courage, show the unsteadiness of raw troops combined with the ardour of early conquerors. As they acquired experience their bad qualities disappeared, and they became models of spirit and intrepidity. In these respects they were probably not surpassed, if equalled, by any soldiers more regularly disciplined and acting with great armies.

As the war advanced, an improvement took place in the members of the civil government. They were obliged to learn something of the state of the native powers; some of the councillors had served with the troops, and the Commander-in-Chief always formed one of the number. If they still retained a portion of the narrow views of mere traders, they were incomparably superior to their predecessors in the time of the Childs, or to their contemporaries in the peaceful factories of Bengal. Scarcely any of either service spoke the native languages. The confined use of Hindostani, and the number and difficulty of the local languages, discouraged this sort of knowledge, and till the beginning of the present century it was not unusual on the Madras establishment to communicate with the natives through interpreters.

It does not appear that the French were much more advanced. Madame Dupleix's knowledge of the native language is mentioned as an important qualification,[5] and Bussy did not begin to learn that language until he

[5] *Lawrence's Narrative.*

was established in the Deckan.[6] But the disposition of M. Dupleix individually, and perhaps that of his countrymen, combined with the number as well as the power and magnificence of the princes with whom they were connected to promote a greater taste for Indian manners among the French than the English had any opportunity of acquiring from the fugitive adherents of Mohammed Ali.

The Oriental splendour of M. Dupleix has been often mentioned.[7] That of M. Bussy was at least as conspicuous. This able officer maintained a constant intercourse with the natives of rank, and might be reckoned among the greatest of the noblemen of the court of Heiderábád. He entered into the intrigues and transactions of those around, and seemed as great a master of their peculiar sort of policy as if he had been brought up at an Indian darbár.

The English in general maintained their natural reserve, with the plainness of their manners, and seem to have had little acquaintance and taken very little interest in any natives except their own sepoys.[8]

[6] *Mémoire pour Bussy*, 17.

[7] [This he maintained to the last. Orme says that on his supersession by M. Godeheu, that gentleman 'permitted him to continue the exhibition of those marks of Moorish dignity, which both Muzaffer Jang and Salábat Jang had permitted him to display when they appointed him Nabob of the Carnatic. These were of various flags and ensigns, various instruments of military music, particular ornaments for his palankeen, a Moorish dress distinguished likewise with ornaments peculiar to the nabobship; and in this equipage he went with great solemnity to dine with M. Godeheu on the feast of St. Louis,' i. 368.—Ed.]

[8] The contrast of manners asserted in the text is well described by the French translator of the *Seir ul Motakherin*, iii. 150. 'If any one,' says he, 'had seen M. de Bussy and Colonel Clive or Mr. Hastings in the height of their power and influence, he may have taken from those two or three individuals a pretty good idea of the different geniuses of the French and English nations. M. de Bussy always wore (in 1750 and 1755) embroidered clothes or brocade, with an embroi-

NOTE ON THE DOCUMENTS PRODUCED BY THE NATIVE PRINCES IN SUPPORT OF THEIR TITLES.

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The following is an account of the pretensions of the native princes, and the documents by which they were supported.

The Mogul was at one time absolute master of all the countries under discussion, but the destruction of his power, and the successful rebellion of Asof Jáh, made the latter in many respects an independent power, and entitled his family to succeed, under a certain form, to his newly acquired dominions. The form was a confirmation by the Emperor, which all

dered hat, and on days of ceremony embroidered shoes of black velvet. He was seen in an immense tent, full sufficient for six hundred men, of about thirty feet in elevation; at one end of this tent he sat on an arm-chair, embroidered with his king's arms, placed upon an elevation, which last was covered by a crimson carpet of embroidered velvet. At his right and left, but upon back chairs only, sat a dozen of his officers. Over against him, his French guard on horseback, and behind these his Turkish guards. His table, always in plate, was served with three, often with four, services. To this French magnificence he added all the parade and pageant of Hindoostany manners and customs. A numerous set of tents; a pish-ghana;* always on an elephant himself, as were all his officers. He was preceded by chopdars on horseback, and by a set of musicians singing his feats of chivalry, with always two head chopdars reciting his eulogium. Colonel Clive always wore his regimentals in the field, was always on horseback, and never rode in a palanquin; he had a plentiful table, but no ways delicate, and never more than two services. He used to march mostly at the head of the column, with his aide-de-camps, or was hunting, at the right and left. He never wore silks but in town. Governor Hastings always wore a plain coat of English broadcloth, and never anything like lace or embroidery. His whole retinue a dozen of horse-guards; his throne a plain chair of mahogany, with plenty of such thrones in the hall; his table sometimes neglected; his diet sparing, and always abstemious; his address and deportment very distant from pride, and still more so from familiarity.'

* [Pesh khana, tents and retinue sent in advance.—Ed.]

parties admitted to be essential to their title, resting their claims more on that confirmation than on their relationship to Asof Jáh. Considering the matter in this view, the first in descent was Gházi-u-dín Khán; but he did not at first receive an appointment from the Mogul, and the title passed to his next brother, Násir Jang, who had the Emperor's authority as well as actual possession. When Násir Jang was killed, Gházi-u-dín Khán procured a regular patent and investiture, and became in all respects the legal viceroy. His natural rights descended on his death to his son, Gházi-u-dín the younger, but they formed an imperfect title unless they were confirmed by the Mogul. The next in succession was Salábat Jang, and after him, his three surviving brothers. If Mozaffer Jang had survived all these princes, he would have had the next claim to consideration, as representing their sister, his mother. At the time of the negotiation at Sadrás, Gházi-u-dín the younger had not been confirmed, and although Salábat Jang produced an alleged appointment from the Mogul, yet the authenticity of it was very doubtful,[9] and until that was proved there was no legal viceroy. Salábat Jang, however, was in full possession.

The claims of the Nabobs of the Carnatic depended on those of the viceroys. The family of Saádat Ullah, having been forty years in possession, had an hereditary hold on public opinion, but they never pretended to be independent of the viceroy, and the last of them that held the office was removed by Asof Jáh in person. Whatever claim they possessed was now vested in Ali Dóst Khán, the only surviving son of Safder Khán, for Mortezza Ali (though the nephew of Saádat Ullah) was not in the direct line, and had only inherited his appa-

[9] See ii. 612.

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nage of Vellór; the title now put forward by him rested entirely on a patent from Salábat Jang appointing him nabob in subordination to M. Dupleix. Chanda Sáheb and his son, as well as M. Dupleix, claimed solely on the ground of patents from Mozaffer Jang and Salábat Jang, confirmed, it was said, in M. Dupleix's case, by the Great Mogul.

Mohammed Ali had not the shadow of an hereditary claim. His father, Anwar-u-dín, only held the office of nabob for four years, and had besides a lawful son, Mahfúz Khán, older than Mohammed Ali, who was illegitimate. His title rested on an alleged promise from Asof Jáh, and on patents which he professed to possess from Násir Jang, Gházi-u-dín, and finally from the Emperor himself. We are next to examine the patents on which so much stress is laid.

Of the seven documents produced by the French in support of their party, six were copies, and their authenticity was disputed on that account. There can be no doubt, however, that they were genuine, for they were all from Mozaffer Jang and Salábat Jang, who would have granted anything the French desired. The real objection to these documents was the want of right in the grantor.

The seventh was said to be an original letter from the Great Mogul to M. Dupleix, recommending Salábat Jang to his favour and protection.

This letter had neither seal nor signature, except a small signet attached by a string to the bag in which the letter was contained. On this seal were the words 'The kingdom is God's, 3, 1133.' The first number is the king's reign and the second the Hijra, which fixes the date of the seal in the third year of Mohammed Sháh, Hij. 1133, A.D. 1721, many years before the death of

Asof Jáh. It may therefore fairly be inferred that the signet had been transferred from some old letter and attached to a recent forgery. When called to account for this inconsistency, he coolly replied that the letter he had sent was only a duplicate and might have had an old seal attached to it owing to some negligence in the Great Mogul's secretaries, but that he was ready to exhibit the original, which bore the date of the fifth year of the reign of the present Emperor and 1163 of the Hijra.

Even here was another mistake, for the fifth year of the reign of Ahmed Sháh was in 1166 Hij.

Mohammed Ali's papers were not produced, but by his own account they consisted of a patent from Násir Jang, another from Gházi-u-dín the elder, together with a letter from the Great Mogul procured by Gházi-u-dín the younger. The two first were probably authentic, but were liable to be set aside by Salábat Jang if he should succeed in proving his own appointment, and it is most probable that Mohammed Ali fabricated the royal letter as a precaution against such a contingency. In the then state of Delhi, it is not likely that such a document would be issued without a considerable payment which Mohammed Ali had not the means of procuring, and his delay in exhibiting his documents affords further ground of suspicion.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR IN BENGAL. PLASSY.

Affairs of Bengal—Rise of Ali Verdi Khán—Succession of Suráj-u-Doula—His character—His dispute with the English authorities at Calcutta—Attacks the settlement—Abandonment of the place by the Governor and principal inhabitants—Surrender of the garrison—The Black Hole—Expedition from Madras under Clive—Recovery of Calcutta—War with France—Chandernagór—Clive attacks the Nabob's camp—Alarm of Suráj-u-Doula—Agrees to terms of peace—Negotiations with the French—Capture of Chandernagór—The Nabob threatens war—Some of his chiefs make overtures to the English—Decision of the Council to support Mír Jáfir—Battle of Plassy—Mír Jáfir assumes the Government of Bengal—Large payments of money—Remarks on the conduct of Clive—Weakness of the new Government at Murshidábád—Affairs on the coast of Coromandel—Expedition to the French possessions—Appearance of Prince Ali Gohan on the frontier—Advance of Clive and retreat of the prince—Clive's jágírs—Dutch expedition from Batavia arrives in the Hughli—Attacked by English troops—Clive returns to England.

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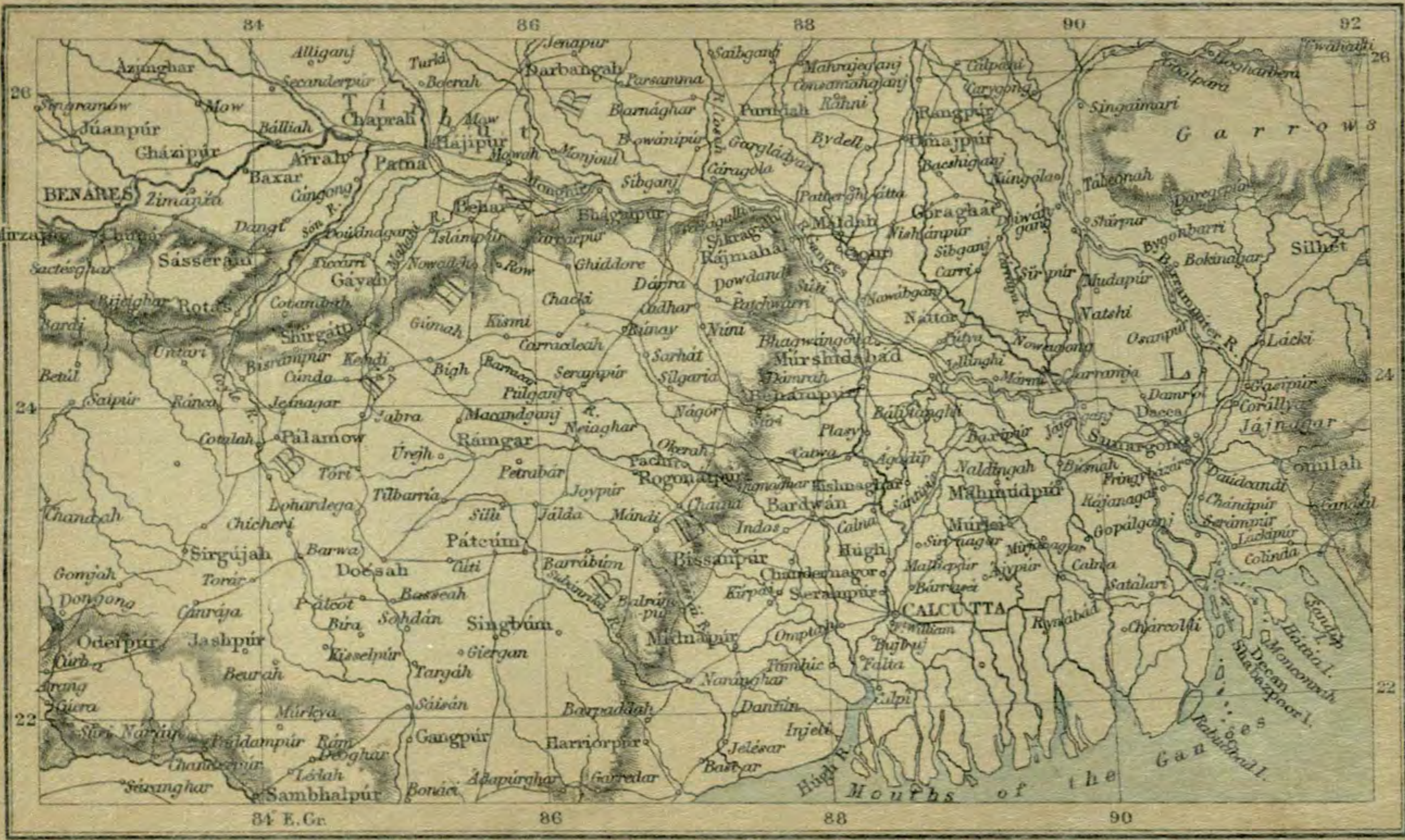
AT the time of the war with the English in 1688, the Viceroy of Bengal was Sháista Khán, maternal uncle of Aurangzíb.[1] He was succeeded by Azím-u-Shán, grandson of the same monarch. On the death of his father, Buhádur Sháh, Azím-u-Shán contested the crown with his brothers and was killed in battle.[2] The successful competitor conferred the government of Bengal on Jáfir Khán who was already in charge of the province as deputy to Azím-u-Shán. Farokhsír, the son of the last-named prince, fled to Behár and was afterwards raised to the throne.[3] One of his first acts was to appoint a viceroy on his own part to Bengal. Jáfir Khán

A.D. 1712.

[1] See Book xi. chap. ii. of former history. [2] See ii. 567.
[3] See ii. 569.

PART OF BENGAL & BEHAR.



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resisted and defeated the new viceroy, but did not abate in his professions of respect to the Emperor. By these means he obtained a confirmation of his appointment, and continued to send tribute and to profess the usual obedience. The confusions which ensued on the murder of Farokhsír left him at leisure to consolidate his power, and every day rendered it more difficult to dispossess him. But his province was contiguous to those still in reality attached to the court of Delhi, and was not influenced by the neighbourhood of foreign enemies. He did not therefore openly throw off his allegiance, like the Viceroy of the Deckan, but was contented to enjoy his independence subject to the usual payments and the usual relation to the Emperor. A.D. 1712.

He was a vigorous and able ruler, but tyrannical, bigoted, and rapacious. His exactions and his exclusion of the zemindars from all share in collecting the revenue had great effects on the administration of Bengal down to modern times. Jáfir Ali wished to have left his power to Siráfráz Khán (the son of his daughter who was married to Shujá Khán, a native of the Deckan), but Shujá Khán seized on the government for himself, procured a patent from Delhi, and afterwards obtained the annexation of the province of Behár to those of Bengal and Orissa. These patents were probably obtained by money ; they only gave to the possessor a sanction to use his own means for occupying the so-called office. A.D. 1725.

Shujá Khán, though a better governor than his father-in-law, had not the same energy. He took little share in the details of the administration, and was guided by the counsels of Háji Ahmed and Ali Verdi Khán, and of two Hindús, the Rái Ráián and Jaggat Sét. The two first of these advisers were brothers, natives of Delhi, of a Persian family. Both were bold

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intriguers and able ministers, but Ali Verdi joined to the talents of his brother a greater fitness for military command. The Rái Ráián had been accountant to Shujá Khán's household, and was raised on his accession to the charge of the finances of Bengal. Jaggat Sét [4] was a banker of a wealthy family, who had long been the chief of the profession in Murshidábád, and had for two generations been bankers to the viceroy, an office of much importance with states which are obliged so frequently to anticipate their revenue.

When Shujá Khán obtained the government of Behár he appointed Ali Verdi his deputy, and procured him honours from Delhi which gave him some pretensions to a direct connection with the Emperor. On A.D. 1739. Shujá Khán's death, Siráfráz Khán obtained the inheritance so long ago designed for him. He seems to have been a man of slender capacity, and wasted his time between the society of his women and the devotional observances of his religion. He contracted a natural jealousy of his father's ministers, whose power prevented his attempting to throw off their control, but did not restrain him from irritating them by personal offences and alarming them by his ill-concealed enmity.

In these circumstances, Ali Verdi contrived to obtain patents in his own name from Delhi, and marched with an army to dispossess his master. Siráfráz showed no want of spirit, and was zealously supported by the army of his province. He was killed in action, at a time when the battle seemed to lean to his side, and his fall A.D. 1740. placed Ali Verdi in undisturbed possession of the viceroyalty.

[4] Jaggat Sét is a title. The name of the first who bore it was Manik Chand. He held the office of *Nagar* Sét, or head banker of the city, and received from the Emperor the title of *Jaggat* Sét, head banker of the world.

The first attention of the new prince was directed to obtaining the confirmation of the court of Delhi. The sums he is said to have paid on the occasion are evidently exaggerated :[5] that he made any payment at all, at a time when Nádir Sháh had just quitted the capital, is explained by the fact that most of the money went to the Púna Marattas to purchase their aid against those of Berár. Some present to the Emperor and some bribes to his ministers were the price of their mediation with the Marattas.[6]

Ali Verdi (better known in Bengal by his title of Mohábat Jang) was the last Nabob of Bengal who maintained for any length of time the semblance of power and independence. For this reason his memory is still highly respected in the province, where a strong impression is maintained of his military and political abilities; but in war he showed more activity than talent, and in politics his chief reliance was on the vulgar expedients of fraud and assassination. His great enemy was Ragojí Bósla,[7] and as that prince was engaged in important contests and remote expeditions in the Deckan, and had to send his armies through 500 or 600 miles of almost uninhabited forest into Bengal, a province of which a large portion was protected by the Ganges, and the rest ill-fitted for the operations of cavalry, it is much more to be wondered at that he should be able to persevere in his enterprise than that Ali Verdi should oppose a long resistance to his designs. For the first ten years of the government of the latter, scarcely a year passed without a visit from the Marattas,

[5] *The Persian History of Bengal*, translated by M. Gladwin, makes the amount 540,000*l.* (175). The *Seir ul Motakherín* says a million sterling in money and 700,000*l.* in jewels, besides other sums, making in all about two millions.

[6] See ii. Book xii. chap. iii. 641. [7] See ii. Book xii. chap. iii. 641-2.

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who sometimes settled for more than one season within Bengal, and who ravaged the country far and wide, multiplying their apparent numbers by the celerity of their motions. At length Ali Verdi gave way. He ceded the province of Cattac to Ragojí, and consented to pay 120,000*l.* a year under the name of the *Chout* of Bengal. During his war with the Marattas he had been engaged in other disturbances, proceeding from a quarrel with the Afghán troops, the only efficient part of his army, in which he was at length successful after a contest carried on with equal perfidy and ferocity on both sides.

From his peace with Ragojí in 1751 to his death in 1756 he enjoyed a period of tranquillity and had no difficulty in transmitting his power to his favourite grand-nephew, Suráj-u-Doula. His reputation with posterity was no doubt increased by the comparative gravity of his manners and purity of his life. He was indefatigable in business, abstinent in pleasures, and had only one wife, to whom he was strictly faithful.

The example of Ali Verdi did not extend its influence to his court; even the members of his own family, both male and female, furnished instances of licentiousness and depravity surpassing the worst of preceding times. Brought up in this society, indulging his vicious propensities in private and dissembling them before his grand-uncle like the rest, Suráj-u-Doula learned to despise his species and to fix all his thoughts on himself. He lived among buffoons and profligates in low debauchery, and soon came to think his own pleasures insipid unless they were accompanied with insult or injury to others. The weakness of his understanding and irritability of his temper were increased by the excessive use of spirituous liquors. His distrust of

those around him, and his ignorance of all beyond, made him timid as well as presumptuous, and exposed those in his power to danger from his apprehensions no less than from his violence. Though he was always the object of Ali Verdi's doting fondness, he was never free from jealousy of his other relations, and on one occasion was so much discontented with the attention shown to them, that he rebelled against his grand-uncle, and endeavoured to make himself master of the city of Patna. He was then only nineteen years old, and showed himself as deficient in courage as prudence. This temporary alienation only served to increase his influence. He was relieved from the most formidable of his rivals by their natural deaths, and he removed by assassination some other persons whom he looked on as dangerous enemies. By these means he was able on Ali Verdi's demise to take quiet possession of the government. But, notwithstanding the hopelessness of opposition, a cousin of the new nabob revolted in Purniá, and the daughter of Ali Verdi Khán, now a widow, set up another relation of the family (an infant) and assembled troops at her residence close to the capital. She was, however, deceived into a mock reconciliation, and was seized and imprisoned.[8] Her principal adviser, Ráj Balab Dás, a Hindú, foreseeing the troubles that would follow the death of Ali Verdi, had instructed his son Kishen Dás, who was at Dacca, to set out as if on a pilgrimage to Jaganát, and to find some pretext for halting at Calcutta until the crisis should have passed. Kishen Dás, being the son of a person of consequence, and recommended by the Company's agent at Murshidábád,

A.D. 1750.

[8] The account of the native governments is chiefly drawn from Orme and the *Seir ul Motakherín*; but Scott's and Stewart's and Gladwin's histories, with Holwell's *Historical Events*, have likewise been consulted.

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was admitted into Calcutta, and took up his residence with Omi Chand, a banker of great wealth, who was much connected with the court of Murshidábád. Omi Chand was supposed to be discontented with some recent proceeding of the Company, and the Government of Calcutta, much in the dark about Indian politics, entertained a vague dread of his intrigues and influence. The reception of Kishen Dás roused the suspicions of Suráj-u-Doula, and on his accession he sent a written order to Mr. Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, to deliver him up with his property and followers. The messenger entered Calcutta in disguise, and went straight to the house of Omi Chand, from whence he proceeded to deliver his letter. Mr. Drake, suspecting some trick of Omi Chand's, set down the messenger for an impostor, and ordered him to be turned out of the town.

The nabob showed no resentment at this indignity, but soon afterwards the English received intelligence that war with France was inevitable, and began to put their fort in order against any attack from that nation, whose principal settlement, Chandernagór, was only sixteen miles from Calcutta. This measure, following the ill-treatment of his messenger, increased the displeasure of Suráj-u-Doula, who sent orders to the English to discontinue their fortifications, and to throw down any recent additions that had been made to them. Mr. Drake replied by pointing out the small extent to which the fortifications had been carried, and explaining that they were only designed against the French, who had disregarded the neutrality of the Mogul's territory in attacking Madras, and might be as little scrupulous in Bengal.

This answer threw Suráj-u-Doula into a paroxysm of rage which astonished even his own courtiers.

Though he despised the power of the English at Calcutta, he was no stranger to the revolutions produced by their struggle with the French in the Carnatic, or to the ascendancy of the French at the court of the Viceroy of the Deckan. He looked with terror to a transfer of the war into his own province, and was no less alarmed than offended by the assumption implied in Mr. Drake's letter, that his power was insufficient to restrain the violence of either of the parties. Passion and policy seemed to concur in urging him to anticipate the coming evil by the extirpation of the English. He expected little difficulty in the execution of this design, and was further invited to it by the hopes of plundering a commercial establishment of the wealth of which he had formed an exaggerated notion.

He therefore at once changed the direction of his march, and proceeded towards Calcutta at the head of an army of 50,000 men. May 17, A.D. 1756.

He surrounded the factory of Casimbázár near Murshidábád, treacherously seized Mr. Watts, the chief, at a conference, and compelled the remaining servants of the Company to surrender the place, which was immediately given up to plunder. The ensign commanding a small guard that was stationed there shot himself from despair and indignation.

The nabob then pressed on for Calcutta with all the speed that his train of artillery would allow. June 9, A.D. 1756.

As soon as the Government heard of his return, they sent repeated orders to Mr. Watts to announce their acquiescence in his demands. Their despatches were intercepted by the nabob's troops, and though doubtless conveyed to him, they only served to stimulate his advance by showing the weakness of his enemies. Up to this time the English had forborne to

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prepare for defence, from the fear of increasing the nabob's displeasure. They now wrote to Madras for succours, applied to the French and Dutch for their assistance, and began to strengthen their position by such means as were in their power. Madras was very distant, and the European colonies naturally refused to interfere. The Presidency of Calcutta was therefore left to its own resources. It had 264 soldiers and 250 inhabitants who took up arms as militia; of both descriptions only 174 were Europeans, the rest being native Portuguese and Armenians. Not ten of the whole number had ever seen a shot fired.

The fort, a brick enclosure, around the interior of which run warehouses with terraced roofs, was found not to be defensible, and it was determined to make a stand in the adjoining portion of the town. Three batteries were placed across the principal streets, and the smaller entrances within the same circuit were closed by barricades; 1,500 native matchlockmen were hired to assist in the defence of this enclosure, on which all the hopes of the garrison were to rest. During the terror of the nabob's approach, a letter was intercepted from the chief of his spies and messengers to Omi Chand. Though no treason was discovered, all the old suspicions of Omi Chand were aroused; both he and Kishen Dás were made prisoners, and on an attempt to pursue his brother who had fled into the female apartments, his armed retainers resisted, and their chief, a man of high caste, determined to save the honour of the women, killed the principal ones with his own hand, set fire to the house, and finally stabbed himself, though the blow did not prove mortal.

June 16. The works were scarcely completed when the nabob's army arrived. He had marched on with such impetuo-

sity that several of his men died from heat and fatigue, and so impatient was he to begin his operations that he fell without inquiry on the only point beyond the barricades where he could have met with resistance. It was a redoubt constructed at the point of junction between the river and a broad trench covering the north and north-east faces of the town and suburbs, which had formerly been dug as a defence against the Marattas, and was called the Maratta ditch. Ensign Pischard, who commanded this redoubt, had served on the coast of Coromandel, and now showed himself a thorough soldier in circumstances that might have justified despair. Though incessantly assailed by infantry and cannon, he kept the nabob's army at bay till dark, and at midnight he made a sally, crossed the Maratta ditch, spiked four guns, and put all that part of the encampment to flight. Next morning the nabob discovered his error. He marched round to a point where there was no obstacle to oppose him, and took up his ground near the town. On the third day the army advanced to the attack. A multitude of some thousands poured down the avenue that led to the eastern battery; they drove in the outposts, and when checked by the fire of the battery, spread through the town and filled the nearest houses with innumerable matchlockmen. The worst natives are bold and active when they are sure of success, and they now kept up so hot a fire, especially on the eastern battery, that all the men except those actually working the guns were forced to retire into shelter. They held out, however, for many hours but the fire was incessant and insupportable, and the assailants, who pressed their attack on all sides, at last forced one of the barricades. The troops in the batteries and other entrances were then recalled, and the

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enemy rushed in with shouts of joy and exultation, while the English fell back on the fort which had already been pronounced untenable. At this moment the boldest seemed to despair. The native troops and militia were stupified with fear ; the hired matchlockmen had disappeared to a man ; the town had been deserted before the attack ; and a helpless crowd of native Portuguese, with their women and children, occupied every spot that promised shelter within the fort, and filled the place with uproar and confusion. The English preserved their courage, but they were exhausted by their unremitting exertions under a burning sun, and almost lost amidst the general disorder. Small parties, however, were got to the points most important to protect, and others continued to defend the rampart. But the enemy now brought cannon against the walls and kept up such a fire from the surrounding houses that it was almost impossible to stir within the place. Nevertheless the Europeans kept their ground till dark, when the enemy's fire necessarily ceased. The European women were embarked in the evening on seven or eight ships which lay at anchor not far from the fort ; two of the councillors went on board to escort them, and did not return to the garrison. This was the first example of desertion. In the night, a general council was held on the question whether they should embark immediately or send off the Portuguese women next day, and retire with less tumult and disorder in the evening. They broke up without coming to a decision, so that every man was left under the impression that he was to provide for his own safety. In the morning the attack was renewed. The English took possession of some of the houses that had most annoyed the garrison during the preceding evening, but they were pressed by so

incessant a fire from the enemy that many were killed, and more, with their gallant commander Ensign Pischard, were wounded. At last they were fairly driven in, and their retreat augmented the terror of the besieged and the audacity of the assailants. Meanwhile the Portuguese women had been embarking, but with so much hurry and confusion that several boats sank and many lives were lost. Some of the principal English were endeavouring to keep order, and to retain the native boatmen, who were anxious to make their escape, but the enemy had ere this spread along the bank of the river and began to throw rockets at the ships. Those on board were seized with alarm, and one of the fugitive councillors, in heedless terror, gave the order to drop down the river out of reach. This happened exactly as the party from the houses was driven in, and the beholders thought themselves overpowered and deserted and gave up all for lost. Among those on the beach was the Governor, Mr. Drake. He had as yet shown no want of personal courage, and had freely exposed himself wherever his presence was required, but he was exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep. He understood better than the rest the state to which the garrison was reduced, and he knew that the nabob had always fixed on him as the special object of his vengeance. The last boat was leaving the shore, some of his friends were among the passengers, and in an unhappy moment he threw himself on board, followed by the military commander.

The astonishment and indignation of the garrison at this desertion passed all bounds, but amidst their execrations against the fugitives, they persevered in their own defence. They chose Mr. Holwell, a member of council, to command, and under his cool and resolute directions, they pursued such measures as their hopeless

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situation allowed. They endeavoured to shelter themselves from the musketry by piling packages of cloth on the rampart, and to deaden the effect of the cannon shot by placing bales of cotton against the walls. During this time they indulged the hope that the fugitives on the ships, when out of all fear for themselves, would have thought of their former companions, and they attempted to excite their sympathy by flags and other signals of distress, but no appeal could kindle a spark of generous or manly feeling. A single sloop might, with little risk, have prevented all the horrors that were to come, but this aid was basely withheld. One hope yet remained. A vessel which had been stationed off the northern redoubt still continued at her anchorage. She now dropped down towards the fort, and every eye was fixed on her with fervent hopes of deliverance; but the spot was dangerous, the pilot lost his presence of mind, the vessel struck on a bank, and was before long abandoned by the crew. Another night, however,

June 20. wore away, and when the attacks of the next day began, Mr. Holwell was often urged to endeavour to capitulate. He made overtures in various forms, and among others presented himself on the ramparts with a flag of truce. At length the firing ceased and a person stepped forward and made signs of a desire to parley, but while this was passing, numbers crowded up to the walls on other sides, and some found an entrance at a neglected door, others mounted the walls in different parts, and in an instant the place was filled with the besiegers. Mr. Holwell immediately gave up his sword to a man who seemed to be a commander, the rest of the garrison threw down their arms, and the enemy meeting with no opposition, shed no more blood. They rifled the prisoners of their articles of value, and dispersed to plunder the goods and merchandise. In the afternoon the nabob

entered the fort. He was carried in on a sort of litter, and expressed his astonishment when he saw the smallness of the garrison. He released Kishen Dás and Omi Chand, to whom he gave an honourable reception. At the same time he received the congratulations of his chiefs on his victory. Even in the complacency of triumph, he asked eagerly for Mr. Drake, but when Mr. Holwell was brought to him, with his hands tied, he ordered him to be unbound, and promised the English, on the faith of a soldier, that not a hair of their heads should be touched. It was now near evening, and the prisoners were assembled under an arcade where they were closely surrounded by guards. Many of them were wounded, and some mortally, but the rest felt assured of their safety, and some even began to joke on the oddity of their situation. But the buildings round them had been set fire to, they were threatened by the approach of the flames, and were again in doubt about the fate designed for them, when they received an order to move into a barrack close to which they had been standing. Beyond this barrack was a place used for the confinement of military delinquents, which, as was then usual in garrisons in England, was called the Black Hole.[9] It was a room about twenty feet square.

[9] [Mill, in his history, assumes that the place of confinement was 'a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon,' adding that 'the English had only their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the Subahdar as a fit place of confinement.' Mr. H. H. Wilson, in his edition of Mill's history, comments on this and other remarks by the historian, used in palliation of the acts of Suráj-u-Doula. He thus describes the place which tradition assigned as the scene of these horrors:—'In 1808 a chamber was shown in the old fort of Calcutta, then standing, said to be the Black Hole of 1756. Its situation did not correspond exactly with Mr. Holwell's description of it, but, if not the same, it was a room of the same description and size, such as is very common among the offices of both public and private buildings in Calcutta, and no doubt accurately represented the kind of place which was the scene of this

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with only two small grated windows, and even they only opened on a covered arcade. Into this place they were desired to enter. The few who knew the size of the apartment hesitated, and those who did enter were soon stopped by want of room to advance. On this the guard levelled their matchlocks and pressed on with their swords; the prisoners, taken by surprise, crowded into the room and the door was closed before they were well aware of their situation. The prison was a place of penance for a single offender, but to a mass of 146 persons who were now crushed into it, it was a scene of death and horror. Earnest demands, entreaties, and supplications were addressed to the guards at the window, to divide the prisoners into different apartments; furious efforts were made to force the door. The heat and suffocation were beyond endurance from the first, and were increased by the exertions that were made to obtain relief; intolerable thirst succeeded, and its pangs were augmented by a supply of water which it was attempted to convey through the windows. Little passed those whom it first reached, and to them it only made the thirst more tormenting; those behind struggled for a share, and the desperate contest excited the laughter of some of the guards, who now dashed in water for amusement, as the others had done from humanity. The most cutting reproaches were addressed to the guard to provoke them to fire into the prison. The cry of 'Air, air!' burst from every quarter, groans and lamentations were succeeded by the wildest ravings

occurrence. It bore by no means the character of a prison. It was much more light, airy, and spacious than most of the rooms used formerly by the London watch, or at present by the police for purposes of temporary durance. Had a dozen or twenty people been immured within such limits for a night there would have been no hardship whatever in their imprisonment, and in all probability no such number of persons ever were confined in it.'—Ed.]

of delirium, everyone pressed madly towards the windows, many fell down never more to rise; and, as their strength and fury were exhausted, the survivors sunk into silence and stupor. Fresh efforts brought fresh accessions of misery, and the most enviable, next to the dead, were those who lost all consciousness of their sufferings in insensibility. Before this horrible night was closed, but twenty-three of the 146 remained alive; among these, one was a woman.

As long as the influence of reason remained, great respect was shown for Mr. Holwell. He was placed with some wounded officers near one of the windows, and owed his preservation to the strength he retained from this circumstance. In the fierce struggles that ensued, he was at last worn out, and retired into the back part of the prison to die in quiet. He was again brought forward, in the hope that he might prevail on the guard to procure some mitigation of the general calamity, but after an interval he again retired, and at length sunk into total insensibility. About six in the morning an officer of the nabob's came to the window and inquired if the chief was still alive; he was then drawn out from under several dead bodies, and on being lifted to the air discovered signs of life. The prison June 21. was soon after opened, but it was long before the removal of the corpses made room for the release of the living. Mr. Holwell was laid on the wet grass, and when he came to himself was in a high putrid fever, unable to stand and scarcely able to speak. When he was in some degree restored he was carried to the nabob, by whose order he had been sought for. Up to this time, Suráj-u-Doula had no direct share in the barbarity of which he was the original cause; he had thought of nothing but the safe custody of the prisoners, and their

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protracted sufferings arose from the fear of awakening him, while without his sanction the door of the prison could not be opened. He now made himself a party to all the guilt he had occasioned, for, without evincing the smallest regret for the past, he inflicted new severities on the remaining victims. As Mr. Holwell was being conveyed to the nabob, an officer told him that if he did not disclose where the treasure was concealed he would be blown from a gun. In his present state he heard the menace with indifference, or rather with satisfaction. The nabob entered on the same inquiry with equal harshness. He cut short Mr. Holwell's recital of the dismal fate of his companions, by telling him that he knew there was a large treasure hidden in the fort, and that if he expected favour he must discover it. Mr. Holwell's protestations that there was no such treasure only led to more peremptory commands, while his appeals to the nabob's former promises were treated with even less regard. He and three of his principal fellow-sufferers were loaded with fetters, and were afterwards sent off to Murshidábád in boats. During this voyage, which lasted fourteen days, they lay on the hard deck exposed to the burning sun and the intense rain of the monsoon; their food was rice and water, and they were covered from head to foot with large and painful boils, which deprived them of the use of their hands, and rendered the weight of their fetters intolerably galling. At Murshidábád they were dragged through the city, a spectacle to the assembled population, and were lodged in a stable, where they were deprived of all repose, and crowded nearly to suffocation by the vast throngs of people whom curiosity drew to look at them. The other English were set at liberty, many at the intercession of the French and

Dutch, who behaved throughout with the utmost humanity, offering their own security for some, granting an asylum to others, and sparing no expense nor exertions in relieving the wants of all. Those nations had been called on by the nabob to join him against the English, but maintained a strict neutrality in spite of threats and intimidation.

Mr. Holwell and his companions had not been long at Murshidábád before the nabob returned to his capital. Their deplorable condition had excited the compassion of the mother of Suráj-u-Doula, who interceded with her son for their release. One day the nabob had to pass by the place of their confinement on his way to a garden, and they prevailed on their guards to let them stand close to the road. When the nabob approached, they made him the usual salute, on which he stopped his litter, and Mr. Holwell seized the opportunity to petition for their liberty; their ghastly countenances and miserable appearance would have touched any heart; the Nabob made no reply, but immediately ordered them to be released, and is said to have expressed displeasure at the cruel usage they had undergone. They immediately repaired to the Dutch factory, where they were joyfully received.[1] July 16.

The ships had been prevented leaving the Ganges in consequence of the prevalence of the monsoon. They anchored at Falta, about twenty miles of direct distance below Calcutta, where the fugitives from that city

[1] The transactions down to this period are from the evidence and appendices in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772; the numerous controversial letters between Messrs Holwell, Drake, Becher, &c. at the India House (of which Mr. Holwell's part is published in a pamphlet called *Important Facts*, printed in 1764); Mr. Holwell's narrative of the deplorable deaths in the Black Hole; Orme; and the *Seir ul Mutakherín*.

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erected hovels and were found by the expedition that afterwards came to their relief in a wretched condition, more like shipwrecked sailors than men accustomed to ease and luxury.[2] They now paid the price of their dastardly abandonment of their companions; their recollections of the past were worse than their present sufferings, and both were embittered by mutual reproaches and recrimination.[3]

The agents from the other factories likewise in time found their way to Falta, where they were left unmolested by the contemptuous supineness of the native government.

The nabob had treated the unoffending factories of the other powers with so little justice or consideration as made it appear how little any real provocation was required to produce his violence towards the English; he extorted 45,000*l.* from the Dutch, and 35,000*l.* from the French, besides a smaller sum from the Danes.

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The first notification of Suráj-u-Doula's march against the English reached Madras on July 15, and within five days from that time the Government despatched the Company's trading ship Delaware, with two hundred and thirty soldiers under Major Kilpatrick, to their assistance.

The intelligence of the completion of the disaster arrived on August 5, and struck the settlement with horror and indignation. Reflection added perplexity and alarm. The fears of the Madras Government had hitherto been directed to the ascendancy of the French at Heiderábád, from which a favourable combination of circumstances had just given them hopes of deliverance.[4]

[2] Ives's *Voyage*.

[3] Orme; and evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

[4] See ante, chap. vii.

To profit by the occasion, they were preparing an expedition to send into the Deckan, but their means were scarcely adequate to the exertion it required. The arrival of the reinforcement under Colonel Clive had done no more than bring them to an equality with the French in the province of Arcot alone, where each nation had about 2,000 Europeans and 10,000 sepoys. Admiral Watson's fleet gave the English the temporary command of the sea ; but they heard from Europe that war with France was certain, and that the French were about to despatch a fleet of nineteen ships, with 3,000 soldiers, to Pondicherry.

Unless they could dislodge the French from the Deckan before this force arrived, they must themselves be driven out of the Carnatic ; on the other hand the urgent interests of the Company and the honour of the nation required an immediate display of force in Bengal. The two courses were debated in council, and a middle one proposed of sending a small force to Bengal ; but this was overruled by the wisdom and firmness of Orme the historian, who foresaw that such a measure would ruin both expeditions, and prevailed on the council to apply their whole strength to Bengal. It was chiefly owing to the zealous support of the same councillor that the command was committed to Clive. Mr. Pigott, the Governor, proposed to go himself with full powers. Colonel Adlercron, the commander of the forces, but inexperienced and incompetent, refused to allow the King's troops to embark under any command but his own ; Lawrence was disabled by sickness, and gave his voice for Clive. Mr. Manningham, one of the fugitive members of council, who had been deputed from Bengal, thought it became him to protest against an arrangement likely to deprive the heads of that Presidency of any portion of

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the powers which they had shown themselves so incompetent to exercise.

The appointment of Clive gave general satisfaction to the troops. He was instructed to acknowledge Mr. Drake as Governor in civil and commercial business, but to retain the complete control of the military and political part of the expedition, and the funds for its supply were placed in his hands. The plan was submitted to Admiral Watson, who consented to take his share in the execution. The squadron consisted (besides transports) of three ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, one twenty gun ship, and one fireship, but the land force obtained with so much difficulty amounted only to 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys. Of the Europeans, 250 were men of Colonel Adlercron's regiment whom he had at length allowed to go as marines under the admiral. They had no prospect of a single friend among the natives, and their opinion of the power of their enemies was raised by the recent display of it, as well as by the impression that they were to encounter the Rájpúts and Patáns of Hindostan instead of the puny soldiery of the Carnatic.

The fleet sailed on October 10. It had to contend with the north-west monsoon, and met with great delay and obstruction. The fireship was driven to Ceylon; the Marlborough, a Company's ship, was obliged to part company, and it was not until November 16 that the admiral, with the rest of the fleet, approached the mouth of the Húgli. The navigation of this branch of the Ganges is peculiarly difficult. It brings down quantities of soil along with it, which form dangerous banks at its mouth, extending far out into the sea. Its own channel also is choked with banks of mud and sand, and is so intricate that in the latest