

ORME'S
HINDOSTAN

WHEELER

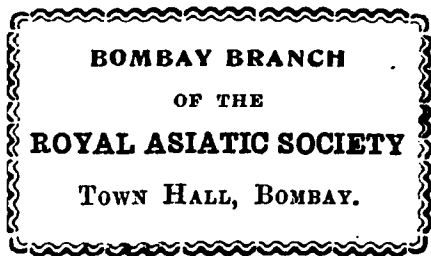
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ORME'S HINDOSTAN:

AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

BY

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CHAPTER I.

THE recent republication of ORME'S History of Hindostan by Messrs. PHAROAH and Co. will prove of great importance to all who are interested in Indian History. For many years the book was only to be found in the libraries of the curious or enthusiastic student. Thus the scope of the work was almost forgotten; and whilst ROBERT ORME was widely known as the father of Indian History, nothing was remembered of his annals beyond a few isolated stories of the olden time.

ORME'S History of Hindostan is little more than the History of some ten or twelve years; but during that little period the British empire was laid on its first and strongest foundations. It commences in 1748, when the British settlement of Madras was smaller than the modern precincts of the Supreme Court, and when even that little territory was in the hands of the French. At that time we had not a soldier or sailor in India to equal LABOURDONNAIS, and not an Indian Statesman to equal DUPLEIX. The period closes in 1761, when CLIVE and EYRE COOTE had achieved their earliest and greatest triumphs; when Bengal lay at the feet of the hero of Plassey, and the flag of England waved over the fortifications of Pondicherry. At that time Mysore, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and even the

great Mogul were terrible bugbears ; though visions of empire, mingled alas with visions of Pagoda trees, were already flitting like the dreams of an alchymist before the imaginations of more than one Anglo-Indian hero. But notwithstanding this limited scope, ORME'S book is a complete history, and like THUCYDIDES' history of the Pelopounesian war it was the labour of a life-time. The author had lived and moved amongst the events he described. The heroes of the period were his contemporaries and friends. Oral testimony and written record were alike at his command. The voluminous consultations and correspondence in the Government Office of Fort St. George ; the vast array of papers in the India House ; the thousand and one garrulous stories of old soldiers and old members of council ;— all passed through the crucible of his brain, and were reproduced in the lasting form of pure metal, stamped with his particular genius and current for all time.

A fresh insight into the character of the work before us may be obtained by a glance at the life of the author. ROBERT ORME was born in the good old times, when the honest merchants in the Company's service wore wigs and breeches, feared God and worshipped star Pagodas. He was born in India in 1728, just three years after the great CLIVE was born in England ; but he was sent to Europe whilst a little boy and educated at Harrow. At fourteen he was dispatched to Calcutta ; and there he continued at his desk whilst Madras was captured by the French, and whilst CLIVE was achieving a European name by his glorious defence of Arcot. It was the destiny of ORME to be at Calcutta

whilst Madras was in trouble, and to be at Madras whilst Calcutta was in trouble. Accordingly in 1754, when he was twenty-six years of age, he was appointed Accountant General, Commissary, and Member of Council at Fort St. George. All was tranquil then. DUPLEIX had gone to Europe, and the new Governor of Pondicherry was exchanging courtly letters with the Governor of Madras for a lasting peace. But two or three years afterwards all was again in commotion. Calcutta was captured by SURAJAH DOWLAH, and the English inhabitants were consigned to the Black Hole. Colonel CLIVE and Admiral WATSON were despatched with all speed from Madras; and the wretched sufferers who had perished from heat and suffocation in that horrible dungeon were amply avenged. The Calcutta experiences of ORME were found to be of the utmost value at such a crisis; but when that crisis was over the future historian returned to Europe. Meantime the seven years' war had broken out; and whilst ORME was slowly making his way to the Cape, the French under LALLY were making their last desperate but unsuccessful attempt to re-capture Fort St. George; an attempt which led to that capture of Pondicherry, which brought the struggle between the French and English in Southern India to a sudden close.

ORME left Madras in 1758 never to return. He lived in London for more than forty years longer, labouring at his graphic and exhaustive history. He died in 1801, at the ripe age of seventy-three; his last years being cheered with the news of the final fall of the Tigers of Mysore, and the extension of the British empire from sea to sea.

A pleasing picture might be drawn of old Madras in the days of ORME. If however there is one thing which we should like to do above all others, it would be to bring the lively and talkative old gentleman back to the Mount Road and Nungumbaukum, and hear what he had to say of the days that are gone. Perchance however, he would not be so free with us as he might be with one of his own contemporaries, such as Dr. JOHNSON for instance. A conversation between the old historian on the one hand, and the old moralist on the other, at the Club House or on the Beach, would be a treat which no imagination could realize.

We have already expressed a strong opinion upon the merits of old ORME's History, and yet it labours under some disadvantages, which rather mar its interest in the eyes of the modern generation. Most readers feel a difficulty in consequence of a want of familiarity with the previous history ; whilst the work itself is so complete and exhaustive, that the salient points are apt to be lost amidst a crowd of detail. We think therefore we might do good service to the public, and further the general appreciation of ORME, if we briefly glanced at the old history of India, and at those points in the work before us, which ought to be constantly borne in mind.

The history of India is the history of a great nation, or of a great group of nationalities, which has had its day, but is now slowly but surely rising under the mild despotism of British rule. It has some analogies to the history of Europe, but with variations which only serve to bring out its peculiarities. The races are cognate both in India and in Europe,—primary and secondary

formations of Turanian origin, overlain by an Arian element. In other words, various races appear in both continents, one over the other like so many strata ; the Tartars underneath and what have been popularly called the Caucasians above. But in Europe these races have been fused into masses, and distributed into nationalities ; whilst the old Tartar rites and orgies have passed away under the benign influence of Christianity. In India the fusion has been but partial, and is still going on. The old Tartar devil-worshippers have only been partially Hindooized ; whilst instead of a healthy distribution into nationalities, we have a morbid distribution into castes. Again, the magic rites, human sacrifices, and orgiastic practices of primeval heathendom, which our forefathers carried away from High Asia, have passed away from the Teutonic and Celtic races, and are only discoverable here and there by the keen eye of the antiquarian and lover of folk-lore. In India however the national religion is still characterised by much of the primeval form of worship ; whilst Tartar customs and rites are to be found in their original form in many parts of the Peninsula. Again, Christianity triumphed in Europe ; whilst Buddhism, a sort of oriental imitation of Christianity, was banished from India. Then again, not one of the mighty aspirants after universal empire,—CÆSAR, or CHARLEMAGNE or NAPOLEON,—has ever succeeded in maintaining for a moment an undivided rule over Europe ; whilst we certainly find more than one occasion in modern times, if not in ancient times, when the whole peninsula of India has been virtually swayed by a single sceptre.

The progress of Indian history appears to

have been as follows. Wave after wave of Tartars have poured over the Punjab, and penetrated all parts of India. In some primeval times they were intermingled with, or overlaid by, an Arian element, but that element could scarcely have been ever pure. We will accept the fact put forward by our philologers, that the Sanscrit language is pure Arian ; but though the religion of the Vedas is preserved in Sanscrit it is certainly not altogether Arian. Indra was worshipped with Tartar rites ; and the Tartar custom of several brothers marrying one wife is to be found in the great Sanscrit epics. The country was governed by a number of Hindoo Rajahs, sometimes in alliance but more frequently in war. But this is about all we know of primeval Hindoo history. Phœnician and Arab merchants occasionally visited these shores ; and the fragrant incense of India was burned alike on the altars of Jerusalem, and on the altars of Greece and Rome ; but as far as the people were concerned, the foreign merchants left no more traces of their visits, than the Phœnicians have left in Cornwall or Ireland. The curtain of Indian history only rises with the first invasion of the Mohammedans, an event which synchronizes with the invasion of England by WILLIAM the Conqueror.

The history of the Mussulman empire, like that of the Hindoo kingdoms, has yet to be written. Unfortunately whilst the material in their case is vast, the subject-matter has never been rendered interesting to the generality of European readers. The political progress of the Mussulmans appears to have been exhibited in the rapid establishment of empires on a religious basis only. Consequently, outlying

provinces frequently revolted and formed themselves into independent and antagonistic empires. The caliphate of Bagdad for instance, which at one time extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, was originally nothing more than certain provinces revolting from the caliphate of Mecca. The famous kingdom of Bokhara originated in a similar revolt from the caliphate of Bagdad ; and the kingdom of Ghaznee in Afghanistan in like manner originated in a revolt from the kingdom of Bokhara. The Mussulman Kings of Ghaznee were the earliest regular invaders of India. In the first instance their incursions were half religious and half predatory. They rushed upon the various temple treasuries of Hindostan with the pious war-cry of "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." They smashed up the images, polluted the temples, and carried off female slaves and countless jewels to their town of Ghaznee, which was originally only a temporary encampment, but which under such circumstances soon assumed the form of a beautiful city. In the next place Delhi was reduced to a province ; and like other outlying provinces speedily revolted and became an independent kingdom. This was the first Mussulman dynasty in India ; and is known by the name of the Afghan or Patan Kings of Delhi.

The history of the Mussulman kingdom of Delhi followed the usual course. It rapidly extended over the greater portion of Northern India until it even included Bengal. It likewise made large acquisitions in the Dekkan, and the story is still preserved of one invasion of the Carnatic, when the invaders carried away booty which has been extravagantly estimated at a

hundred millions sterling. But meantime luxury performed its wonted work, and sensuality and cruelty became the order of the day. The precepts of the Prophet were forgotten. The poets sung of rosy wine and silver-bodied damsels. The learned men practised astrology, and fiercely disputed about texts and doctrines. Each successive King seemed to be more dissolute and vicious than his predecessor. The outlying provinces of Bengal and the Dekkan revolted and formed themselves into independent kingdoms. At last the crisis came, and the Afghan dynasty was swept away from Delhi.

From time immemorial the Tartars,—Mongols, Turks, and Mantchoos,—have been the scourge of Asia. They will occasionally lie quiescent for ages, and then overflow like a torrent of lava. Mythic legends are full of the feats of these overwhelming warriors, headed by a BACCHUS, a NIMROD, a SEMIRAMIS, a CYRUS, or a NEBUCHADNEZZAR. In like manner they went by a thousand names,—Scythians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes and Persians. Their religion generally was marked by the Tartar character already indicated, namely, by wild orgies and human sacrifices ; just as their progress was characterized by wild sensualities and remorseless cruelties. Here and there was perceived an Arian element, but it shed but a feeble light, and was generally overlaid by a gross idolatry of material things, as well as of demons and departed spirits, elevated by the Greeks and Romans into a hero worship. In more modern times, Tartar history has been darkened by similar irruptions under ZENGIS KHAN and TIMOUR. From ZENGIS KHAN, the Afghan kingdom was fortunately sheltered by the heights of the Himalayas ; but his successor

TIMOUR rushed upon Delhi with an overwhelming army of horsemen, and massacred and plundered with a reckless ferocity, which seems to render the acts of a SENNACHERIB or a NEBUCHADNEZZAR positively humane. This event occurred about A. D. 1399 ; and exactly synchronizes in English history with the murder of RICHARD II., and establishment of the House of Lancaster. It was followed by wars and anarchy which far exceeded that which was produced by the wars of the White and Red Roses. At Delhi a little kingdom still continued under a sort of representative or Viceroy of TIMOUR. Bengal, Guzerat, and the Dekkan were now all under independent princes ; but their condition, and especially that of the Dekkan, must have been something awful. Hindoo Rajabs and Mussulman Sultans were always plunging into war ; and what was most scandalous in the eyes of orthodox Brahmins and Dervishes, would occasionally intermarry, and even join their forces against rivals ; and a Mussulman king was not ashamed to call for the aid of a Hindoo Rajah against another Mussulman King, nor was a Rajah ashamed to war against a brother Rajah, with the support of a Mussulman ally. Meantime countless sects and heresies arose, as they always will do in times of such general upheaval. Prophets, Faqueers, Dervishes, and Miracle-mongers appeared on all sides, to the horror of the orthodox, but largely followed by the terrified and excited masses. The period synchronizes with the dawn of that Reformation in Europe to which it presents such a striking contrast. At length, about the middle of the reign of our HENRY VIII, a member of the house of TIMOUR managed to seat himself on the throne of Delhi.

The period which followed is known as that of the great Moguls. The new dynasty was founded by **BABER** in 1525 ; in the reign of **HENRY VIII** ; and reached its zenith in the reign of **AURUNGZEBE**, during the period of the **STUARTS**. The history of the first century and a half of Mogul dominion is the history of the Mogul conquest of India. From Delhi the Mussulman power was doomed to extend over by far the greater part of the Indian peninsula. On the Western side the Afghans had to be kept at arm's length. On the South the Dekkan had to be conquered. The constant warfare carried on between Hindostan and the Dekkan at this period, are worthy of far more consideration than we can afford it in the present review. Every minister under a cloud, every disgraced favourite, and every rebellious prince, rushed off to the Dekkan for safety and revenge. Meantime however the Moguls maintained a grand army in the Dekkan, which formed an admirable School for those young officers who were afterwards to be promoted to the posts of Nabobs and Subahs of provinces. At last about the year 1688, the year of our so called great and glorious revolution under **WILLIAM** of Orange, the conquest of the Dekkan was finally completed by **AURUNGZEBE**, and the Dekkany kingdoms were placed under the government of Viceroys of the great Mogul.

AURUNGZEBE was a strong man with a powerful mind, and in some particulars bore a striking resemblance to his great contemporary **OLIVER CROMWELL**. In both cases religious fanaticism proved most injurious to the stability of the usurped power. The people of England would not submit to the tyranny of the Puritans, and the

people of India would not submit to the tyranny of the Mussulmans. Thus in both countries there was a reaction. In free and independent England, where the pulse of the nation beats as the pulse of one man, the torrent of enthusiasm was irresistible ; and Church and King were restored by the unanimous voice of the whole people. But in India the Mussulman domination had been too long and too firmly established for a movement so sudden and universal. The cloud appeared at first "no bigger than a man's hand" in the shape of the Mahrattas ; but it was none the less the beginning of a reactionary storm, which in the end was to overrun Hindoostan and establish for a brief period a Hindoo supremacy at Delhi.

The successors of AURUNGZEBE were tyrannical, licentious, and feeble-minded. The three leading features which mark the decline of an Oriental Empire, were all exhibited in the history of the later Moguls, namely, disputed successions, revolt of outlying provinces, and the transfer of power from the King to his Ministers. For a long time, the death, or even the decay of a Sovereign, was the signal for a desperate war between his sons for the possession of the throne. This evil was remedied by an evil greater still. Under AURUNGZEBE and his immediate predecessors, the authority of the outlying provinces had been confided to the sons of the King. This was an evil so far as it stimulated the princes to aspire to the throne ; it was a good so far as it prepared a prince to fill the throne by familiarising him with the government of a province and the command of an army. Under the later Moguls, it was deemed expedient to keep the royal princes within the

precincts of the imperial harem, until the death of a Sovereign, when one was chosen by the Ministers of State and placed upon the imperial throne. This policy prevented such fierce intestine wars for the succession, but the result was that weak, licentious, and inexperienced princes ascended the throne of Delhi, who were little more than puppets in the hands of their ministers ; and if a self-sufficient monarch of this class did rebel against the authority of the ministers who had invested him with apparent authority, he seems to have generally fallen by the hand of the assassin. Meantime the great provinces further removed from the seat of empire, assumed a state of semi-independence. The Soubah of the Dekkan and the Soubah of Bengal acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul, but acted with more than the freedom of tributary Kings. The Mahrattas, originally a mere predatory horde on the northern portion of the western ghauts, were spreading over Central India, and were already projecting the conquest of Delhi and subversion of the imperial rule. They plundered friend and foe without remorse ; but they were still regarded by the Hindoos in every part of the peninsula, as soldiers engaged in a sacred war against Islam.

The general course of foreign invasion of India from time immemorial has been over the valley of the Punjab. In times of dim antiquity the Tartars poured over in successive waves. The Vedic Arians, the Mussulmans of Afghanistan, and the Moguls of Transoxiana, all seem to have penetrated by the same route. Here then was to be expected the appearance of that horde which was again to overwhelm India ; for the establish-

ment of a real British supremacy had scarcely as yet entered the brain of the wildest dreamer. Ten years before the commencement of ORME'S history, the army of NADIR SHAH appeared in the footsteps of TIMOUR; and Delhi was plundered, massacred, and burnt, as she had been in the first terrible invasion of the Moguls. NADIR SHAH retired like his ferocious predecessor, and the Mahrattas began to move on in a surging flood towards the walls of Delhi. In 1749, about the very time that ORME commences his history, the Rajah of the Mahrattas died, and the minister or Peishwa became the real sovereign; but for some years this aspiring power was too much involved in the wars and politics of the Dekkan to turn its whole attention to Delhi. The internal dissensions of the Maharatta chiefs also precluded all hope of a lasting success. The tie of brotherhood which bound them together in the days of SEVAJEE, was rapidly disappearing before the rival claims of SCINDIA, HOLKAR, and the Peishwa. Moreover the Afghans looked with jealous eye upon the proceedings of the Maharattas. In 1761, the very year that ORME brings his history to a close, a great Maharatta expedition for subverting the throne of the Moguls and extending the Mahratta dominion over the whole of India, was utterly defeated by the Afghans in the neighbourhood of Delhi. This fatal day, known as the day of the battle of Paniput, filled all Maharashtra with mourning. Indeed it may be regarded as an epoch in the history of India. It synchronizes with the capture of Pondicherry by EYRE COOTE, which brings the history of ORME and the British conquest of the Carnatic to a close; whilst it may be clearly pointed out to the reader of

English history, as having taken place in the first year of the reign of George III, and one year more than a century ago.

Such then was the general course of the history of India, both in the period preceding the commencement of ORME's history, and in the period which he has treated in so exhaustive a style. We have seen that the Mogul Empire, though on its wane, was still seated on the throne of Delhi ; and that the terrible enemies which the reigning dynasty had to fear,—the Afghans and the Maharattas,—had been engaging in a deadly conflict with each other. These were the prominent events in the history of India. But those treated by ORME, though seemingly of minor importance at the time, produced infinitely greater effects throughout the peninsula, and are of infinitely greater interest to every Englishman. The war in the Carnatic was a mere struggle between the English and French East India Companies, in which each side sought to strengthen itself by the support of one of the rival chiefs, who were struggling to obtain respectively the government of the Carnatic and the government of the Dekhan. The war in Bengal was of greater importance, as there CLIVE was himself pitted against the Native powers. But our limits will not permit us to enter into any further discussion of this branch of the subject. It will be sufficient for us in the present article to have reviewed the history immediately preceding the period treated by our author. In a future issue we may take the opportunity of resuming the thread of the discussion, and of glancing more particularly at the events in the Carnatic and Bengal, which form the real subject-matter of the history of ROBERT ORME.

CHAPTER II.

IN a previous issue we sought to further the general appreciation of ROBERT ORME's history of the wars in the Carnatic and Bengal, by a review of the general history of India during the preceding period. To-day we purpose to proceed with the completion of our design, by reviewing the first half of the subject-matter of ORME's own book ; in other words, to indicate the crowd of interesting facts which he has drawn out of the mine of contemporary record, and arranged and illustrated with the skill of a master hand.

The early history of the British settlements in India effectually disposes of one of the most superficial fallacies of the present age. During the first century of our commercial career in this country, no ties had been created between the European and Native races worthy even of the name. Weavers and painters were ever ready to revolt, and even to desert their English masters altogether, on the slightest interference with their caste customs, or on the slightest attempt to induce them to contribute towards their own security. Native powers required to be constantly propitiated by tribute and presents ; and even then were only restrained from plundering our settlements by the very natural fears which they entertained for our guns. Whilst the Dekkany Kings were at war with the Rajah of Bijanagur ; whilst SIVAJEE, like another WILLIAM WALLACE, was waging a desperate war against the

overwhelming forces of **AURUNGZEBE**; whilst **AURUNGZEBE** in his turn was sweeping away the kings of the Dekkan ; and, even at a later period, when the Mahrattas were opposing the Nizam of the Dekkan and already contemplating a contest for the possession of Delhi ;—the English commercial settlements possessed no real political influence whatever, and certainly did not exercise a tythe of the power, which has been yielded by many a little colony of Jews amongst the nations of Europe. Their position was known and recognised, their tribute and presents were received graciously, and that was nearly all.

During this early period, Madras was the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel ; and Calcutta was only second in importance. It was at Madras and Calcutta that the war of conquest began ; for the island of Bombay, surrounded on nearly all sides by the Mahrattas, did not take any direct part in the war, beyond sending reinforcements by sea, until a much later period. The French settlements in India were under two separate Governments. The settlements on the coast of the Continent were governed from Pondicherry; whilst those on the two islands of Bourbon and Mauritius were governed from the Mauritius. Madras, at that time inferior to the modern Pondicherry, was the scene of the first hostilities ; though the theatre of war soon spread over a large portion of the Carnatic. It is these hostilities, which were not terminated until the beginning of 1755, that we purpose to review in the present article. The immediate cause of the war, was the great contest of the Austrian succession, which in 1744 had brought the English and French into conflict

in Europe, and which naturally brought about a collision between the two nations in India.

The circumstances were briefly these. The Viceroy or Nizam of the Dekkan under the Great Mogul, was the patriarchal old Chieftain known as the Nizam ul Mulk. Under him, the revenues of the Carnatic were collected by a Lieutenant, known as the Nabob of Arcot. Madras and Pondicherry both paid a yearly rent to the Nabob of Arcot, or of the Carnatic as we was latterly called ; but they were of course remotely under the jurisdiction of the great Nizam, and beyond him of the great Mogul. The object of both the Nizam and the Nabob had been to render their rule hereditary ; instead of permitting the succession to depend, as before, upon the mere arbitrary nomination of the Court at Delhi. The Nizam however was by no means anxious to bring the subject to a trial ; for already, at the breaking out of the war between England and France, he had reached the extraordinary age of a hundred years. Not so the Nabob. The first regular acknowledged Nabob was **SADATULLA KHAN** ; a pious and respectable old Mussulman, who reigned at Arcot from 1710 to 1732, and then died broken-hearted on account of the death of his wife. **SADATULLA** was succeeded by an adopted son named **DOST ALI**, who was killed in 1740 during an invasion of the Mahrattas. **SUBDER ALI**, son of **DOST ALI**, then reigned at Arcot for three years, but was assassinated at Vellore in 1743. This event naturally excited some commotion. The assassin, who was a relation to his victim, claimed the Nabobship ; but the Nizam appeared at Arcot and put an end to the anarchy.

The son of SUBDER ALI was then placed upon the musnud, but he too was speedily assassinated. Accordingly, the Nizam placed an officer of a totally different family upon the musnud at Arcot. This was ANWAR-O-DEEN. Thus there were too families who possessed claims to the Nabobship ; namely, that of SADATULLA KHAN which had been superseded, and that of ANWAR-O-DEEN which had been appointed by the Nizam in its room. The family of SADATULLA possessed the affections of the people, but the only remaining member was a distant relation named CHUNDA SAHIB, who was at this period a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas. ANWAR-O-DEEN, as we have already seen, was supported by the Nizam ; and he did his utmost to induce the Mahrattas to retain CHUNDA SAHIB in captivity.

Such was the state of things in the Carnatic at the commencement of the war of the Austrian succession in 1744. Mr. MORSE was Governor of Madras, and M. DUPLEIX was Governor of Pondicherry. Old MORSE was a Company's merchant, and nothing more ; DUPLEIX, on the other hand, was not only a French merchant but an Indian Statesman. The object of MORSE was to keep down the expenditure, and present a clean balance sheet every year to his Honorable Masters. The object of DUPLEIX was to gain a share in the Sovereignty of Southern India ; and to effect this end he strained every nerve, utterly regardless either of balance sheet, or of his Honorable Masters the French Directors. Both the English and French Governments prepared to send out expeditions for the protection of the settlements of their respective East India Com-

panies. Accordingly, an English fleet was sent out by the Government of George II. under the command of Commodore BARNET ; and a French fleet was dispatched by the Government of Louis XV. under the command of M. LABOURDONNAIS, who was also appointed to the Government of Mauritius and Bourbon.

At this time, whilst MORSE was probably wringing his hands in utter confusion and excitement in the Council Chamber of Fort St. George, DUPLEIX was in his element. This far-seeing gentleman appears to have had a wholesome horror of actual battle, but at the same time was endowed with a born genius for intrigue. The English fleet arrived first, and DUPLEIX prevailed upon ANWAR-O-DEEN, the reigning Nabob of the Carnatic, not to permit the English Commodore to make war within the limits of his Nabobship ; and by these means he undoubtedly preserved Pondicherry from an attack by sea. At the same time, DUPLEIX was securing for himself a future hold in the affairs of the Native Governments, by dispatching secret and friendly letters to CHUNDA SAHIB, the representative of the old family of SADATULLA, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas. Moreover, he entertained the wife and family of CHUNDA SAHIB at Pondicherry after the most gallant and hospitable fashion. Nor was this all. Whilst burning to drive the English out of Southern India, and taking an active part in the politics of the Carnatic, he was also actuated with the fiercest jealousy of LABOURDONNAIS, and was resolved that to himself alone should accrue all the glory which might be obtained.

The result may be told in a few words. Pondicherry was preserved from Commodore BARNET. Madras however was captured by LABOURDONNAIS ; but the latter Commander agreed to restore it on payment of a ransom. DUPLEX managed to amuse the Nabob ANWAR-O-DEEN, by assuring him that Madras, though captured by the French, should be delivered over to his superior authority. He however utterly refused to ratify the treaty of LABOURDONNAIS ; and not only seized all the private property of the English in Madras, but marched off the leading inhabitants to Pondicherry as prisoners of war. Amongst those prisoners was ROBERT CLIVE, who subsequently made his escape to Fort St. David. Thus for a brief interval the French arms were triumphant. LABOURDONNAIS left Madras ; upon which ANWAR-O-DEEN, enraged at being over-reached, marched an army of Moors to take possession of the place. To his intense surprise and mortification, his army was beaten back by the French Artillery, who thus broke the spell by which the Europeans had hitherto been held in subjection by the Native powers.

On the fall of Madras, the English had removed their chief seat of Government to Fort St. David. DUPLEX made an attack upon Fort St. David, but the Nabob had now come to the assistance of the English, and the attempt failed. The English returned the compliment by an attempt on Pondicherry, but that also failed. Suddenly, about the end of 1748, the news arrived of a suspension of arms between England and France. This was followed by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, by which the French had agreed to

restore to the English full possession of their territory of Fort St. George.

Few things could have proved more annoying to DUPLEIX than the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. He had gone to considerable expense in improving the fortifications of Fort St. George ; he had formed the esplanade by sweeping away the mass of houses, which in those days filled up the interval between Black Town and Fort St. George ; and now, after having repulsed the English from Pondicherry, he was compelled to restore Madras to his bitterest enemy. But at this very moment the attention of both French and English was drawn to the weakness of the Native powers, and to the superior forces which had been placed at their own disposal in consequence of the recent war. The marked contrast between the action of the two parties, sufficiently illustrates the truth of what has been already asserted ;—that the servants of the English Company at this period were a set of narrow-minded merchants ; whilst DUPLEIX alone, with all his faults, was endowed with that large head which betokens the true statesman.

The English were induced to break through their settled policy of non-interference with the Native powers, by the desire of possessing the little district of Devicottah, in the little Kingdom of Tanjore. A Rajah of Tanjore had been dethroned by his brother, and persuaded the English to espouse his cause, by promising Devicottah in return. An ignoble contest ensued, in which Lieutenant CLIVE took a distinguished part, but which was brought to a dishonorable conclusion by the English being bought off by the Rajah in possession. In other words,

the Rajah offered them Devicottah on the condition that they would cease to support his rival ; and we are ashamed to say that this shop-keeping bargain was completed.

Whilst the English were thus grasping at acres, DUPLEIX was grasping at empires. The Nizam of the Dekkan died at this very time, and a brilliant prospect was thus opened to the aspiring Frenchman in the chances of a disputed succession. Again, CHUNDA SAHIB, the only representative of the old family of SADATULLA KHAN and the rival of the new dynasty of ANWAR-O-DEEN, regained his liberty from the Mahrattas, chiefly as it is believed through the active assistance of DUPLEIX in the matter of ransom. There were two claimants for the Dekkan, namely, NAZIR JUNG the second son of the old Nizam, and MIRZAFFIR JUNG, a favourite grandson of the same patriarchal chieftain. NAZIR JUNG paid no attention to his nephew, but was engaged in the north in opposing the claims of an elder brother, who occupied a high post in the Mogul's court at Delhi. CHUNDA SAHIB however formed an alliance with MIRZAFFIR JUNG, and DUPLEIX was the life and soul of the confederacy. Money and troops were raised, and it was decided that in the first instance the united forces should take possession of the Carnatic and make CHUNDA SAHIB Nabob, and then should take possession of the Dekkan and make MIRZAFFIR JUNG Nizam. This plan was partially carried out at once. A tremendous battle ensued between the Allies and the army of ANWAR-O-DEEN, in which the latter was slain.

For a few weeks DUPLEIX enjoyed all the glorification of success. Arcot surrendered without

resistance. MIRZAFFIE JUNG assumed the state and title of Nizam of the Dekkan, and immediately on his own authority appointed CHUNDA SAHIB Nabob of the Carnatic. The new Nizam and Nabob proceeded to Pondicherry, and were received with all respect and pomp by DUPLEIX. One thing only was wanted to crown their present success. MOHOMMED ALI, the son and heir of ANWAR-O-DEEN, had fled to the strong city of Trichinopoly; and all the Carnatic, excepting Trichinopoly, was at the feet of the allies. Accordingly DUPLEIX pressed most eagerly for an immediate march upon Trichinopoly.

But love of pomp and pleasure is the besetting sin of the Orientals, and the new Nizam and Nabob could not tear themselves away from the delights of Pondicherry. At last the allied army was on the move. But CHUNDA SAHIB was in possession of a secret, which he could not disclose to DUPLEIX without lessening his own importance. His treasures were all exhausted, and the allied army, instead of being eager for the conflict, would soon be clamouring for pay. Accordingly, instead of marching on Trichinopoly, it was determined to extort a heavy sum from the Rajah of Tanjore.

But if the allies were in a hurry to obtain the money, the Rajah of Tanjore proved to be in no hurry to pay it. The negotiations were spun out to a dreary length. Demands, threats, protestations of poverty, excuses, and lies of all kinds, rendered the process of extracting the subsidy a most tedious and protracted affair. At last bombardment was tried, and then the Rajah consented to pay a large sum. But the delay was not yet over. The Rajah paid up the first

instalment in driblets ; and that too, not in pagodas or rupees, but in the shape of gold and silver plate, old coins, jewels, and other species of non descript wealth. At last the news arrived that NAZIR JUNG, at the head of a large army, was on his march through the Dekkan, and had already reached the frontiers of the Carnatic. DUPLEIX rose with the occasion ; especially as he heard that the English had sent a few troops to aid NAZIR JUNG, under the command of Major LAWRENCE. In the emergency he supplied money and additional troops ; and not being a fighting man himself, he placed the French contingent under the command of M. D'AUTEUIL. The armies met at Gingee. But the French Officers mutinied for pay. Some had received money at Tanjore and returned to Pondicherry, and those who had taken their place demanded that similar sums should be given to them. D'AUTEUIL in alarm fled to Pondicherry, accompanied by CHUNDA SAHIB ; whilst MIRZAFFIR JUNG surrendered at discretion to NAZIR JUNG, and was immediately thrown into irons.

The schemes of DUPLEIX were thus defeated in a moment. But his spirit was unconquerable. He opened a negotiation with NAZIR JUNG. He opened another with some Affghan chiefs in NAZIR JUNG's army, who were said to be discontented. Meantime Major LAWRENCE had left NAZIR JUNG in disgust ; whilst the French forces under D'AUTEUIL retrieved their honour and name by the extraordinary capture of the precipitous fortress of Gingee. Another French force, under M. LATOUCHE, hovered upon the outskirts of NAZIR JUNG's army. The result was that DUPLEIX had

actually concluded a treaty with NAZIR JUNG, at the very moment that the Affghan insurgents were calling on LATOUCHE to aid them against their lord. LATOUCHE knew nothing of the treaty, and at once co-operated with the Affghans. He boldly marched against the army of NAZIR JUNG, and the Affghans of course refused to repel the French assailants. NAZIR JUNG reproached them in person for their cowardice, and was shot dead on the spot. His head was then carried to MIRZAFFIR JUNG, and the latter was freed from his irons, and at once hailed Nizam of the Dekkan.

DUPLEIX, from the depths of despair, was now elevated to the seventh heaven of delight. The lucky musket ball that reached the heart of NAZIR JUNG, raised the ambitious Frenchman to the pinnacle of his hopes and dreams. The Nabob of the Carnatic and the Nizam of the Dekkan alike owed their elevation to him. The emotions of CHUNDA SAHIB and DUPLEIX on hearing the news, the firing of artillery, the singing of *Te Deums*, the triumphant entry of MIRZAFFIR JUNG, and his installation on the throne of the Dekkan are all described in the graphic pages of ORME. It will be sufficient to say that the grateful Nizam made DUPLEIX Governor for the great Mogul of all the countries south of the Kistna ; and showered on him titles and honors in abundance, until all the Mogul and Hindoo lords paid willing homage to the French Governor.

This surprising revolution was followed by another equally astonishing. MIRZAFFIR JUNG marched from Pondicherry to the interior of the Dekkan, accompanied by a Frenchman named

BUSSY, who afterwards rendered himself famous in the history of India. It seems however, that the Affghan chiefs who had rebelled against NAZIR JUNG, were dissatisfied with the rewards which they had received from his successor, and actually assembled in some defiles in front and disputed his passage. MIRZAFFIR JUNG, in his rage, rushed against them without waiting for his French Allies, and was pierced through the head with a javelin. BUSSY, with great presence of mind, proposed that the infant son of MIRZAFFIR JUNG should be excluded from the vacant throne, in favour of SALABUT JUNG a brother of the deceased Nizam. The proposal was unanimously accepted, and SALABUT JUNG in his turn owed the throne of the Dekkan to his French Allies.

But notwithstanding these successes, the city of Trichinopoly still remained in the hands of MOHAMMED ALI, the son of ANWAR-O-DEEN ; and MOHAMMED ALI was supported by the English in his claims to the Nabobship of the Carnatic. One great effort had been made by CHUNDA SAHIB to capture Trichinopoly ; but it had failed through the gallant conduct of CLIVE, who captured Arcot, and held it out against overwhelming odds. Thus the force besieging Trichinopoly was weakened by the troops required for the siege of Arcot ; and the besieged within Trichinopoly were strengthened by constant reinforcements from the English. The story of the protracted siege of Trichinopoly, and the brilliant defence of Arcot by CLIVE, are too well told by ORME for us to seek to repeat them here. It will be sufficient to say that MOHAMMED ALI at last obtained the support,

not only of the English, but of the Mahrattas and of Mysore. Consequently, the allies became so powerful, that the French and CHUNDA SAHIB retired to the fortified Pagoda of Srirangham ; but were there pressed so closely, that their forces deserted in crowds. At last CHUNDA SAHIB surrendered to the Rajah of Tanjore, who put him to death ; whilst the French troops surrendered themselves to the English prisoners of war.

Three years had now passed away since the restoration of Madras to the English by the peace of Aix la Chapelle. The year 1752 saw DUPLEIX defeated in the Carnatic, but triumphant in the Dekkan ; for until the closing scene in ORME's eventful history, the celebrated BUSSY at the head of a French contingent, was all powerful in the court of SALABUT JUNG. Here BUSSY, after triumphing over many intrigues, had obtained solid advantages from the Nizam. In the first place he had obtained a grant of the Northern Circars for the support of his contingent ; and secondly, he had obtained for DUPLEIX the title of Nabob of the Carnatic in the room of CHUNDA SAHIB. Henceforth, and for nearly two years longer, the real struggle for the possession of the Carnatic lay between DUPLEIX and his Native allies on the one hand, and MOHAMMED ALI and his English allies on the other.

Meantime the cause of DUPLEIX had been strengthened by a breach which had taken place between MOHAMMED ALI and his allies. It seems that MOHAMMED ALI had promised Trichinopoly to the Mahrattas as the reward of their assistance, but without the slightest intention of keeping his word. The consequence was that both the My-

soreans and the Mahrattas went over to DUPLEIX ; and then the allied forces, assisted by the French, again laid siege to Trichinopoly. This siege was protracted for another year and a half, but for the detailed history of this period we must again refer our readers to the graphic pages of ORME. It will be sufficient to say that in 1754 the war was brought to a close. The anomaly of seeing the French and English fighting against each other in the Carnatic whilst they were at peace at home, had at last attracted the serious attention of the Home Governments. At the same time the reverses experienced by DUPLEIX, and the great sums he had expended in endeavouring to maintain the French ascendancy in the Carnatic, had rendered him very unpopular with the French Company. The result was that DUPLEIX was recalled. M. GODHEU was sent out to supersede him as Governor of Pondicherry, and to conclude a peace with the Governor of Madras. Accordingly, MOHAMMED ALI was recognised Nabob of the Carnatic, and all cessions obtained from the Nizam and the Nabob, excepting certain stations on the coast, were ordered to be restored by both English and French. The treaty was concluded in January 1755. On the whole it was highly favourable to the English. Their candidate MOHAMMED ALI was declared Nabob of the Carnatic, and the claims of the family of SADATULLA KHAN were for ever set aside. At the same time the territories they were called upon to restore, were very few in number ; whilst the French were required to relinquish the extensive and fertile territory known as the Northern Circars.

Thus closes the first period of ORME'S

History. The subject-matter of the remaining portion we hope to review in a future article, which will complete our notice of the whole. It will be sufficient for us to say here, that whilst we have endeavoured to take such a bird's eye view of the history as will enable the reader to take a large grasp of the salient points, our object has simply been to draw an outline of those annals, which are filled in with all the warmth of colouring and finished detail which are the pre-eminent characteristics of old ORME. A hundred picturesque stories have thus been passed over unnoticed. The tragedies which were enacted in the old Fort at Vellore, the gallant feats which were performed by Europeans and Natives, the constant intrigues on all sides, the graphic descriptions of battle-fields, forts, and pagodas, and the many interesting anecdotes of native life and character,—all give a charm to the narrative of ORME, which may be indicated but cannot be described ; and we feel that we are but as humble guides to the traveller through a new and wildly beautiful country, which the reader can only enjoy by gazing upon it himself, as it is depicted by the luminous and lively pen of the father of Indian history.

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CHAPTER III.

IN previous issues we reviewed first, the annals of India prior to the commencement of ORME'S History ; and secondly, the earlier moiety of the History itself, namely the war between the English and French in the Carnatic, which was terminated by the peace of 1755, and the establishment of MOHAMMED ALI as Nabob of the Carnatic and of SALABUT JUNG as Nizam of the DEKHAN. In the present chapter we purpose to complete our task, by reviewing the last six years of the History, namely, from the peace of 1755, to the capture of Pondicherry in 1761, and the final triumph of the British arms.

Few periods have been more eventful in the history of India than these six years. At their commencement the Carnatic and Bengal were apparently tranquil, and in both the English and French had fallen back into their original character of merchants. But the Carnatic was destined to behold another and an equally desperate struggle for supremacy between the English and the French ; whilst Bengal was to be the theatre of events which were to leave a lasting impress upon the history of India.

The progress of affairs may be thus briefly indicated. The restoration of peace in the Carnatic in 1755 was hollow and unreal. The English felt themselves bound to support their Nabob against his numerous enemies, and accordingly dispatched a force into Madura and Tinnevely, to establish the Nabob's authority in those provinces. Meantime, the Rajah of Mysore

on the one hand, and the French on the other, were anxious to obtain possession of Trichinopoly. But the English and French were too equally matched for any decisive action on either side. At this juncture the European war of 1756, better known as the Seven Years War, broke out between Great Britain and France. Both sides accordingly determined upon making the most vigorous efforts to acquire an ascendancy in India. The French Government sent out an extensive armament against the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel, under the command of Count LALLY, a Jacobite officer of Irish extraction, who had devoted himself to the cause of the Pretender, and who hated the English with all the hatred of an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, and a zealous partisan of the Stuart dynasty. But LALLY did not sail from Brest till the 4th May 1757, and then the voyage proved so tedious, that he did not reach Pondicherry before the 25th April 1758.

Meantime great events had been transpiring in India. In 1756, two years before the arrival of LALLY at Pondicherry, CLIVE had returned to Fort St. George to take up the post of Governor of Fort St. David. But at that moment a heavy disaster befell the English in Bengal. For many years the Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa had been virtually as independent of the great Mogul as the Nizam of the Dekkan. The English settlements at Calcutta, and at the stations up country, had managed to maintain relations with the Nabob on a tolerably friendly footing by means of presents and subsidies.

Indeed the Nabob, though under no fear of the Mogul, was in constant fear of the advance of the Mahrattas. But in 1756, just about the time of the return of CLIVE to the Carnatic, ALIVERDY KHAN, the reigning Nabob, slept with his fathers, and was succeeded by his grandson SURAJAH DOWLAH.

Up to this time the English settlement at Calcutta had progressed much in the same way as the settlement at Madras. The Company's servants had paid great respect to the Nabob, and like him were in mortal fear of the Mahrattas. Their misfortunes at this period are generally supposed to have arisen in some measure from the intrigues of a Hindoo named OMICHUND, whose name occupies a prominent place on the darkest page in the history of ROBERT CLIVE. OMICHUND had for many years supplied native goods for the English Company, until at last he had been permitted to provide for the Company's investment to a much greater extent than any other contractor. In a word, he almost monopolised the investment, and thus, whilst his own fortune gradually reached the sum of forty lakhs, the goods he was in the habit of supplying had greatly increased in price and deteriorated in quality. At length the Company abolished the system of dealing with native contractors, and sent their own Gomastahs or Agents, to provide the investments at the different cloth markets up country. OMICHUND was thus excluded from any farther participation in the Company's affairs. Outwardly he showed little or no signs of disappointment, but there is every reason to believe

that he nursed a deadly rage against the English, and his subsequent course exhibits the vacillations of a mind alternately actuated by avarice and revenge.

Without endeavouring to unravel the intricate web of intrigue which followed, it will be sufficient to say that the new Nabob, SURAJAH DOWLAH, was imbued at an early period with a jealous hatred against the English. SURAJAH DOWLAH was dissolute and tyrannical almost from his birth. At the death of ALIVERDY KHAN, there had been an attempt to set aside his succession, and he believed that the English had supported his enemies. Again, his covetousness was stimulated by rumours of the vast wealth to be found in the English Factory at Calcutta. At this juncture he was told that the English were strengthening their fortifications, and he at once demanded an explanation from Mr. DRAKE, the Governor. Mr. DRAKE may have been a respectable merchant, but he proved himself in the present political crisis to be both a fool and a coward. In the first instance he explained that he was fortifying Calcutta against the French; and the Nabob, bloated with vanity and presumption, naturally regarded the explanation as an insult, as implying that he himself was unable to defend his own dominions. Accordingly, he at once set out for Calcutta, burning equally for vengeance and plunder.

Mr. DRAKE was now struck with mortal terror. Instead of completing the fortifications, and preparing for a fight, he actually suspended the

works, as a step towards conciliating the Nabob. After thus wasting twenty days, the news arrived that the English Factory at Cossimbazar had been taken and plundered. Conciliation was thus palpably hopeless. DRAKE accordingly prepared for defence. The Fort was surrounded with warehouses and other buildings. All these should have been demolished, as commanding the Fort, or covering the operations of an assailant; and then all the English should have retired within the walls, where they might have held out until the arrival of the annual fleet. Instead of this however, DRAKE weakened and broke up his small force by endeavouring to guard the warehouses. In June 1756 SURAJAH DOWLAH arrived before Calcutta, and commenced with a general and successful attack on the out posts. In the afternoon the garrison were driven within the walls of the Fort. The whole place was in a panic. Two Members of Council were appointed to superintend the embarkation of the women and children, and took the opportunity of embarking themselves. DRAKE the governor, followed their discreet example. A brave man, named HOLWELL, was chosen to fill his place, but he could do nothing. The ships in the river sailed away, without making any effort to save the lives of those who were left in the Fort. Meantime it was suddenly discovered that almost every soldier in the garrison was drunk and incapable. SURAJAH DOWLAH accordingly took the Fort without resistance, but then only found half a lakh of rupees in the treasury. He was of course very much enraged, both at the resistance which had been offered at the early

stage of the siege, and at the smallness of the sum discovered in the English treasury. Then followed the tragedy of the Black Hole. Nearly a hundred and fifty officers and troops were forced at the sword's point to enter a dungeon eighteen feet square, and with only two small windows opening through iron bars into a close verandah. It was a hot night in a Bengal June. Not a breath of air could gain admittance through the covered verandah and the iron bars. Bribes for removal to a larger area were freely offered, but in vain. The Nabob was asleep, and nobody dared either to awaken him or to disobey his orders. Within an hour or two the suffocation appears to have commenced. The unhappy prisoners fought desperately for possession of standing room by the windows, and for the skins of water which some of the guards pushed through the bars; whilst the brutal soldiers of the Nabob brought lights to the windows, and amused themselves with the struggles and sufferings of the wretched inmates. Towards midnight the prisoners began to die rapidly. Many were stifled, many were trodden down, and many raved, blasphemed, or implored the guards to fire upon them. At six o'clock the next morning SURAJAH DOWLAH awoke, and twenty three ghastly survivors were dragged out over heaps of corpses. During that dreadful night one hundred and twenty three strong men had died in mortal agony.

When the news reached Madras all was lost in Bengal. Colonel CLIVE and Admiral WATSON had reached Fort St. George, but much delay arose before the expedition sailed. In the

first place a brilliant prospect had opened for the English in the Dekkan. The French under M. BUSSY still maintained a considerable influence in the court of SALABAT JUNG, the NIZAM ; but SALABAT JUNG had resolved to throw off their thralldom, and had ordered BUSSY to depart, and called upon the English to furnish him with a subsidiary force. This dazzling prospect of becoming the arbiters of Southern India in the place of their French rivals, was overshadowed by the dark news which arrived from Bengal. After a long discussion, in which ORME took an active part, it was resolved to leave SALABAT JUNG in the hands of the French, and to dispatch all the available forces to Calcutta under the command of Admiral WATSON and Colonel CLIVE.

The history of that important expedition occupies a prominent place in the pages of old ORME. The results may be told in a few words. The expedition reached the Hooghly in December, being six months after the Black Hole tragedy. After one or two desparate encounters, MONICHUND, who had been appointed Governor of Calcutta by SURAJAH DOWLAH, left the city in a panic. SURAJAH DOWLAH then advanced his army in the direction of Calcutta, but was repulsed by CLIVE. A treaty was next concluded, but subsequently a fresh quarrel arose respecting the French. News of the declaration of war against France had reached India, and whilst SURAJAH DOWLAH appears to have intrigued with the French, CLIVE naturally wished to drive that nation out of Bengal. Meantime a conspiracy was being formed in the

Court of the Nabob, for deposing SURAJAH DOWLAH and setting up his minister MEER JAFFIER in his room ; and CLIVE promised his support to the conspirators, on condition of receiving certain large sums of money. At this juncture OMICHUND, the Hindoo contractor already mentioned, discovered the negotiations, and demanded twenty lakhs as the price of his secrecy. CLIVE here committed a more than doubtful act. To pay OMICHUND twenty lakhs for the price of his secrecy was revolting to his feelings. Accordingly two treaties were drawn up ;—a real one which contained no stipulation whatever ; and another and a false one, which contained the promise of twenty lakhs, and which was only drawn up for the purpose of deceiving OMICHUND. Admiral WALSON signed the real treaty, but would not sign the false one. He was asked however whether he would permit another man to sign for him, and replied that “ he left them to do as they pleased.” CLIVE accordingly attached the name of WATSON to the false treaty, and thus succeeded in deceiving and silencing OMICHUND.

In this case CLIVE was guilty of a serious crime. It was not forgery, because Admiral WATSON had allowed him to do as he pleased, and merely threw the responsibility off his own shoulders. Indeed it might be urged that forged letters and forged dispatches are permitted by the laws of war ; but OMICHUND was not an enemy, and the false document was not a letter but a treaty ; and a treaty is a sacred thing, infinitely more so than letters or dispatches which may be

employed merely as stratagems. Indeed it may be remarked that the obligations of a treaty are peremptorily binding upon the mightiest sovereign towards the meanest criminal, and cannot be broken in the slightest degree without a violation of the law of nations. The only excuse for CLIVE is that he was on the horns of a dilemma. OMICHUND had demanded twenty lakhs as the price of his silence. To have refused his request would have been dangerous; to have granted it would have been ruinously inexpedient; to have imprisoned OMICHUND would have excited suspicion, if it had not led to the actual disclosure of the confederacy formed against SURAJAH DOWLAH. CLIVE, familiarized with oriental treachery and intrigue, chose the worst course of all. Perhaps his best defence lies in the fact, that not one of all who have commented upon his fault, can say decisively what course ought to have been pursued under the circumstances. Probably many would have followed the example of WATSON, who was content to throw off the responsibility whilst permitting CLIVE to do as he pleased.

The result of this confederacy to overthrow SURAJAH DOWLAH and set up MEER JAFFIER, was the famous battle of Plassey. CLIVE with 3000 men fought against an army of 50,000, and was not joined by the conspirators in SURAJAH DOWLAH's army until he had fairly gained the victory. SURAJAH fled from the field of Plassey, but was subsequently captured, and cruelly murdered by the son of MEER JAFFIER. For a brief period, and down to the return of CLIVE to Europe in 1760, MEER JAFFIER governed

Bengal much in the same manner as MOHAMMED ALI governed the Carnatic. Both fancied themselves independent princes, but both were little more than nominees of the English Company, and virtually depended upon the will of their English masters for the continuance of their power.

Whilst these events had been transpiring in Bengal, others of scarcely less importance had taken place at Madras. The expedition under CLIVE and WATSON had sailed from Fort St. George on the express promise of the commanders that they would return immediately after the recovery of Calcutta. Indeed the declaration of war against France in 1756 had placed all the English settlements on the Coast of Coromandel in peril of the enemy. The French fleet was expected daily from Europe ; and the delay in the return of the Calcutta expedition, in consequence of the battle of Plassey and the surprising revolution which followed, created no little alarm and anxiety in the councils of Fort St. George.

On the 25th April 1758, ten months after the battle of Plassey, Count LALLY landed at Pondicherry with the long expected armament from Europe. The personal character of LALLY was strikingly manifested in the events which followed. He hated the English for their conduct towards JAMES II, whose cause he had violently espoused. He was brave in the extreme, and at the battle of Fontenoy had taken several English officers with his own hand. He was however rash and head-strong. He could brook no delay, not even to obtain necessary information respecting the strength and position of the

places he designed to attack. Above all, he was so utterly regardless of the convenience, the opinions, or the prejudices of his followers, that he managed to create a spirit of animosity and even of resistance amongst his officers, which proved in the end far more fatal to his success than even the resources and valour of his enemies.

The Indian career of Count LALLY might prove a useful lesson to many a proud and imperious general. He did not land at Pondicherry until five o'clock in the afternoon; and before night had closed he was already on his march to besiege Fort St. DAVID, the strongest and most important of all the English settlements in India, and that too without being sufficiently acquainted with either its position or its means of defence. Fortunately for the attack, the garrison made a weak and injudicious resistance, and speedily surrendered to the fire of the French artillery. This success rendered LALLY more rash and over bearing than ever. He resolved on losing no time in carrying out his design of driving out the English from every part of India. All considerations were sacrificed for what he considered to be the one object of his expedition. BUSSY had rendered the French influence paramount in the Court of SALABAT JUNG, and had obtained possession of the Northern Circars for the maintenance of his army. But LALLY resolved on recalling him to the Carnatic, that their united forces might first reduce Madras, and then attack the settlements newly formed in Bengal. BUSSY remonstrated but without effect. LALLY, apparently ignorant of the interests which he was

sacrificing, insisted upon an immediate compliance with his orders.

But LALLY was now doomed to the most serious misfortune which can possibly befall a commander, namely an utter want of funds. There was apparently no money at Pondicherry. LALLY charged the servants of the French Company with corruption, and threatened to denounce them to the French ministers, but all in vain. Money was not to be had, but whether the deficiency arose from any misappropriation of the public funds, or from the want of public spirit at Pondicherry, or from the opposition created by LALLY himself, or from all causes combined, needs no enquiry here. It will be sufficient to say that under such circumstances LALLY was compelled to delay his march upon Madras, just in the same way that CHUNDA SAHIB and MIRZAFFIB JUNG had delayed their march on Trichinopoly some years before. Like them too, he determined on extorting a subsidy of fifty lakhs from the Rajah of Tanjore. Accordingly, he marched upon Tanjore, but outraged the feelings of the Natives by compelling the Brahmins to work like coolies in the carriage of ammunition and stores. The Hindoos looked upon him as one doomed to incur the vengeance of the gods; and his ultimate fate almost seemed to fulfil their superstitious predictions. At Tanjore the want of ammunition and provisions compelled him to raise the siege, without attaining his object. Subsequently he managed to draw supplies from Arcot and other places in the Carnatic; and at length, being joined by Bussy,

he fairly commenced the seige of Fort St. George.

For the details of this all important siege we must refer our readers to the graphic page of old ORME ; and indeed no mere review would be sufficient to gratify the curiosity of the Madras public. The narrative of ORME throws a historical interest over the Choultry Plain, the Island, the Fort, the Esplanade, Triplicane river, and numerous other localities, as familiar to residents as household words ; and this portion of ORME'S history ought alone to secure for Messrs. ΠΗΛΑΓΟΑΝ'S republication a place on the library shelf of every Madrased. The blockade lasted two months, namely from December 1758 to February 1759, during which a most gallant defence was made by Governor PIGOT and Colonel LAWRENCE. At last on the 16th February 1759, an English squadron appeared in the Madras roads, and the French army immediately retreated with the utmost trepidation, without waiting for the orders of their commander, and without executing the cruel purpose entertained by LALLY of burning down Black Town.

The remaining portion of ORME'S history is perhaps one of the most interesting parts of the whole, for it is the story of England's final triumph. The famous Colonel COOTE arrived in the Presidency, and soon effected the reconquest of the Carnatic. The defeat of the French at Wandewash was a terrible blow to LALLY, but still the head-strong but gallant Frenchman made every effort to regain his position. But all was lost. The French themselves almost exulted in the disasters which befel their im-

perious Commander. By the end of September 1760 Pondicherry was blockaded by land and sea. On the 14th February 1761 the place finally capitulated to the English, and three days afterwards the defeated general returned to Europe, a victim to that mortified ambition which is a heavier affliction to the brave man than any other earthly calamity.

Such then is a feeble outline of these glorious events which have been narrated by the graphic pen of old ORME. With the final triumph of the English arms in the Carnatic, the annals before us are brought to a close ; and little remains for us but to repeat the warm recommendations which we have already bestowed upon the father of Indian history. One tear of pity may perhaps be spared for the sad end of LALLY, who with all his faults deserved a far better fate than the one he was destined to experience. On his arrival in France he found that the indignation of the French people had been worked up to the highest pitch by the severe disasters which they had incurred in every quarter of the globe. The loss of India now seemed to inflame them to madness, and a victim was loudly demanded. LALLY endeavoured to throw the blame upon BUSSY, and upon the local government of Pondicherry, but the attempt raised up a swarm of deadly enemies against him. He was charged with high treason and sentenced to death. Two of the most distinguished members of the Parliament of Paris protested against the sentence, but all was in vain. LALLY heard his fate with utter astonishment and despair. "Is this," he cried, "the reward of forty-five

years service?" He endeavoured to commit suicide on the spot, by stabbing himself with a pair of compasses, but was prevented by the bystanders. The very next day the unfortunate commander was hurried to the *Place de Greve* in a common cart, and there suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Such, to use the words of VOLTAIRE, was the judicial murder of Count LALLY.

The annals of ORME bring the first period of the British empire in India to a close. The second period has been treated by Colonel WILKS. The concluding portion yet remains to be written. Upon this point however comment would be out of place. It will be sufficient to say that neither the work of Colonel WILKS, nor that of any other historian, has proved more interesting, and at the same time more exhaustive, than the one of ROBERT ORME; and the public at large are much indebted to the handsome form and low price of the modern republication by Messrs. PHAROAH. It is a storehouse of historical material which will prove of value for all time, long after the ephemeral abridgments of the present day have fallen into the waters of oblivion; and we may safely say that no soldiers' library, no officers' outfit, and no bookshelf in either Bengal or Madras, can ever be regarded as sufficiently furnished, unless it contain the agreeable and valuable volumes of ORME'S History of Hindostan.



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