

C. R. Wilson and W. H. Carey

GLIMPSES OF THE OLDEN TIMES

INDIA UNDER EAST INDIA COMPANY



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EDITOR'S NOTE

While editing Carey's *Good Old Days of John Company* a lot of fresh materials came to be accessible to me and after some screening I found to my delight that they were not a whit less interesting and informative, and that, properly assembled, they would make another excellent volume reflecting the period of our history dominated by the activities of the East India Company. The pick of the haul were Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* and Carey's *Reminiscences*. The stories of history of the period mentioned above culled from various sources were all there assembled and digested in the most attractive manner, in the aforesaid books and pertinent chapters and topics from them, compressed into one volume under the caption "Glimpses of the Olden Times", I thought, would give the readers all they wished for with history, anecdotes, colour and magic of those days in abundance. Thus has come into being the present volume which legitimately owes its origin to the joint authorship of Wilson and Carey with just somebody to bring them together. Let me add here that the writings of Carey included in this volume have not appeared in his other book recently published by another publisher under my editorship.

Wilson has given us history authenticated by umpteenth references. Carey's anecdotes and reminiscences are also no less informative and entertaining. Wilson's sources are Hedge's diary, Bruce's annals, Long's writings and official documents of India Office. Carey has acknowledged his indebtedness to Mackintosh, Wheeler, Malleson, many old journals and Official Gazettes. Both are unique in their respective spheres.

Let us hope that this book with its historical narrative (Wilson) and inside stories (Carey), a complete and distinctive volume with a character of its own, will be able to entertain the discerning readers.

The period of history spotlighted in these pages has not unfortunately been treated by researchers with the same sensitive seriousness as applied to other periods. Wilson's remark, "The history of British India has yet to be written" has a truism

about it. No less regrettable is the fact that the few books written on the subject, by different authors, have been cast into oblivion and no organised or official efforts have been made so far for their reclamation. Ours are at best sporadic endeavours made possible by some broad-shouldered publishers. How would we devoutly wish that researches on this period be made by recognised scholars under official sponsorship. I am sure, they will unearth materials of inestimable value.

INTRODUCTION

HOW A BAND OF ENGLISH TRADERS FOUNDED AN EMPIRE IN INDIA

Long before the fateful visit of the first English traders, the Portuguese had settled in India.

Vasco de Gama was the first to brave the stormy passage round that Cape, which had baffled so many previous attempts, and which had then been called the Cape of Storms : and on the 22nd May in 1498, with a handful of equally daring companions, he set foot in Calicut.

By a series of bold exploits the Portuguese had extended their settlements from the Coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf ; and a century had not elapsed, when they had achieved fresh conquests, had explored the Indian Oceans as far as Japan, and adventurers had astonished Europe with the story of gigantic fortunes rapidly amassed. It was not long after, that the example thus set by Portugal was followed by the other European States ; and English, Danish, and French factories rose alongside of the factories built by the Portuguese.

For more than a hundred years after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, the profitable traffic of the Indian seas was monopolised by the Portuguese. Other nations being too weak to dispute their pretensions to oceanic sovereignty were compelled to purchase Indian merchandize at Lisbon, which city consequently soon became one of the richest and most populous of European capitals.

Carey in his memoirs, mentions the name of John Sylveira, a trader, who, it is believed, was the first Portuguese to come to Bengal in 1518. Many more adventurers followed him. But they never tried to establish a regular government in Bengal. Most of them hired themselves out as soldiers to the ruling kings and chieftains. Many turned pirates and pillaged the coastal towns of Bengal.

The Portuguese settled in Dacca during the reign of Akbar, shortly after they had selected a spot for their residence at Hooghly. Dacca had then a poulation of 200,000 and was the

resort of merchants from various parts of Asia. They erected a convent there and their first friar officiated in it in 1612. When visited by the traveller Fitch in 1586, the Portuguese had sole authority in that part of the country.

The Portuguese are represented by Fryer in 1680 as "wallowing in wealth and wantonness ; generally foregetting their pristine virtue ; lust riot and rapine, the ensuing consequences of a long undisturbed peace, where wealth abounds, are the only reliques of their ancient worth ; their courage being so much effeminated that it is a wonder how they keep anything, if it were not that they lived among mean-spirited neighbours." "The Portuguese," says Alfonzo De Souza, Governor of India, in 1545, "entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other ; finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets and not being able to hold them with one hand, they were grown so heavy, they dropped the sword too ; being found in this posture by those who came after, they were easily overcome."

The successes of Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque, and others had fired the imagination, and excited the cupidity, of the English nation. Private gentlemen offered to accompany the expeditions then manned as volunteers. English nobles mortgaged their estates, and sold their plate to equip small fleets of their own.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII, and Edward VI, efforts were made to reach India by a north-eastern passage.

Two events tended to hasten the formation of a Company for India. One was the memorable voyage of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to Java, by the Pacific Ocean ; the other was the equally successful voyage, by the same route, of Thomas Cavendish.

The results of these two expeditions fired the genius of the English nation, and led to the coalition of the company of merchant adventurers who first undertook to lay the scheme before the public of trading on an extensive scale with India.

On the last day of the 16th century, the London East India Company was formed at the house of Alderman Goddard, or Founders' Hall, where the parties assembled determined upon measures to equip certain vessels "upon a purely mercantile bottom."

Some four or five years before the death of Akbar (A.D. 1600)

Queen Elizabeth granted a charter with certain privileges to a company of London merchants, just at the time that the Dutch East India Company was established, whose first attempt to trade on the Malabar Coast was nearly coincident with the arrival of the London Company's first ships at Surat.

Surat was governed by a Company's "agent" till the restoration of Charles II, when a president was sent out. At this time the Surat Government employed "forty sail of stout ships to and from all parts where they trade out and home ; manning and maintaining their island Bombay, Fort St. George and St. Helens." The last agent at Surat was named Rivinton ; he was succeeded by President Wynch, who lived only two years, and was succeeded by Andrews, who resigning, Sir George Oxendine took his place, and continued to hold the office till his death. It was during his presidentship that Sivajee plundered Surat.

The English having a valuable trade on the Coromandel Coast, were desirous of obtaining a territory which they could fortify. After several ineffectual attempts to obtain such land from the Moguls, they at length succeeded in buying a piece from a Hindu prince, the Rajah of Chindragheri, which was afterwards called Madras. This was in 1639. For the strip of land six miles long and one mile wide the English paid an annual rent of £600. There was a small island in the strip facing the sea ; this was fortified by a wall and fortress, to secure the residents against the predatory attacks of native horsemen. In granting the land to the English the Rajah (Sri Ranga) expressly stipulated that the English town should be called after him, Sri Ranga Rajapatanam. The grant was engraven on a plate of gold. The English kept the plate for more than a century ; it was lost in 1746 at the capture of Madras by the French. On the Naik of Chingleput coming into power, he ordered that the town should be called China-patanam ; this name the English afterwards changed to Madras. To this day, however, the natives call it by the old name of China-patanam.

In 1653 Madras was raised to the rank of a presidency.

Little or nothing is known of Madras in those early days previous to 1670. In 1672, however, Madras was an important place. The government was carried on in the same way as at Surat. The governor drew a yearly salary of £300 ; the second

in council £100 ; the third £70 ; and the fourth only £50. Factors were paid between £20 and £40. Writers received only £10, and apprentices £5. But all were lodged and boarded at the expense of the Company.

Sir William Langhorn was governor of Madras from 1670 to 1677, and when he retired, he was succeeded by a gentleman named Streynsham Master. In 1683 Mr. William Gyfford was made governor. At this period Mr. Josiah Child was chairman of the Court of Directors.

About 1688 there was a great change in the fortunes of Madras. The Sultan of Golconda was conquered by Aurungzebe and consequently the English settlement of Madras was brought under the paramount power of the Great Mogul. During the following ten years, there were great dissensions between the Mahrattas and the Moguls. In 1706 Daood Khan became Nawab of the Carnatic. Mr. Thomas Pitt was governor of Madras.

The early history of the East India Company's trade shows that its trade-returns during the first decade, though highly promising, bore no comparison to its future magnificent proportions.

It was not long before a rival Company came into being ; and the two companies obstructed each other ; injured each other ; maligned each other. And the character of the nation suffered in the eyes of the princes and people of India. The establishment of the new Company in Dowgate, which held its sittings in Skinner's Hall, at first proved nearly fatal to the interests of the trade with the East Indies. But the old Company had wisely predicted that such a contest could not last long, although they did not foresee the manner in which it would be brought to a close.

A compromise was effected between them, and the two companies, sinking their animosities and making arrangements about their stocks, were consolidated into one ; and in the year 1702 the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies" was prospectively incorporated under the Great Seal.

Whilst the affairs of the two associations were being wound up, preparatory to their practical incorporation as one joint stock, all sorts of outrages were committed. There was no law, there was no decency. The revenue fell off. The administration was at a stand-still. They were evil days for the dignity of Indian

adventure. But when in 1709 the United Company were fairly in operation—a brighter day began “to dawn, the trade of the Company revived, and their administrative affairs recovered something of order and regularity”.

The union of the two Companies is an epoch which properly closes the early history of the British in India. From this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career ; past struggles had left it in a state of exhaustion ; its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh health, and it acquired strength by progress.

“From this time”, writes Carey “up to the eventful day when Robert Clive, in the heavy turban and loose trousers of a Mogul, escaped from Madras to Pondicherry, and turned his back for ever on the drudgery of the desk, no very noticeable events, bearing upon the progress of English government in India, present themselves for specific mention. But great events were now hurrying the English into an open manifestation of national power, and their territorial possessions, from obscure farms, were fast swelling into rich principalities.

“Clive and his little army appeared before Fort William, and the power of the Soubadar of Bengal was broken by a handful of English strangers. The French, who had been contending with us for the European mastery of the southern coast of India, had taught how to discipline the native of the country, and we had learned that these hireling troops would be true to the hand that gave them their salt.

“The first great battle ever fought by the English in India placed Bengal at our feet. In a little while, the Dewannee or administration of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with all their wealth, was placed at our disposal by a power no longer able to stem the irresistible tide of European domination ; and territorial revenue now began to take a substantial place in the considerations of the East India Company, and to attract the delicate regards of the Crown.”

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Illustration on the dust cover

Badge of the East India Company

BOOK ONE

EARLY ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL

by

C. R. WILSON

C.R. Wilson, M.A. was in the Bengal Education Service and resided in India in the last quarter of the 19th century.

In the preface of his book "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" published in 1895 he writes :

"This period (first half of the 18th century) is the dark age of British India. Thanks to the researches of Bruce and still more recently of Sir Henry Yule, a considerable amount of information is available as to the history of the English in Bengal up to the first years of the 18th century.

"Out of the new materials which I shall publish and the old which we already possess I propose to construct the history of the English in Bengal.... The history of British India has yet to be written. We have yet to understand why the English conquered India and not the Portuguese, French or Dutch. We have yet to understand why it was from Bengal and not from Madras or Bombay that the English dominion took its rise.... Resident as I am in India, only able to pay brief hurried visit to England, I collected as much materials as I could from the records in India Office... I am greatly indebted to Babu Gour Das Bysack for my knowledge of the Setts and the Bysacks and of many other points in the local history of Calcutta."

CHAPTER I

HOW THE ENGLISH CAME TO ORISSA IN 1633

THE advance of the English from the Coromandel Coast up the Bay of Bengal, like the recent advances of the Russians in Asia, was primarily due to the enterprise of local officers. In March 1633, the Company's Agent at Masulipatam, meeting with a growing scarcity of cloth in that place, resolved on sending out an expedition to open up trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. The party, which consisted of eight Englishmen, set sail in a country boat such as may still be seen in many of the ports along the coast, an odd-looking but serviceable craft, having a square sail, an oar-like rudder, and a high poop, with a thatched house built on it for a cabin. On reaching Harsapur or Harispur, the modern Hariharapur Gar, at the mouth of the Patua, in Orissa, they transferred themselves and their merchandise to small boats, and so ascended the river some eight miles, as far as Kosida. Here they took the high road to Cuttack which then, as now, passed through Balikuda, the chief village of the fiscal division of Benahar, and the important town of Jagatsimhapur, or as it was till lately called, Hariharapur. From Cuttack the travellers repaired to the court of Malcandy, or Mukund Deo, in Fort Barabati, where they were received with great kindness by the reigning nabob.

To-day the journey may well seem commonplace, but it was then a wonderful and hazardous undertaking. Much, indeed, had the travellers heard of the countries to which they were going, but they knew little. They distrusted the native inhabitants; they stood in awe of the high and mighty Mogul who had lately so terribly visited the Portuguese, and above all they dreaded those very Portuguese whose jealousy could brook no rivals. The history of this first coming of the English has therefore all the interest which attaches to new voyages of discovery and adventure. Let William Bruton, of the parish of St. Saviour's,

Southwark, quartermaster of the good ship *Hopewell*, and one of the founders of the English trade in Bengal, begin the story in his own words.

“The twenty-second of *March*, 1632 [*i.e.*, 1633 N. S.], I being in the country of *Cormandell* with six *Englishmen* more, at a place called *Massalupatam*, a town of merchandize, Mr. *John Norris*, the agent there, was resolved to send two merchants into *Bengalla* for the settling of a factory there : and these six *Englishmen* (of the which I was one) were to go with the merchants, and withal to carry a present from the agent to the *nabob*, or *king* of that country, to obtain the promises that formerly he had granted to the *English* for traffic, and to be custom-free in those of his dominions and ports. Wherefore a *junk* was hired at *Massalupatam*, to be our convoy ; and the said *junk* did belong unto those parts, and the names of the *Englishmen*, that were appointed for that voyage, were Mr. *Ralph Cartwright*, merchant, Mr. *Thomas Colley* second, *William Bruton*, *John Dohson*, *Edward Peteforde*, *John Busby*, *John Ward*, and *William Withall*.

“Though we hired the aforesaid *junk*, *March 22*, yet it was the sixth of *April* following, before we could be fitted to depart from *Massalupatam*, and in much various weather with many difficulties and dangers (which to relate there would be tedious, and impertinent to my intended discourse) ; the twenty-first of *April*, being then *Easter-day*, we were at anchor in a bay before a town called *Harssapoore* : it is a place of good strength with whom our merchants hold commerce with correspondency. This twenty-first day in the morning Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* sent the money ashore to the governor of *Harssapoore* to take it into his safe keeping and protection until such time he came ashore himself. So presently there came a *Portugal* frigate fiercely in hostility towards us, but we made ready for their entertainment and fitted ourselves and the vessel for our best defences ; but at last they steered off from us, and, upon our command, she came to an anchor somewhere near us, and the master of her came on board of us, who being examined whence he came and whither he was bound, to which demands he answered nothing worthy of belief as the sequel showed : for he seemed a friendly trader, but was indeed a false invader (where opportunity and power might help and prevail) ; for, on the 22nd day, Mr. *Cartwright* went ashore to the governor of *Harssapoore* ; and on the twenty-

fourth day, the said master of the frigate (with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the town) did set upon Mr. *Cartwright* and Mr. *Colley*, where our men (being oppressed by multitudes) had like to have been all slain or spoiled, but that (*Lucklip*) the *rogger* (or vice-king there) rescued them with two hundred men.

"In this, fray Mr. *Thomas Colley* was sore hurt in one of his hands, and one of our men much wounded in the leg and head ; their *noçkada*, or *India* pilot, was stabbed in the groin twice, and much mischief was done and more intended : but by God's help all was pacified.

"The twenty-seventh day of *April* we took leave of the governor and town of *Harssapooore* (I mean three of us) ; namely, Mr. *Cartwright*, *William Bruton*, and *John Dobson*, leaving Mr. *Colley* and the four men with him, till news could be sent back to them from the *nabob's* court at *Cutteke* or *Malcander*,¹ of our success and proceedings there with our other goods ; for he is no wise

¹ Malcander, or Malcandy, seems to be a corrupt form for *Makan Deo* or *Mukund Deo*. *Mukund Deo* (Sanskrit, *Mukunda Deva*) was the last indigenous ruler of Orissa. He became king in 1550 A.D., six years before Akbar ascended the throne. In 1567 *Sulaimān Shāh Kīrāni*, the Viceory of Bengal, sent *Kālāpahār*, a fanatic Musulman, to conquer Orissa, and *Mukund Deo* fell in fight at *Jājpur*. *Mukund Deo* built a magnificent palace at *Cuttack*, which *Bruton* speaks of as the "Court of Malcandy."

"The city of *Cuttack*," says *Abū-l Fazi* in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, "has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of the two rivers, the *Mahānadī*, held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the *Kājtjuri*. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six *kos* round the fort, during the rains, the country is under water. *Rājā Mukund Deo* built a palace here with nine courts (literally, 'of nine *ashianahs* or nests')." In giving the list of the mahals in the sarkār of *Katak*, *Abū-l Fazi* again briefly notes that *Katak Banāras* is a suburban district with a city, having a stone fort of great strength, and a masonry palace within. The palace was in time abandoned by the Musalman Governors who preferred to live in the *Lālbāgh*, on the south side of the city. It is now a wilderness of stone pits.

The construction of *Fort Bārabāṭi* has been assigned to various monarchs with various dates. *Sterling* thinks it was built by *Rājā Ananga Bhima Deva* in the fourteenth century. The stone work has been taken by the Public Works Department to build lighthouses and hospitals, and to pave roads.

The ditch of the fort, however, still remains, and so does the gate, which is still approached by a causeway. The palace of *Mukand Deo*, like all eastern palaces, had a gathering of populace and artificers about it, and this is apparently what *Bruton* means by the "town of Malcandy."

merchant, that ventures too much in one bottom, or that is too credulous to trust *Mahometans* or *Infidels*.

“And having laden our small boats with the goods which were gold, silver, cloth and spices (of which spices those parts of *India* are wanting), and they almost are as dear there as in *England*, we passed some two leagues and a half in water ; and after that the said goods were carried by land in carts, till we came to a great town *Balkkada*, but it was more than three hours after sun-setting, or late before we came thither.

“The twenty-eight day of *April* in the morning, the governor of this town came and saluted our merchant, and promised him that whatsoever was in his power to do him any friendly courtesy he should command it : and indeed he was in every way as good as his word ; for he lent us horses to ride on and cowers (which are porters) to carry our goods ; for at this town the carts did leave us and our goods were carried on men’s shoulders ; then we set forwards, being accompanied with the governor, with his music, which were shalms, and pipes of sundry forms, much after the forms of waits or hautboys, on which they played most delicately out of tune, time, and measure. In this manner the governor with a great number of people, did bring us about half an *English* mile out of the town, where he courteously took his leave of us, but yet he sent his servants with us as guides, and that they might bring his horses unto him that he lent us.

“This day at the hours of between eleven and twelve of the clock, it was so excessively hot, that we could not travel ; and the wind blew with such a sultry scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an oven or furnace ; such a suffocating fume did I never feel before or since : and here we were forced to stay near three hours, till the sun was declined, we having happily got under the shadow of the branches of a great tree all that time. Then we set forward for the town of *Harharapoor* : which, in the space of two hours, or a little more, we drew near unto : so we staid awhile, till our carriages were come up together unto us ; which done, there met us a man, who told us that his master staid our coming : then we speedily prepared ourselves for the meeting of so high esteemed a person : and, when we came to the town’s end, there met us at a great *pagodo* or *pagod*,¹ which is a famous

¹ Babu M. M. Chakravarti tells me that there still is at Hariharapur an old temple dedicated to Civa, locally known as Somnāth. But he also argues

and sumptuous temple or church for their idolatrous service and worship there used : and, just against that stately and magnificent building, we were entertained and welcomed by one of the king's greatest noblemen, and his most dear and chiefest favourite, who had a letter from the king his master, and was sent from him to meet us, and to conduct us to his court. The nobleman's name was *Mersymomeine*,¹ he received us very kindly, and made us a very great feast, or costly collation, before supper ; which being done, we departed for our *surroy*, or inn, where we lay all night with our goods ; but *Mersymomeine* stayed with his followers and servants in his and their tents at the *pagod*.

"The twenty-ninth day of *April* we staid at *Harharrapoore*, and visited this great man ; but the greatest cause of our staying was by reason of the *nockada*, or pilot, of the frigate, whose men affronted and hurt some of our men at *Harssapoore* ; for which cause the frigate was staid there, and the pilot of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to win him to clear his vessel ; but he would not be allured by such rewards or promises ; but told him that he must appear before the *nabob* and seek to clear himself there.

"The thirtieth day of *April*, we set forward in the morning in our way to the city of *Coteke* (it is a city of several miles in compass, and it standeth a mile from *Malcandy*, where the court is kept) : but Mr. *Cartwright* staid behind, and came after us accompanied by the said nobleman : we went all the day on our journey, till the sun went down ; and then we staid for our merchant, being eight *English* miles from *Coteke* : and about twelve or one of clock at night they came where we were : so we hasted, and suddenly got all our things in readiness, and went along with them ; and about the time of three or four of clock in the morning, we came to the house of this *Mersymomeine* at *Coteke*, being *May-day*.

"Here we were very well entertained, and had a great variety of sundry sorts of meats, drinks, and fruits. About eight of the clock, *Mersymomeine* went to the court, and made known to the king that the *English* merchant was come to his house : then

that, if *Mirzā Mōmin* stopped in the *pagoda*, it could not have been a Hindu temple and may have been a pavilion erected for royal encampments, such as we find elsewhere in Orissa.

¹ i.e., *Mirzā Mōmin*.

the king caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, and to be sent to the house of *Mersymomeine*, which banquet was very good and costly. Then, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, we were sent for to the court of *Malcandy*."

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH AT THE COURT OF MALCANDY

TO the north of the city, at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and the Katjuri, stood the citadel of Cuttack, Fort Barabati, a spacious area, a mile and-a-half in circumference, defended by a broad ditch faced with masonry, by double walls of stone, and by square sloping bastions which clearly bespoke its indigenous origin. Fifty years before the coming of the English, Mukund Deo, the last Hindu ruler of Orissa, had built within it a castle of grey granite with nine lofty courts, but he had lost his kingdom to the Moslem, and Agha Muḥammad Zaman of Tahrān, of Mogul viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of "Malcandy." The English travellers reached the place from the east, over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience.

Here Bruton and his companions awaited the coming of his Highness, and found themselves objects of much curiosity. At last the word came that the nabob was approaching. The place was forthwith spread with rich carpets, gold pillars being placed at the corners to hold them down, and in the middle a red velvet bolster for his Highness to recline against. Then, preceded by his brother, a comely man carrying a sword, accompanied by fifty grave looking courtiers, and greeted on all sides with low prostrations, came the Mogul Governor, a fair and stately personage, leaning his arms upon two of his attendants. This was Agha Muḥammad Zaman, a Persian grandee, born in Tahrān, who was in high favour with the Emperor Shah Jahan, and had recently been sent to Orissa to wage war against the king of Golkonda. He very affably inclined his head towards Mr. Cartwright, who was presented to him by Miraza Momin, and, slipping off his sandal, offered "his foot to our merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last he was fain to do it."

Then the nabob and the whole court sat down cross-legged. The English merchant brought forth his presents, and made his requests to the nabob for trading privileges. But, by the time he had reached the end of his story, the king's almoner gave the signal for prayers, and the whole company knelt down with their faces towards the setting sun. Prayers being ended, and business laid aside, the palace was soon ablaze with countless wax tapers which the attendants lighted up with great ceremony. Between eight and nine o'clock the English returned to Cuttack.

"The second day we came in the afternoon again to the court before the *nabob*, which being set, there met us at the *derbar* (or council house) our old enemy, the *nockada* of the frigate, who made a great complaint against us, that we had fought to make prize of his vessel, and to take his goods by force : he had likewise given a great gift to a nobleman, to stand his friend, and speak in his behalf.

"Our merchant pleaded likewise, that all such vessels as did trade on the coast and had not a pass either from the *English*, *Danes*, or *Dutch*, were lawful prize. He answered that he had a pass. Our merchant told him to produce the same before the *nabob*, and he would clear him ; to which the *nabob* and the whole council agreed ; but he could shew no pass from any of the aforementioned three nations, but he shewed two passes from or of the *Portugals*, which they call be the name of *fringes*¹ ; and thus was he cast, and we had the better of him before the king and council.

"But then stood up the nobleman to whom he had given a reward (who had also a little knowledge or insight in sea affairs), and said, What stranger, seeking a free trade, could make prize of any vessel within any of the sounds, seas, roads or harbours of his majesty's dominions ? This he spoke not so much for the good of the king, but thinking and hoping, that the vessel, by this means, should have been cleared with all her goods, and the *nockada* (or pilot) acquitted ; that so, by those means, he might have gained the more and greater rewards ; but he was quite deceived in his vain expectation ; for the *nabob* perceiving that she belonged to *Pipely*, a port-tosn of the *Portugals*, whom the

¹ *Farangi*, a Frank. The term is used in India, as here, to denote the Indian-born Portuguese.

nabob affects not, where the *Portugals* were resident, and that she was not bound for any of his ports, he made short work with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently ; for he confiscated both vessel and goods all to himself, whereby the nobleman was put by his hopes, who was indeed a governor of a great seaport, where to much shipping belonged, and many ships and other vessels built. Our merchant seeing that he could not make prize of the vessel or the goods, nor have any satisfaction for the wrongs which he and our men had received, he rose up in great anger, and departed, saying, that if he could not have right here, he would have it in another place ; and so went his way, not taking his leave of the *nabob*, nor of any other : at which abrupt departure they all admired.

“The third day in the morning the king sent for our merchant by the lord comptroller of his court, who went with him accompanied with *Merssymomeine* and others to the *Derbar*, where there was a very grave assembly set : then come the king, who, being set, he smiled upon our merchant, and (by an interpreter) demanded the cause why he went away the last evening (or overnight) in such an anger ? To whom he answered boldly, and with a stern undaunted countenance, that he had done his masters of the honourable company wrong, and, by his might and power, had taken their rights from them, which would not be so endured or put up. The king, hearing this, demanded of the assembly, which were as well merchants as nobles, in the *Persian* tongue, of what strength and force our shipping were, their number, burthen, and force ; where our chief place of residence was for trading : he likewise sent for *Persian* merchants and diligently enquired of them the same demands and questions : who answered, that we had great trading on the coast of *Cormandel*, *India* and *Persia* ; and likewise in the south seas, as *Bantam*, *Japara*, *Janbee*, and *Mocossor*.¹ They further told the *nabob* that our shipping was great, and of great force withal ; and likewise if his pleasure was such as to be at odds with us, there

¹ *Bantam* is on the west and *Japara* on the north coast of Java, *Jambi* is the name of a Malay State on the north-eastern side of Sumatra. *Macassar* used to be the name of a people of Celebes inhabiting the extreme end of its south-western peninsula. Captain Lancaster established a factory at *Bantam* in 1603. In 1613 a ship was sent for the first time to *Jambi*, “hitherto not discovered by any Christians.” In 1626 a factory was established at *Japara*.

neither could, would, or should any vessel, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stir out of any havens, ports, or harbours, of his majesty's dominions, but they would take them, for they were not able to withstand their force. At these words the king said but little, but what he thought is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

"Then the King turned to our merchant, and told him, in *Moors* language (the which he could very well understand), that he should grant the *English* free trade upon these conditions following :—

"That if the *English* ship or ships should at any time see any ship or ships, *junk* or *junks*, or any other vessel of the *nabob's*, or any of his subjects, in distress, either by foul weather, or in danger of enemies, or in any other extremity, that we (the *English*) should help, aid, and assist them, to our powers ; or, if it happened they were in want of cables, anchors, water, victuals, or any other necessities whatsoever, that did belong to them, that we, the said *English*, should help them as we were able ; likewise that we, the said *English*, should not make prize of any vessel belonging to any of the dominions of the said *nabob* ; and that we, the said *English*, should not make prize of any ship, vessel or vessels, within the ports, rivers, roads, or havens of the *nabob*, though they were our enemies ; but at the sea we might make prize of them, if we could. To this all our merchants agreed. Then the king caused articles on his part to be drawn and published in this manner following :—

" ' Here I, the said *nabob*, vice-king and governor of the country of *Woodia*, under the great and mighty prince *Pedasha Shassallen*,¹ do give and grant free licence to the aforesaid *Ralph Cartwright*, merchant, to trade, buy, sell , export, and transport, by shipping, either off or upon the shore, not paying any *junken* or custom, nor any under me to cause them to pay any : likewise, that if they do convey goods by shore between factory and factory, or any other place, for their better advantage of gain, within these his dominions, I strictly charge and command, that no governor, custom-gatherer, or other officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any *junken*² or customs ; but shall suffer them to pass

¹ That is, Pādshāh Shāh Jahān.

² This word *junken* comes from the Tamil *chungam*, meaning customs.

free, without left, hindrance, molestation, or interruption of stay-age, but shall (I say) help and further them in anything that shall be the furtherance of their business. Moreover, I do grant to the *English* merchants to take ground, and to build houses fitting for their employments, and where they shall see convenient for their best utility and profits, without lett or hindrance of any of my loving subjects.

“ ‘ And further, I do give and grant to the *English* merchants free license to build shipping, small or great, or any other vessel they think best and fittest for their occasions and uses ; they paying no more than the custom of the country to the workmen ; and likewise to repair shipping, if any such occasion be to require it.

“ Likewise I the *nabob* do command, that no governor or officer whatsoever under me shall do the *English* any wrong, or cause any to be done unto them, as they shall answer it at their perils, wheresoever they are resident : neither shall any wrong be done to any servant of theirs, that doth belong unto them.

“ And again, if any controversy should be betwixt the *English* and the people of the country if the matter be of any moment, then the said cause shall be brought before me the *nabob*, at the court at *Malcandy*, and at the *derbar* I will decide the matter, because the *English* may have no wrong (behaving themselves as merchants ought to do).’

“ This licence formed and given at the royal court of *Malcandy*, the third day of *May* 1633, but not sealed till the fifth day of *May* following, at night.

“ The fourth day of *May* the king sent a great banquet to the house of *Merssymomeine*, to our merchant ; and there came to this feast the great man that spake on the *nockada*’s side against us, at the *derbar*, about the frigate aforesaid : he brought with him to our merchant for a present, a bale of sugar, a bottle of wine and some sweetmeats, saying he was sorry for the things done before and past, but if anything lay in him to do the company and him any good, he and they should be sure of it. This man was governor of a town called *Bollasorye*, (*Balasore*) a sea-town where shipping was built, as is aforesaid ; his name was *Mercossom*, (*Mir Kasim*) and understanding that the merchant was minded to travel that way, he promised him to do him all the courtesies that could be.

“ The fifth day of *May*, in the afternoon, we were before the king again at the *derbar* ; at our coming he called for our *perwan* (which

was our warrant or licence), and then he added to it the free leave of coining moneys, and sealed it with his own signet himself, and so all things were strongly confirmed and ratified for our trade in his territories and dominions.”¹

On the 6th May of the nabob gave a great feast to the English at the court under a canopy of velvet of four colours, and invested Cartwright with a dress of honour. On the 8th of May they again went to the court to get a free pass and a safe convoy, and found the

¹ The initiation of the trade with Bengal is usually ascribed to a farmān supposed to have been granted to the English by Shāh Jahān on the 2nd February 1634, allowing them liberty to trade in Bengal, but confining them to Pipli. I have taken no notice of this story for the following reasons.—The only evidence produced to prove that there ever was such a farmān is a letter from the Council of Surat, dated the 21st February 1634, in which they state that on the 2nd of that month they received a farmān of this description, but they go on to say, somewhat incredulously, that they had received “no English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this or any other business.” I may add that from that day to this no one has ever heard or seen one English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this farmān, and that there is no evidence that the English in Bengal ever went to Pipli, or ever heard that they had been permitted to do so. I may also point out that if the farmān was granted at Agra on the 2nd of February, it could not have arrived at Surat on that same day. The farmān of course originated in the imagination of the native interpreter, who was employed to translate the despatch from Agra, and who did his best to please his masters according to his lights. Such farmāns and rumours of farmāns were common enough in those days, and we see that they did not put much faith in the story at Surat ; yet it has been solemnly repeated as history ever since.

According to the legend, the English established factories at Pipli in 1634, at Hugli in 1640, and at Balasor in 1642. The truth is that the English never had any factory at Pipli except in the imagination of the historians. Sir Henry Yule, who has examined all the records extant relating to this period, has not been able to find any evidence whatever of any such thing. Bruton gives us the authentic account of the origin of the English factory at Balasor. It was established there by Ralph Cartwright in 1633 A.D. in response to an invitation from the governor, Mīr Qāsim. Even without Bruton’s circumstantial account of the origin of the English factories at Hariharapur and Balasor in 1633, I should have thought that Day’s letter would have shown our historians that the Balasor factory was established some years before 1642. Day says:—“Do not abandon Balasor after all your trouble and expense.” This implies that the English had already come there, yet the historians perversely argue that the English came to Balasor in 1642. In the next chapter but one I shall give the true account of the establishment of the Hugli factory in 1650 A.D.

nabob busy with his war preparations. The next day they finally took leave of the court.

"Thus have I," says Bruton, "plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the court of *Malcandy* : but although the palace of the *nabob* be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him ; for it is an abomination to the *Moguls* (which are white men), to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabric of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown: he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath."

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES AT BALASOR AND HARIHARAPUR IN ORISSA

LEAVING the court of the nabob, the English proceeded to found a factory at Hariharpur. "The ninth of *May*, we gathered together all our things, and at night we departed from *Coteke*. The tenth, at the hour of two in the afternoon, we came to the town of *Harharraipoore* and hosted in the house of our interpreter. The eleventh day we went to the governor of the town and shewed him our *fermand*, or commission from the king : the governor made a great *salame*, or court'sy, in reverence unto it, and promised his best assistance and help in anything that he could do ; and there the said governor had a small present given to him. The twelfth day of *May* Mr. *Thomas Colley* came to us at *Harharraipoore*, and the rest of the Englishmen with him, with all the goods ; then we hired a house for the present till such time as ours might be built, for our further occasions to the company's use.

"This town of *Harharraipoore* is very full of people, and it is in bounds six or seven miles in compass ; there are many merchants in it and great plenty of all things : here is also cloth of all sorts, great store, for there do belong to this town at least three thousand weavers, that are housekeepers, besides all other that do work, being bound or hired.

"The fourteenth day, the two merchants went abroad, and found out a plot of land fitting to build upon ; then they laid the king's *deroy*¹ on it and seized upon it for the company's use ; and there was no man that did or durst gainsay them for doing the same.

¹ Mar. *durāhī* or Tel. *drurāī* : "a prohibition in the King's name for anyone to have anything to do with them till that be taken off."

"The fifteenth day they hired workmen and labourers to measure the ground and to square out the foundation of the house, and likewise for the wall, which was one hundred conets¹ square, which is fifty yards, every conet being half a yard or a foot and a half ; and it behoved us to make haste for the time of the great rains was at hand.

"The sixteenth day they laid the foundation of the walls, being nine feet thick : much haste was made and many workmen about it ; but this our first work was but labour lost and cast away, for it came to nothing.

"For on the eighteenth day the rains began with such force and violence that it beat down all our work to the ground and washed it away as if there had not been anything done : this storm continued without ceasing (day and night), more or less, three weeks complete.

"The sixteenth day of *June* Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* took his journey for *Ballazary*, and two *Englishmen* with him who were *Edward Peteford* and *William Withall*, and from thence he was minded to travel further into the country of *Bengalla*."

Meanwhile the Council at Masulipatam had not forgotten their mission to Orissa. The good ship *Swan*, under the command of Edward Austin, has recently arrived from England ; and by a consultation held on the 27th June, it was decided that she and all her cargo, with Mr. Bannister and Mr. Littler, two new factors, should be sent on to Bengal to discover the condition and prospects of the trade in those parts, and to effect a permanent settlement. There were many reasons to be given for this decision. "First, for the trade 'twixt that and this place [Masulipatam], in Rice, Sugar, Butter, and divers other sorts of Provisions and course Commodities. Secondly, it affords Store of white cloths at Cheape Prices, such as is Suitable for England, Persia, and the Southwards..... Besides it yealdes good Store of exceeding good powder Sugar, which Costs not there above two pence halfe penny the English pound, with all charges abroad. As much of this Commodity as may be got timely enough for Persia, we intend for that place by the *Discovery*. Gumlacke² vppon stickes is there to be had very

¹ This seems to be a misprint for *covet* or *covid*, a corruption of the Portuguese *covado*, a cubit or ell.

² *Lac* is a resinous incrustation produced on certain trees by the puncture

Cheape, and is much required, as well for Macassar and Persia as for England.....Silke may there be Bought likewise yearly to a great Summe at 4 in 5 *fanams*¹ the English pound.....Divers other things it affords for Persia, as *Shashes*, Stuffs, *Allyjahs*,² fine Chite Cloths, and the like. Some whereof is now in Action for that place, and our Better experience will doubtless Bringe the rest Also within the compass of our future investments."

On the 22nd of July, the *Swan* anchored off Harisipur and fired three guns ; but as the English were all inland at Hariharapur, she got no answer. Having waited all night, they weighed anchor in the morning and went on to Balasor, where they met Mr. Cartwright.

So far all had gone well with the English. But difficulties now began to arise in various directions. The new-comers were quite ignorant of the commercial needs of the people of Bengal. The goods brought out by the *Swan* were not of the right sort. She was chiefly laden with broadcloth and lead, but there was no demand for these commodities in Bengal, and so the whole of the cargo lay at Balasor for nearly a year without being sold. Neither the merchants nor the common sailors understood the necessity for severe self-restraint and temperance in these Eastern regions. The place abounded with fruit and arrack, and these when taken in excess produced the most lamentable consequences. On the 25th of August, in the morning, Mr. Thomas Colley died of fever at Hariharapore, and on the 17th October, John Poule, purser of the *Swan*, who had been sent from Balasor to take poor Colley's place, writes to Cartwright in the following depressed strain : "Your opinion of sending a man to Gugernat *Et setera* places, there to procure cloth would very well become our implyment had we but on home (whom) we might truste in that bissines but you well

of the *lac* insect. The material in its crude form is called stick *lac*. It contains some 10 per cent. of dark red dye, and some 60 or 70 per cent. of resinous *lac*.

¹ *Fanām* denominates a small coin long in use in South India. It was anciently of gold, but latterly of silver. The Madras *fanām* was worth about two pence.

² It is not possible now to discover the peculiarities of all the different sorts of Indian piece-goods. The *alleja*, we are told, came from Trukistan, and was a silk cloth, five yards long, with a wavy line pattern running in length on either side. A *shāsh* is a truban cloth, hence our "sash." *Chiffā* means white.

know the fallsity and desaytfullness of our new impled servants is such that we Durst not depose confidence in them to the vallew of 10 *roopees*. Our servant Nirana cannot be well spared from this place. I doo therefore, my Selffe intend so far as I can gett musters of *Cussayes*¹ which are now A making to Leave the oversight of this place vnto William Bruton and the broker, and A dress my Sealf for the greate pogodo,² there soposing Likewise to put ofe part such Marchandise as heere Lyeth ded on our hands. The market of Saylls in Harrapore seemis at present as if there were no marchantes in the Contry.....Those Portingalls whilome expelled from Hvgly have found greate favor with Shawgahan and reentered that place to the number of 20 persones hows Cavidall (whose capital) for their commensing A new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed (seized) on which with Large priveliges and *tashareefes* with honor, the kinge hath bestowed on them so that our expectation of Hugly is frustrayt and I feare likewise Pippely will be [not?] obtained beeing A convenient Randyvoes of theirs wherefor som parsones have Latly complained to this Nabob of our seeking to put them from that porte ; have Answered we entended no Svch mater but only for Bollasary or Harssapooore, so with good *delassa* they were dismissed."

Altogether, in 1633, five of the six factors of the Bay fell victims to the climate. A large number of the *Swan's* men were visited with sickness, and the *Thomas*, which was sent on after her, buried four men, and returned with the greater portion of her crew dangerously ill. The place soon acquired a bad name amongst the English, and its unhealthiness was one of the most serious obstacles in the way of their progress. The hand of man was also against them. The Aracanese pirates haunted the Bay, and, when the *Swan* was in Bengal in 1633, some of them suddenly attacked her boat as it was being sent ashore for water, killed three of her men and carried off the rest to Pipli. The English also had to meet the opposition of the Portuguese, who in spite of recent reverses still retained a hold on the trade of the country, and the still worse opposition of the Dutch, who claimed sovereignty over the places within their limits, and excluded the English even from stations recognized as belonging to them by existing treaties.

¹ *Khāsa*, a kind of fine muslin.

² *i.e.* the temple of Jagannath.

Owing to these various difficulties, Cartwright was unable to do more than make settlements at Hariharapur and Balasor. All hope of fresh establishments at Jagannath or Pipli had to be abandoned. Even the factory, which Cartwright has established at Hariharapur, fell into decay, for as the river where the vessels used to lie gradually silted up, it became unsafe for ships to ride there and difficult to send goods by sea that way.

The expulsion of the Portuguese from Hijili in 1636, and the consequent ruin of Pipli, offered fresh opportunities for developing the trade of the Bay ; but the English were not at the moment in a position to avail themselves of them. It had been more than once pointed out to the Court that, if it wished to succeed in Bengal, it must send out an additional number of properly qualified factors and writers, and secure two or three small pinnaces as coasters, such as the Dutch had, of 80 or 120 tons, drawing little water, and carrying twelve or fourteen guns apiece. But in spite of urgent appeals neither men nor boats ever came. Indeed the Company's affairs were too much embarrassed to allow them to attend to such matters. In India, on the Coromandel Coast, in spite of specious promises and golden firmans, their trade was hampered and restricted in every direction by the jealous rivalry of the Dutch and the vexatious oppression of the officers of the King of Golkonda. At home they had to struggle for very life with an Association formed in 1635 under the immediate patronage of Charles I., by Sir William Courten, for fitting out ships and sending merchandise to the East Indies. It was not till 1639 that the King was induced to revoke Courten's license on the condition that a fourth joint stock should be formed, and that greater efforts should be made to prosecute and develop the Eastern trade. For this purpose it was absolutely necessary that some station should be found on the Coromandel Coast, better situated than Armagon, to protect the trade, and Mr. Francis Day, one of the Council of Masulipatam, having been sent to examine the country near the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, reported strongly in favour of Madrasapatam. Accordingly, in 1640, the English here laid the foundation of Fort St. George, and established their first independent station in India.

A new impetus was given to the Company's trade. In 1641 Bengal seemed of so little consequence that the ship *Diamond* was sent thither to pay off debts and fetch away the factors ; but in

the very next year this policy of withdrawal was reversed. Francis Day came to Balasor in the autumn on a visit of inspection. He found the factory at Hariharapur on the point of dissolution. Only a few "Cassaes" and "Sannoës" were in preparation. Of the three factors then in the Bay, Yard and Trauell intended to return to Europe. Only Hatch would remain, and he was much discontented, as his contracted time had expired and he expected to get but little employment. But the quick insight which had selected Madras for the head-quarters of the coast trade, here too enabled Day to discern the commercial advantages of a station at Balasor. Thanks probably to Mir Qasim, the English settlement occupied an excellent situation. The factory was built in the principal quarter of the new town and was easily defensible, commanding the river and a convenient careening creek, and having ready access to the native markets. The port had rapidly improved during the past eight years. The bar at the mouth of the river had opened, and the river itself proved much better than had been supposed ; the road was safe, and the Hariharapur cloth could be easily transported thither by land. Day, therefore, was strongly in favour of retaining the station at Balasor and of supporting it by ample supplies of men, money and goods. "Accordinge to that small time of my being heer," he wrote, "and that little observation that I have taken, I think Ballasara with the Adjacent places is not to bee totally left, for it is no such dispisable place as is voted, it being an opulent Kingdome and you haveing bin already at great charges in gaininge the free Custome of all Sorts of Goods, beleive it if you had but an Active man, two or three in these parts, you would find it very profitable provided you double Stocke the Coast, without which it is impossible to comply to your desires. Since I have knowen these parts, for the most parte you have had servants and little or noe meanes to imploy them, if you should inlarge your trade, you may happely have meanes and noe servants, especially such that should know how to imploy it to best advantage." Day's recommendation was, no doubt, carried into effect, and the Company's servants, including the faithful Narayan, concentrated at Balasor, for we find that in 1644 there were in those regions three factors, Henry Olton, William Gurney and William Netlam, of whom Olton was the chief. Yet the English had little faith in Day's judgment. They shook their heads when they thought of

the future of "Bengala," and referred the whole matter to the Court in London for decision.

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE ENGLISH ADVANCED FROM BALASOR TO HUGLI

WHILE, however, the Company's servants were discussing the utility of a station at Balasor, and waiting for a despatch from home to decide whether they should go on with the trade in Bengal or not, events were coming to pass which answered the question for them in the affirmative. For several years the districts in the vicinity of Madras and Masulipatam had suffered from famines and desultory wars between the local kings. The trade of the Coromandel Coast was in consequence almost ruined, and the agent and factors at Fort St. George were forced to look abroad in the hope of discovering new openings for commercial enterprise.

In Bengal the signs were encouraging. Here was Gabriel Boughton, formerly surgeon of the *Hopewell*, who had been sent across from Surat to Agra in 1645 at the special request of Asālat Khān, and had by his professional services acquired great influence at Court. He had in fact become a prime favourite with Shah Shuja', the Prince Governor of Bengal, and was residing with his patron at Rajmahal.¹ The doctor would naturally use all his

¹ *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 182 and 185. According to our historians, Boughton was sent for in consequence of a sad accident which had occurred at the Mogul Court. The princess Jahān-Arā was the eldest and best beloved daughter of Shāh Jahān. "Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the haram, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire, and as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she rushed into the haram in flames ; and there was no hope of her life." It was to attend the poor burnt princess that Boughton was summoned to Agra, say our historians, and it was through his skill that she recovered. Sir Henry Yule has not been able to find any confirmation of this story in the records. The accident happened in 1643-4. Boughton was sent, it appears, at the beginning of 1645, in which case he must surely have arrived too late. Besides the native historian who tells us of the accident, also tells us that a famous physician was brought express from Lahore to treat the case.

influence of his countrymen and would interfere to free their trade from all vexatious imposts and customs. Urged by the necessities of the time, and trusting to the good-will of the Bengal Government, the English Court of Committees resolved to follow the example of the Dutch, and establish a factory inland up the Ganges. In 1650 the *Lyonesse* was despatched to Bengal for this very purpose. The ship was under the command of Captain John Brookhaven, and had on board three factors, named Robert Spavin, James Bridgeman, and William Fairfax, and a large cargo of money and goods all destined for Hugli.

The *Lyonesse* arrived at Madras on the 22nd of August, and the agent and factors, who had been eagerly expecting her, at once set about debating the best manner of carrying out their honorable masters' wishes. With the Dutch cruisers scouring the Bay of Bengal, the enterprise seemed at best precarious, and in any case many of the details must be altered. Spavin had died on the voyage. Fairfax was set aside as unfit. The management of the whole business was therefore committed to Captain Brookhaven, with James Bridgeman and Edward Stephens to assist him. For local knowledge, Brookhaven was directed to use the advice and experience of Richard Potter, who would be found somewhere about Balasor. William Netlam, who had been some eight years or more stationed in the Bay, though he was at his request allowed to return thither, had fallen under suspicion, and was not to be trusted.

So far the Madras merchants were prepared to go, but they boggled at the idea of sending the *Lyonesse* up the Ganges to Hugli. With one consent they resolved to avoid so great a hazard and to stay the ship in the Balasor road. The factors designed for Hugli were to make their way thither as best they could upon some other freighted vessel.

The consequence was that when the *Lyonesse* reached Balasor her Captain determined to stay with her and to send up Bridgeman to Hugli as chief, with Stephens as his second and Blake and Tayler as assistants. The paper of instructions which he drew up for their guidance before parting from them in December is still extant, and gives a picture of the position of the English in Bengal at this period.

The tone of the opening paragraph is markedly devout. "Principally and above all things," it begins, "you are to endeavour

with the best of your might and power the advancement of the glory of God, which you will best doe, by walking holily, righteously, prudently and Christianly, in this present world that soe the Religion, which you professe, may not be evil spoken of and you may enjoy the quiet, and peace of a good conscience towards God and man and may alwayes bee ready to render an accompt in a better world, where God Shall be Judge of all."

After this we come to more mundane matters. "Whereas it is the designe of our Masters the honorable : Company to advance, and encrease the trade in these parts of Oreea and Bengal, you are by all possible means to endeavour more and more to informe yourselves how best and most profitably to carry out the trade thereof, especially for Saltpeter, Silke and Sugers. To this ende, that you endeavour the sale of those goods remaining in the factories to the most advantage, thereby assoone as may bee, to gett moneys into your hands that so you may proceed to invest the same in the best time of buying the aforesaid goods."

Particular directions about the investment in saltpetre, silk, and sugar follow, commending the example of the Dutch for imitation.

Patenna being on all Sides concluded the best place for procuring Peter, desire you therefore to make a tryall how you can procure the same from thence, wherein you may make use of W.B., who you know is able to informe you. You must soe order that business as hee may have profit thereby and may bee encouraged, by which means you will soonest arrive to our desire. In this commodity invest at last one halfe of your Stock, and endeavour the refininge of the same at Hukely. In case you runne into debt, lett it bee for this commodity yet I dare not advise you soe to do, untill you receive order from the Agent, and Councell, the Interest being (as you know) soe exceeding high.

In silke you know what great matters are to be done, therefore it doth import the Company much, that you strive both by relation and your own experience to know how, and where best to carry on the Manufacture thereof, where the best Silkes are procured, and where the best conveniences are for fitting and preparing the Same for the Sale, of Europe, that soe if the Company shall require large quantities you may bee in a posture

to fitt them all at the first hand. I suppose the order of the Dutch is very good, and will be freest from adulteration, the properest way will bee to make three sorts, as Head, Belly, and ffoote, each apart by them Selves. You may also make an experience of washing thereof at Hukely or elsewhere, and Send the Company a maund of each Sort apart by the next Shipping for a Sample, with an exact accompt of the losse in washing, and charge of the same. In this commodity you may invest neare three eight parts of your remaines.

As for Sugers, you know they are procured in many places, you may make a small tryall in each. Herein I suppose you need but inquire secretly into the order of the Dutch, how, where, and when they proceed to buy the said Commodity, and how the seasons doe fall for bringing the same out of the Countrey, or downe the Rivers....I am informed that the quantity they last bought at Patenna is well approved of, therefore I desire also that you procure some from thence by the same way or Instruments that you make use of to obtayne the Peter.

The instructions go on to speak of Gabriel Boughton, from whom the Company expected such great services.

You know how necessary it will bee for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *ffirman*, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Chirurgion to the Prince, promises concerning the same. To putt matters out of doubt it is necessary that you forthwith after our departure, and the settlement of the business here, and at Hukley, proceed to Rajamall with one Englishmen to accompany you ; where being come consult with Mr. Boughton about the business, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches last *ffirman*, and together endeavour (if possible that according to Mr. Boughton's promise) the Company may have such a *ffirman* granted, as may outstrip the Dutch in point of Privilege and freedome, that soe they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who (without doubt) will be very faithfull in the business and strive that the same may bee procured, with as little change as may bee to the Company, knowing that the lesse the charge is the more will bee the reputation, according to his owne advice in his last vnto

me : what you shall present, or expend in the business I cannot advice, however what you doe, lett it bee done with joint consent, and I pray you bee as spareing as may bee in a busines of this Import.

Directions are also given on various matters of minor importance. The two assistants, Blake and Tayler, are each to have a salary of £5 or £6 a year ; Nārāyan, the Company's broker, who had been on the Bengal establishment since 1633, was to be kept on in spite of the accusations made against him ; the trade of Balasor is to be carried on in "*Rupees Morees*" ;¹ friendly relations are to be cultivated with the governors of Balasor and Hugli ; all matters of concern to the Company are to be declared to their servants, so that in case of sickness, "which doth often happen in this part," their successors may always know how, what, and where the company's interests are ; and lastly, land is to be procured for building additional houses for the Company at Balasor, but in this, as in everything, they are to have a special regard not to put the Company to unnecessary expense.

Such were the excellent intentions and edifying admonitions with which the Company sent forth Bridgeman and Stephens in 1651 to establish a new factory at Hugli ; and for a time all seems to have gone well. Gabriel Boughton was not unmindful of his promises. In 1652 we hear that for so trifling a sum as Rs. 3,000 the English have obtained letters patent granting them freedom of trade in Bengal without payment of customs or dues. An indefinite quantity of saltpetre could be purchased there, particularly at Balasor and Hugli.²

¹ Yule suggests *muhri*, i.e. 'round rupees.

² Bruce's, *Annals*, I, 463, 464. It is very doubtful, however, whether Boughton ever secured any grant at all for the English. In 1650, when we last hear of him, he is still promising, but not performing. In 1651-2 Bruce and Stuart tell us that the English in Bengal obtained a *nishān* from Shāh Shujā. If it could be shown that they did get a *nishān* in this year, and that Boughton was then living, we might conjecture that his influence had something to do with it. But neither of these conditions can be established. There is nothing to show that Boughton was still living and influencing Shāh Shujā, in 1651-2, and there are considerable doubts as to whether any *nishān* was granted by the prince in that year. A copy of the *nishān* of Shāh Shujā, exists, but it is said to have been given "at the request of Thomas Billedge, in the sixth month, in 1066 H., in the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, i.e., in April 1656 A.D."

Later on accounts grow much less favourable. The Madras Council complain that the sums which the Bengal factors have paid to be exempted from dues and customs will counterbalance the profits of the trade, and will be rather a benefit to their own private trade than to the Company's investments. Gabriel Boughton is dead, his widow married again, and she and her husband are making claims on the Company on account of Boughton's services. In fact Bridgeman and his friends were acting irregularly and dishonestly. When called to account, two of them, Bridgeman and Blake, deserted the Company's service without vouchsafing any explanation ; another, Waldergrave, in his journey to Madras overland, managed to lose all the Company's accounts and papers, among them, apparently, the letters patent granted by Shāh Shujā.

As for Madras itself, although it had just been raised to the dignity of a separate Presidency, its real power was greatly crippled by a variety of circumstances. Inland trade on the Coromandel

This would be conclusive against the whole story about Boughton if we could trust the copy ; but we cannot. In spite of the date, 1656 A.D., given in the copy, Stuart assigns the *nishān* to the year 1651-2 ; and he tells us in 1703 that forty (? fifty) years before, *i.e.* in 1663 (? 1653), the original *nishān* was lost. Writing on the 31st December 1657, the Court refer to the fact that Waldegrave has lost all thier papers, *farmāns*, and the like. This looks as if the *nishān* was granted earlier than 1656, otherwise the losing of the *nishān*, the reporting of its loss to London, and the considering of the business by the Court, followed the granting of it in April 1656 with unexampled rapidity. Again, in the list of Government papers that I have found in the United Trade Consultation Book of 1704, the copy of this *nishān* is dated 1652, although it is said to have been given in the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Once more I may point out that, if the *nishān* was granted in the 28th tyear of Shāh Jahān's reign, it was not granted in 1066 H., or 1656 A.D., which was the 30th year of the reign. The 28th year of the reign was 1064 H., or 1654-5 A.D. Hence the existing copy must be incorrect, as it is not consistent with itself. I am on the whole inclined to accept the date given by Bruce and Stuart, and to believe that the original *nishān* was granted in the 25th year of Shāh Jahān in 1061 H., or 1651-2, and that it was lost in 1653 or 1654 by Waldegrave on his journey to Madras. In consequence of the loss of the original the English had to rely on a rough copy or note of the contents of the *nishān*, and in this way the 25th year was altered to the 28th year. This would account for the entry in the Consultation Book of 1704. After the regnal year had been altered, some other wise person took it into his head to correct the Hejira year.

Coast had become impracticable, owing to the convulsed state of the country ; the coasting trade was hazardous from the superior force of the Dutch, with whom England was openly at war from 1652 to 1654 ; and lastly the merchant adventurers, who had obtained a charter from Cromwell in 1655, competed with their countrymen in every direction. In 1657, the year in which Sivaji first invaded the Carnatic, the Madras Council seem to have "despaired of the republic." Once more they resolved to withdraw from Bengal.

CHAPTER V

HOW THE ENGLISH RE-ORGANISED THE HUGLI AGENCY

THAT the English, who boast of a special faculty for organising foreign establishments, should thus without encountering serious external opposition twice fail to effect a settlement in Bengal will probably excite surprise. We were not prepared for this repeated failure ; yet we should remember that repeated failure is the road to success. Like nature, man does nothing great at a bound. He makes a hundred attempts which come to nothing before he hits upon the one true expedient. Such has been the history of most of the achievements of genius : such is the history of the settlements of the English in India. They bought their experience. Schooled by repeated failure, they advanced from the Spice Islands to the mainland, from the Coast to the Bay, from Balasor to Hugli, from Hugli to Calcutta. At each step they made mistakes ; at each step they learnt lessons which led them to further and wiser efforts. Let us look again at the two steps which they have just taken.

The English did well to come to Balasor in 1633 ; for the provinces at the head of the Bay were far richer and far easier of access to western merchants than the Carnatic and the Coast of Coromandel, and it was from Bengal that a maritime empire of India must of necessity begin. Yet the settlements made by Cartwright languished as soon as he left them. No one cared about them ; they were distant, unhealthy, dangerous.

Then the English found out their mistake. They had been too timid ; they now went to the opposite extreme and became too rash. Confiding implicitly in the promises of the Indian Government and in the good-will of its subordinates, the Court of Committees transferred the head-quarters of the trade in the Bay from Balasor to Hugli. This too was a step in the right direction. It was right to adopt a forward policy ; it was right to advance

further into the country than Balasor ; but the English now advanced too far.

Some of the inconveniences of making Hugli their head-quarters appeared at the very outset. In commerce, as in war, sustained operations cannot be conducted without a secure starting point. Such a starting point could not be Hugli, where the English were surrounded by rivals and possible enemies, and separated from the sea by more than a hundred miles of a difficult and dangerous river. The refusal of the Council of Fort St. George to allow the *Lyonesse* to proceed further than Balasor was indeed a bad omen for the new factory.

Another mistake soon showed itself. The number of the Englishmen in Bengal was so small that their *morale* quickly degenerated. Right conduct is largely supported by public opinion, and an Englishman in India, placed in the midst of new and bewildering circumstances, needs all the moral support that can be given him. He needs to be in constant contact with those who may help him with their criticism, their advice, their sympathy. The Court at home could not understand this. They sent out a young man of eighteen or twenty on a salary of five pounds a year to a lonely post of difficulty and danger ; and when he proved an unprofitable and unfaithful servant, they marvelled.

But they did not despair. In 1657, the very year the Madras Council was thinking of withdrawing from Bengal, the company of merchant adventurers had been amalgamated with the original Company. At a general meeting of proprietors the rights of the respective stock-holders were satisfactorily adjusted. The Company's charter was renewed, and Cromwell was petitioned to protect their settlements against the depredations of the Dutch, and to vindicate the honour of the English in India. Having settled their charter and exclusive rights in England, the Court turned their attention to the re-arrangement of their factories abroad. A commission was appointed in Bengal to inquire into the misdemeanours and corrupt practices which had been going on there ; and, to prevent further irregularities, private trade on the part of the Company's servants was prohibited and their pay increased. Before drawing their enhanced salaries they were to sign security bonds or covenants to specified amounts to observe this condition. They were also directed to keep diaries of their proceedings and transmit copies of them annually to the

Court. All the Company's factories were to be subordinate to the Presidency of Surat, besides which there were four agencies, at Bantam, at Madras, in Persia, and in Bengal. Inferior agencies were established at Balasor, Cassimbazar and Patna, in subordination to the agency at Hugli.

A despatch, dated the 27th February, 1658, gives an almost complete list of the Councils established in Bengal. It appoints George Gawton, Chief Agent at Hugli, with a salary of a hundred pounds a year. His second is not named. The other members of the Council are Mathias Halstead, William Ragdale, and Thomas Davies. Hopkins is made agent at Balasor, Kenn at Cassimbazar, Chamberlain at Patna. To each of these agents three coadjutors are assigned ; among them the celebrated Job Charnock, who is appointed fourth at Cassimbazar. By a subsequent despatch the Court appointed Jonathan Trevisa to fill the vacant post of second at Hugli, and , failing Gawton, to succeed to the agency itself. This he did in September, 1658.

By these arrangements the number of the Company's servants in Bengal was more than doubled. For the first time in that distant land there was an English society. Its character may be gathered from the private correspondence still extant. They often had to come to terms with the climate in matters of dress and cut short the flowing locks of the cavalier. But they consoled themselves with drinking-bouts and bowls of clear arrack punch. A more respectable solace was the reading of books such as the *Eikon Basilike* or *Religio Medici*. The latter seems to have been especially popular, and they amused themselves by corresponding with each other in good Brownese. We may laugh at the Latin saws which stuff these Ciceronian epistles, the elaborate compliments, the invocations for Heliconian irrigations to sublimate the writer's thoughts ; but they are more to our taste than the ill-penned, ill-constructed scrawls which do the duty of letters in the earlier period.

The Court had certainly succeeded in raising the moral tone of the Bengal establishment, but it had done nothing to add to its security. At first all seemed to go well with the Company's servants. "Bengal," they wrote home, "is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The taffaties are various and fine. The saltpetre is cheap and of the best quality. The bullion and pagodas you have sent have had an immediate and most favourable effect

on the trade ; the goods have been sold at great advantage. Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses."

But, in the meanwhile, changes had taken place in the native government of India and of Bengal. On the 8th September, 1657, Shah Jahan fell seriously ill at Delhi, and a fratricidal war broke out between his children. In the end Prince Aurangzeb, the third son, succeeded in defeating his brothers and in seizing the person of his sick father. On the 22nd July, 1658, he took his seat on the throne of Hindustan. A few months later Shah Shuja, was barbarously murdered in Arakan, whither he had fled, defeated and heart-broken, and Mir Jumlah, the imperial general, was nabob of Bengal.

Under the new Government, the English began to see the folly of trusting to the promises and good-will of a power so arbitrary and variable as the Mogul government. In 1658 the governor of Hugli, considering that the deposition of Shah Jahan rendered all Imperial grants null and void, had insisted on an annual payment of three thousand rupees in lieu of custom. In 1659, the governor of Balasor began to make exorbitant charges for anchorage. The Hugli was infested with pirates, and to send up goods in small craft without a convoy was no longer safe. At Rajmahal all the English boats as they came down the Ganges from Patna laden with saltpetre were stopped by Mir Jumlah. On every side the English found themselves oppressed and the trade vexatiously hampered. At last in 1661 the agent at Hugli lost patience and seized a native vessel as security for the recovery of debts. Mir Jumlah was greatly incensed. He demanded immediate reparation of the offence, and threatened to destroy the out-agencies, to seize the factory at Hugli, and expel the English from the country. Alarmed at this danger, the agent wrote to Madras for instructions, and was directed to restore the boat, and to apologise to Mir Jumlah. Trevisa accordingly submitted and was forgiven, but the viceroy continued to exact the annual payment of the three thousand rupees.

Fortunately for the English, Mir Jumlah's attention was soon engaged with much more serious matters. Rebellions had taken place in Koch Bihar and Assam, and the Mogul general had to conduct a great expedition against those distant provinces to reduce them to submission. From the hardships of

these campaigns he returned to die near Dacca on the 30th March, 1663.

He was succeeded in the Government of Bengal by Shayista Khan, the Premier Prince of the Empire.

CHAPTER VI

HOW STREYNSHAM MASTER TWICE VISITED THE BAY AND INTRODUCED REFORMS

IT was not long before the Court relapsed into its chronic state of anxiety as to the good order of its factories on the east side of India. Under Sir William Langhorne the affairs of the Company were at once laxly and injudiciously administered. The express orders of the Company were not seldom neglected or set aside, while the Agents and Councils of the different station spent their time in disputing with one another or with the government at Fort St. George. To remedy these evils, the Court directed its attention to the formation of a more regular system of administration. The rank of their servants was in future to be fixed on the principle of making seniority the rule of succession to offices of trust, and the civil and military services were connected in such a manner as to give the chief authority to the former and render the latter subservient to the preservation of the settlements and promotion of trade. "For the advancement of our apprentices," said the new regulations, "we direct that after they have served the first five years they shall have £10 per annum for the last two years ; and having served those two years to be entertained one year longer as writers and have writer's salary ; and having served that year to enter into the degree of factors, which otherwise would have been ten years. And knowing that a distinction of titles is, in many respects, necessary, we do order that when the apprentices have served their times they be styled writers ; and when the writers have served their times they be styled factors ; and the factors having served their times be styled merchants ; and the merchants having served their times to be styled senior merchants." All civil servants were directed to apply themselves to the acquisition of the knowledge of military discipline, so that in event of any sudden emergency, or of being found better qualified for military than for civil duties, they might receive commis-

sions. For the purpose of introducing the new system of administration at Hugli and its dependencies, and enforcing the subordination of these distant stations to Fort St. George, a special commissioner was appointed, who was to succeed Sir William Langhorne when his term of office should expire.

The man selected for discharging these important duties was Streynsham Master, who had already done good service to the Company in Western India, and had received a gold medal in remembrance of the gallantry and skill with which he had held the factory at Surat when it was attacked by Sivaji in 1670. He was undoubtedly a fit person to introduce order and decorum into the factories of the day. Worthy, religious, and methodical, he treated others with kindness and liberality. He writes like a gentleman, and, notwithstanding that he came to India before he was sixteen years old, his papers show that he was decidedly better educated than the majority of his contemporaries in the Company's service. His instructions were to inspect all the books and accounts and reduce them to the plain and clear method of the Presidency of Surat, to find out the best methods of disposing of imports to India and of providing exports for England, especially raw silk and taffetas, to investigate the characters and qualifications of the Company's servants, and to inquire into the causes of dissensions and quarrels amongst them, and to exhort to peaceable and quiet living. He was also to inquire into the business of Raghu Podar, "who was beaten by the house broker of Cassimbazar, and died presently after." With this commission Streynsham Master left England on the 8th of January, 1676, and, arriving at Fort St. George after a voyage of seven months, left again in the *Eagle* for the Bay on the 31st July. The original manuscript of the diary, which he kept during the voyage, is preserved among the Indian records. It gives a minute account of his proceedings, and is our most authentic record of the condition of the English in Bengal at this time.

There were then three most important English establishments in the Bay, Hugli and Cassimbazar, where they made their principal sales and investments, and Balasor, where they loaded and unloaded the "Europe" ships.¹ After them came the outlying

¹ *Hedges' Diary*, II, 236.

factories at Patna and Singhiya¹ and at Dacca. At Rajmahal there was a small agency in connection with the Mogul mint, to which the English had to send all their treasure to be coined into rupees.

At Balasor the voyager left his ship which had brought him all the way round the Cape from Europe, and went on board a smaller sloop. The entrance to the Hugli was then, as now, obstructed by a number of sand banks called "the Braces." Sailing cautiously over them, and entering the river, Master came to anchor off Saugor Island. It was early morning, and boats came round the voyagers, offering fish for sale. They were fresh and cheap. A single anna bought enough to feed ten men. Oysters were also abundant. This was the eastern channel ; on the other side was the western channel by the island of Hijili, where the Mogul had built a small fort to protect his salt works, a "direful place," destined in a few years to be the grave of many a stout-hearted Englishman. From his sloop Master could see the pits and places to boil brine ; and swarms of bees flew humming over the deck. The whole river-side was studded with manufactures of wax and salt, which were royal monopolies. The deep channel running eastwards was "Rogues River," the favourite haunt of the Aracanese pirates before the days of Shayista Khan. By the evening Master came to that awkward corner, Hugli Point. Below, the stream was eighteen or nineteen fathoms deep ; above, only eight or nine. This caused such a whirling, especially at the first of the flood and the last of the ebb, that your sloop went twisting round and round with the current, and sometimes was shot past the channel of the Hugli into the Rupnarayan. But coming near upon high-water, Master made the point without any accident. Then they cast anchor again, for the freshes would not allow them to go any higher that night.

Next day they found themselves opposite Betor, in Garden

¹ Singhiya, or Lalganj, on the left bank of the Gandak river, about fifteen miles north of Patna, is frequently mentioned in the early records of the Company as *Singee* or *Singe*. It was not a healthy place, being mostly saltpetre ground ; but the English kept an establishment there because it was close to the saltpetre and removed from the interference of the nabob of Bihar and his subordinates. They had at this time no factory of their own at Patna where they lived and hired houses. The Chief of the Bihar establishment usually lived at Singhiya.

Reach, where the Portuguese ships used to ride over a hundred years ago, when Caesar Fredrick came that way. The place was now called Great Thana, and you could see the mud walls of the old forts built here on each side of the river to prevent piratical incursions.¹ The people would still tell stories of how, ten or twelve years ago, before the strong hand of the viceroy had completely crushed Arakan no one dared to dwell lower down the river beyond the protection of the old fort, and how the people by the bank used to flee into the jungle from the grasp of the spoilers, who carried them off captive to sell them into slavery at Pipli. Opposite, to the right, was the village of Govindpur, where the Setts and Bysacks had cleared away the dense jungle and built homes for their families. Running off to the south of the village was the "Old Ganges," and a little further along it stood the shrine of Kali. Above Govindpur was Calcutta, but there was little to show its future greatness.

Master could see only the signs of the commercial prosperity of Holland. Early next day he passed Barnagar, with its Dutch establishment for killing and salting hogs. Two miles short of Hugli he came to the Dutch garden at Chandannagar, and a little further was a deserted place which the French had intended for their factory. The gate had not yet fallen into ruin, but the place was now in possession of their neighbours.

At Chinsurah he saw the Dutch factory, standing by itself like an English country seat. About seven o'clock in the evening he landed at Gholghat, where he was welcomed to the English Company's house.

On a Monday evening Master set forward again to the Company's garden, two miles north of the town. In two days he reached Nadia, the time-honoured seat of Sanskrit learning. And so he made his way up the river, sometimes meeting the state barge of a rich Indian noble, and sometimes the cargo boats laden with the Company's saltpetre from Singhiya and Patna, till at length in five more days he reached his destination. Cassimbazar was the headquarters of the silk trade and was almost equal in importance to Hugli. It was an ordinary Indian town, about two

¹ One stood where the house of the Superintendent of the Sibpur Botanical Garden now is : the other was placed on the opposite side of the river at Mattiya-Burj.

miles long, with streets so narrow in some places where markets were kept, that there was barely room for a single palanquin to pass. The houses, as everywhere in Bengal were all made mud dug out of the ground, so that every house had a holeful of water standing by it, a good reason why the country should be unwholesome. The loose, fat soil was exceedingly fertile ; yet firewood was scarce, and timber dear and bad. All the district round was planted with mulberry trees, the young leaves being in great request for feeding the silkworms. The silk itself was yellow, like most crude silks, but the people of Cassimbazar knew how to bleach it with a lye made of the ashes of the plantain tree, which made it as white as the silk of Palestine.

Streynsham Master reached Balasor at the end of August, and leaving it again on the 5th September, was in Hugli eight days later. On the 25th the governor of Maqsdabad was informed that Master has arrived at Cassimbazar. Here he remained for upwards of six weeks.

Three important questions awaited his decision. In the first place he had to settle a number of disputes between the Company's servants and inquire into the case of Raghu Podar, the Company's cash-keeper. This man had been put into custody by order of Vincent, then chief of the Cassimbazar factory, in order to extract payment from him of sums due to the Company ; and while Vincent was away in the country, Anantarama, the Company's broker, who had charge of the prisoner, had ordered him to be severely beaten, and Raghu Podar had died that same night. This had naturally caused great excitement amongst the native community and had led to trouble with the Mogul government. The matter had only been hushed up by the payment of thirteen thousand rupees. Streynsham Master held an inquiry into the whole affair, which lasted for upwards of a fortnight, and also investigated a number of other charges and counter-charges brought by the members of the Council against one another. An utter stranger, coming to the factories of Bengal for the first time in his life, he could not, we may be sure, succeed in ascertaining the real rights of the cases upon which he was called upon to decide. All that he could do was to try and prevent further scandals, here and elsewhere, by now modelling the consultations, assigning particular duties to each of the Company's servants, and ordering regular records to be made of the whole of their proceedings and

transmitted first to Fort St. George and thence to England, together with translations of all letters and grants from the Indian government.

In the second place, Master took steps which led to the founding of a new factory at Malda, a town on the other side of the Ganges, a day's journey from Rajmahal. On the 14th October it was resolved to invest a sum of four or five hundred rupees in various coarse stuffs to be procured there, and a sixth centre of English commerce was formed in Bengal.

Lastly, on the 1st November, the Cassimbazar Council "haveing taken into consideration and debate which of the two places, Hugli or Balasor, might be most proper and convenient for the residence of the Chiefe and Councell in the Bay, did resolve and conclude that Hugli was the most fitting place notwithstanding the Europe ships doe Unload and take in their ladeing in Balasor roade, Hugli being the Key or Scale of Bengala, where all goods pass in and out to and from all parts and being near the center of the Companys business is more commodious for receiving of advices from and issuing of orders to, all subordinate ffactoryes.

"Wherefore it is thought Convenient that the Chiefe and Councell of the Bay doe reside at Hugli, and upon the dispatch of the Europe ships the Chiefe and the Councell, or some of them (as shall be thought Convenient) doe yearly goe down to Balasor, soe well to expedite the dispatch of the ships as to make inspection into the affairs of Balasor ffactory. And the Councell did likewise Conclude that it was requisite a like inspection should be yearly made in the ffactory at Cassimbazar the Honble Companys principal concernes of sales and investments in the Bay lyeing in those two places, and the expence of such visitation will be very small, by reason of Conveniency of travelling in these Countreys by land or water." The day of Calcutta was not yet.

On the 8th of November Streynsham Master left Cassimbazar and on the 29th Hugli. On the 17th January, 1677, he arrived at Madras.

Within a year of this visitation Clavell, the chief of the Bengal factories, died, and on the 7th September, 1677, Matthias Vincent reigned in his stead. The new agent, who has already been noticed as concerned in the affair of Raghu Podar, seems to have never been liked or trusted by his honourable masters. They accused him of homicide, "diabolical arts with Bramminees" exercising charms,

using poison, and worse. For of all crimes under the sun which a man could commit, the two most heinous in the Court's eyes were for a private merchant to infringe their monopoly by coming to India to trade without their licence in their commodities, and for a covenanted servant of theirs to encourage, protect and share in such criminal proceedings. At this time there was in those parts a notable private trader and interloper, Thomas Pitt, destined in after years to be Governor of Fort St. George, discoverer of the finest diamond in the world and progenitor of two of England's greatest statesman ; but as yet only "a young beginner," trading in his own account between Persia and Bengal. Somewhere about the end of 1678 or the beginning of 1679, Pitt married Jane Innes, one of whose aunts was Vincent's wife. The agent at Hugli looked upon himself as the uncle of "the pirate" Pitt, and always wrote to him and treated him as his rephew. He was thus clearly guilty of "the treacherous and unpardonable sin of compliance with interlopers."

We cannot say whether the Court ever knew the whole of this dreadful story. They were, however, always suspecting Vincent of such iniquities, and attempted to exercise a jealous supervision over the establishment in Bengal through the governor of Fort St. George. In 1679, Streynsham Master found it again necessary to visit the Bay. He went in state as Governor of Madras, taking with him Mr. Mohun, one of the Madras Council, a chaplain, the Rev. Richard Elliott, a secretary, two writers, an ensign, and thirteen soldiers, besides orderlies and palanquin boys. They set sail on the 1st of August, reached Balasor on the 17th and Hugli a month later, and did not return to Madras till the 26th January, 1680.

Streynsham Master this time exercised his authority more decisively and vigorously than he had done three years earlier. He did not displace Vincent, but he did what he could to improve the discipline and moral tone of the agencies. He had the wretched huts in use replaced in many cases by brick buildings, he drew up a number of disciplinary regulations, settle the order of precedence and succession among the Company's servants, and suggested that their salaries should be increased. These things did not please the Court. They were ready enough to find fault with their servants, but slow to do anything to improve them ; and while they expected every one to sacrifice his interests to theirs, they

grudged to spend a few pounds in return for the benefit of others.

Under Vincent, in spite of his misdoings, the Bengal trade continued to make rapid progress. In 1675 the factors, besides the £65,000 of stock, were authorised to take up £20,000 at interest, and with this sum to buy principally silks and taffetas of a finer quality and six hundred tons of saltpetre, and after that white sugar, cotton-yarn, turmeric, and bees-wax to fill up any spare tonnage in the ships. Two years later the sales of Dacca and Malda goods in England turned out so profitably, that the Court raised the stock to £100,000. The result was that the investment despatched from the east coast in the next years consisted almost entirely of exports from Bengal, and was on the whole greater than "it had been in any other period of the Company's commerce." Fort St. George was ordered to store up annually five hundred tons of saltpetre ready for despatch. In 1680 as much as £150,000 was appropriated to the factories of the Bay. In this year £20,000 was assigned to Balasor alone, which became a purchasing as well as a shipping centre.

The measures which the Court had taken to improve the navigation of the river had at last succeeded. In 1679 Captain Stafford made the passage up with the *Falcon*, and for the first time Mother Ganges bore on her tide a British ship. A curious recollection of the event still survives in Calcutta. The story is told that, while lying in Garden Reach, at all times a favourite anchorage, Stafford sent over to Govindpur to ask the Setts and Bysacks for a *dobhāsh*,¹ meaning an interpreter or broker. The simple villagers mistook the word *dobhāsh* for *dhoba*, a washerman, and accordingly sent one, named Ratan Sarkar. Luckily the man could understand a little English, and was so intelligent, that his new employers were quite satisfied with him, and thus the quondam washerman was promoted to the dignity of being the English interpreter in Bengal.

¹ In Bengali *dobhāshiyā* means interpreter, and *dhobā* a washerman. *Dobhāsh* is the common word in Madras for broker; in Bengal the word used is *banyan*. Hence the mistake.

CHAPTER VII

CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL IN THE DAYS OF STREYNHAM MASTER

THE visits of Streynsham Master to Bengal afford a convenient opportunity for pausing in our history, and attempting to form some idea of the condition of the English in the Bay before the foundation of Fort William, and at the time when their commercial operations all came to a head at Hugli. Here, or near here, had been for centuries the chief mart of Western Bengal. From the parts all about came silk, sugar, and opium, rice and wheat, oil and butter, coarse hemp and jute ; and in the neighbourhood lived large numbers of weavers of cotton cloth and tasar silk of various sorts. In the town of Hugli itself the Portuguese were numerous, but their trade was inconsiderable. Reduced to a low and mean condition, their chief subsistence was to take service as soldiers under the local government. As a centre for the English trade the place had many defects which could not be remedied by any improvements in the pilotage of ships. It was separated from the Bay by a long and dangerous river, and was therefore hard to defend from the sea : it stood on the west bank, and was therefore easy to attack from the land. And the founders of the Hugli factory had done their best to add to these faults. The large, badly-built Indian town, with its narrow lanes, stretched for about two miles along the river-side. North of it was Bandel, the ill-fated colony of the Portuguese ; south was the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. Near the middle of the town, for the space of about three hundred yards, a small indentation occurred in the bank, forming a diminutive whirlpool, whence the Bengalis called it Gholghât. It was this spot, hemmed in on all sides by closely-packed houses, hard by the residence of the Mogul governor which the English, with short-sighted rashness, chose as the site of their factory.

To the eyes of one accustomed to the house at Surat, with its

ample rooms and fair oratory, its warehouses and cellars, its baths and ponds of clear water, the establishment at Gholghāt seemed a poor place of eastern residence. It afforded no accommodation at all to the married servants of the Company, who had to live outside in the native town, neither had it any proper quay with lodgings for the captains and pilots. In 1676 Streynsham Master gave instructions for rebuilding and enlarging the factory. Besides improving and adding to the main building, he had that part of the precinct which was near the river repaired and enclosed, and "hovels" set up for the use of the English employed on the ships and sloops. It was ordered that those who were living outside in houses of their own should by degrees be brought into the factory precinct, and allowed to build such accommodation as they desired, if married. All persons so living were to be under the inspection of the purser marine and to live under such orders as they might receive from the Council.

As elsewhere, the governing body at Hugli consisted of four members, the agent, who was chief of the factories in the Bay, the accountant, the storekeeper, and the purser marine. Next in order of succession was the secretary, who attended all the meetings of the Council and kept a diary of their consultations, a copy of which was sent home every year, together with a general letter reviewing their proceedings ; the chaplain, when there was one, ranked as third after the accountant ; the surgeon came between the purser marine and the secretary ; the eight in order of precedence was the steward. After these dignities came the general body of merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices. The pay of the agent was originally £100 a year, but it must have been gradually raised, till in 1682 it was £200 a year and £100 gratuity. The chaplain, too, was paid £100, the factors received from £20 to £40, and the writers only £10 a year. These rates of salary were merely nominal : what the real incomes of the various ranks were it is impossible to say, for, besides what they gained by private trade, they drew considerable sums from the public funds as allowances for various purposes. Every servant of the Company had a right to free quarters in the factory, dinner and supper at the public table, lights and attendants. The senior officers, who were married, and desired "to diet apart," were given their diet money, servants' wages, free candles, and other additions. To enforce his authority the Chief had under him a force of thirty or forty native orderlies,

to which was added in 1682 a corporal and twenty European soldiers.

The usual intermediary between the English and the local producers and consumers was the Indian broker, who was sent out into the districts round the factory to buy on the Company's behalf in the cheapest markets. He had to give a security and was rewarded by a brokerage of three per cent on all transactions. Another way was to invite the merchants living in the town by the factory to send samples, and buy through them. But in whichever way the purchases were made, passes were given to the broker or merchant in the English Company's name, so that the goods might be freely conveyed to their destination ; and in the same way, whatever the Company sold, whether for ready money or on account, they gave with it a free pass, so that the buyer might not have to pay duty.

No one could live outside the factory unless he received permission to do so. Within, life was regulated after the fashion of a college. The hours of work were from nine or ten till twelve in the morning, and again in the afternoon till about four if work was pressing. Ordinarily there was not so much to do, but during the shipping time the place was filled with busy hum of men. At midday they all dined together in the common hall, seated strictly in order of seniority. The table was loaded with every sort of meat and dish which the country could afford, prepared by Indian, Portuguese, English, and even French cooks. There was a plentiful supply of plate. A silver ewer and basin were used at the beginning and end of the meal for washing the hands. They drank arrack punch and Shiraz wine. European wine and bottled beer were great luxuries. On Sundays and holidays they had game to eat, and drank the healths of King and Company and of every one at table, down to the youngest writer. The drinking of tea every day at their ordinary social meetings was even then in fashion, and was common all over India. The second meal taken together in the hall was supper. At nine o'clock the factory gates were shut.

Their pleasures and amusement were few indeed. Sometimes they entertained, or were entertained by their Dutch neighbours. Occasionally they might go out into the country around to shoot, or hunt in company with some local grandee, or see such antiquities as Bengal possessed. But as a rule their excursions were

limited to the English garden two miles north of the factory, whither they would go, morning and evening to breathe the fresh air and to walk underneath the shady trees and bathe in the cool ponds of water. Their exercise was shooting at the butts ; their refreshment a bottle of wine and a cold collation of fruits and preserves, which they brought with them. The chief and second had a palanquin each when they went abroad, and the rest of the Council with the chaplain were allowed to have large umbrellas borne above them in solemn state, but this protection against the sun's rays was rigidly denied to the rest of the Company's servants. No one, however, could stir without being attended by a number of orderlies.

On high days the governor went to the garden in a procession which, according to native ideas, must have been most magnificent and imposing. First came two men carrying swallow-tailed silk flags displaying the broad red cross of St. George fastened to a silver partisan ; next the musicians sounding their trumpets, and the chief's Persian horses of state led before him gallantly equipped in rich trappings. The chief and his wife reclined in palanquins borne by four orderlies, with two others to relieve them, and were escorted by the whole body of orderlies in scarlet coats on foot. After the chief came the other members of council in large coaches, ornamented with silver knobs, drawn by oxen. The rest of the factors followed, some on horses and some in carriages. If their wives were with them, the carriages, in accordance with native etiquette, were closed. Otherwise they were open, so that the people might behold and admire their fine clothes.

Of course they imitated the European changes of mode, but at a respectful distance, for in those times "the butterfly passion" took many years to flit across to India. In 1658 a good cloth coat with large silver lace was all the fashion, and was considered to be the badge of an Englishman. Without it, or something like it, a man got no esteem or regard. Perukes, I expect, were not generally adopted in India till long after their introduction into Europe. No doubt great personages, like Streynsham Master or His Reverence the Chaplain, came out wearing the ample wig, but those who consulted comfort cut the hair short and condescended "to enter into the Moor's fashion." What the English ladies wore I cannot imagine, but I dare say they took care to be less old-fashioned than the men. Unfortunately there were few of them, the hard-

ships and dangers of the long voyage being very great, and a large number of the Company's servants had to find their wives in the country.

I find it difficult to give a fair and impartial account of the English in Bengal at this period. The pictures we have of them, like all pictures of societies, dwell upon the darker aspects of the scene. In those days of greatest isolation the tendency to gravitate towards the local ways of living and acting was very strong. They took their meals when away from the factory lying on carpets ; they wore the Indian dress ; they married Indian wives.

But besides these practices which if we consider the circumstances, are at least excusable, the English in Bengal developed other characteristics, which gained for their establishments the reputation of being the laxest and worst disciplined in India, just as the Surat factory was reputed the godliest. It was the general belief that their untimely deaths were due rather to gross intemperance than to the climate. "It cannot be denied", writes Bernier in 1666, "that the air is not so healthy there, especially near the sea, and when the English and Hollanders first came to settle there many of them died. I have seen in Balasor two very fine English ships, which, having been obliged by reason of the war with the Hollanders to stay there about a year, were not able to go to sea, because most of their men were lost. Yet since the time that they have taken care and given orders, as well as the Hollanders, that their seamen shall not drink so much bowl-punch, nor go so often ashore to visit the sellers of arrack and tobacco and the Indian women, and since they have found that a little Bordeaux, Canary, or Shiraz wine is a marvellous antidote against the ill air, there is not so much sickness among them. Bowl-punch is a certain beverage made of arrack, that is of strong water, black sugar with the juice of lemon, water, and a little muscadine squeezed upon it. It is pleasant enough to the taste, but the plague of the body and health." In spite of all this the habit of drinking did not die out so soon. When Master first came to Bengal he found a punch-house within the Balasor factory ; and in 1678 the youthful Pitt writes : "There is a general complaint that we drink a damnable deal of wine this year."

The English in Bengal were equally notorious for their quarrels, the natural outcome of the prevailing eagerness to make money and the spirit of espionage fostered by their masters, who were

pleased that their servants should tell of one another. The old viceroy Shāyista Khān called them "a company of base, quarrelling people and foul dealers" ; and our great modern authority will not gainsay that the nabob had good grounds for his assertion. The impression of the moral and social tone of the Company's servants in the Bay which has been left on the mind of Sir Henry Yule by his exhaustive study of the records of the time is "certainly a dismal one" and he has found it "hard to augur from their prevalent character at this time the ultimate emergence among the servants of the Company of such men as Elphinstone, Munro, and Malcolm, Henry and John Lawrence, Martyn and Heber," or a host of other noble souls who lived their days without regret in India, studious alike of its good and of the good of their own nation.

But men do not gather grapes of thorns, of figs of thistles. Surely, knowing the brighter future, we may make reply :

"You make our faults too gross.

At times the small black fly upon the pane

May seem the black ox of the distant plain."

We must not allow the noisy riot of a few callow boys new to the country, or the excesses of a ship's crew set loose after a tedious voyage, to silence the quiet but eloquent testimony of hundreds of lives spent in serving the Company faithfully, soberly, hopefully, honestly. There is another account to be given of early English life in Bengal. The native inhabitants, shrewd judges of character, saw matters in a very different light from the nabob. They saw, on the one hand, the viceroy of Dacca and his officers throughout the country oppressing the people, demanding bribes and presents upon a thousand petty pretexts, monopolising every useful article, down to the very grass for their cattle and wood for their fire, harassing trade, obliging the Hindu merchants to buy good at unfairly enhanced prices, urging them to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest, and requiring them to repay principal and interest before they become due. They saw, on the other hand, the English careful to discharge all their obligations, anxious to defend their servants, and to do justice. "Never," says the Court in 1693, "never any native of India lost a penny debt by this Company from the time of the first institution thereof in Queen Elizabeth's days till this time" ; and the faithfulness of the Hindu

merchants to the Company's interest was a commonplace with the Court. Where is the evidence to justify the belief in the general corruption of this period ? It is easy to turn history into melodrama, and people the stage with villains, in the midst of which some favourite hero shall move as an angel from another world. But the fact is that the English at Hugli were for the most part not so very different from their successors of to-day, sincere, manly, and earnest, happy in their work, proud of their position, anxious for the good name of their religion and their country, anxious to leave the place of their sojourn a little better than they found it.

To minister to such a flock came in 1678 the Rev. John Evans, the first Bengal Chaplain. Born of the stock of an ancient family in North Wales, educated at Jesus College, Oxford, he was, while still the curate of Thistleworth, on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Ashe, elected by the Court to be their chaplain in the Bay. Though married, he was still a young man in his twenty-eighth year, with handsome features and a fine stature. He was eager to go forth to his work. Twenty pounds were given him for his outfit, and in December, 1677, only a month after his formal appointment, he embarked with his wife at Gravesend. On the 23rd of June following he arrived at Hugli, and for a year or more was busied in visiting the out-agencies and providing a chapel for the factory. His youth, his impetuous zeal, and his liberal opinions prejudiced him in the eyes of some of the older men. It is clear that he sympathised with the interlopers, and that, in common with the other members of the factory, but with more than ordinary aptitude and vigour, he accommodated himself to the necessity of trading to eke out his salary. For all this he incurred the censure of the Court. Still we cannot doubt the good influence of one who "ever had greatly at heart to fulfil the ministry which he had received in the Lord." His character, in fact, presented the rare combination of gentleness and strength. Even the "Gentiles," it is said, revered him. "He drew men by his sweet words, moulded them by his grave looks, led them by the example of his strict life."

In 1679, when the governor of Madras paid second visit to Bengal, accompanied by his chaplain, Elliott, the three men took counsel together as to the best means of propagating in Bengal the godly discipline of Surat. On the 12th December a number of regulations were issued "for advancing the glory of God, up-

holding the honour of the English nation, and preventing of disorders," and were ordered to be observed by all persons employed in his Company's service in the factories of the Bay. The voice of Streyنشam Master, the great disciplinarian, may be heard throughout plainly enough. He begins with admonition, he ends with threats of condign punishment. The preamble declares that persons of all professions ought to hallow God's name, attend His services, and seek His blessing by daily prayers, and warns every servant of the Company "to abandon lying, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's Day, and all other sinful practices, and not to be out of the house or from their lodgings late at nights, or absent from, or neglect, morning or evening prayer, or do any other things to the dishonour of Almighty God, the corruption of good manners, or against the peace of the Government," Should any still refuse to hear the voice of the preacher, he will have recourse to the judicial powers committed to him by the Royal Charter. If any one is found absent from the house after nine o'clock at night he will have to pay ten rupees for the use of the poor. Any one guilty of profane swearing must pay twelve pence for each oath. Drunkenness is to be punished by a fine of five shillings for each offence. One shilling is the fine for neglecting to attend public prayers morning and evening on the Lord's day. If these sums are not paid on demand, they will be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods ; failing this the offender will have to sit in the stocks. Whoever is guilty of lying will pay twelve pence to the poor for every such offence. Any Protestant staying in the Company's house and absenting himself without lawful excuse from the public prayers morning and evening, will also pay twelve pence to the poor for every such default, or be confined a whole week within the house. "If any, by those penalties, will not be reclaimed from their vices, or any shall be found guilty of adultery, fornication, uncleanness, or any such crimes, or shall disturb the peace of the factory by quarrelling or fighting, and will not be reclaimed, then they shall be sent to Fort St. George, there to receive condign punishment." And "these orders shall be read publicly to the factory twice in a year, that is, upon the Sunday next after Christmas Day and upon the Sunday next after Midsummer Day, in the forenoon, after Divine service, that none may pretend ignorance thereof." Lastly, "one of the factors or writers shall be monthly

appointed by the respective chiefs to note and collect the forfeiture, and to pay the same to the chief who is every year to send it to the chief at Hugli, and they are to remit the whole collections every year to the agent at the Fort, there to be paid to the overseers of the poor.

And thus Christian observance and Christian order were introduced amongst these hitherto neglected members of the Church. Morning and evening the English at Hugli joined again in that princely liturgy, whose very words have a strange charm, like the melody of far-off-bells, to draw the soul Godwards. Day by day was offered up the appointed prayer for the Divine blessing upon the Company and their servants. "O Almighty and most merciful God, who art the sovereign protector of all that trust in Thee, and the author of all spiritual and temporal blessings, we, Thy unworthy creatures, do humbly implore Thy goodness for a plentiful effusion of Thy grace upon our employers, Thy servants, the Right Honourable East India Company of England. Prosper them in all their undertakings, and make them famous and successful in all their governments, colonies, and commerce, both by sea and land, so that they may prove a public blessing, by the increase of honour, wealth, and power to our native country, as well as to themselves. Continue Thy favour towards them, and inspire their Generals, Presidents, Agents, and Councils, in these remote parts of the world, and all others that are entrusted with any authority under them, with piety towards Thee our God, and with wisdom, fidelity, and circumspection in their several stations, that we may all discharge our respective duties faithfully and live virtuously, in due obedience to our superiors, and in love, peace, and charity towards one another. That these Indian nations, among whom we dwell, seeing our sober and righteous conversation, may be induced to have a just esteem for our most holy profession of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be honour, praise, and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

CHAPTER VIII

HOW THE ENGLISH RANSACKED HUGLI AND CAME TO SUTANUTI

WE have now reached the third stage of the English advance into Bengal. It is the necessary outcome of the first two. The first period put forward the policy of entirely peaceful industry. The second exhibited the opposition between this policy and the policy of force and retaliation. The third period gives us their reconciliation.

Already a policy has been found in which both militarism and industrialism are combined. The Court in its last despatches has decided to establish a fortified station in Bengal to maintain its trade there. The question at issue is the site of this station. Industrialism would have been content to remain at Hugli, militarism demanded the violent seizure of Chittagong, the former seat of piratical hordes, and now an important Mogul city. But the English have to find a place where both principles may be satisfied.

Convinced that a fortified settlement is their only adequate safeguard, they have to fix on the best site for it. This they do, not by any immediate intuition, nor by mere haphazard as fancy strikes them, but, after many experiments, many attempts to settle at different points on the river Hugli. The man who conducted them through their strange experiences safe to the goal, and to whom consequently belongs the glory of having laid the foundation-stone of British India, was Job Charnock, one of whom historians and biographers have been slow to take notice, but who, as the father of Calcutta, certainly deserves better treatment.

Job Charnock came out to India in 1655 or 1656.¹ He first

¹ Nothing has yet been discovered regarding the birth, parentage, and early life of Job Charnock. Of his Indian wife we have various gossiping stories. He is said to have rescued her from the funeral pyre, and married her before, or about, 1678. The Charnock mausoleum is still standing in St. John's Churchyard. It was built about 1697, by Charles Eyre. (See

appears in the records as Junior Member of the Council of Cassimbazar. We read in a nominal roll of that factory entered in the Court Books under the date 12th—13th January, 1658 : *Job Charnock, Fourth, Salary 20£*. From Cassimbazar he was transferred to Patna. His original engagement was for five years, and a memorial of his, dated the 23rd February, 1664, shows that he had intended to return to England at the expiration of the covenanted period, but was willing to remain if appointed chief of the Patna factory. The appointment was given him, and in it he continued till 1680.

It was at Patna that Charnock learned to understand the Indian ways of thought and action, and to estimate the forces with which he had subsequently to contend. He married an Indian wife, adopted many of the local manners and customs ; he is even said to have adopted some of the local superstitions and to have been in the habit of worshipping the Five Saints with the sacrifice of a cock after the manner of the people of Bihar.¹ He had ample experience of the exactions of the local officials when left to do as

Hyde in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March 1893.) In it Charnock and his wife are said to have been buried, but the inscription on the original tombstone only mentions Job. Lower down on the same stone is an inscription to the memory of Mary, eldest daughter of Charnock, and wife of Eyre, who died in 1697. On another stone in the mausoleum is an inscription to Job's youngest daughter, Catherine, wife of Jonathan White, who died in 1701, and, as appears from White's will, was buried in the mausoleum. A third daughter of Job, Elizabeth, survived in Calcutta till 1753. She married William Bowridge, who died in 1724. (See Hyde on the *Bengal Chaplaincy* in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* for 1892).

¹ *Hedges' Diary*, II, 90, 91.—The story is told by Alexander Hamilton, who says that Charnock, instead of converting his wife to Christianity, was converted by her to Paganism. "The only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him was burying her decently ; and he built a tomb over her, where all his life after her death he kept the anniversary day by sacrificing a cock on her tomb, after the Pagan manner." This story, told by an enemy of the Company and its servants, should be taken with many grains of salt. It is rejected altogether by Sir H. Yule, because the sacrifice of a cock is not Hindu. But Dr. Wise (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXIII, Part III, No. 1, 1894) tells us that the sacrifice of a cock is part of the worship of the *Pāñch Pir*, or Five Saints, in Bihar, a cult, which though primarily confined to low-class Muhammadans, is also there adopted by Hindus. Who the *Pāñch Pir* are no one exactly knows, but they are powerful protectors of their devotees. Dr. Wise tells us a very interesting story of an English-

they liked, uncontrolled by their superiors. In 1672, owing to the supineness of a bookish Nabob, one Ibrāhīm Khān, the salt-petre trade at Patna was almost ruined. He knew the futility of negotiations with the Court of Delhi, for he had sent political agents there to little purpose. As early as 1678 he had discovered that an Imperial grant would be after all no protection to the English trade. Had Shāh Jahān been king he said, an agreement with him would have had great force. But it was otherwise with Aurangzeb. His orders were little accounted of by the local governors. Thus when others were still impressed with the seeming greatness of the Mogul Empire, Charnock had already discerned its weakness.

The ability of the man could not be overlooked by his employers, and they seem to have greatly relied on him in their dealings with the Indian Government. In 1671 an order of the Court increases his salary to £40 a year. In 1675 they give him an additional £20 a year as a gratuity. In 1680, after giving repeated orders on the subject, the Court established Charnock as chief of the Cassimbazar factory and second in the Council of the Bay, with the right of succeeding Vincent as chief of the Bay. Nevertheless Charnock did not succeed Vincent, but was twice superseded, first by Hedges and then by Beard.

While at Cassimbazar Charnock learnt a second lesson. He had seen that treaties could not protect the English trade ; he now saw that a fortified station would. Charnock, Hedges, and Gifford, in spite of many differences, agreed in this. The idea was not the discovery of an individual mind ; it was the common thought of the English in Bengal.

As in Patna, so in Cassimbazar, Charnock at length came into conflict with the local government. Even before Hedges had left Bengal, it appears from his diary that the native merchants and dealers employed in the business of the Cassimbazar factory had made a large claim against Charnock and his colleagues there, which the judge of the place and decided against the English to the

man in East Bengal who was known as the *Pānch Pīriyā Sāhib*, "it being said that his parents losing one child after another were advised by a favourite servant to consecrate the next to the *Pānch Pīr*, and by so doing preserve him. They followed this advice, and were gratified to find their son grow up strong and healthy. Hindus always quote this as an instance of the benefits accruing to those who believe in the *Pānch Pīr*."

amount of Rs. 43,000. The judgement was supported by Shāyista Khān, who, in default of payment, formally summoned Charnock to appear before him at Dacca. Charnock refused, and many attempts were made, both at Cassimbazar and at Dacca, to get the decision modified. It was little short of open war between Charnock and the nabob. All communications with the Cassimbazar factory were cut off, and at the time of Agent Beard's death the place was watched by troops to prevent Charnock's escape. In April, 1686, however, he managed to give his enemies the slip, and reached Hugli, where he at once assumed the chief direction of the English affairs. Here he received the news that the Court had resolved on war, and had despatched a great expeditionary force against the Mogul.

The squadron designed for Bengal had consisted of six ships, carrying as many companies of soldiers : but only half that number reached their destination. They were the *Beaufort*, with seventy guns and three hundred seamen, commanded by John Nicholson ; the *Nathaniel*, with fifty guns and a hundred and fifty seamen, commanded by John Mason ; and the *Rochester*, with sixty-five guns. To each of these men-of-war was attached a frigate or light-vessel built for speed, armed with twelve guns and manned with twenty seamen. Besides these the Company already had in the Ganges a number of sloops and river-craft, and orders had been given that all the vessels available at Madras should be sent on to Bengal. Nicholson was appointed Admiral, and Mason Vice-Admiral.

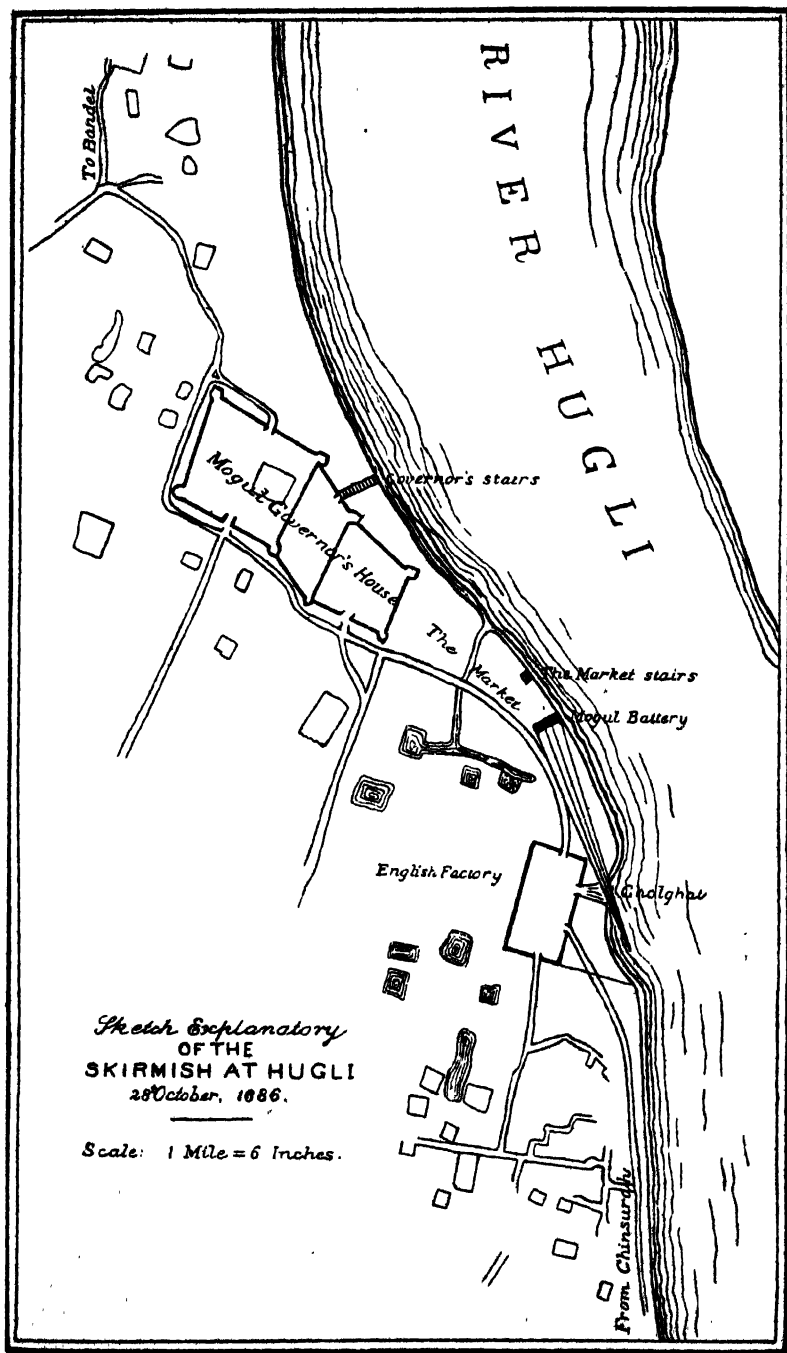
The land forces placed at the disposal of Charnock were, like the fleet, very miscellaneous. The men ordinarily employed at this time to defend the company's factories and trade were Rajputs or other natives of India, who retained their own dress and customs, organisation, and officers. But the English could not rely on them in an attack upon the Mogul. Other soldiers were Native Christians or Portuguese, whom the English thought "very sorry fellows." They dressed like Europeans, and had learnt the manual exercise and the parade drill of European troops. Lastly, there were the English soldiers sent out by the Court. Usually they were very few in number, and were consequently united with the Portuguese in the same company. But on the present occasion their numbers had been greatly increased, and, although one of the ships sent was lost and two others were not able to make their

passage, at least three, if not four, companies of English soldiers must have in the end reached Bengal.¹ According to custom, the Court sent out with the troops Lieutenants, Ensigns, and inferior officers. But the commanding officers were to be the Company's servants in Bengal, Agent Charnock becoming Colonel, the second in the Bay Lieutenant-Colonel, the third Major, and so on. In fact the Court appear to have anticipated the views of Lord Wolseley, and to have fully understood "that no one can conduct a campaign or administer an army successfully who is not a thoroughly good man of business."

The English troops reached Bengal by driblets towards the end of the year 1686. The *Rochester* and her frigate, having been despatched earlier than the rest, were also the first to arrive. They brought a company of a hundred and eight men, who were sent up the river in small vessels. The *Beaufort* and her frigate arrived later with some two hundred men. The total number of the Company's soldiers at Hugli—Indian, Portuguese, and English all told—amounted to less than four hundred men. They were quartered, some in the town, and some at Chandannagar, three miles lower down the river.

These preparations, though not very extensive, were enough to alarm the country. By order of the Nabob, three thousand foot and three hundred horse were concentrated at Hugli to guard the town. Under their protection, the governor, 'Abdu-l Gani, became more and more threatening. He raised a battery of eleven

¹ *Hedges' Diary*, II, 54, 58.—These English and Portuguese companies were presumably formed after the model of the troops of James II. Each company numbered from one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty men. The uniform of the soldiers was red, trimmed with blue; their arms wore the sword and the firelock gun. Over the left shoulder they wore the bandoleer, a leather belt on which were suspended the bullet bag, the primer and a number of little copper cylinders, each containing one charge. Some of the men, or perhaps all, may have been furnished with the great knife or bayonet, which was then coming into use, and which was attached to a wooden haft and screwed into the muzzle of your gun, so that you could never fire when your bayonet was fixed. The sergeants carried a halberd; the officers a half-pike seven feet long. The men were ranged in four ranks, with an interval of twelve feet between them in open order. The officers took post according to seniority in front of the line; but before the charge was given or received they retired among the men of the first rank, and the interval between the ranks was reduced to three feet.



guns to command the English shipping in the "hole" or harbour. He refused all necessities for trade. He even forbade the English to buy victuals in the market, and prohibited the soldiers from resorting thither. This last order brought on the skirmish at Hugli.

On the 28th October three English soldiers, going in the morning as usual into the market, were not only refused victuals, but were violently set upon by the Governor's guards, beaten, cut, bound, and carried away prisoners to 'Abdu-l Gani. The news flew apace through the town, and it was reported that two Englishmen were lying desperately wounded in the highway. On this Captain Leslie was ordered to sally out from the factory with a company of soldiers and bring back the bodies, dead or alive. The attempted rescue was actively opposed. The enemy fell at once upon the advancing company with horse and foot, and, when forced to retire with the loss of seven men, killed or wounded, invoked the aid of the fiery element itself to destroy the foreigners, or at least bar their further progress. In a short time all the thatched hovels which surrounded the English quarters were in a blaze, and the factory was encircled with a broad band of flame. At the same time the newly raised battery opened fire on the ships in the "hole."

Matters now began to look serious. The English troops quartered at Chandannagar were immediately ordered up to Hugli. Meanwhile a detachment under Captain Richardson was sent out to attack the battery, but unable to face the hot fire of the enemy, they were compelled to fall back with loss. Luckily by this time the reinforcements from Chandannagar had arrived, and Captain Arbuthnot, advancing at the head of a fresh body of troops, assaulted the battery, took it, and spiked and dismounted all the guns. So fierce was his onset, that he carried the battle on beyond the governor's house, burning and driving all before him. The governor himself, it is said, fled in disguise by water, leaving Hugli panic-stricken. To complete the enemy's discomfiture, the river-craft were ordered to open fire on the town, but the wind and tide being contrary, caused delay. Towards evening, however the ketches and sloops came abreast of the place, took a ship of the Mogul's, "and kept firing and battering most part of that night and next day, and making frequent sallies on shore, burning and plundering all they met with."

The skirmish was over, and the advantage remained decidedly with the English. Captain Arbuthnot was the hero of the fight, and it is pleasant to find that the gallant soldier received from the Court a gold chain and medal in recognition of his services. The English loss was trifling. One man had been killed and a good many wounded in the first attempt on the battery, and one of the men first attacked in the market died within three days. The old factory, with some of the Company's saltpetre and a good deal of private property, had been consumed in the conflagration. The enemy on their side lost about sixty men killed, including three men of note, and a great number wounded. Four or five hundred of their houses had been burnt down, together with a great number of barges, lighters, and boats.

Under these circumstances the governor of Hugli, through the intervention of the Dutch, entered into negotiations for peace. He was alarmed at the vigour and success of the English and wished to gain time. He therefore demanded a cessation of arms. To Charnock the proposal was most opportune. For the past six months he had been preparing to quit Hugli, but owing to the difficulty of bringing away the Company's saltpetre, besides all the Company's servants and large stores of goods of all kinds, had not yet been able to carry out his intentions. He had been more than once disappointed in his efforts to secure ships for the cargo. Some of the local vessels were lost ; other proved to be worm-eaten. Of the ships sent out from England, the *Beaufort* was the next to arrive after the *Rochester* ; but she was so leaky, that Admiral Nicholson had to take her into the Hijili river to be careened. Of the rest of the squadron Charnock had received no tidings. The English therefore agreed to the cessation of arms proposed by the governor, on condition that he would allow them to supply themselves with victuals, servants, and labourers as usual and for the present, while the saltpetre was being packed, they strove to be peaceable. This did not, however, prevent them from seizing a ship of the nabob's at the mouth of the river and sending Nicholson down with orders to seize three in the Balasor road. Nor did it prevent them from entering into negotiations with a local magnate, the owner of the country adjoining the island of Hijili at the mouth of the Hugli, who was in open war with the Muhammadan government, and who offered to provide them with men, provisions, and all things necessary to establish a fort and

factories in his territory. Hither they intended to retire as soon as the saltpetre was shipped, after first making an armed demonstration and seizing some of the chief citizens of Hugli for the ransom of the Company's servants left in the outstations in Bengal.

So the English proposed, but the nabob had very different purposes. Whatever Charnock might think, Shāyista Khān was not a man to be trifled with. As soon as he heard of the skirmish at Hugli, he sent to Patna to seize on all the Company's property there and imprison their servants. At Dacca he would have also imprisoned Watts, but that Baramāl, a friendly Hindu, interposed. Large detachments of horse were ordered to Hugli. The nabob was resolved to crush the English and force them to submit to his wishes. Meanwhile the Dutch, who had been at variance with the local government, were reinstated at Barānagar.

For nearly two months after the "eruption" did the English remain at Hugli, packing saltpetre, negotiating with the governor, and hoping to procure an Imperial rescript or at least an order from the nabob redressing their grievances. It was not till the 20th December that they withdrew from the place, bringing off all the Company's concerns and their own. Their coming off was peaceable, and in their opinion "no less honourable, having continued the cessation of arms on both sides hitherto, for conveniency of getting of the Right Hon'ble Company's estate, and not without hope of some accommodation of the differences."

And, now, what was Charnock going to do after leaving Hugli ? Would he follow the plan of action laid down for him by the Court ? Would he assemble his armament at Balasor, arrest all the Mogul's vessels, and then proceed to Chittagong to take it by storm ? Or would he carry out his professed intentions ? Would he stop at Hijili and join forces with the magnate there ? He did neither. On his way down the river he halted at Sutānuṭī, a village which has since grown into the northern quarter of Calcutta, and there spent the Christmas of 1686. He still hoped for peace ; he still negotiated. By the end of December, Watts, accompanied by Baramāl arrived at Sutānuṭī from Dacca. Baramāl had powers to accommodate, and through him Charnock sent up his demands to Shāyista Khān. He asked that the English should have a sufficient quantity of ground to build a fort on, that they might there have a mint, and be henceforth allowed to trade custom free. He asked that the nabob should rebuild the factory at Malda, which had been dest-

royed, restore all the money which he had taken, and help the English to recover their debts. The nabob in reply appointed as his commissioners Baramāl and two others, and allowed them to treat for peace. In three days they agreed upon twelve articles formulating the English demands. On the 11th January the articles were signed and sealed, and transmitted to the nabob for confirmation. Charnock also required that they should be ratified by Aurangzeb himself, and on the 28th January he was actually told that the nabob approved of the articles and had sent them to the King for confirmation.

It is difficult to know whether the old agent had so forgotten his political experiences at Patna as to seriously believe in all these fair speeches. If he did, he greatly overestimated the strength of his position. Shāyista Khān was not in the least frightened by the skirmish at Hugli. He merely wished to gain time. After waiting more than three weeks, he returned the articles unsigned, threatened the English for daring to make such demands and the commissioners for listening to them, and issued orders to the subordinate governors throughout the province to levy all the forces they could get together and drive the English out of Bengal never to return.

On all sides the country was in arms. The time for negotiation was past. Nothing remained but to fight. On the 9th February the English burnt down the King's salt-houses. On the 11th they assaulted and took the forts at Thānā, or Garden Reach, "with the loss only of one man's leg and some wounded." The forts were considered too far up the country to be tenable; and so, while Charnock was demolishing them, Captain Nicholson was sent down the river with half the fleet and forces to take possession of the island of Hijili.

When historical personages or historical events strike the popular imagination, it is never content to hand down to posterity the bare truth about them. It magnifies every detail and adds wonders of its own creation. The person becomes a national calamity, supernatural powers being introduced to aid in its progress. That Priam, Agamemnon, and the swift-footed Achilles were real men, who lived in some dim prehistoric age, is highly probable. That in this age a war took place in Asia Minor,

and that one of the incidents of the war was the siege of some strong town in the Troad, built either at Hissarlik or on the Bali Dagħ above Bunārbashi, is certain. But the siege became legend, and the legend poetry, and now all the labours of an Euhemerus and a Thucydides, of a Curtius and a Schliemann, will never recover the substratum of truth underlying the glorious fiction of Homer. For us Achilles will ever be the son of a divine mother, the hero mighty for good or evil ; Agamemnon will ever be the stately ruler, swaying all the hosts of the Greeks with a God-given sceptre ; Priam the old kind father, whose length of days and abundance of children were turned from blessings into curses. For us there can be no other Troy than the familiar windy city, with broad streets and beotling acropolis, whose walls were built by Apollo and Poseidon. So, too, the personality and career of the great Emperor Charles have passed into the regions of legend and romance, although fortunately in his case written records remain which leave no doubt as to the actual history. We know from Eginhard that the Emperor conducted a victorious expedition into Spain. We know that on his return the difficulties which he experienced in recrossing the Pyrenees led him to unduly prolong his line of march. We know that on the 15th August 778, when the rearguard was entangled in the valley of Roncesvalles, too far from the van to be succoured in time, the mountaineers rushing from their ambushes fell upon the Franks, who were all put to the sword, including Hruodlandus, the Prefect of the Britannic march. Such are the bare facts. But the death of Roland, it would seem, moved the chords of popular sympathy, and it straightway became transmuted by the alchemy of fancy into the most celebrated romance of the middle ages. The love of Roland for Oliver's sister, the fighting with the giant Ferracute, the treachery of Ganelon, the wonderful sword and horn, the last prayer of the hero, his death, and Charles's vengeance, these are added touches which have given such life and power to the original story, that, like the mystic sounds, which reached Charlemagne across the Pyrenees at a distance of thirty leagues from the valley of Roncesvalles, the song of Roland has gone forth into all lands, and "makes itself heard across nine centuries in the refined ears of our own times."

The career of Job Charnock and the ransack of Hugli seem to have exercised a similar fascination over the minds of the Indian

people to whom the story first came, for we find that they very soon began to embellish the facts with fabulous additions. According to the legend, when Charnock was chief of the English, a flood arose and destroyed their house at Hugli. Then they cut down trees and began to build them a new house two and three storeys high. But the Moslem nobles and great ones came to the governor and said : "These strange dogs of Englishmen are making their dwelling so high that they may spy into our homes and look upon our wives and daughters. Such a dishonour must not be permitted." So the governor sent and forbad all the masons and carpenters to carry on the work. Wherefore Charnock made ready to fight. For the Moguls came together in great multitudes, and Charnock had only a few men and one ship. But with a burning-glass he caught the sun's fires and burnt the river face of the city as far as Chandannagar. Then the governor took two great iron chains. Each chain had many links, and each link weighed twenty-two pounds. These chains he stretched across the Hugli. But Charnock cut the chain with his sword and went on his way to the Deccan. Having thus defeated the malice of his foes he went to the court of King Aurangzeb, who was at this time fighting against the Kings of the Deccan. Charnock was brought into the presence of the King, and stood before him with folded arms. Then one came and whispered to the King that the provisions of the Mogul army were all gone ; and the King's countenance fell and his thoughts troubled him. Now Charnock perceived that the King was troubled, and knew that it was because he had no food left. He therefore ordered his servants to carry in secret all sorts of meat and drink to the the King's army. This act of generosity won the heart of the King, and he said to Charnock : "Ask what you will, and I will give it you." But Charnock said : "First bid me defeat your enemies, and then I will take somewhat of you." So Charnock, having obtained orders from the King, marched against the enemy and put his armies to flight. Then he came again and stood before the King and asked that the English might be given the village of Calcutta. And the King consented, and departed to Delhi, but Charnock returned and founded Fort William in Bengal.

Such are some of the traditions which at a very early date gathered round the events of 1686 and the following years. In

them the reader may easily discern hints and adumbrations of the Chanakiad which should have been. Had there been no English conquest of Bengal, had there been no consequent introduction of western culture and western refinements of criticism, the Company's old agent would by this time have been transformed into a warrior-hero as bold as the wielder of Durandal, as terrible in wrath as the avenger of Patroclus. The ransack of Hugli might have become an epic poem which critics and *savants* might have analysed and quarrelled over, some maintaining that it arose from the corruption of a Sanskrit root, and others that it was a solar myth symbolising the struggle between light and darkness which takes place at the dawning of the day.

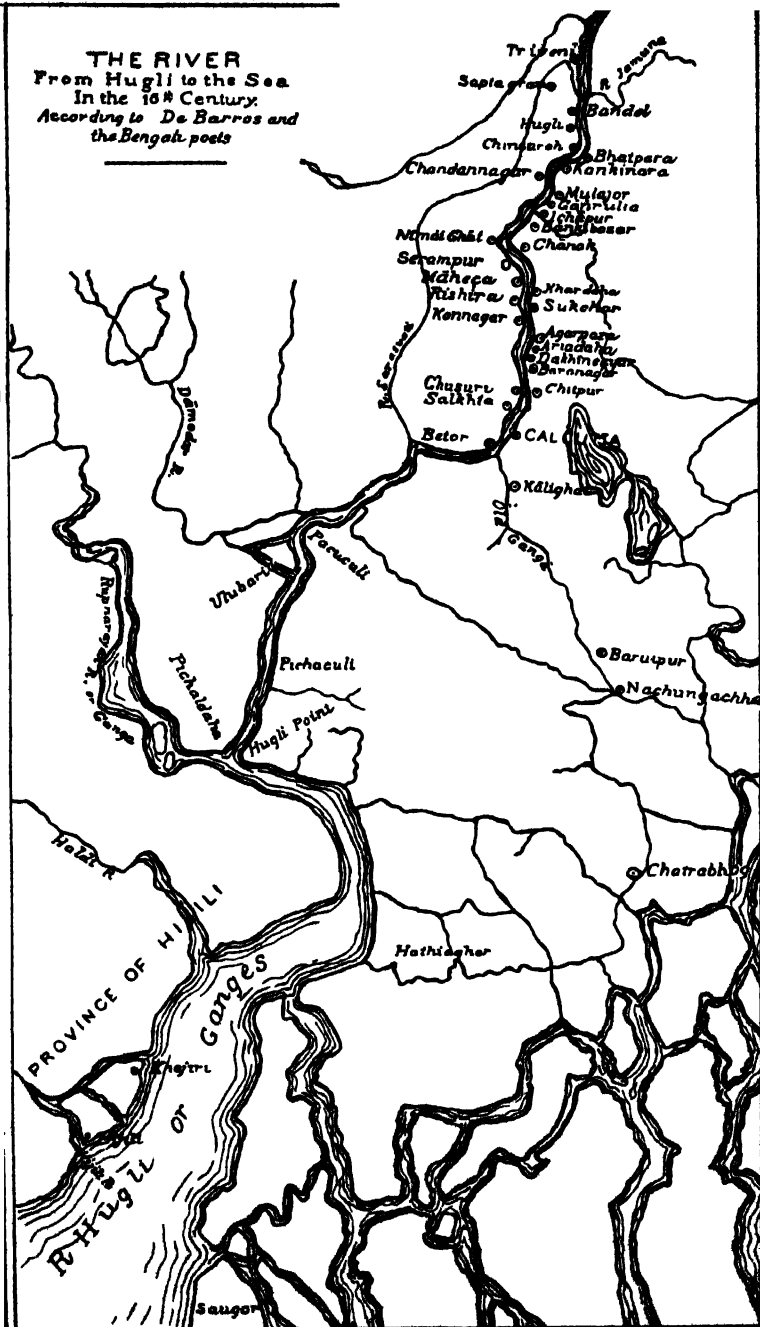
CHAPTER IX

HOW THE ENGLISH ATTEMPTED TO OCCUPY FIRST HIJILI AND THEN ULUBARIA BUT AGAIN RETURNED TO SUTANUTI

AN Indian river in its old age is a thing full of caprice. It approaches its end rich with spoils gathered during a long and prosperous life, but uncertain where to leave them. Torn in a hundred different directions, it reaches the sea through an ever-varying number of ever-varying distributaries. Now the stream eats away its right bank, now its left. It oscillates in wide sweeping circles, depositing silt on either side, and again breaks through the curves thus formed and takes a more direct course. Sometimes it spills over its banks and completely abandons its old channel. From these vagaries of an Indian river the Ganges is by no means exempt, and its great western distributary shares in them, though in a lesser degree. A tidal river, the Hugli has not during the last three or four hundred years much changed its course, but the alterations which have taken place in its confluent and in its banks have been so many and so considerable, that an enquirer into its topography in the days of Job Charnock will often find the greatest difficulty in tracing out many localities which were at that time well known and conspicuous. In such a case our only resource is to begin with the present which we know, and thence work back to the unknown past.

The course of the Hugli below Calcutta may be divided into four sections. From Fort William to Ulubaria the stream runs for some twenty miles in a south-westerly direction. For the next twenty miles it continues almost due south. Then at Hugli Point begins a wide semi-circular sweep of about twenty-five miles, in which is situated Diamond Harbour. In the last section the river enters the sea, flowing south with the island of Sāgar as its left bank. On its right side it receives during the whole of this course four confluent, the Dāmodar, the Rupnārāyan, the Haldi, and the Rasulpur river. Of these, the largest and the

THE RIVER
From Hugli to the Sea
In the 18th Century.
According to De Barros and
the Bengali poets



most important is the Rupnārāyaṇ, which joins the main stream at Hugli Point. Here occurs the most critical turn in the whole navigation of the river, for here lies the James and Mary sand, which for the past two centuries has been the dread of all ships making their way to Calcutta. In the seventeenth century the Hugli was considered to begin at this point, and although we do not hear of the fatal sand, yet we find that the place was noted for its dangerous eddies and currents. Lower down at the junction of the Rasulpur river with the Hugli, just opposite the centre of the modern island of Sāgar, is situated the old fort of Hijili in the district of Qasbā Hijili ; seven and-a-half miles above this on the great river is the town of Khejiri. The Cowcolly light-house stands about half-way between the two places, and to the north of Khejiri a slender water-course, known as the Kunjapur Khāl, runs back from the Hugli to the Rasulpur river, thus forming the base of an inverted triangle of which the apex is Hijili.

At the present day Qasbā Hijili is rather an out-of-the-way corner of the world. To get to it by land you must leave the grand trunk road, which runs through Midnapore to Orissa, and strike off to the south-west by the way from Beldā to Kān̄thi, a distance of some thirty-five miles. From Kān̄thi the more direct route runs over the sand-hills to Dariāpur at the mouth of the Rasulpur river, whence you may cross straight over to the old town of Hijili. But the post road passes in a north-easterly direction of Rasulpur, where the river is crossed by a ferry, and from thence continues in a direction almost parallel to the Kunjapur Khāl, but a mile and-a-half to the south of it, till it reaches Khejiri, while a more circuitous path diverging to the right from the ferry, leads to the same place past the old town of Hijili, Pāchuriya, and the Cowcolly light-house.

Nij Qasbā Hijili, all that now remains of the old town, is a somewhat large collection of hovels standing at the junction of the two rivers. Five hundred yards to the west on the Rasulpur river is a landing place with a bazar. Between this and the village rises the white tower of a mosque, conspicuous for miles away ; and by the mosque stands the shrine of Masnad 'Alī Shāh, the first Musulman ruler of the place, whose memory is still held in veneration by Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Masnad 'Alī held rule in the first half of the sixteenth century ; but when his

warrior brother, the Mighty Wrestler, was dead, and he heard that the Mogul was sending an army to attack him, the holy man buried himself alive, and left his son Bahādur Khān to make peace with the emperor, and hold his land as a feudatory of the Court of Delhi.

Further down to the south, almost completely covered by the water of the river, lie the ruined walls of the old fort. Behind for some distance up in the apex of the triangle of land included between the Hugli and the Rasulpur river rise a number of small sand-hills thickly covered with prickly bamboos and the ever-green Indian oak, from which Hijili is said to take its name. All round beside the rivers and away towards Khejiri and the Kunjapur Khāl the land lies low, a great dyke encircling it like the wall of a Roman camp, preventing the influx of the adjacent salt waters and allowing it to be cultivated. Two hundred years ago the land unprotected by any embankment was for the most part swamp. So fatally malarious was the spot that the difference between going to Hijili and returning thence passed into a Hindustani proverb.

It was, however, a place of the greatest importance, an accessible frontier, a land rich in grain, the seat of the salt manufacture, the private domain of the Mogul who had the monopoly of the precious mineral extracted from these low-lying swamps by the easy process of filtration and by boiling the brine. The Kunjapur Khāl was then a deep, broad stream, which completely cut off both Khejiri and Hijili from the main land, and these again were divided into two distinct islands by the river Cowcolly, of which the channel has now completely vanished. Both places were considered "exceeding pleasant and fruitful, having great store of wild hogs, deer, wild buffaloes, and tigers." It was an amusing and interesting trip in those days to take a boat at the town of Khejiri and row all round the two islands into the Rusulpur river, and so back to the Hugli, noting the busy scenes which met you on your way.

Such was the "pleasant island in the Ganges" to which the English in 1687 were persuaded to entrust all their fortunes. On the approach of Nicholson, Malik Qāsim, the Mogul commandant, deserted the place and surrendered all its forts and batteries, all its guns and ammunition, without striking a blow. The island was full of inhabitants and well stocked with cattle. By the 27th

February, Charnock had established himself in the town and collected the bulk of his forces round him. They consisted of four hundred and twenty soldiers, the *Beaufort* with her frigate, and nearly all the Company's sloops, except one, which had been left at Hugli Point, to guard the passage of the river, and another which remained at Balasor with the *Rochester* and the *Nathaniel*. But the English knew that what had been so easily won might also be as easily lost, unless they took steps to secure their position. Sloops were therefore placed all round the island wherever it was thought likely that a landing might be effected, and the long-boats and pinnaces were ordered to keep cruising all night to prevent the people from crossing over to the mainland with their cattle. The so-called fort at Hijili was a small house surrounded by a thin wall with two or three armed points. It stood in the midst of a grove of trees, and was hemmed in on all sides by a thick town of mud houses. The landing to the west on the Rasulpur river was at least five hundred yards distant, and had to be defended by a separate battery. The English began to look back with regret to their old factory at the Gholghāt in Hugli, and to think that they might have made a much better fight there.

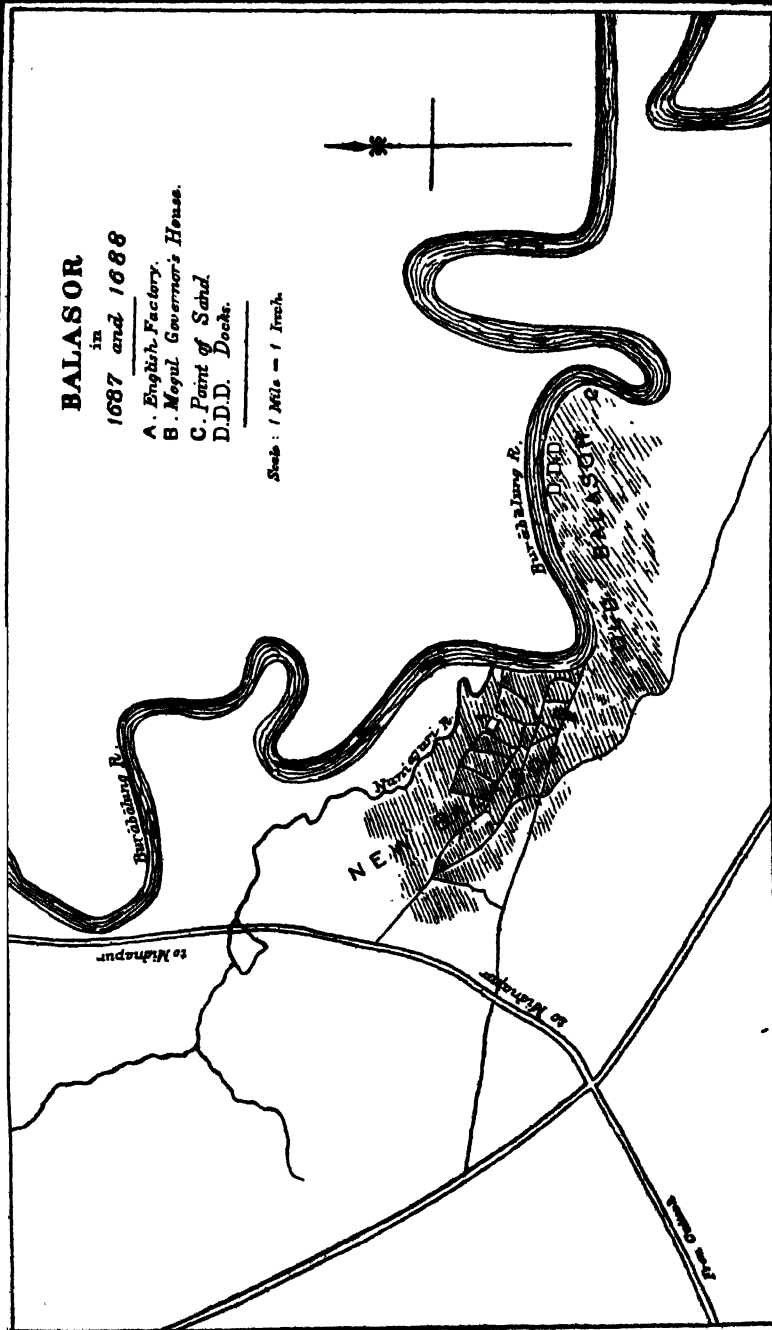
The first blow was struck by the ships at Balasor. The port is situated on the Burā-balung, a sinuous river doubling back upon itself in numerous loops, with an awkward bar a little more than two miles from its mouth. Some way up the stream occurs a projecting promontory, which frequently appears in the records of Charnock's time under the name of the *Point of Sand*. The point commands the river for miles, and was armed by the Mogul rulers with a fort and batteries. West of it stood the old town of Balasor ; beyond this, still further up the stream, was the rapidly growing new town where the Europeans had established their factories. The hostile measures of Charnock had alarmed the whole country round. New Balasor was alive with horse-soldiers and foot-soldiers, and every Mogul's house was turned into an improvised fortification. The ships were drawn up in dry docks of mud under the protection of the *Point of Sand*. The batteries were armed to the teeth with guns taken out of the vessels. But these preparations were of no avail to stay the attack of one hundred and seventy British soldiers and sailors. In a single night the fort was taken with small loss. On the following day, the

BALASOR

in
1687 and 1688

- A. English Factory.
- B. Moyal Governor's House.
- C. Point of Sahul.
- D.D.D. Docks.

Scale : 1 Mile = 1 Inch.



river being clear of hostile ships, the English easily marched up to the new town, and after a short struggle made themselves masters of the whole place, burning and destroying all before them. For two days new Balasor was given over to the spoilers. They broke into the king's custom house ; they plundered the private merchants ; and, returning to the old town, burnt all the shipping as it lay in the docks. Two vessels arriving at the mouth of the river, one belonging to the Prince, and the other to the nabob, with four elephants on her, were seized and made prizes. Satisfied that enough had been done to vindicate their honour in the eyes of the people of Balasor, the English determined to leave, but they were not allowed to get off scot free. While waiting at the mouth of the river for a favourable wind, a long boat with a crew of seventeen men, was surprised two miles up the country, and all the men taken except one. The heads of three of the prisoners were cut off and stuck up at Hugli. Meanwhile the *Rochester*, the *Nathaniel* and the *Samuel* sailed to join Charnock, and in their stead the sloop *Good Hope* was sent down to keep watch in the Bay.

Charnock had commenced his operations with vigour. He had ransacked Hugli, attacked the Thānā forts, destroyed Balasor, seized Hijili. To him these things seemed ample demonstrations of power, and he, no doubt, expected matters to come to a crisis at once. But to the rulers of India they seemed very minor incidents. Aurangzeb was at this time intent upon the taking of Haidarabad. He did not hear of the proceedings of the English till the beginning of March, and then contented himself with calling for the map and ascertaining where such obscure places as Hugli and Balasor were situated. Shāyista Khān was almost equally unconcerned. He had ordered adequate forces of horse and foot to advance against Hijili, and he had no doubt that they would reach the place in due course and drive the rash invaders into the sea. At the same time, it was satisfactory to reflect that they had chosen to coop themselves up in the most pestilential swamp in all lower Bengal, so that they might almost be safely left to stew in their own juice.

March and April must have been trying months for the English at Hijili. Day by day the tropical heat grew fiercer ; day by day their forces dwindled away, while the numbers of their enemies increased and multiplied. By the beginning of May the supplies

of provisions had run very short. Nothing was to be had in the island, but beef and a little fish, a diet scarcely suited to the season of the year. Both ashore and on board the ships, great numbers died daily, the number of soldiers sick being never less than a hundred and eighty. The inhabitants, who had at first been friendly, and with whose assistance alone the necessary fortifications could be completed, either through fear or for want of rice, had begun to leave the island. The local magnate, who had offered to co-operate with Charnock, refused to give any help. The island was closely beset by the Mogul troops. On the other side of the Rasulpur river, opposite Hijili, Malik Qāsim had raised a battery which commanded the river, the landing place, and even the fort.

The English were thus forced to resume the offensive. In one sally on to the mainland they carried off fifteen thousand maunds of rice ; in another they took the battery, split the great guns, and brought away the small ones, with a large quantity of power and ammunition. But the respite thus gained was short. The enemy soon returned in increased numbers, erected a larger and more powerful battery than before, beat the ships from their anchorage, and even flung shot into the fort of Hijili.

By the middle of May, 'Abdu-s Samad, the nabob's general, arrived at Hijili. His forces were considerable, amounting to twelve thousand men, and he was entrusted with ample powers to deal with the English as he thought best. He resolved on decisive measures. More batteries along the river wherever it was narrowest, and a furious cannonade opened upon the shipping. Every shot told. The English forces were completely disorganized. On the 28th May, in the afternoon, a detachment of seven hundred Mogul cavalry and two hundred gunners, filled with enthusiasm and bhang, crossed the Rasulpur river at the ferry three miles above the town, and surprised an unfinished battery of four field pieces. The men in charge hastened at once to give notice of the attack, but so vehement was the onset of the enemy that 'Abdu-s Samad's horsemen arrived as soon as the news, seized the town, and set it on fire. One of the English officers was cut to pieces as he lay sick in his house, and his wife and child were carried off prisoners. The stables which contained the English horses and the four elephants lately taken in the nabob's ship, fell an easy prey to the enemy. Already they had lodged themselves within the trenches,

but the English, hurrying together after a desperate fight which lasted all the evening, succeeded in saving the fort.

Charnock's position now seemed altogether desperate. Two hundred of his men he had buried. Scarcely one hundred soldiers, weak with repeated attacks of fever and ague, remained to hold the fort. Out of forty officers only one lieutenant and four sergeants were alive and able to do duty. The *Beaufort* had sprung another great leak, and Nicholson had been compelled to empty her of her guns, ammunition, provisions and goods, and order her away to careen. None of the ships were more than half manned ; and it was evident that unless the fort could be held, and the passage to the landing place kept open, all would be lost.

Fortunately for the English, there stood half-way between the fort and the river a masonry building which Charnock had converted into a battery by placing on it two guns and a guard, while the landing stage itself was similarly protected. As long as these posts could be maintained, Charnock's connection with his base was safe. The next day most of the small craft that had hitherto kept guard round the island were brought into the broad river, the most valuable of the Company's goods placed on ship-board, and more provisions and troops conveyed into the fort. With these men Charnock drove the enemy out of his lines, and for four days maintained his position against overwhelming odds. The courage of the Mogul warriors "went out with their bang ;" and though a great many more were landed in the island, and the English were besieged three quarters round, yet the fort and the two batteries which secured the passage to the shipping were still untaken, when , on the first of June, a most welcome relief arrived in the shape of seventy men fresh from Europe under the command of Captain Denham.

The tide of war had turned ; the timely reinforcement saved Charnock. The new troops were full of life and spirit. The day after their arrival Denham sallied out of the fort, beat the enemy from their guns, burnt their houses, and returned having lost only one man. A bright idea occurred to Charnock. Seeing what a strong effect the arrival of the reinforcements had produced upon the minds of the enemy, he determined to repeat it. Accordingly, he quietly dropped his sailors by one or two at a time out of the fort, and sent them down to the landing place,

whence the whole body was ostentatiously marched up again in all the panoply of war, flags flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, and the men huzzaing loudly as they had done on the first day of their arrival. "In war," as the great Napoleon used to say, "the moral is to the physical force as three parts to one." The effect of Charnock's device was instantaneous. The enemy, supposing that the English were somehow supplied with a constant succession of recruits, began to despair of shaking their position. On the 4th June, in the morning, they held out a flag of truce, and Charnock was informed that 'Abdu-s Samad wished to treat for peace.

A cessation of arms was agreed upon ; and Charnock, having duly received a hostage from the enemy, sent over Richard Trenchfield, who seems to have been on more friendly terms with the Indian officials than the other servants of the Company, to open the negotiations. On the 6th June Macrith and Jolland were united with Trenchfield in a commission which was entrusted with full powers to conclude peace, two more hostages were taken from the enemy, and the three men were sent over to 'Adbu-s Samad. They were instructed to insist as much as possible on the ratification of the twelve articles drawn up at Sūtānuṭī and on the surrender of those who infringed the Company's monopoly, but in any case to conclude a peace as best they could. In three days the terms were settled and ratified. On the 10th June the Mogul commander entered the fort, and the next day the English, taking with them all their ammunition and artillery, marched out of the place which they had so gallantly held for more than three months, with drums beating and colours flying.

On leaving Hijili, Charnock went up the river to Ulubaria, where he remained for the next three months. 'Abdu-s Samad had promised to give him passes to allow the English to go further up the river above the Thānā forts, but the passes never came. Neither were 'Abdu-s Samad's other promises any better observed. He had agreed to procure from the nabob the confirmation of the Sūtānuṭī articles, but the nabob did nothing of the sort. On the 2nd July and again on the 16th August orders were signed and despatched from Dacca, in which, after dwelling upon the mischief which had been done, and declaring that the Mogul would never pardon such offences should he hear of them, his Highness was understood to accord his gracious permission to the English to

secure themselves at Ulubaria and remain in their factories at Hugli, carrying on their trade with the merchants. But as regarded their demands for compensation, for exemption from taxation, and for the establishment of a mint, Shāyista Khān could say nothing definite. He had referred everything to the King, his master. Charnock perceived "that the war was not yet at an end or like to be suddenly." The first order he had indignantly returned to Dacca ; but on receiving the second order at the beginning of September, he determined to accept it so far as to go up to Sūtānuṭī with all his ships, "as well for a recruit of provisions as for the spinning out of this monsoon, with a firm resolution not to settle no trade till he [*i.e.* the nabob] confirms these last articles and gives us some security against any demands of damages that arise against us hereafter."

CHAPTER X

NOW THE ENGLISH AFTER WANDERING OVER THE BAY OF BENGAL SOJOURNING AT MADRAS, RETURNED ONCE AGAIN TO SUTANUTI

NOVEMBER 1688—AUGUST 1690

IN spite of their professed regard for their old servant, Charnock's honourable masters at home were not slow to criticise his late military and political exploits. The letters from the Court to Bengal at this time are a curious mixture of cupidity, patriotism, bravado, piety, and acrimonious abuse. "We know," say they, "your interest leads you to return as soon as you can to your trades and getting of money, and so, it may be, our interest prompts us ; but when the honour of our King and country is at stake, we scorn more petty considerations, and so should you." "When we perused," say they in another letter, "your Hugli diary, commencing September 1685, and concluding November 1686, wherein we observe the manifold, insupportable, and heinous abuses offered to you by the natives of Bengal, to the robbing of us of almost half our stock, it provokes us as well to indignation as to admiration, at your insensible patience that you should let them pass with so easy a correction after you had them at your mercy in Hugli, and much more, that you should be yourselves, and suppose us to be, such weak and unthinking men as to venture our estates again into the hands of such false and rapacious villains, without a strong fort at hand to revenge the unjuries they may hereafter do us ; which we are so far from intending, that we are peremptorily resolved never to send any of our estate again into Bengal until we know you are well settled and fortified in some strong place of our own, with an English garrison, and it is for that purpose principally that we have been and are at so vast a charge in sending out so many strong ships last year, and so many soldiers as we have sent this last and this present year ; though we are not without great

fear that your backwardness and hankering after your profitable easy old habitations, as the Israelites did after the onions and garlick of Egypt, may deprive us of the fruit of all our cost." In a third letter they write :—"It is of vanity to fancy that your prudence or subtlety procured at least those good terms you obtained of Abdul Samad, when you and your forces were by your errors aforesaid reduced to that low condition you were in upon the island of Hijili. It was not your wit or contrivance, but God Almighty's good providence, which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company, particularly by the success he was pleased to give our general on the Surat side. This fatal disappointment of the whole trade of India casued insurrections, and an universal lamentation and cry, not only of the natives, but of the other nations aforesaid, *Peace with the English, or we must all starve* ; and this caused the Mogul only of his known humane, benign disposition and love to mankind to send *Cossids* and *Dogchuckys* in haste to Bengal and all places to make up the breach, and one of his great Princes to Surat in such manner, and with such express instructions, that the English should remain contented."

The Court did not stop at criticism. They went on to draw out a definite plan of campaign, and to supersede Charnock in favour of a new and untried commander. The most consummate general of modern times has told us that "it is not permitted at the distance of three hundred leagues, and without even an account of the condition of the army, to direct what should be done ;" yet a committee of English traders in London at a distance of fifteen thousand miles from Bengal felt quite competent to direct military operations against a mighty empire. These sapient tacticians had somehow arrived at the conclusion that all would be well in the Bay if they could seize upon Chittagong. They did not very well know where Chittagong was, and appear to have thought it would be found some way up the Ganges, but they were sure it was the right place for the English settlement in Bengal. They also believed that they had found the right man to take it, Captain William Heath, of the *Defence*, a hot-headed skipper, by no means deficient in the art of navigating and manging a ship, but with pride and obstinacy enough to spoil any abilities and ruin any enterprise. He had, however, so impressed the Court with his swaggering and boasting, that without more ado they placed him in command of a fleet of ten or eleven ships, and sent him off to the Bay at the begin-

ning of the year 1688 to take over the management of all their affairs in those parts and put them in possession of the post they coveted.

What is the meaning of these new orders ? It is the earlier policy of violence criticising the new policy of a fortified settlement. Ideas at this time were necessarily slow in travelling outwards to India and homewards to England. The Court which was the last to abandon its confidence in the native rulers was also the last to understand that a policy of simple retaliation was not the best method of defending the English trade in Bengal.

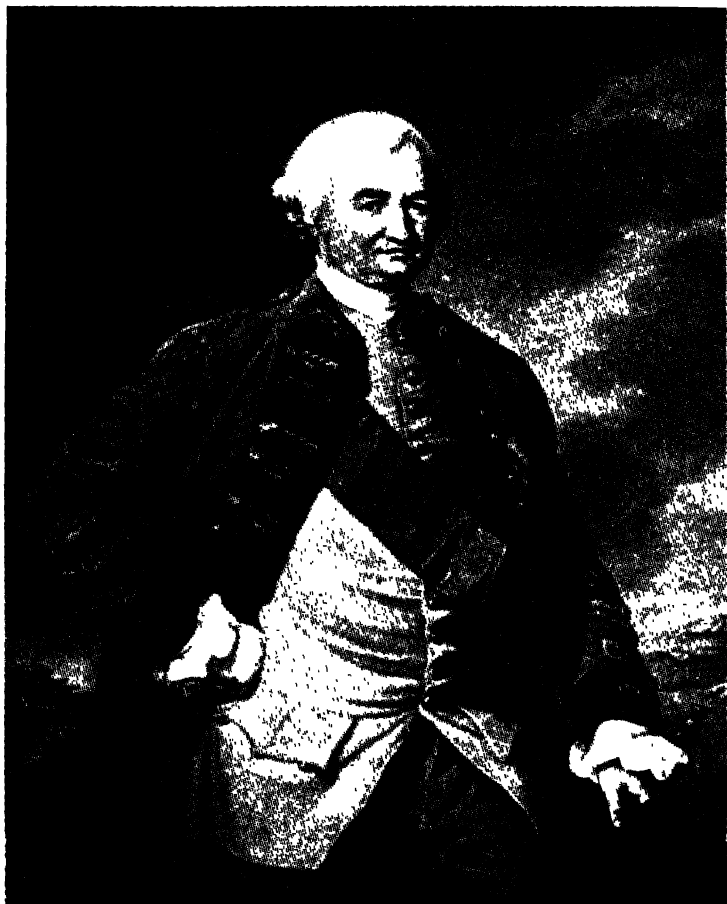
To Charnock these designs against Chittagong must have seemed madness. He knew Chittagong, and knew where it was. He had grave doubts whether it could be taken at all by the English, and still graver doubts whether it could be retained ; and he was sure that even if it could be taken and retained it was too distant from the northern and western parts of Bengal to be a fit centre of the English trade there. For this purpose some spot on the Hugli was needed, and the question to be settled was, which spot. Charnock, as I have said, was not a genius to divine by intuition what should be done, but he was a shrewd, clever man, who quickly profited by experience. He had tried three places on the right side of the river, Hugli, Ulubaria, Hijili. The first two were completely exposed to the attack of an enemy advancing from the west, and it was therefore impossible for the English to remain at either of them if the Mogul Government attacked in sufficient force. Hijili, being an island, seemed suitable enough at first sight, but it was not really more defensible, for the river, which cut it off from the mainland, was so narrow that it could be easily swept by the enemy's guns. It was besides a malarious swamp. The fourth place which Charnock had tried was Sutanuti, a position secure for a naval power as the others were insecure. It could only be approached on one side. To attack it the Mogul troops must cross the river higher up and march down upon it from the north. But if the river were crossed while the English ships still dominated it, the attacking force was exposed to swift and certain destruction. The English sending their troops up the stream could land and assail the enemy on his march to Calcutta, cut him off his base, force him to form front parallel to his line of communication, and so place him in the most dangerous predicament in which an army can find itself. It is not pretended that Charnock grasped all these military advantages when he came to Sutanuti, neither is

it pretended that they were the only advantages which the place had to offer ; but it is surely not too much to believe that when Charnock returned to Sutanuti a second time, it was because he had found out that it was strategically safe, and that for this reason among others he fully intended to stay there.

At any rate there he stayed for more than twelve months, during which time the Company's civil servants and soldiers were compelled to live in huts till proper brick houses could be erected. The operations at Surat which were the cause of so much pious thankfulness at the India House must have excited very different feelings in the breast of Charnock, for the nabob learning that the war on the Malabar Coast had broken out afresh, felt himself no longer bound by the terms he had recently made with the English, and at once set about annoying them in every possible way. He ordered them to return to Hugli, prohibited them from building in brick or stone at Sutanuti, demanded large sums as compensation for the war, and finally gave his soldiers full permission to plunder the English trade and property. Charnock, determined at all costs to remain at Sutanuti, had recourse to negotiation. Eyre and Braddyll, two members of the Council, were despatched to Dacca to request permission to remain at Sutanuti and to be allowed to purchase from the native owners sufficient ground for a factory. At Hugli, they were to urge, the English had no convenient anchorage for their large ships, and were so closely entangled with the native town that disputes were sure to arise. By settling at Calcutta these difficulties would be for the future avoided.

But while Charnock was thus straining every nerve to establish himself at Calcutta, Captain Heath was hastening on his way from England to supersede the old Agent, and unsettle everything which had been done for the last fifty years. The instructions sent with him to Madras were admittedly drawn up in the dark. The Court confessed that it had no certain knowledge of the state of affairs in Bengal, and could not guess whether Charnock had made peace or not. If he had made peace and had settled and fortified himself in any place which would at all answer the purpose, Heath was to wait at Madras and await further orders. In any other case Heath was to sail at once against Chittagong and take it, and thence send for Charnock and his companions.

These were wild instructions. The proceedings of the wrong-headed swash-buckler intrusted with their execution were wilder



Lord Clive

still. Arriving at Calcutta on the 20th September, he immediately called a council of war, and communicated the Court's orders to the assembled merchants and captains. The matter of discussion was serious and the debate protracted, each member recording his opinion separately in writing.

We do not know what their arguments were, but we can guess at some of them. Heath, it seems, began by quoting his orders which he considered left them no alternative but to pack up and be off to Chittagong. But instructions drawn up for the conduct of a distant campaign must always leave some measure of latitude to the commander. Absurd as were as the orders of Court, they were not so absurd as to leave no alternative. The authorities at home, trusting in the fidelity and discretion of their old Agent, had sanctioned the settlement at Calcutta. The letter which went with Heath expressly says :—"If the place Mr. Charnock may have already settled and fortified upon will in any measure answer our known purpose, in such case, since we can't now help it, we would have you proceed to strengthen that place already settled and to forbear proceeding against Chittagong until you receive further orders from us." In another letter written three weeks later the Court pronounces still more decidedly in favour of remaining at Calcutta :—"We have no manner of doubt," they say, "of the continuance of our peace in all the Mogul's dominions, and therefore we think the sooner our Agent Charnock resettles the factories at Cassimbazar and Malda, from whence we used to have our best returns, the better it will be for the Company ; and since he likes Sutanuti so well, we are content he should build a factory there, but with as much frugality as may be, and we hope he will so continue that business as to the duties of the town being to be the Company's by the Bengal articles." It may, however, be urged that the settlement was not fortified. Certainly there were no brick bastions or walls to defend it. Yet nature had planted morasses on its eastern and southern sides, and had placed between it and its enemies a broad river on which the English ships could come and go as they liked. But Captain Heath, though no stranger to the locality, had never studied it as a general. We cannot therefore be surprised that he failed to understand its strategic advantages. Clive saw them at a glance, but Clive was a genius.

The other arguments which may have been used in favour of staying at Calcutta are of a more obvious nature. Heath had been told to consult with the Agent and Council, and the majority were in favour of peace. They had enough of fighting for the present. They were contented to stay at Sutanuti, where they had found many advantages and had already begun to establish a certain amount of trade. Shayista Khan, the great enemy of the English, had left Bengal, and in his stead Bahadur Khan was acting as nabob. They were not without hopes that the new vice-nabob would after all give way and grant their demands, especially now that they had received such large reinforcements from Europe. These arguments Heath had little difficulty in overruling. He informed the Council that he had the sole management of the Company's affairs, and that he saw no prospect of their ever coming to an agreement with the Indian government. He gave them till the 10th of November to make what investment they could and wind up their affairs. By that time his vessels would be repaired, fitted, provisioned, and ready for sea, and he would then proceed with the whole of the establishment to Chittagong. Quick work—for men habituated to Indian methods of procrastination and delay ; but Captain Heath was rapid in everything, even in changing his mind. In less than three weeks the impetuous seaman had gone off on quite another tack. He understood that Bahadur Khan, the new ruler at Dacca, was intending to send an expedition against the King of Arakan, and hastily wrote off to offer his help, provided that the nabob should confirm all the old privileges of the English in Bengal and immediately send an order, under his hand and seal, for building a fortified place which might secure the Company's servants and their trade from the villainies of every petty governor. "Otherwise," said he, "we design in a few days to depart this country peaceably, our positive orders being to stay no longer here to trade in fenceless factories."

An offer made in such insulting terms would have been regarded by Bahadur Khan rather as an ultimatum than as a friendly overture, and perhaps it was so meant. But the two English plenipotentiaries at Dacca, with the help of their native friends, took care to make their requests in a much more respectful manner, and were so successful that at the beginning of November they were in immediate expectation of a favourable order from his

Highness, who had in fact despatched Malik Barkhwurdar to Hugli to arrange matters. But Captain Heath had by this time veered round to his former opinion. He was not going to stay for Malik Barkhwurdar, who was an inveterate enemy of the English and the chief contriver of the sham articles signed at Sutanuti. Although the time he had originally fixed had not yet expired, he bade the Company's servants pack and be gone, and on the 8th November the English, taking with them all their belongings, once more started on their wanderings in search of a secure centre for their trade. Eyre and Braddyll and the rest of the factors in different parts of the country were abandoned to their fate. Malik Barkhwurdar, astonished beyond measure at this sudden departure, sent repeated messages after the retreating ships, but without any result.

Charnock and Heath arrived in Balasor road on the 16th November. Besides the *Defence* and the *Princess of Denmark*, which had been sent out from Europe, they had some thirteen or fourteen smaller vessels, and shortly after their arrival had the good fortune to capture two French frigates, the *Energie* and the *Lorette*. The number of soldiers amounted to about three hundred, of whom more than half were Portuguese. The Mogul governor of Balasor was living with his retinue in tents pitched on the Point of Sand where the fortifications had been greatly strengthened. He was daily expecting news and instructions from Dacca, and in the meantime refused to allow the English at Balasor to leave the place or to send off any of their goods, and prohibited the English in the ships from buying provisions ashore.

At this juncture Captain Heath, who began to find difficulty in procuring food for so large a number of persons as were now under his care, returned to his pacific mood. Instead of immediately landing his forces and marching wide of the fortifications on the Point of Sand so as to surprise the town of new Balasor, and, if possible, bring off the English with their goods, he hung about in the Bay and kept sending envoys ashore to the Mogul governor to ask if any news had arrived from Dacca, to demand the surrender of the Company's servants and property, and finally to warn the governor that the sole blame would lie on him if he took no heed and refused to prevent a breach of the peace. On the 28th November, finding that his negotiations were proceeding too

slowly, he placed the bulk of his troops on small sloops and ascended the Bura-balung. The next day between eight and nine in the morning Charnock and those with him in the ships could hear the rattle of the English musketry answered by the booming of the enemy's pieces of ordnance. In less than three hours the great guns were silenced, and flames and smoke were seen rising up inland. Boats bringing back news of the fight soon followed. The English had landed under the cover of some clumps of cocoa-palms, dispersed a body of horse and foot, and with a rush carried the great battery which guarded the river and the Point of Sand on which they had hoisted the king's flag. All the artillery and stores had fallen into their hands, and they were already shipping off the ammunition. The victors were resting on the Point, and intended to march up to new Balasor that night. Their loss was only one killed and six wounded.

In the attack on the town which took place next day the soldiers, according to the peace party, committed great excesses. They made no difference between friends and foes, Christians and non-Christians, men and women, but ill-treated all alike. They failed, moreover, to rescue their countrymen, for the Governor on hearing of their approach burnt the English factory, and carried off the factors up the country. On the 4th December Heath again returned to the ships and to the policy of negotiation. On the very day that the soldiers were attacking Balasor letters had arrived from Eyre and Braddyll at Dacca, holding out hopes that Bahadur Khan would even now grant the requests of the English if Charnock would write and confirm the offers made in October. For a second time Heath called a council of war. It met in the great cabin of the *Defence*. The letters received from Dacca were read and discussed, and to all appearances the Captain was willing to make his peace with the nabob. Agent Charnock was allowed to write and confirm the offers, and envoys once more passed to and fro between the shipping and the town. But in reality Captain Heath, so far from intending peace, had returned to the design of taking Chittagong. On the 23rd December, having already sent two vessels to the King of Arakan and two more to explore the mouths of the Chittagong river, he sailed away from Balasor, leaving one of his English envoys behind him.

Arriving at Chittagong about the 18th January, he sent parties of men with a flag of truce in a pinnace up the river to the

town to find out its strength, and to intimate to the Governor that the English had come according to agreement to help the Mogul against the King of Arakan. On the 21st January Heath called his third council of war, and asked them whether they would advise him to attack the town. The absurdity of the whole project was now manifest. A city like Chittagong defended by some ten thousand men was not to be "taken by the collar," nor could it have been kept if taken. The council, therefore, advised Heath to adhere to his offer of help to the Mogul, and to wait for a definite answer. But waiting was intolerable to the lively sea-captain. He declared that "there was nothing but lies wrote on both sides," that it was never his intention to transport the nabob's soldiers to Arakan, and that he did not intend to stay for an answer. After this outburst of passion Heath, as was his wont, permitted communications to be opened with the governor of Chittagong, which continued till nearly the end of the month, when he suddenly weighed anchor and sailed away to offer his services to the King of Arakan. But the King, instead of rushing to meet the English with open arms, received their overtures and presents-very coldly. This last rebuff completely disgusted Captain Heath with the whole expedition, and, after making a futile attempt to stir up a rebellion against the King, he determined to return to Madras, as usual abandoning an unfortunate English envoy who had been sent off on one of his strange errands. "So," says our captain, "when (we) found that (we) could not persuade those foolish people from the present ruin and destruction which is just upon them, we watered our ships and refreshed our men, which were much distempered with the scurvy. So on the seventeenth February (we) sailed directly for this place, Fort St. George, giving orders for every ship to make the best of her way, that no more time might be lost, and that perchance, if any Moor's ship were in those seas we might by being scattered meet with them."

The story of how Captain Heath with the whole of the Company's establishment in Bengal for six whole months went "tripping from port to port," is so extraordinary that we could hardly credit it were it not recorded in three different original documents, one of them drawn up by the captain himself. But the results of his foolish proceedings, conjoined with the defiant attitude of the settlements at Madras and Bombay, are almost equally surprising. At first Aurangzeb had been greatly incensed

at the audacity of the English, and in an outburst of anger had ordered his servants to extirpate these infidels from his dominions and to seize or destroy all their goods. But his anger, it is said, cooled on reflection. The commerce carried on by the Company enriched his treasuries, and he could not well afford to lose it. Yet he could not help thinking from the violent and unusual conduct of Captain Heath that he had somehow driven the English to desperation, and that they intended to altogether abandon Bengal. Besides, their power, though insignificant by land, was formidable by sea. Their ships might interrupt the trade with Arabia, and hinder the faithful in their yearly pilgrimages to the house of God at Mecca. He forced himself, therefore, to swallow his resentment and retrace his steps. "You must understand," he wrote to the nabob of Bengal, "that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them to their irregular past proceedings, and their not being in their former greatness, have by their attorneys, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which, out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted. Therefore upon receipt here of my order you must not create them any further trouble, but let them trade in your government as formerly, and this order I expect you see strictly observed."

Had Shayista Khan been still in power when this order came from the emperor, it is possible that some means would have been found for evading it. But, as has been said, he had resigned his office, and, after a decent interval, during which Bahadur Khan, "armed with a little brief authority," had done his best to please the Mogul by seizing the English property and imprisoning the English factors, Ibrahim Khan, the old bookworm, who had before given rise to so much trouble at Patna, had come to be ruler of Bengal. The new nabob was a man of peace. Without military abilities, he desired to administer justice with strict impartiality and to encourage agriculture and commerce. The policy of the emperor was quite in accordance with his natural disposition. He at once set at liberty the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca, and wrote letters to Charnock at Madras inviting him to return to Bengal. At first Charnock hesitated. He had not forgotten his experiences at Patna. He knew that even if the nabob himself was sincere, there was still a host of subordinates ready to harass the English as in the old days before

the war. He demanded a specific warrant clearly stating terms on which trade would be resumed. The nabob applied to the emperor, but at the same time pointed out to Charnock that the granting of such a warrant must take many months, and pressed him to come without further delay. The English resolved to trust these promises of friendship and protection. In August, Charnock, with his Council and factors, escorted by thirty soldiers, arrived in the Bay, and sent forward Stanley and Mackrith to occupy Hugli. On Sunday, the 24th, at noon, the wanderers found themselves once more at Sutanuti. Ibrahim Khan, whom the English now styled "the most famously just and good nabob," was true to his word. This restored merchants were received with respect by the commander of the Thana fort and the governor of Hugli. On the 10th February 1691, an Imperial order was issued under the seal of Asad Khan, allowing the English to "contentedly continue their trade" in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 yearly in lieu of all dues. A large number of Armenians and Portuguese soon gathered round the English, who assigned each nation its quarter in the growing town and a piece of land to build a church on.

CHAPTER XI

CALCUTTA BEFORE THE ENGLISH

THE foregoing pages will have been written in vain if they have not convinced the reader that the site of Calcutta was chosen by Charnock, not out of a mere whim, but after careful consideration. The experience of more than half a century had convinced the English that their trade in Bengal would never prosper without a fortified settlement as its centre. In 1686 they set about the discovering of a spot suitable for such a fortification. After repeated trials Charnock came to the conclusion that the required spot was Sutanuti, and here out of deference to his views and in spite of much adverse criticism, the foundation-stone of the British Empire in India was at last laid. And Charnock chose not only deliberately, but also wisely. Calcutta was the fit place for the English purposes from two distinct points of view. Not only was it strategically safe, but it was also an excellent commercial centre. The military advantages have been sufficiently dwelt upon ; what were the other advantages, will appear from the history of the place previous to the arrival of the English.

The capital of British India did not, as some seem to think, spring up, like Jonah's gourd, in a single night. Calcutta, or at any rate that portion of the Hugli where Calcutta now stands, has a history, and the city is the growth of many centuries. At first the place was merely a group of villages to all appearance, not distinguishable in any way from hundreds of other riverside places. There was, however, this difference, that at the point where these villages stood in the 16th century, the stream became much shallower and less accessible to sea-going vessels. As long as the local trade was carried on in small boats, this was of little importance, and Satgaon, on the Sarasvati, near the modern Hugli, was the great centre of commerce. But when the Portuguese

began to frequent the river, about 1530, this difference made itself felt. The foreigners did not care to risk their galliasses in the shallow waters, but sent their goods on to Satgaon in small boats. Meanwhile their ships lay at anchor in Garden Reach, and an important market sprang up on the west side of the river at Betor, close to Sibpur. This foreign market attracted native traders and merchants to the spot, and in particular, four families of Bysacks and one of Setts, leaving the then rapidly declining city of Satgaon, came and founded the settlement of Govindpur on the site of the present Fort William, and established the Sutanuti market, on the north side of Calcutta, where they did business with the Portuguese. Soon after this the Portuguese themselves going higher up the river abandoned Betor, and the whole of the trade was thus transferred to the east side of the river, from Betor to Sutanuti. Thus the settling of the chief Bengal factory at Calcutta by the English was only the third stage in the early growth of the city, the two previous stages being the establishment of a commercial centre at Betor by the Portuguese, and the transference of this trade from Betor to Sutanuti, the market of the Setts and the Bysacks. It is the history of these first two stages that we have now to consider.

Like other cities Calcutta has its legend. Long, long ago, in the "age of truth," Daksha, one of the Hindu patriarchs, made a sacrifice to obtain a son, but he omitted to invite the god Civa to come to it. Now Sati, the daughter of Daksha, was married to Civa, and she was indignant that so great an insult should be offered to her divine husband, and deeply grieved that such a slight should have been passed upon him through her kindred. In vain did she expostulate with her father. "Why," she asked, "is my husband not invited ? why are no offerings to be made to him ?" "Thy husband," was the reply, "wears a necklace of skulls ; how can he be invited to a sacrifice ?" Then, in grief and indignation, and shrieking out—"This father of mine is a villain ; what profit have I then in this carcase sprung from him ?" she put an end to her life¹; and Civa, "drunk with loss," transfixed her dead body on the point of his trident and rushed hither and thither like a madman through the realms of creation. The

¹ According to some authorities she burnt herself ; others say that she ended her life by means of *Yoga*.

CALCUTTA

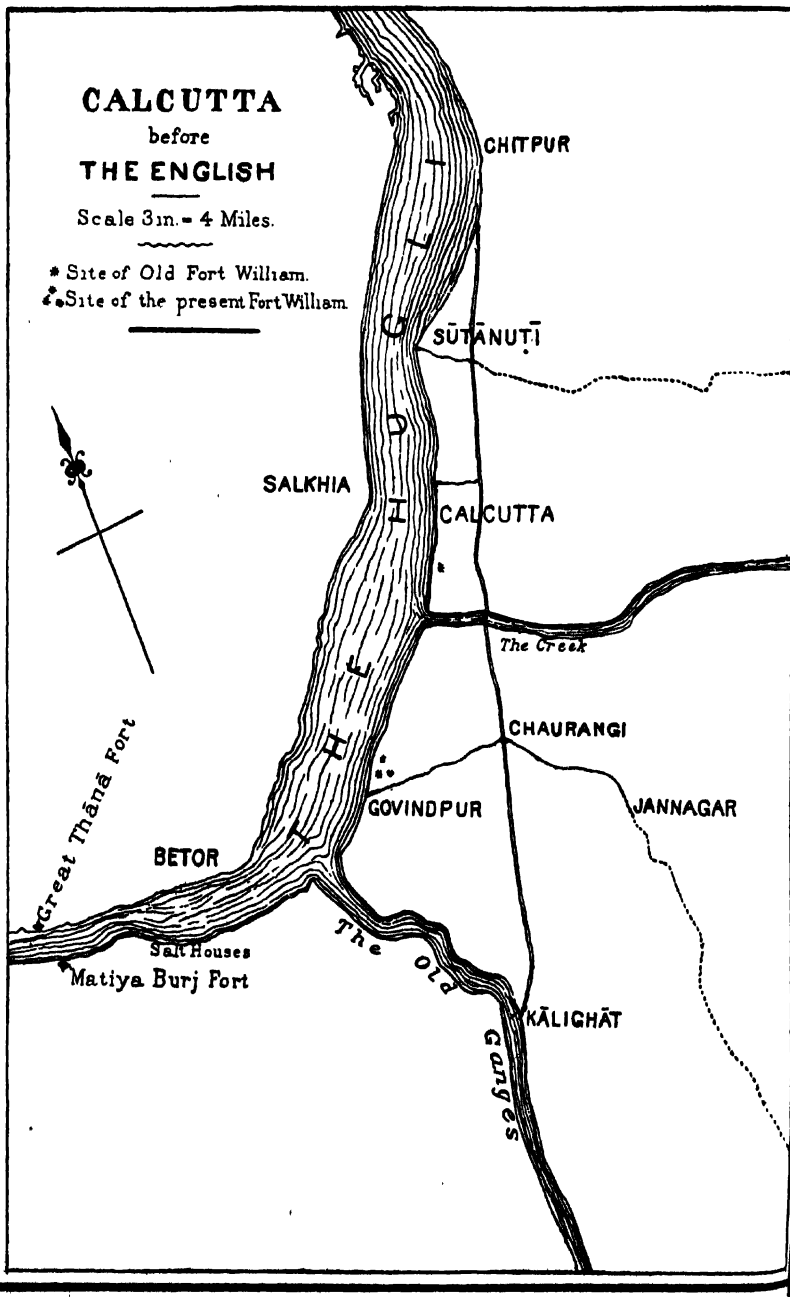
before

THE ENGLISH

Scale 3 in. = 4 Miles.

* Site of Old Fort William.

• Site of the present Fort William.



whole world was threatened with destruction ; but Vishnu, the preserver, came to the rescue. He flung his discus at the body of Sati, and broke it into pieces, which fell scattered over the earth. Every place where any of these pieces, or any of the ornaments of Sati fell, became a sanctuary, a sacred spot full of the divine spirit of Sati. The names of these spots are preserved in the *garlands of sanctuaries*. Some of them are well-known places of pilgrimage ; others are obscure and forgotten ; but to-day the most celebrated of them all is Calcutta, or rather Kalighat, the spot which received the toes of the right foot of Sati, that is of Kali.¹

Such then appears to be the mythical origin of Calcutta, but historically, the English capital of India has grown up out of the union of a cluster of riverside places. The three hitherto recognised members of this cluster are Calcutta, Sutanuti, and Govindpur ; but, besides these, we must reckon among the elementary constituents of the city, Chitpur and Salkhia, the sanctuary of Kalighat, and as the original focus of the trade, Betor, on the west bank of the river, close to the modern Sibpur. As regards two of these places, Sutanuti and Govindpur, we are able to confidently say when and how they arose ; as regards four of the others we may affirm with equal confidence that their origin is completely lost, for the villages of Salkhia, Chitpur, Calcutta, and Betor are all mentioned by the fifteenth and sixteenth century Bengali poets, and the *pargana* of "Kalkata" is found in earliest survey of the country ; as regards the origin of Kalighat, we can state nothing definitely, but we have a tradition which may as well be given here, for what it is worth. According to this, the founder of Kalighat was an ascetic, named Jangal Gir, who lived somewhere about the 15th century. In those days the fashionable quarter of Calcutta, now known as Chowringee, was covered with forest and tropical vegetation, and Jangal Gir was living there as a hermit of the woods. One evening he was performing his devotions by the bank of the Adi-Ganga, which was then a great stream flowing south of Calcutta, when suddenly a bright light shone

¹ Babu G.D. Bysack's *Kalighat and Calcutta*, in the *Calcutta Review*, April 1891, p. 306. Kalighat and Calcutta are, as a matter of fact, totally different places. The names even are not connected, "Calcutta" being probably derived from some aboriginal language.

round about him¹, and that same night, when he had gone to sleep, the goddess Kali appeared to him in a dream, and told him that the spot was one of those holy places which had once received a portion of her severed body. The next day he dug up the ground, and proved the truth of his vision. The sacred emblems thus miraculously found were set up for worship in a small wooden house on the bank of the Adi-Ganga, but for a long while the sanctuary of Kalighat was unknown and unfrequented².

A poem in praise of the Serpent-goddess written by an obscure Bengali author named Bipradas in the year 1495 A.D., when Husain Shah was the reigning Sultan of Bengal, gives us our first authentic picture of Calcutta, Betor, and Kalighat³. The hero of the story, Chand Sadagar, a hater of the Serpent-goddess, goes on a voyage from Bhagalpur to the sea, and so gives occasion to the poet to describe the banks of the river as he knew them in his day. Chand Sadagar's small fleet of seven ships after passing Rajghat and Indraghat, Nadiya and Ambua, comes at last to Triveni, the famous junction of the Ganges, the Sarasvati, and the Jamuna. Here Chand the merchant landed on the bank to see the great city of Saptagram. "This is the home of the seven saints. Here all the gods reside. Here is the abode of all bliss, and no sorrow or misery enters. The saints and blessed ones have no troubled thoughts, but undisturbed perform their austerities and tell their beads without intermission. Here are found the Ganga and the Jamuna, and the wide flowing Sarasvati, and Uma Mahecvari presides over all. Overjoyed at the sight of the Ganges at Triveni, Prince Chand stayed his boat *Madupara* by the bank. Glad at heart, the king performed the ceremonies befitting a place of pilgrimage, and with devotion worshipped the god Mahecvari. Then, having finished his devotions, the king with joyful heart repaired to the city and compassed it round about. After staying there two days the king returned to his fleet. The boat reached Kumarhat. Hugli was passed on the right, and on the left Bhatpara. Boro stood on west bank, and on the east Kankinara. Rapidly they passed Mulajor and

¹ This is the tradition according to Babu Surjakumar Chatterji. Babu Gour Das Bysack gives a different account.

² G.D. Bysack, *op. cit.*, pp.311 to 313.

³ See article on Bipradas by Pandit H.P. Sastri in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1892, p. 1893.

Ganrulia on the east, while Paikpara and Bhadrecvar remained on the west ; Champdani was passed on the right and Ichapur on the left. Often and often the king cried, *Row on ! Row on !* and cherrily did they row, with Bankibazar on their left. Having passed Champdani, the king came into the place where two streams met. In order due they paid their worship to the holy place of Nimai by the water side, where they found the *Nim* tree with the China roses blooming on it. Away they went to the flood country, leaving behind them Chanak. Thence they rowed past Ramnan, Akna, and Maheca. Having prostrated himself at Khardaha, the abode of the blest, the king proceeded. Again and again he cried out, *Row on ! Row on !* Rishira was passed on the right and Sukchar on the left. With delight the king sped by Konnagar. Kotrang was passed on the right and Kamarhati on the left ; Ariadaha was on the east and Ghusuri on the west. At Chitpur the king worshipped the goddess Sarvamangala. Day and night the boat sped on ; they never neglected their duty. Rowing by the eastern bank the great and heroic Chand passed by Calcutta and arrived at Betor. The pious Chand Datta worshipped Betai Chandi, the presiding deity of Betor. In the boat the king's servants sang a song of delight. Various dainties they cooked and ate, and quickly passed Dhalanda. King Chand having worshipped Kalika at Kalighat, passed by Churaghat and Jayadhali. Passing by Dhanasthan with great curiosity they reached Baruipur." Here was a great whirlpool sacred to Kali, and here the serpent-goddess put the Prince to great difficulty, raising a storm and sending an army of serpents. But overcoming all difficulties he entered the Hunia, reached Chhatrabhog, and so passing through Hatiagar made his way to the sea.

Such is the story of Bipradas, a Bengali Brahmin, who was doubtless well acquainted with the localities of which he here writes ; for the description contains indisputable marks of veracity, and, even if the author were unknown, would deserve acceptance on its own internal merits. It presents us with a picture which is in itself probable, and which agrees with what is to be learned from other sources. The time described is the end of the fifteenth century. Satgaon, not Hugli, is the great port ; lower down the river, Betor, on the right bank, is a large market town, where the voyagers stop to buy provisions and to worship the

goddess Chandi. Chitpur and Calcutta are neighbouring villages which were passed just before reaching Betor. Govindpur and Sutanuti do not exist. Kalighat is a small sanctuary claiming just a bare notice.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century we leave the dim twilight of legend and poem and reach the broad daylight of ascertained fact. The real history of Calcutta begins with the coming of the Europeans. On the 22nd November, 1497, Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and the Indian Ocean was opened to Western trade. In 1510, Albuquerque took Goa. By the year 1530 the Portuguese began to frequent Bengal, and for the next century they remained the sole and undisputed masters of its foreign trade. It is under their commercial supremacy that the place which we now know by the name of Calcutta first began to have any importance, and it is to them that we are chiefly indebted for our first reliable information about the Hugli and its markets. The accounts of the river given us by contemporary native poets cannot be relied on unless they are supported by writers such as De Barros or Caesar Frederick ; but by comparing the various native and foreign statements, we may gain a large measure of historical certainty.¹

When the Portuguese first came to Bengal, the two great centres of trade were Chittagong in the east, and in the west Saptagram, or Satgaon.² The former, on account of the convenience of its harbour for shipping of every kind, was distinguished as the Great Haven, or Porto Grande, and under favourable circumstances it might have retained its mercantile importance ; but in an evil hour it became, as we shall see, the rendezvous of Feringi outlaws and pirates. The latter, which has now dwindled down to an insignificant group of huts in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Hugli, had been for centuries a great and celebrated commercial emporium, and was known as the Little Haven, or Porto Piqueno. Hither came merchants, bringing wares to sell, from every part of Northern India. The bazars were filled with the busy hum of men, the river was crowded with boats. Hard by was Triveni, the resort of thousands of pilgrims eager to bathe in the all-cleansing stream, for at this sacred spot, the

¹ I have already dealt with the topography of the Hugli in an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 109 to 117.

² Van Linschoten, Hakluyt Society's edition of 1885, Vol. I, p. 95.

Ganges, the Jamuna, and the Sarasvati mingled their waters.¹ Between Satgaon and the sea, the main stream of the Ganges flowed along much the same course as does the Hugli of to-day ; but it had a good many important tributaries which have since either greatly diminished, or altogether disappeared. The Jamuna was a considerable river, branching off to the east at Triveni and so was the Sarasvati, which, flowing on the west of the Ganges, rejoined it lower down. Further on, at Ulubaria, was the three-fold mouth of the Damodar. And to the south of this again, the Rupnarayan entered the Ganges, or Hugli, between Pichhaldia and Hijili, or, as the Portuguese called it, "Angeli." On the left side of the Hugli, opposite the Haven of Angels, was the Rogues' River coming from Arakan, the lurking-place of the pirate devils, who hid themselves in the deep channels watching their opportunity to plunder the unwary voyager. Higher up, on the eastern side, another large tributary formed the northern boundary of the island and district of Pacuculi, and twenty miles higher still was the Adi-Ganga, then a large river leading south-eastwards to the sea, but now a poor shrunken nulla, which owes its continued existence to the enterprise of Colonel Tolly. It is by this stream that Bipradas conducts Chand to the sea, not, as some might suppose, because it was then the main channel, but rather because being shallow it was safer for small boats.

So far the river was easily navigable by sea-going ships, but beyond this it was considered too shallow for any but country boats. Here then in Garden Reach was the great anchoring place of the Portuguese ; and at Betor, on the western bank, near Sibpur, every year, when the ships arrived from Goa, innumerable thatched houses were erected, markets were opened, and all sorts of provisions and stores brought to the waterside. An immense number of galliasses lay at anchor in the deep water waiting, while the small budgerows made their way up the river past Baranagar, Dakshinecvar, and Agarpara, to the Porto Piqueno at Satgaon, and returned filled with silks and muslin, lac, sugar, and rice. During these months the banks on both sides of the river were alive with people, and a brisk trade was carried on. But no sooner was the last boat come back from Satgaon, and her cargo safely shipped aboard the galliasses, than they set fire to the temporary houses and improvised markets of bamboo and straw, and the place

¹ This is told us by all the early travellers and the early Bengal poets.

vanished almost as suddenly as Aladdin's palace when carried off by the Jinnee. Away sailed the Portuguese back to Goa, leaving apparently no traces of their coming except burnt straw and ruined huts. And yet a careful observer might have noticed more important results, for here we can see being formed the nucleus of the future city of Calcutta. Attracted towards Betor by the magnetism of the Portuguese trade, the various forces and influences which combined to produce the capital of India are seen assembling themselves together gradually, quietly, surely. Chitpur and Salkhia are filling with people : markets and landing-stairs are built at Kuchinan and Calcutta. Religious enthusiasm conspires with commerical ardour. Betor is a sanctuary of the goddess Chandi ; and just across the river, on the banks of the Adi-Ganga, there are preserved in a small wooden shrine the petrified toes of the great Kali, which fell from heaven in the far-off age of truth, and which have been discovered at this spot by a holy recluse of the woods.

To complete the picture of the river at this time, one more circumstance remains to be mentioned. The coming of the Portuguese had its dark side. During the 16th century Chittagong was a place of retreat for fugitives and outlaws from Goa and its dependencies. Some of them became adventurers, and hired themselves out as soldiers to the native powers ; but the majority were neither more or less than pirates. "These people," says Bernier, "were Christians only in name. The lives led by them in Arakan were most detestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction or remorse. They scoured the neighbouring seas in light gallies, called galliasses, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, ravaged the islands of Lower Bengal, and often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for the celebration of a marriage, or some other festival. The marauders made slaves of their unhappy captives and burnt whatever could not be removed. It is owing to these repeated depredations that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, formerly thickly peopled, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacles of tigers and other wild beasts."

During the 16th century we reach the second period in the history

of the growth of Calcutta. Two events happened which greatly affected the fortunes of the river and its markets, the one being due to the enlightened policy of Akbar, the other to the blind working of nature. The existence of any great city standing by the waterside, "where Ganges rolls its widest wave," must always be precarious. For centuries perhaps it flourishes in continued wealth and importance. Then the river by some freak of nature changes its course, and the place is soon abandoned to the jackals. Such had been the fate of Gaur and many another once famed city. Such was the fate of Satgaon. From the beginning of the century its river had been gradually silting up. In the year 1540 its harbour was becoming difficult of access for ships. In 1565 it was still "a reasonable fair city" abounding with all things. But its commercial importance was visibly doomed. Its merchant princes, who had been wont to boast that they sat at home and grew rich while all the world came to them to trade, were one after another forced to take ship and seek elsewhere for their livelihood. The great majority removed only a short distance and settled down at Hugli. Others, more adventurous, made their way further down the river determined to profit by the growing trade of Betor. Amongst these were four families of Bysacks and one of Setts, who colonised the east bank of the Hugli, just above its junction with the Adi-Ganga, and founded the village of Govindpur. They cleared the jungle, excavated tanks, and built houses for themselves, and a shrine for their tutelary deity, Govindji, in whose honour they had named their settlement ; and in a short space of time they opened, on the north side of Calcutta, a place for the sale of cloth which was soon to become celebrated as Sutanuti Hat, the Cotton Bale Market.¹ The descendants of these five pilgrim fathers have carefully preserved the genealogies of their families. They now reckon some fifteen or seventeen generations from the founders, so that their migration must have occurred towards the middle of the sixteenth century.²

¹ The name of this place is *not* properly spelt "Chatānati. It is properly spelt "Sutānuṭi" and means Cotton-bale. "Sutānuṭi" is pronounced by Bengalis "Shutānūti," and this is transliterated in the old records Chutanuttee, just as "Shah" is transliterated "Cha" and "Shāyista" "Cha-Est." The "ch" was of course meant to be pronounced soft as in *Romance languages*, the transliteration being in fact borrowed from the Portuguese.

² G.D. Bysack, *op. cit.*, pp.314, 315.

In thus establishing themselves at Govindpur there can be no doubt that the Setts and Bysacks were attracted by the foreign trade at Betor, and we are told that the first settlers did business with the Portuguese. Great then must have been their dismay, when, not long after they had settled down, they found that the Portuguese themselves were going higher up the river, having been invited by the liberality of the emperor Akbar to form a permanent settlement at Hugli. The emperor, it is said, had heard strange stories about these Western strangers who came year after year to Bengal, and was anxious to see one of their number. Accordingly, Captain Tavez was sent up to the court at Agra, and was there received by Akbar with great favour. Permission was given him to select any spot he liked near Hugli, and there erect a permanent town, so that the Portuguese might settle there, and no longer come from year to year to live for a few months in temporary bamboo sheds. Full liberty was granted to build churches, and preach the gospel ; but, in return for this, the emperor demanded that the Portuguese should put a stop to the outrages and barbarities committed by their piratical countrymen. In pursuance of this arrangement the Portuguese established themselves at Hugli ; and here Fitch found them permanently settled, when he came to Bengal in 1586. But the country was full of thieves, and so Fitch was compelled to go through the wilderness, and gives us no account of the river from Hugli to the sea. In 1599 the Portuguese ventured for the first time to build a fort and a church at Hugli, and effected new settlements in Dacca, Pipli, and other places.

The character, however, of the foreign traders must have seriously hampered the whole commerce of the place, for the Portuguese were at the best dangerous people to deal with, and there was not so much difference between the merchants of Hugli and the pirates of Chittagong. "The Portuguese in Bengal," says Van Linschoten, writing in 1595, "live like wild men and untamed horses. Every man doth there what he will, and every man is lord and master. They pay no regard to justice, and in this way certain Portuguese dwell among them, some here, some there, and are for the most part such as dare not stay in India (*i.e.*, Goa) for some wickedness by them committed. Nevertheless there is great traffic used in those parts by divers ships and merchants."

But the days of the Portuguese, both for evil and for good, were rapidly drawing to a close. The merchants at Hugli had engaged to keep the gulf of Bengal clear of pirates, but they shamefully neglected their engagement. At length Shah Jahan determined to make a terrible example of these infidel thieves, who provoked him beyond measure by the encouragement they gave to violence and robbery, and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, though they were all of them his subjects. "He first exacted, by threats or persuasion, large sums of money from the Portuguese, and when they refused to comply with his ultimate demands, he besieged and took possession of their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transferred as slaves to Agra."

The fall of Hugli took place in 1632. Seven years previously the Dutch had made their way to Bengal, and they at once stepped into the place of the fallen Portuguese and established themselves at Pipli and Chinsurah. As we have seen, the English, reaching the Bay a year later, did not at first venture to dispute with the Dutch or even the Portuguese.¹ They contented themselves with Hariharapur and Balasor. It was not till the days of the great Protector Oliver that they ventured up the river to Hugli.

Meanwhile the fortunes of Calcutta were slowly but steadily rising. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the place is noticed as a district in the government of Satgaon, which, together with the districts of Barbakpur and Bakuya, paid into the imperial exchequer the annual sum of Rs. 23,405. Somewhere about the end of the sixteenth century forts were built at Betor and on the opposite bank to protect the upper part of the river from pirates and sea-rovers. The strategic importance of the place was thus greatly increased, but its trade had now passed to the other side of the river and was in the hands of the Setts and Bysacks. In the seventeenth century Betor disappeared from history ; its name changed into the village of great Thana, its foreign market was transferred to Sutanuti.² Here the Setts and Bysacks gradually

¹ The Portuguese were soon restored to favour. The Emperor presented them with an assignment of land at Bandel, above Hugli. They never, however, regained their old power.

² In the Armenian Churchyard, Calcutta, there is a tombstone dated the 11th July 1630. This has been taken as showing that the Armenians were established in Calcutta as early as 1630. The inference, however, does not seem

built up a European connection, particularly with the English, to whom they seem to have been especially friendly. Whether the Bengali merchants ever invited the English to come and settle near them, we cannot say ; but the advantages of doing so must have been manifest, and it is clear that Garden Reach was always a favourite anchorage for the Company's ships. It is therefore not surprising that Charnock, when forced to leave Hugli, should have turned almost instinctively to Sutanuti as the place for the destined fortified settlement of the English.

valid. 1. The instance is isolated. No other tombstones in the churchyard are dated earlier than the eighteenth century. It is suggested that there may be other equally early tombstones beneath the floor of the church, but I do not see any reason to suppose this. 2. There is nothing to show that the stone is *in situ*. It may well have been brought to Calcutta from elsewhere. An inscribed stone has recently been found in St. John's Churchyard which must somehow have come there from China. 3. Even if the stone is *in situ*, it does not prove the existence of an Armenian colony. In India a person must be buried where he dies. If an Armenian voyager died in a ship near Calcutta, it would be necessary to bury the body there. (See *Hedges' Dairy*, II, 233.)

CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AT SUTANUTI AND BEGIN TO BUILD THEIR FORT

THE foundation of Calcutta marks the beginning of the fourth period in the history of the English in Bengal, the period in which their trade is established on a fixed basis and their policy of armed industrialism definitely formulated. We shall here be concerned with the first twenty years of this settling down.

Now that the right commercial policy had been adopted and the right commercial centre found, though the old difficulties recurred, they rather helped than hindered the English purposes. They quarrelled among themselves as of old, with the result that their numbers were doubled. The rebellion of Subha Singha was the occasion of the foundation of Fort William. Their disputes with Aurangzeb and Murshid Quli only served to convince them of the strength of their position on the Hugli.

In spite of the favour shown them by the nabob Ibrahim, the situation of the English at Calcutta was at first miserable in the extreme. As the result of the policy pursued by William III., they found themselves immediately involved in an attack upon the commercial interests of the French, and on September 5th, 1690, they were compelled to proclaim at Sutanuti a war, of which they could only remain passive spectators, while rival fleets carried on a desultory struggle in Indian waters. Far from being fit to take part in offensive operations, they had hardly any means of defence, or even subsistence. The buildings which they had occupied two years previously had been plundered and burnt. Only three ruined mud huts remained. The rain fell incessantly day and night, forcing them to take refuge in sloops and country boats, and there wait till the commonest necessities of life could be sent them from Hugli. Nor did their position improve for many months. So late as May 1691, we are told that "they could dispose of little nor have they safe godowns to secure them from

damage, and the truth is they live in a wild unsettled condition at Chuttinuttee, neither fortified houses nor godowns, only tents, hutts and boats, with the strange charge of near 100 soldiers, guardship, &c."

The many hardships he had undergone during his long sojourn in India now seem to have taken effect upon Job Charnock. His health gave way, habits of indolence crept over him, his spirit failed him, his temper grew moody and savage, the reins of government slipped from his relaxing fingers. On the 10th January 1693 he died, leaving the management of the struggling settlement to Francis Ellis, the man who ten years before had been dismissed from the service by Agent Hedges for corrupt dealings, but who had been reinstated by President Gyfford.

Under him things went from bad to worse, the difficulties of the English being greatly increased by the action of Aurangzeb. The late war had shown that a naval power could best wound the Indian Empire by attacking the ships sailing between the West Coast and Arabia, and in consequence of this knowledge adventurers had established themselves in the Red Sea for the purpose of plundering the Mogul vessels. These pirates, for such they were, had nothing to do with the English Company, who looked upon them as a new species of interlopers, but Aurangzeb in his anger held all Europeans alike responsible for the outrages thus committed, and was provoked to suspend their privileges. Fortunately for Calcutta the English there suffered less than might have been expected, owing to the friendly disposition of the local authorities. Still their operations were retarded, and their trade could only be carried on secretly.

On the 12th August, Sir John Goldsborough, Commissary-General and Chief Governor of the Company's settlements, arrived at Sutanuti intent upon reforming its growing abuses. The worthy Captain has left us an unfavourable estimate of Charnock's character and a melancholy picture of the state of the things prevailing in 1693. Charnock had contracted for an investment far in excess of what he could possibly pay for. He had marked out no place for the factory, but allowed every one to enclose lands, dig tanks, and build houses where and how they pleased. "He was poisoned with the expectation of a new Company ; which Mr. Braddyl upon some occasion had the confidence to tell him ; in a little time he would not be his 'worship,'

but 'Mr. Charnock,' and then he would require satisfaction of him. This affront Mr. Charnock swallowed very patiently, as fearing it would be so, and the law courts at Madras scared him exceedingly, so that he was afraid to think of meddling with anybody." Yet at the same time we are told that "he loved everybody should be at difference, and supported a serjeant that set them to duelling." The whole settlement was in the hands of Hill, the Secretary and Captain of the soldiers, a dissolute fellow who had opened a house for the entertainment of strangers of all sorts, and "was allowed to keep a punch house and billiard table gratis while others paid for it."

Such is the unfavourable account which Goldsborough gives of the father of Calcutta, and later critics have been content to echo it. Charnock's talent and services, we are told, were greatly overrated. The man was honest, no doubt, but withal indolent and indecisive, timid and obsequious, with a low trick of casting the blame of his own failure upon the shoulders of others. We must, however, remember that Goldsborough's adverse opinion, though given in all honesty, was founded upon the reports of detractors and the bad impression produced by the few last years of Charnock's weakness. The charges of indolence, irresolution, and disorderliness will not lie against Charnock's earlier life. He was no doubt sometimes disposed to take life easily and to side with his friends in their private quarrels, but not more so than his contemporaries. On the contrary, at the crisis of his life, when Hedges was dismissed from the agency, we see Charnock taking the right side, and preferring vigorous action and self-sacrifice. When others wished to temporise and thought of their selfish interests, he was for breaking with the native powers, and thus deliberately gave his adhesion to the policy of the man who was his private enemy. But, it is said, he was pusillanimous in the war which followed. On this point let the actual story of struggle decide. The man who, without waiting for all his forces to assemble, attacked the Mogul troops at Hugli, seized Sutanuti, held out in the face of tremendous odds at Hijili, and in the end succeeded in outwitting his opponents, would seem to deserve blame rather for rashness than for cowardice. But he did not seize Chittagong. Charnock was not a military genius; and even if he had been, it is doubtful whether Chittagong could have been taken with the forces at his

disposal. In fact, Charnock had the wisdom to see that a settlement on the banks of the Hugli would be more suitable to the requirements of the English trade. Accordingly, after trying Hijili and finding it too unhealthy, he fixed upon Sutanuti as the best place available. In what way he would have used the forces which reached Bengal in 1688 for the purposes of fortifying and securing his position we cannot tell. He was superseded by Captain Heath, and the opportunity never returned. The building of Fort William was reserved for other hands. But the fact remains that Charnock, and Charnock alone, founded Calcutta. Many of his contemporaries failed to see the need of such a measure ; others saw it, but the Court would not trust them, or give them the necessary means. In Charnock the Court reposed an almost unwavering confidence. He wished to make a fortified settlement at Sutanuti, and in the end the settlement was made. In short, Charnock possessed the one rare but absolutely needful virtue of disinterested honesty,—a virtue which must have been at this time difficult to retain ; a virtue which must have raised up against him scores of secret enemies ; a virtue which makes us slow to believe evil of one who, in spite of all petty detraction, will always occupy a place amongst those who have the sovereign honour of being founders of states and commonwealths. Coarse and wilful he may well have been, for he seems to have been imperfectly educated ; and he passed an unprecedented length of years in Indian service. But for my part I prefer to forget the minor blemishes, and to remember only his resolute determination, his clear sighted wisdom, his honest self-devotion, and so leave him to sleep on in the heart of the city which he founded, looking for a blessed resurrection and the coming of Him by Whom alone he ought to be judged.

The worthy Commissary-General, Sir John Goldsborough, lost no time in setting about his work of reform. He found that Ellis, who had been appointed to succeed Charnock, was a man of little character or ability, his weakness being so well-known that he had lost the respect of Europeans and Natives alike. The only one of the Company's servants in Bengal who appeared to be at all fit to be chief of the settlement was Charles Eyre, of whom there was little to complain, except that he was much addicted to the country habits and customs. He was accordingly summoned to Sutanuti to replace the incompetent Ellis. As

for Captain Hill, the Commissary-General dismissed him summarily from all but the Company's service, and ordered him to Madras. The military establishment was cut down to two sergeants, two corporals, a drummer and twenty men, and the paymaster was told that the soldiers were to have only Rs. 4 each a month, which, considering the plentifulness and cheapness of food, was great wages. By this and other similar reforms Goldsborough effected a retrenchment of nearly Rs. 4,000 a year in the expenses of the settlement. He also did what he could to provide proper buildings for the Company's business. He ordered a piece of ground to be inclosed with a mud wall whereinto build a factory as soon as the native government should allow of it, and he intended to add four upper rooms to the house which had been brought for the Company, so that the accountants and secretaries might be brought within a brick house with their books and papers which were then lying scattered about in thatched houses liable to catch fire every day. Neither was Goldsborough pleased with the religious condition of the place. He found that the merchants and factors were marrying black wives who were Roman Catholics, and in his opinion their husbands were too much under the influence of the Augustinian Friars. Without more ado, he turned the Roman priests out of Sutanuti, and pulled down their Mass house. But in the midst of these plans and hopes the worthy man was overtaken by a fatal sickness, and before November was ended the disorders of Sutanuti had ceased to trouble him.

It is significant of the distrust with which Goldsborough regarded Ellis and the merchants at Sutanuti that he took the precaution of keeping the intended change of government a profound secret. It was not till two months after his death, when the ships had received their despatches and Eyre had reached Calcutta, that the orders which had been left in the hands of Captain Robert Dorrill, were made public and put into execution. "On the 25th January 1694, all the Rt. Hon'ble Company's servants were summoned to appear to hear the said orders read, which was accordingly done, and the charge of the Agency taken from Mr. Francis Ellis and delivered to Mr. Charles Eyre, and likewise the Rt. Hon'ble Company's papers, as bills of debt, obligations, cash-book, &c., were demanded of said Mr. Francis Ellis, which he promised to deliver up as soon as possible,

his weakness at present not permitting him to proceed therein any further than the delivery up of the Hon'ble Company's cash, which amounts to Rupees 22,748-3-8." The subsequent conduct of the agent chosen and appointed in this unusual manner, justified the expectations formed of him. He did his best to maintain and promote the good order which had been restored by the Commissary, and under his management the situation of affairs in Bengal began to improve. He respected the memory of the Father of Calcutta, whose daughter Mary he married, and over whose remains he raised the massive octagonal mausoleum, which still stands in St. John's Churchyard.

During the year 1694 we get our last views of Tom Pitt, the notorious interloper, just before he turns into the Governor of Madras, and of Chaplain Evans, the merchandising parson, destined eventually to become Bishop of Bangor. Evans had gone to Madras with Charnock in March 1689, and while there had been dismissed for his irregular commercial dealings. In June 1693 he had managed to escape from the place on the American Ship *St. Mark*, and reaching Sutanuti while Ellis was in power, had been allowed by that incompetent officer to go to Hugli. Pitt, now member of parliament for Old Sarum, had reached Bengal on the *Seymour* in the October of 1693, and Sir John Goldsborough had done his best to frustrate the "pyrott" and had directed Captain Dorill to arrest him and stop his trade. But it was all in vain. A little judicious bribery by the interloping Captain proved more efficacious than the most convincing arguments addressed by the Company's Commissary-General to the Nabob of Dacca. In spite of Goldsborough and his successor Eyre, the people of the country countenanced and encouraged the interlopers who had established themselves at Hugli and enjoy every facility for buying and selling. In February 1694, Parson Evans sailed from Sutanuti for England on Dorril's ship the *Charles II*. The other interlopers continued their trading undisturbed. As a last resort Eyre had recourse to violence, hoping, that by a display of force he might arouse the attention of the nabob and induce him to move against Pitt. For this purpose he sent up his sergeant and twenty men to Hugli with orders to arrest, not the interlopers, but a certain Messenger who had unlawfully taken possession of a house adjoining the interlopers and against whom a warrant had been received from Madras. The man and his goods were seized and a certain amount of bicker-

ing and fighting followed, but no substantial result was obtained. In the end Pitt gained the day; for the Court having received a new Charter from William III had at this time resolved to come to terms with the interlopers, and wrote out to its agents to that effect. Wherefore at the beginning of 1695 Mr. Pitt left Bengal, returned to the Parliament and the India House in London, and though unrepentant was pardoned for the sin of interloping.

The only other event worthy of record during the first year of Eyre's rule is a memorable catastrophe on the river, the loss of the *Royal James and Mary* on the fatal shoal which still bears the name. She had arrived from Sumatra in August with a cargo of behars, pepper, and redwood candy, which she took in at Madras; but coming up the river, on the 24th September, she struck upon the well-known sand, turned over immediately, broke her back, and was lost with four or five of her men. As soon as the news of the accident was received, the master of attendance, Captain Hampton, was ordered to go to the assistance of her crew with the *Mary Buoyer*, the "Europe" ship's long boats and seamen. Several boats from the shore, and as many lascars as could be spared from the different ships, were also sent off. But after many days' labour they found that they could do no more than save the guns and rigging and a small portion of her cargo. The ship herself was a total wreck, and was sold as she lay with the long boat for 1,500 rupees.

The year 1695 is even less eventful than its predecessor. The diary of the year, which is extant, contains little else than accounts. Still even from these meagre resources a certain amount of information may be gleaned giving local colour to our picture of this time. The Council meets on Thursdays. It consists of four members, Charles Eyre, John Beard, Roger Braddyll, and Edward Cornell. The secretary, who is not a member of the Council, is Jonathan White. The usual entries regularly occur. Money is invested, soldiers are sent every now and then up the river to rescue some unfortunate boat which has been stopped on its way to Calcutta, ships come and go, and the accounts of the settlement are duly brought in month by month. From them we learn that Samuel Shaw was allowed to keep a public house on payment of twenty rupees a month, and that Mrs. Domingo Ash was licensed to distil arrack. The revenues of Calcutta amount to some seventy or eighty rupees a month, being derived partly from the

rent of shops, partly from fines and fees, and partly from duties levied on hemp, grain, salt, and other petty wares. The chief expenses connected with the town are for servants, most of whom are employed as police, and whose wages come to nearly seventy rupees a month. In November we have given us a list of all the Company's servants in Bengal. Besides the Council and the Doctor, Francis Simson, the establishment consists of six senior merchants, three merchants, seven factors, and four writers.

Meanwhile the Court at home had been revolving great schemes for their new settlement. They directed that the revenues of the place should be carefully developed and the Madras plan gradually introduced. Interlopers were to be obstructed and driven away, but without violence. A thousands tons of saltpetre was always to be kept in store, and a large quantity of Bengal silk. For the better regulation of the settlement a court of judicature was to be established to take cognisance of disputes between the Company's servants. Eyre was obliged to point out to the Court that these schemes were a little too large for the present. In obedience to their wishes the factories had been withdrawn from Dacca and Malda ; the first thing to do was to re-establish them. It was premature to talk of establishing a court of judicature at Sutanuti, seeing that the tenure of the English there was still precarious and the revenues only amounted to a hundred and sixty rupees a month. Nothing could be done without an imperial rescript defining the Company's right to a seat of trade, and with this purpose he had endeavoured to obtain the lease of two or three towns adjoining Sutanuti at the rent of two or three thousand rupees a year.

In the year 1696 events happened in Bengal which gave the English the very opportunity for which they had so long waited. A Hindu landowner in the district of Burdwan, named Subha Singha, being dissatisfied with the government, broke out into rebellion and invited Rahim Khan, an Afghan chief, to march from Orissa and join him in his attempt. The two malcontents, having united their forces, advanced to Burdwan, slew the raja Krishna Ram in battle, and seized his family and property. His son Jagat Rai alone escaped to Dacca, where he laid his complaints before the nabob. But his Highness was engaged with his books, and his Highness's commanders, intent upon making money, considered the matter of little importance. While they hesitated and delayed, the rebel force rapidly increased in number, marched upon Hugli,

and took it. Still his Highness remained inactive. He could only repeat that civil war was a dreadful evil, and that the rebels, if let alone, would soon disperse. What was the use, then, of fighting? Why should he wantonly destroy the lives of God's creatures? Why could he not be left to read his *Gulistan* in peace? Such being the sentiments of the nabob, the three European settlements in Bengal perceived that they must shift for themselves, raised bodies of native troops without delay, and wrote to Dacca asking for permission to fortify their factories. The nabob in reply ordered them in general terms to defend themselves, and thus tacitly permitted the construction of the forts at Chinsura, Chandannagar, and Calcutta.

But the rebels were not suffered to have it all their own way. Seeing the whole country round him given up to plunder and hearing daily the cries of the unhappy inhabitants who implored his protection, the Governor of the Dutch factory at Chinsurah fitted out two ships of war, anchored them opposite Hugli, and firing broadsides upon the marauders drove them out of the place. Then a blow was struck by the hand of a woman, the young daughter of the murdered Krishna Ram, whom Subba Singha had carried off captive to Burdwan. Here was enacted once again the old, old story of man's brutality and woman's constancy. Subha Singha, after flattering and entreating in vain, at last had recourse to violence. But the girl, driven to extremities, plucking from her dress a sharp knife, stabbed the wretch to death through his body and then plunged the point in her own heart. At Maqsudabad another heroic spirit showed itself in the person of Ni'amut Khan, a gallant-officer in the Imperial service, who held a royal grant of lands, and who resolutely refused to espouse the cause of his master's enemies. Incensed at the opposition, Rahim Khan, at the head of a band of Afghan horse, turned to destroy the faithful subject. As the rebels drew near the estate of Ni'amut, his nephew, well mounted and armed, advanced and challenged any of the Afghans to a single combat; but the whole body fell upon him and cut him to pieces. Then Ni'amut Khan, though dressed only in a thin vest of muslin, seized his sword, mounted his horse, and rushed forth to meet the foe. Singling out the rebel he spurred up to him and struck him full on the head, but the blade fell shivered by the impenetrable helmet. With all the force of disappointed rage he flung the sword hilt at the Afghan and felled

him from his horse ; then dismounting he seized his enemy's dagger and tried to pierce his throat. Once more he failed. The chain armour stopped the point, and before he could stab again he was surrounded and slain.

Such isolated acts of daring could do but little to check the flowing tide of anarchy and rebellion. Maqsudabad fell, and so too did Rajmahal and Malda. Cassimbazar yielded up itself without a struggle ; the Thana fort was closely beset. By March 1697 the Afghan held the whole of the land west of the Ganges.

When the emperor learnt of these events through the ordinary public news-letter, his surprise and indignation were unbounded. He instantly recalled Ibrahim Khan and appointed his grandson, 'Azimush-Shan, in his stead. In the meantime he ordered the nabob's son Zabardast Khan to take the field and extirpate the rebels. The young general, who had beheld with impatience the apathy of his father, was nothing loth. During the month of April he quickly got together his forces at Dacca and advanced to meet Rahim Khan on the river Bhagwangola. His cavalry, sent on in advance, speedily recovered Rajmahal and Malda. In May, the whole army being come up with the rebels, he attacked them by land and by river, cannonaded them, routed them, and plundered their camp. Then, joined on all sides by the inhabitants, who had shaken off their fear of the enemy, he pursued the Afghans to Burdwan, and was hunting them from place to place, when he received an order from 'Azimu-sh-Shan commanding him to stay further movements till the prince himself should arrive. Understanding the jealousy which prompted this order, Zabardast Khan, after paying his respects to the grandson of the emperor, withdrew from Bengal with his father. The prince, left to himself, after wasting much time in foolish negotiation, and so losing an envoy and his escort through treachery, had the glory of seeing an Arab officer throw Rahim Khan from his horse and cut off his head. All that was left for 'Azimu-sh-Shan to do was to distribute honours to his lieutenants and alms to the poor, and thank God he was rid of a knave.

The part played by the English at Calcutta in those events was subordinate, but not unimportant. On the 23rd December 1696, finding that the rebels, who occupied the opposite bank of the river, were growing "abusive", they ordered the *Diamond* to ride at anchor off Sutanuti Point and keep them from crossing the

stream. They also had lent the *Thomas* to the governor of the Thana fort to lie off it as a guardship. On receiving full instructions round their factory, and in January 1697, reported that they were employed in fortifying themselves, but wanted proper guns for the points, and desired the people at Madras to send at least ten guns for present use. At the beginning of April a neighbouring rajah secretly deposited the sum of forty-eight thousand rupees with the agent for safe custody, and a week or two afterwards the late governor of Hugli honoured Calcutta with a visit. In May, learning that the rebels were all dispersed, they got rid of the band of fifty native gunners which they had raised, but continued building their fort, and substituted a structure of brick and mud for the old thatched house which used to contain Company's stores and provisions. In June they sent Khojah Sarhad, an influential Armenian merchant, with a present to the camp of Zabardast Khan to apply for help against interlopers, and to ask that the property of the English at Rajmahal and Malda, which had been recovered from the rebels, should be restored to its original owners.

These negotiations produced very little result. Zabardast Khan refused to restore any of the goods, and the English had to turn to 'Azimu-sh-Shan. Towards the end of the year Khojah Sarhad, together with Mr. Stanley and Mr. Walsh, appeared in the camp of the Prince at Burdwan for the purpose of advocating the English claims. Here they met with better success. Azimu-sh-Shan was lazy and covetous. He was ready to concede anything for a sufficient bribe. Accordingly, in July 1698, for the sum of sixteen thousand rupees, the English procured letters patent from the Prince allowing them to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti, and Govindpur. The grant, after some delay in order that it might be counter signed by the Treasurer, was carried into execution, and the security of Calcutta, which began with the permission to build a fort, was now completely assured, to the great satisfaction and credit of Eyre, under whose auspices these advantages had been gained. Nearly two years later the Prince also renewed the permission which the English had to trade free of custom, but at that time Eyre was no longer agent. His five years rule came to an end on the 1st February 1699, when he delivered to John Bread and departed for England.

CHAPTER XIII

CALCUTTA UNDER THE ROTATION GOVERNMENT : ITS POPULATION AND ADMINISTRATION

WHEN the English first came to Calcutta their position was precarious and ill-defined. The land in the neighbourhood being to a large extent wild and uncultivated, there was little or nothing to prevent any body of men that chose from seizing a piece of unoccupied ground and squatting on it. In this way the Setts and Bysacks had, more than a hundred years before, founded Govindpur, and the English, coming to Calcutta with the good-will and, probably, at the suggestion of these very Setts and Bysacks, had nothing more to do than to take as much waste land as they needed, clear it, and build houses and offices. They trusted that the natural strength of the position would protect them, and that the acquiescence of the government would leave them undisturbed in their new home.

The first settlement at Sutanuti seems to have consisted of mud and straw hovels with a few masonry buildings. Its chief defence was the flotilla of boats lying in the river. The renewed settlement established by Charnock in 1690 was of the same nature ; but as time went on the number of masonry buildings increased, and in 1696 the beginning of a fort was made. The English also attempted to raise some sort of revenue from the land upon which they had squatted. In 1694 such partial duties as the agent at Calcutta could then raise are reckoned as amounting to only one hundred and sixty rupees a month, and from the records which remain it would appear to have been even less. For instance, in the account of the revenue for August 1695, the total receipts from shop-rents, fines, fees, and duties are set down as Rs. 75-0-6. The expenses are equally trifling. Besides Rs. 69-12 for servants' wages, the items of expenditure are one rupee for paper, ten annas for a whip, four annas for "rice for ye thieves," and one anna for "making a jump."

The letters patent granted by Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān in 1698 changed all this. The English Company gained a definite status in the eyes of the Indian Governors. It became the Collector of the three towns, Sutanuti, Calcutta, and Govindpur. As such it was empowered to levy internal duties and customs on articles of trade passing through its districts and impose petty taxes and cesses on the cultivators ; as such it managed the lands and exercised jurisdiction over the inhabitants. The exact relations of a Collector to the supreme government are a matter of dispute. Ordinarily, we are told, the Collector realized the public revenue arising from the land under him, and, after deducting a commission of ten per cent and various other small charges, transmitted the sum to the Imperial treasury. In the case of the Company this sum was fixed. In short, the Council at Calcutta paid the Mogul an annual rent of twelve hundred rupees, more or less, and was free to tax and govern the place almost as it pleased.

In consequence of this change in the position of the Company, a new member was added to the Council to represent it in its new capacity. Henceforth a special officer, known as the Collector, was appointed to gather in the revenue of the three towns and to keep them in order. In 1700 Ralph Sheldon became the first Collector of Calcutta, and from him through many an inheritor whose name is now part of the history of British India, the line of the Calcutta Collectors runs in unbroken succession down to the present day. On the 1st February 1704, Benjamin Bowcher, the second of the Calcutta Collectors, took over charge of the office, which he filled till his death on the 24th September 1705. On the 8th October John Cole succeeded him ; but in April 1706 Arthur King was ordered to act in his stead. On the 3rd October 1706, after a good deal of discussion about the proper constitution of the Council, it was settled that John Maisters should be Collector. In February 1707 the post was filled by Abraham Adams, but in August of that year Adams was made Secretary and was succeeded by William Bugden. He remained in the office till April 1709, when he was promoted to be Import Warehouse keeper. His place in the Council was given to William Lloyd, but as Lloyd was away from Calcutta, the duties of Collector were discharged by Samuel Blount during the rest of the year 1709, and by Spencer for the first half of 1710. In

July, on the arrival of President Weltden, the Calcutta Collectorate was entrusted to John Calvert.

Although the Company seem to have claimed all the land between the river and the Salt Lake, from Govindpur to Sutanuti, as within their sphere of influence, the land which they actually rented at this time amounted to about 5,077 bighas, or 1,861 acres, that is, about one-third of the present area of the town. The primary duty of the Collector was to gather in the revenues accruing from this area. The principal receipts were from the ground rents, which the Company was empowered to levy up to a maximum of three rupees a bigha, but besides these the Company drew considerable sums from various aids and benevolences, from tolls levied on the markets and ferries, and from other miscellaneous town duties.

The Collector rendered an account of the revenue to the Council month by month. The "balances paid into cash" are regularly recorded in the consultation books, and sometimes the details as well. From these entries it is comparatively easy to trace the growth of the Calcutta revenues. In 1704 the average monthly cash balance shown by the Collectorate accounts is four hundred and eighty rupees : during the next few years this balance increases at the rate of one hundred rupees a year, till in 1707, it amounts to eight hundred and eighty-five rupees. In 1708 it is a thousand and ten rupees ; in 1709 it is thirteen hundred and seventy rupees ; in 1710 it is stationary. In the time of Holwell the average net monthly balance varies from two thousand five hundred to three thousand eight hundred rupees. It may be set down as three thousand five hundred.

These figures are interesting not only in themselves, but also for the evidence they furnish as to the early development of Calcutta in size and population. The growth of the revenues was the direct consequence of the growth of the settlement, and, if we could be certain that the revenues were regularly collected, would give us a measure of it. Regarded in this light the Collectorate accounts would show, that in the six years, from 1703 to 1708 inclusive, Calcutta doubled itself, and that between then and 1710 it increased more than thirty-five per cent. In the whole of the forty years which followed, Calcutta only increased threefold.

Unfortunately we have every reason to believe that the col-

lection of the revenue was most irregular, and we cannot tell whether the increase in any particular year may not be due to some improvement in the collecting agency. When, therefore, we further try to arrive at some definite account of the population in those early days, we lose all firm foot-hold, and become involved in perplexities. The whole subject "suffers from a plethora of probabilities." Nevertheless, though well aware that my results can only be rough and tentative, I shall yet not shrink from giving figures, this being the only way in which we can hope to gain clear ideas. To help us in our task we have a survey of the Company's lands made in the year 1706, and two contemporary estimates of the population, one by Alexander Hamilton who spent some years in Calcutta under the Rotation Government, and the other by John Zephaniah Holwell just before the taking of the city by Siraju-d-Daula. Hamilton, who was a private merchant and therefore prejudiced against the Company and all connected with it, sets down the population as from ten to twelve thousand. He does not say of what year he is speaking ; but it is reasonable to suppose that his estimate is based on the survey in 1706. Holwell, one of the greatest of the Calcutta Collectors, on the basis of a survey of his own, argues that in 1752 the total population from which the city revenues were drawn, must have amounted to 409,000. There can be no doubt that this number is far too large. In order to reach it, Holwell has included a considerable area of land, which, though now a part of Calcutta, did not then belong to the Company at all, and has reckoned forty-eight inhabitants to each bigha, a density of population hardly yet reached in the most crowded quarters of the city. We shall probably be making a very liberal allowance if we fix it at twenty to a bigha in 1752, and we shall strictly confine our attention to the Company's lands from which alone it drew rent.

It appears, then, from Holwell's account, that the total area of the land owned by the Company, exclusive of Jannagur, which lies outside the Maharatta ditch, was about 5,243 bighas, and thus the population of the settlement, reckoned at the rate of twenty inhabitants to a bigha, was about one hundred and five thousand. Taking this as our starting-point, and assuming that the increase of the population was proportional to the increase in the average monthly net balances, we should reach the following conclusions. At the beginning of the Rotation Govern-

ment, the population of the Company's lands would be fifteen thousand ; in 1706, when the survey was made, it would be over twenty-two thousand, that is double Hamilton's estimate ; in 1708 it would be thirty-one thousand. From this it would rapidly rise to forty-one thousand in the years 1709, 1710. These calculations would only apply to the lands under the management of the Company, that is, to about a third of the whole area included within the Maharatta ditch. If we were to guess at the total population within these limits, we should have to increase the figures by fifty or sixty per cent., or perhaps even to double them.

For administrative purposes the Company's land was split up into four divisions. The smallest but most populous of these was the Great Bazar, where the houses occupied more than 400 bighas out of 488. Beyond lay the large division of Town Calcutta, an area of 1,717½ bighas. In 1706 only 248 bighas were occupied with dwellings, the rest of the division being under cultivation or left waste ; but the surveyor notes that 364 bighas are shortly to be used for houses. The northern division, Sutanuti, is estimated to contain 1,692 bighas, of which only 134 were inhabited. In the southern division, Govindpur, only 57 bighas out of 1,178 were inhabited. Thus the total amount of inhabited land in 1706 was only 841½ bighas ; and if we were to suppose as before that there were as many as twenty persons living on each bigha, the total population of the settlement in 1706 would be 16,830. It might be argued that the population was not so dense at that time, and that a lower proportion should be taken, which would bring the estimate into agreement with Hamilton. But the calculations which have been based on the growth of the revenues indicate a much larger number, and this seems to be nearer the truth. Of the rest of the land, 1,525 bighas were rice fields and 486 bighas gardens. Plantains were grown on some 250 bighas, tobacco on 187, vegetables on 150 ; 307 bighas were granted rent free for the use of Brahmans ; 167 bighas were manor land ; 116 were taken up with roads and ditches, wells and ponds ; 1,144 bighas were waste.

The position of the English with regard to these lands is clear. The Company had not the absolute possession of the land, but only the rights of a Collector. It could sell, grant, or lease the manor and unoccupied lands, and from the occupiers of the

tenanted lands it could demand a rent not exceeding three rupees a bigha ; but it had no powers of sale or resumption on failure to pay the ground-rent. Arrears of rent could only be recovered by distraint and by the sale of the moveable property of the occupier. When the Company made a grant of land, it gave with it a deed which conveyed to the grantee his title to the property, and specified the conditions under which it was held. The form of these deeds was extremely simple. Written in Bengali and in English, and signed by the zamindar, they merely gave the date, the name of the grantee, the amount of the land, its situation, and its rent. In the same way, whenever land already occupied changed hands, a new deed had to be taken out. By a resolution passed on the 12th June 1707, it was ordered that all deeds should be registered, should be renewed once a year, and should be shown every month at the time of paying rent. We may, however, suspect that this resolution, like many others made by the Council, was by no means rigidly enforced.

Each of the four divisions of the settlement was administered through a separate office. As a revenue officer, the Collector had under him a staff of clerks and rent gatherers, which gradually grew with the growth of the revenue. The pay of these servants seems to have been miserably small. One of the results of the survey of 1706, was the discovery that the rent gatherers had been making false returns and farming out lands for their own advantage. The corrupt officers were discharged, and it was decided that the pay of the clerks in charge of the land records should be raised to four rupees a month ; but as a matter of fact, the order was not carried out.

Still more difficult was it to discover a reliable "black collector." During the first ten years of the Calcutta collectorate several men were tried in the post and found wanting. As long as Ralph Sheldon was collector, the "general supervisor" was a certain Nandarama ; but soon after Bowcher had succeeded Sheldon, Nandarama fell under suspicion, and in August 1705, Jagatdas was made "black collector." He does not seem to have given satisfaction. In 1707 the post remained vacant for several months, during which Nandarama again acted as the assistant to the Collector. No sooner was he displaced than all sorts of complaints were preferred against him, and it appeared that he had been guilty of extensive peculation. On being given up by the

Governor of Hugli, whither he had fled for refuge, the Council ordered him to be imprisoned while the Collector looked over the accounts. The drum was beaten all about the town, and notice was given to all the native inhabitants that whosoever had any money or effects of Nandarama in his possession should not deliver them up to him or any of his family till his case had been decided. During Weltden's government, Jagatdas was again "black collector," and was accused of being concerned with the president in extensive frauds on the Company.

These incidents seem typical. The dishonest "black collector" is a recurring feature in the internal administration of Calcutta, and it is a feature which need not excite surprise. In all probability the pay of the "black collector" was absurdly small. It was the vicious policy of the Company to under-pay its servants, and it was notorious that these servants, both high and low, derived the greater part of their income from their perquisites and from private trade. If the English Collector was not content with his pay but had recourse to indirect means to augment it, why should not his Bengali personal assistant follow so good an example? When in 1752 Holwell accused Govindarama Mitra of dishonesty, the celebrated "black collector" defended himself by pointing out that every deputy of this description was allowed similar privileges, and that he could not from his wages keep up the equipage and attendance necessary for an officer of his station.

But the Collector was not merely the gatherer of the Calcutta revenues, he was also the magistrate in charge of the native inhabitants. As magistrate he had under him a small police force, of which the numbers must be inferred from the scanty notices found in the Consultation Books. On the 16th February 1704 it is ordered that a native superintendent of police, 45 constables, two beadles, and 20 watchmen shall be taken into pay, and on the 27th December 1706, in consequence of various outrages committed in the town, the Collector was ordered for the present to entertain 31 watchmen. The accounts of the four offices in Calcutta show a total of only 30 constables and some 40 watchmen, but it is quite possible that some were told off to do duty in the fort. In Holwell's time the head-quarters of the Collector were in Town Calcutta, but in the days of the Rotation Government they would seem to have been in the Great Bazar, in which were stationed the native superintendent and the greater part of

the police force, and which, in addition to the usual drummer employed in every quarter of the town to assist in the publication of important notices, was in 1712 able to boast of two trumpeters.

In Holwell's time the Collector presided over two separate branches of administration, the Collector's office, which dealt with land and revenue questions, and the Magistrate's court, which dealt with both civil cases and criminal offences where natives only were concerned. This was practically his position under the Rotation Government. But at that time the Council made many attempts to take away the sole jurisdiction from the Collector, and deputed three of their number to form a court of justice. When first constituted in August 1704, it was ordered to sit every Saturday from nine to twelve in the morning, but it does not seem to have met very regularly. In September 1705, in May 1709, and in July 1710, we find notes in the consultations to the effect that the sittings of the court of justice had been suspended for the time. On 29th April 1706 a registrar was appointed for the court. The duty of the court was to hear and determine small controversies : the hearing of important cases was reserved for the full Council. We have an example of their administration of criminal justice in 1706. In August of that year they ordered that a number of thieves and murderers who had been recently caught should be branded on the cheek and turned on the other side of the water.

Although in great emergencies the Council might extemporise a volunteer force out of the European and Christian inhabitants, the regular garrison of the fort consisted only of some hundred and fifty men, divided into two companies, each having a captain, or lieutenant, and an ensign. There were besides four armourers, and a master-at-arms. These two weak companies, besides defending the Fort, had to undertake the safeguarding of the Company's boats up and down the river as far as Patna, and had sometimes to help to maintain order in the town. They were, no doubt, trained after the model of Marlborough's armies. Their uniform seems to have been red trimmed with blue. The soldiers were partly Portuguese, hired in the country, and partly English, recruited from home, perhaps by some young gentleman who wished to hold a commission under the Company. Their lot does not seem to have been enviable. Without any of the excitement or glory of war, they had to discharge the harassing

duties of river police. Till the year 1710, they had no proper barracks to live in, but had to find lodgings for themselves, as best they could, anywhere in the town. Till the autumn of 1707, there was no hospital for the numbers among them who were sick and dying. Very few of these poor lads ever saw their native land again, and half of them never even reached India. Yet it was upon them that the merchants depended for the safety of the river and the defence of Calcutta.

More important even than the fort and the garrison were the Company's ships and sailors, for the English power was founded on the command of the sea. The Company's business in Bengal required two fleets. Besides the great sea-going ships, there were a large number of small sloops and boats which carried on the trade of the river, and brought down the saltpetre from Patna. The great ships did not come up the river farther than Calcutta, for the navigation of the river was then as now very difficult. It would have been impossible had it not been for the splendid service of pilots which the Company had established in 1668. At the beginning of the Rotation Government this service, it would seem, included three pilots, three masters, three boat-swains, and three or four apprentices. A large number of English pilots must also have been employed on Indian and other foreign ships. In 1708 we find the Council threatening to stop all the Mogul shipping and paralyse the trade at Hugli and Rajmahal by ordering all the English captains in the employ of the Indian government to repair to Calcutta. Altogether nothing can be more striking than the hold upon the river which the English had acquired even at this early date.

CHAPTER XIV

CALCUTTA UNDER THE ROTATION GOVERNMENT : THE LIFE OF ITS INHABITANTS

SUCH was the somewhat rough machinery of Government by which Calcutta was at this time administered and its trade protected. When we search the records for information as to the life of the place, we find very little said about those who constituted the great majority of the inhabitants. Of the Bengali families only one stands out with any distinctness, the great family which sprang from Mukundarama Sett, who with the assistance of the four Bysacks colonized Govindpur in the sixteenth century.¹ Eighth in descent from the founder was Kenarama, the father of Janardana, Varanasi, and Nandarama Sett. Of these Janardana, the eldest brother, a fair, stout and good-looking man, was the Company's broker in the days of the Rotation Government. Liberal and high-minded, like his better-known son Vaisnava Charan, he commanded the respect and confidence of all who came into contact with him. His wife, Tunumani, was noted for her good works, for the charities which she endowed at Bindrabun, and for the twelve temples of Siva which she built at Katrunga.² Janardana was appointed the Company's broker on the 18th October, 1707. He is mentioned more than once in the records, and was evidently the most important of the Company's native servants. On the 9th February 1712 he died, and was succeeded as broker by his brother Varanasi Sett.

The records notice more than once the celebrated Armenian merchant, Khojah Israel Sarhad, the nephew of the great Khojah Phanoos Khalanthar. In the preceding period Sarhad had done good service in helping to secure the grant of the three towns from Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shan. In the days to come he was to still further distinguish himself as a diplomatist when sent with the

¹G. D. Bysack's *Kalighat and Calcutta*, in the *Calcutta Review*, XCII, p. 319.

²I am indebted to Babu G. D. Bysack for this information.

embassy to Farrukhsiyar ; but at the present time he does not seem to have been on the best terms with the Council, who, on the 2nd May 1707, actually went to the length of seizing his goods to recover the money which he then owed the Company.

As regards the life of the English in Calcutta, our information is sufficiently abundant. Besides the numerous hints and touches supplied by the records, we have two contemporary accounts, one by Captain Alexander Hamilton and the other by Parson Benjamin Adams. Both are interesting and important ; but before accepting either we must in each case examine the circumstances under which our witness gives his evidence.

Benjamin Adams, "a sober, virtuous, and learned man," had been appointed by the Court to the Bay on the 22nd November 1699, at the recommendation of Hewer, the friend of Pepys, and of Eyre, the late Agent at Calcutta. Four days later he had been ordained priest, and at Christmas-tide, when Eyre, newly knighted, set out for India in the *Fame* to resume service under the Company as President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal, Adams sailed in his patron's train. He brought with him a collection of modern books which Hewer had presented to the Company's library at Calcutta, a very acceptable addition to a place so far removed from the civilizing influences of literature.

Adams seems also to have brought with him a rather poor opinion of the spiritual state of his intended flock, and the belief that it was his mission to effect a thorough reform. The natural results followed. When a young priest comes to a strange land, and with little knowledge of life, and no knowledge of the society he is addressing, begins to criticise, admonish, rebuke and condemn, he must not be surprised if he finds himself laughed at and neglected. This was what befell Adams. Calcutta thought well and spoke well of its new Chaplain, but it did not pay much attention to his views on social reform. To Adams the experience was a bitter disappointment, and he wrote home painting the condition of Calcutta in the most sombre colours.

"The missionary clergy abroad," he says, "live under great discouragement and disadvantage with regard to the easy and successful discharge of their important office. For, to say nothing of the ill-treatment they meet with on all hands, resulting sometimes from the opposition of their chiefs, who have no other notion of chaplains but that they are the Company's servants

sent abroad to act for, under, and by them, upon all occasions, and sometimes from the perverseness and refractoriness of others, it is observable that it is not in the power to act but by legal process upon any emergent occasion, when instances of notorious wickedness present themselves. And because that cannot conveniently be had at so great distance (since all important cases have to be referred to Madras) hence it comes to pass that they must suffer silently, being incapacitated to right themselves upon any injury or indignity offered, or, which is much worse, to vindicate the honour of our holy religion from the encroachments of libertinism and profaneness.

"This everybody knows, and that knowledge is constant ground for licentiousness and ill-manners, to those especially whose dissoluteness prompts them to level both persons and things when that may serve to the gratifying of their own extravagant and wild humour and interest.

"Were the injuries and indignities small and trivial, and such as in time by a competent care and prudence might either be avoided or redressed, a man might choose to bear them with patience rather than give himself the trouble of representing them to superiors. But notorious crimes had need be notoriously represented, or the infection would grow too strong and epidemical.

"For what, for instance, can any man say to that incestuous as well as adulterous marriage of Sir Nicholas Waite, President of Affairs for the New Company at Surat, with his niece, at a time when he expected his own lady by the next shipping? Or to that other adulterous marriage of William Warren, Surgeon to the Factory at Calcutta, with Elizabeth Binns, a widow there, though admonished, advised, and cautioned to the contrary, when she, and everybody that knew Mr. Warren, knew also that he was married to another woman, who would have come out to him, if he had a mind to it? But it seems that the obligations of marriage, or anything else, are of little consideration with Mr. Warren, being a man of most pernicious principles and debauched manners.

"I might instance in several things of this nature which occur daily, to the great scandal of our Christian profession among other Europeans, not to mention how easily the more strict and reserved among the heathens may reproach us in that particular enormity, which I have been speaking of."

I think it would be most unfair to construe Adams's words into an indictment against the whole of the English colony in Calcutta. That offences against good morals were then far more common and far more serious than they are now, we cannot doubt. We do not expect to find purity in the lower waters of a stream which is tainted at its source, and the beginning of the eighteenth century was the nadir of our morality. We do not expect the wall to stand firm when its buttresses have been removed, and Calcutta was then so far away from London that all the common moral restraints and supports were to a great extent inoperative. We know that many of the exiles in that distant land formed unions, sometimes lawful, sometimes unlawful, with Portuguese and Indian women. We know that many of them were largely denationalized. The records make mention far too frequently of their quarrels and their punch-houses. They testify painfully to the prevalence of slavery. But for all that, there is no reason to believe that the majority of the Anglo-Indians of that time were not, as they always have been, sober, earnest, generous, and faithful. The charges made by Adams are sweeping enough, but only two definite cases are quoted, of which one occurred not at Calcutta but at Surat, which was supposed to be the godliest of the Company's factories. Against the solitary instance of Dr. Warren's misconduct, we can set the lives of men like Beard, Hedges, and Adams himself, whose excellence we know from the letters and documents which remain ; and we need not doubt that could we read the recorded lives of all who lived at this period, the numbers of those who fell far short of the recognized standard of right conduct would be comparatively few.

If we turn from Adams to Hamilton we get a rather different picture. The captain, who from 1688 to 1723 was engaged in voyaging, by land and by sea, between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, has given us the results of his eastern experiences in two gossiping volumes published in 1727. As a private trader he had to suffer many things at the hands of the Company's covenanted servants, and he consequently writes with a certain animus against them and their doings. He makes no mention of Dr. Warren ; but he retails with evident relish the various scandalous stories which were current about Job Charnock and his Indian wife : he also takes care to inform us of the corrupt

practices of President Weltden, whose "term of governing was very short," but who "took as short a way to be enriched by it, by harassing the people to fill his coffers." "Yet he was very shy," continues Hamilton, "in taking bribes, referring those honest folks who trafficked that way to the discretion of his wife and daughter, to make the best bargain they could about the sum to be paid and to pay the money into their hands. I could give many instances of the force of bribing both here and elsewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the skin of old sores." It is unfortunate, perhaps, that Hamilton did not give other instances. As it is, these are the only serious charges which he had to make. One of them concerns an earlier period of our story and has already been disposed of; the second relates to a man who was sent out by the Court to Bengal, and, therefore, tells very little against the character of the English in Calcutta.

Hamilton's account of the religious state of the place is quaint. "In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The pagans carry their idols in procession through the town; the Roman Catholics have their church to lodge their idols in, and the Muhammadan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics, except what are between our high Churchmen and our low, or between the Governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade."

This brings us to the great sin of the English in Calcutta, their quarrelsomeness and violence. In one of his most amusing books, Jules Verne has described the strange results produced in the citizens of Quiquendone by the experiment of Dr. Ox. The waggish man of science contrived to fill the sleepy Flemish town with oxygen gas, and the worthy Quiquendonians, who used to be no more animated than sponges or corals, became straightway changed, morally and physically. The very babies became insupportable; the High School boys rebelled; the burgomaster, Van Tricasse, hitherto incapable of deciding anything, now made twenty different decisions a day, scolding his officials and insulting his oldest friend, the Counsellor Niklausse. They quarrelled in the streets; they fought with pistols; the police lost all control. At length, not satisfied with attacking each other, they determined to declare war on their neighbours at Virgamen, in consequence of an insult more than seven hundred years old.

It might well be supposed from all that is recorded about the

days of the Rotation Government that a similar experiment was in progress in Calcutta. The wranglings and janglings of the double-headed government were notorious throughout India. Page after page of the Consultation Book is filled with miserable disputes as to who should succeed to the Council and what should be his position. From the Council Chamber the disease spread far and wide. Captain South was ready to fight with Hedges about his salutes : Littleton spent the last years of his life in abusing his colleagues : even parson Adams was admonished to be more peaceable. The ladies quarrelled about their places in church ; the sailors quarrelled with the landsmen ; the Company's servants with the private traders. For, although, as Hamilton puts it, "the conscript fathers of the colony disagree in many points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing strangers who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their goods at the most advantageous market, but of the Governor and his Council who fix their own prices, high or low as seemeth best to their wisdom or discretion, and it is a crime hardly pardonable for a private merchant to go to Hooghly to inform himself of the current-prices of goods, although the liberty of buying and selling is entirely taken from him before." "The colony has very little manufactory of its own, for the government being pretty arbitrary, discourages ingenuity and industry in the populace ; for by the weight of the Company's authority if a native chances to disoblige one of the upper house, he is liable to arbitrary punishment either by fine, imprisonment, or corporal sufferings."

From the hints given us in the records and from the little that Hamilton tells us about the social life of Calcutta, it would seem to have been much the same as it was twenty or thirty years before. Its main features were preserved, but it was larger and freer. The English sailed up and down the river as they pleased, and on land from the south mark at Govindpur to that in the north near Baranagar, from the river to the salt lake, they were supreme. The mode of life was still to a great extent moulded on the pattern of an Oxford college. The established discipline still required residence inside the factory walls, and daily attendance in church for prayers, and at the Company's table for 'dinner. But these regulations were yielding to the force of circumstances. The garrison, which consisted of some one hundred and fifty soldiers,

had to be quartered in the town. On various pretexts the Company's servants were given a diet apart, and allowed to rent lands and build separate houses for themselves, till at last, in May 1713, the general table was abolished on the score of economy. In 1708 it was agreed that as the town was rapidly growing and provisions were accordingly becoming dearer, the diet money must be increased. In future the two chairmen were allowed sixty rupees each a month, and the other married members of the Council thirty rupees. Their salaries, however, remained unaltered. The two chairmen and the chaplain received each £100 a year, and the members of the Council £40, "to be paid in the country as the Court and the managers direct at 2s. 6d. per rupee."

As in Hugli, so here the Company had its garden to furnish the Governor's table with herbage and fruits, and some fish ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, calcops, and mullet. "Most of the inhabitants of Calcutta," says Hamilton, "that make any tolerable figure have the same advantages ; and all sorts of provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as clothing, making the country very agreeable.

"On the other side of the river are docks made for fitting and repairing their ships' bottoms, and a pretty good garden belonging to the Armenians, that had been a better place to have built their fort and town in for many reasons. One is, that where it now stands, the afternoon's sun is full in the fronts of the houses, and shines hot on the streets that are both above and below the fort ; the sun would have sent its hot rays on the back of the houses, and the fronts had been a good shade for the streets.

"Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the forenoons being dedicated to business, and after dinner to rest, and in the evening to recreate themselves in chaises or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in the budgerows, which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river sometimes there is the diversion of fishing and fowling, or both ; and before night they make friendly visits to one another, when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among the men."

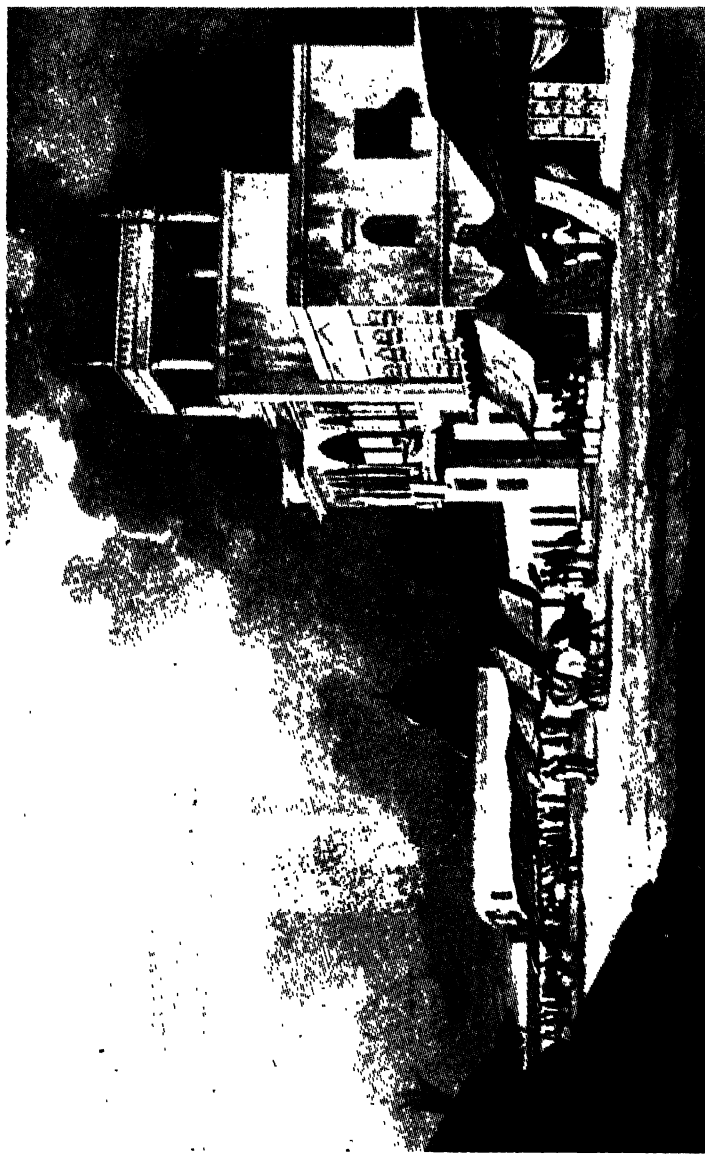
I may add that they sometimes went hunting, and that occasionally the whole Council took a holiday trip up the river.

Being a man, Captain Hamilton has not condescended to tell us about the costume of the period. No doubt, though always a little behind the time, they did their best to keep up with the prevailing fashions, and the beauty and fashion of Calcutta, when they took their promenade on the green before the fort, arrayed themselves in dresses which recalled those worn by Bellinda and Sir Plume at Hampton Court five years previously.

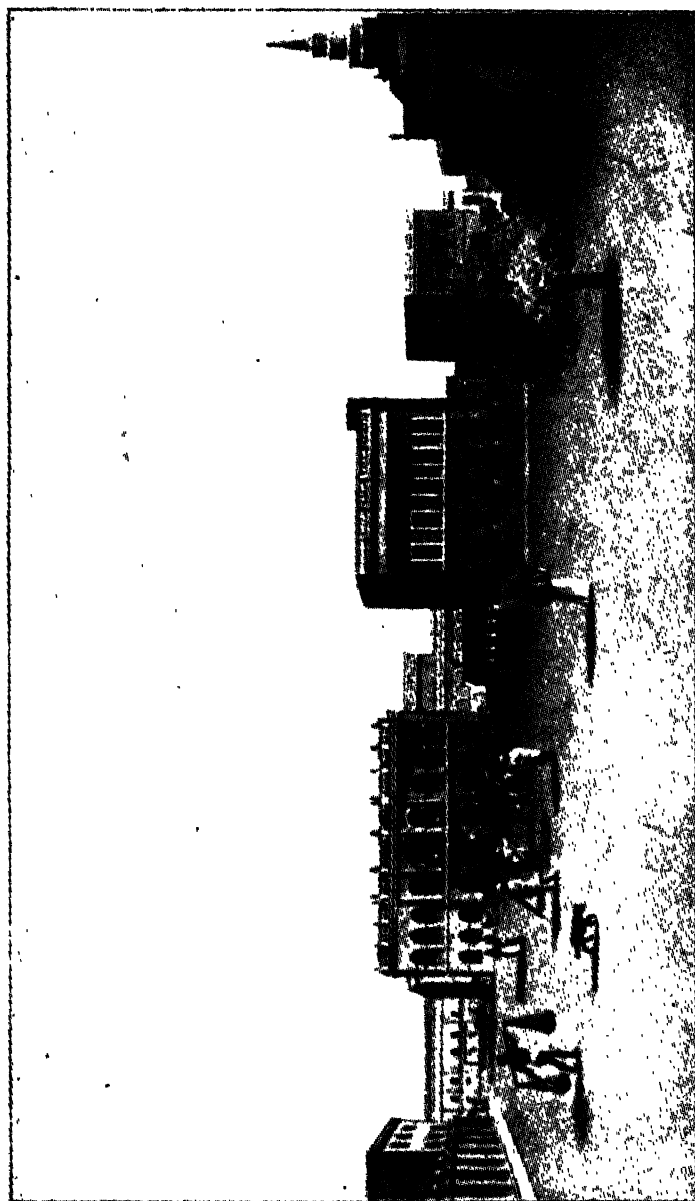
In private life, however, the dwellers by the steamy banks of the Hugli adopted attire much less formal and exquisite. Even at the meetings of the Council the members thought of comfort rather than dignity, and we must picture them dressed in muslin shirts, long drawers, and starched white caps, sitting in the consultation room, with a case bottle of good old arrack and a goglet of water on the table, which the Secretary, with skilful hand, converted into punch as occasion arose.

For all this the life led in Calcutta in these earliest days would not, according to modern ideas, appear either so splendid or so pleasant as it did to Hamilton. Books were scarce ; outdoor games rare. We hear nothing of card playing or dancing. There was no race-course, no spacious esplanade, no hotels, no theatres, no assembly rooms. Their wildest excitement must have been to sit in Mistress Domingo Ash's parlour, sipping arrack punch and listening to the story of the most recent quarrel amongst the dignities or the news brought by the latest ship ; how a Dutch vessel had been chased by a French cruiser from the gulf of Mocha towards the Malabar Coast ; and how the chaplain had refused to surrender one of his servants to justice, and had so come into conflict with Mr. Russell ; how the English had failed to reestablish the factory at Banjar ; and how Mr. Hedges had refused to resume his seat on the Council.

If Dame Fortune's wishing shoes, about which Hans Andersen has so much to tell us, were in existence and could be procured in Calcutta, I do not think the most discontented inhabitant of the modern city would be well advised to wish himself back into the days of the Rotation Government. If he did, he would probably find much more cause for complaint and regret than even the Councillor Knap when transported by the magic of the shoes to the times of King Hans. Imagine such a one with the fateful coverings on his feet leaving the General Post Office late at night on his way home. He has been employed till past nine o'clock



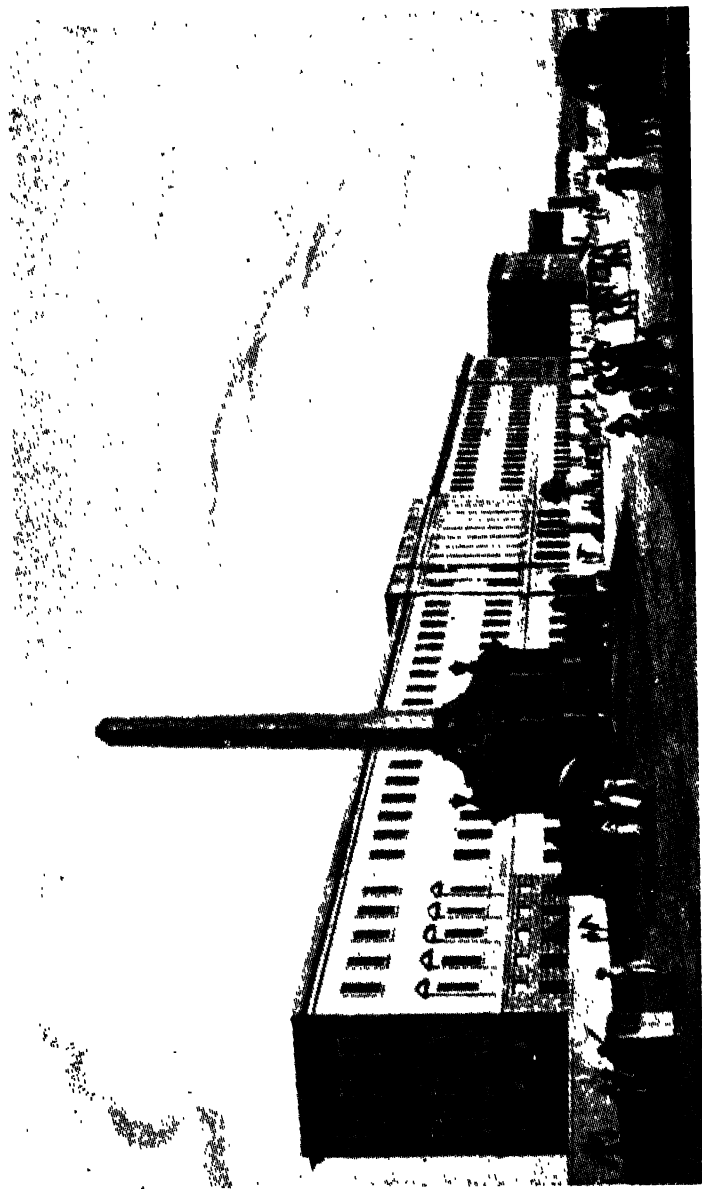
A street scene in the native quarter, 1792



The Old Court House. 1784



Chowringhee from the Maidan, 1792



Writers' Buildings and the Holwell Monument, 1792

in making up and sealing bags of letters and parcels, and wishes with all his heart that he had lived centuries ago when communications were less numerous and less rapid. The shoes work at his wish. He steps out of the great portico into the Calcutta of age of Good Queen Anne. The lofty buildings, the pavement, the lamps, the metalled street, the carriages, the tram-lines, all disappear. By the faint glimmer of the moon he can see a rough roadway. Beyond lies the only thing in the old town with which the modern citizen is familiar, the great "tank" with the grassy green surrounding it. To the south are bushy trees, thatched hovels, and pools of stinking water, which render the path leading to the burial-ground and the fields anything but inviting. The Post Office has vanished, and behind him in its place stand the walls of the fort. He turns and walks northwards, following them, till he reaches the gate. It is shut. Leaving on his right the great avenue to the eastward, and the new church, he passes up the broad street to where the lights show that people are still up and stirring. He stumbles into a large garden and finds himself in the porch of a low single-storeyed dwelling, where, let us hope, despite his strange Victorian garb, he is welcomed and allowed to rest his bewildered head. In the morning, if the spell should still last, fresh surprises would await him. The majority of the English inhabitants are living in bungalows in the quarter of Calcutta which extends to the north of the great tank, their main reservoir of sweet water. Along the avenue to the eastward, which leads from the fort to the Salt Lake, there are but a few newly-built houses. To the south of the green, before the fort, there are plenty of eligible sites for building. Some plots have been taken up already by the Company for its stables, hospital, barracks, and powder magazine. There are as yet no Court House and no Court-house Street. The green extends right up to the Rope Walk, which modern Calcutta calls Mission Row. At the back of the town is the immemorial pilgrim path from Chitpur to Kalighat, which is intersected by the Eastern Avenue at the "cross roads," where criminal justice is publicly meted out to offenders. On every side there are large wastes of unreclaimed land. The place reeks with malaria. A very hasty glance at his surroundings fills our translated citizen with a hearty desire to return to modern times, and with that the charm is at an end.

But is it fair thus to view the old settlement from the stand-

point of modern progress ? Perhaps not ; yet tried even by the low standard of its own day it was extraordinarily unhealthy. Death overshadowed every living soul. Hamilton says that in one year, out of twelve hundred English in Calcutta, no less than four hundred and sixty died between August and the January following. No direct confirmation of this terrible mortality bill is to be found in the records ; but both in August 1705, when a second surgeon was appointed to assist Dr. Warren, and in October 1707, when it was resolved to build a hospital, we are informed that the sick and dying were superabundant.

CHAPTER XV

CALCUTTA UNDER ROTATION GOVERNMENT : ITS BUILDINGS

WHEN we remember that the town had at this time no proper drains, no good water-supply, and very few solid buildings or open roads, the unhealthiness of Calcutta is not much to be wondered at. No doubt during the whole period of the Rotation Government great efforts were made towards supplying these deficiencies. Private houses sprang up in all directions,—by the riverside, along the roads, out in the fields. On the 27th March 1704, the Council ordered a book to be prepared in which “leases, bills of sale, and agreements made by the freemen inhabitants of Calcutta” should be entered, “the Secretary’s fee to be two rupees for registering the same,” and in the Consultation Book itself we have noted from time to time a good many transactions relating to lands and houses. There was, however, no proper agency to supervise these private enterprises, or to carry out public works and improvements. Consequently, as Hamilton observes, “the town was built without order, as the builders thought most convenient for their own affairs ; every one taking in what ground best pleased them for gardening, so that in most houses you must pass through a garden into the house ; the English building near the river’s side, and the natives within land.”

The arsenal of Calcutta, and seat of the Company’s Government in Bengal, took from 15 to 20 years to build, and was even then not completed. As it stood by the riverside in 1710, Fort William was in shape “an irregular tetragon of brick and mortar.” Its north side was 340 feet long, its south side 485 feet ; its east and west sides 710 feet. At the four corners were four small bastions which were connected by curtain walls about 4 feet thick and 18 feet high. They were built of small thin bricks strongly cemented together with a composition of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and cut hemp. Each of the four bastions mounted ten guns, and the east gate, which projected, carried five. The bank of the river was armed

with heavy cannon mounted in embrasures on a wall of solid masonry, and the space between this river wall and the west curtain was closed at each end by small cross walls with palisaded gates. There were, however, no proper ditches or military outworks of any kind to protect the other three sides of the fort. Within, a block of low buildings running east and west cut the fort into two sections, which were connected by a narrow passage. The northern section of the fort had one small water gate, and in its centre an oblong building with a row of columns down the middle. The southern and large section had two gates, one leading to the river and the landing stage, the other opening out to the eastward and giving access to the town. In the middle of this section was the Governor's house, which Hamilton describes as "the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India." This building formed three sides of a quadrangle. The west and principal face was 245 feet long. In the centre of this face was the main door of the Governor's house, and from it a colonnade ran down to the water-gate and the landing stage. Entering the doorway and turning to your left you ascended the great flight of stairs which led to the hall and the principal rooms. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the Governor. A raised cloister ran round the three sides of the court enclosed within the building. All round the fort, chambers and arcades were built against the curtain walls, their roofs serving as ramparts. To those lying south of the east gate a melancholy interest attaches. They were the scene of the Black Hole tragedy.

Something but not all of the history of these buildings can be collected from the records. As early as 1693, Sir John Goldsborough had marked out the site of the fort with a mud wall, but the English did not venture to begin to build till the rebellion of Subha Singha in 1696. It appears from the Sutanuti diary that on the 1st January 1697 they were "employed in fortifying themselves and wanted proper guns for the points." For the present they only asked for ten, from which it may be inferred that only one bastion was then in existence. The so-called fort, in fact, consisted merely of three or four walls with a square brick tower at the north-east angle, built to look like a warehouse for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Mogul. In the year 1700 and 1701 the question of strengthening the fortifications was forced upon the Council at Calcutta by the return of Sir Charles Eyre, who had been sent out

from home for this very purpose. Upon his hasty departure the work was taken up by Beard, who, at the beginning of 1702, was able to report that he had made such substantial additions to Fort William that it was strong enough to ward off any attack by the Country Powers. The additions probably included the building of a new bastion at the south-east angle, and the encasing of the old square bastion at the north-east angle with flanks and salients to give it a more proper military shape. The remains of all these works, now buried beneath a mass of modern erections, have from time to time been brought to light by excavations made in the course of laying down new foundations. In 1883 Mr. Roskell Bayne examined the site of the north-east angle of the fort, and measured all the old walls. The masonry work was found to be of good material and very hard to break into. The walls of the old square bastion were more than six feet thick. Those of the new outer bastion were still thicker. They "were battered," says the engineer, "with a fall in of about one in ten, and the outer faces were finished with a thin coat of lime plaster of a rich crimson tint and reticulated in imitation of stone work, the stones being about 1 foot 6 inches long by about 9 to 10 inches deep."

When on the 1st February 1704 President Beard handed over to the Rotation Government the garrison and factory, the fortifications consisted of nothing but three or four walls, with two bastions at the north-east and south-east corners of the enclosure. It was not till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 that anything further was done to strengthen the fort. During the confusion of the interregnum two regular bastions were built on the water-side to correspond with those on the land side. The military paymaster was ordered "to see it well performed out of hand, and to that end to take all the materials in the town that are necessary thereto, that it may be quickly erected, for we may not meet with such an opportunity again." The signs of haste were still visible in the north-west bastion, when its remains were dug up in 1883. Its courses of bricks were irregular ; its outlines confused ; its dimensions contracted. In February 1709 the English took a further step of the greatest importance to the health and safety of their settlement. On the east side of the fort lay a small pond of water. By deepening and lengthening it, additional security was given to the south-east angle of the fortification, and a large reservoir

was provided of water, far sweeter and healthier than the brackish Hugli which had hitherto been the drink of the garrison. The earth taken out of the excavation was used to fill up the space between the two new bastions and the bank was faced with rubble and ballast. In February 1710 they began to build a wharf before the fort, facing it with brick and raising a breastwork on which to plant cannon. Lastly, to complete these improvements in the external surroundings of the place a clearance was made to the south where the ground was choked up and close set with trees, small thatched hovels, and standing pools of stinking water. In August the paymaster was ordered to clear the ground and open the way directly before the factory, "continuing the present walk already made further into the open field, filling up all the holes, and cutting small trenches on each side to carry the water clear from the adjacent places into the large drains."

While such was the progress of the external defences of the factory, the growth of the internal buildings was no less slow. It would seem that originally the principal buildings occupied the northern end of the enclosed space. At first they were of the meanest description. The Company's store places, outhouses, and stables consisted of nothing but mud walls and thatched roofs. Brick and mud were probably the materials used for the armoury and factory, of which the former occupied the centre of the north ward, while the latter seems to have stood on the site of the dividing block of buildings afterwards assigned "to the young gentlemen in the Company's service." In 1706 the old factory house was hardly fit for habitation. It had long been falling into decay, and had been so much injured by recent storms that it had given way in places. It was accordingly ordered to be pulled down, and other lodgings were prepared for the gentlemen that lay in it. Meanwhile, in the south ward, the new Governor's house was being built, which so much excited the admiration of Captain Hamilton. This fine piece of architecture was put together with considerable deliberation. It seems to have been commenced in 1702 and not to have been finished till the middle of 1706. At the beginning of 1704, when Littleton enquired what accommodation could be given to him in Calcutta, he found that there were but few good rooms finished in the new house, and, in fact the first floor was not completely roofed in till before the rainy season of that year.

Every year, as the Company's trade developed and the number of the Company's servants, civil and military, increased, the difficulty of finding room for them all became more pressing. On all sides warehouses were erected against the walls, under the pleasing belief that they strengthened the fortification. In other cases accommodation had to be sought outside the fort altogether. In 1707 for example, the authorities in Calcutta were at last induced to attend to the needs of the soldiers and sailors, who every year fell sick and died in large numbers, owing to the cruel manner in which they were neglected. After frequent representations had been made by the doctors, the Council agreed on the 16th October that a convenient spot, close to the burial ground, should be pitched on as the site of a hospital, and contributed two thousand rupees towards the building expenses. The rest of the money was raised by public subscription. Of this institution Hamilton has expressed a somewhat modified approbation. "The Company," he says, "has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physic, but few come out again to give account of its operation." In 1710, in order to put a stop to the unwholesome practice of allowing the soldiers to lodge in the town, the hospital was walled round and barracks erected for them to live in under the supervision of their officers.

But of all the buildings erected at this time without the fort, the most important was the Church of St. Anne. The first proposals for a separate place of worship in Calcutta were made in September 1704, in a joint letter to the Council by Benjamin Adams and by William Anderson, the former Chaplain of the "English Company" at Hugli. At that time, owing to the union of the two Companies, the English inhabitants had become so numerous that there was "no place able to contain the congregation that would meet at divine service if there were rooms sufficient to contain them," and the Council lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the two clergymen. To the building fund, to which the commanders of ships, the Company's servants, and the free inhabitants had liberally contributed, they added Rs. 1,000, and when towards the end of October Adams was obliged to make a sea voyage to Madras for his health, they furnished him with a letter to the authorities of Fort St. George to enable him to raise money there too. The site first assigned to the Church was a plot of ground in the "Broad Street," but in deference to a chorus of objections on the part of

the inhabitants, who threatened to withdraw their subscriptions, it was changed for another immediately opposite the east curtain of the Fort. The work of building now began in right earnest. Adams, however, continued to collect subscriptions till September 1706, when he called a conference and arranged that the raising of funds, as well as the supervision of the building, should be left to lay agency. In a somewhat mysterious letter to the Council, dated the 19th of the month, he gives as his reason for this step, that "Brother Anderson had not reputation enough among the gentlemen to obtain their subscriptions" and that he himself is about to resign his Chaplaincy at Michaelmas. Therefore "at this juncture it were more advisable that the collection should proceed upon indifferent trustees." "And I wish," he adds, "with all my heart, they may collect more money than I did last year, which will enable them to do what is useful if not ornamental to the Church ; and that in any corner of the world would be acceptable news to your friend and servant, Benjamin Adams." In spite of the wishes of the worthy clergyman the trustees do not seem to have done much for the Church. In February 1707 it was found that the work was at a standstill owing to the want of proper or regular proceedings, and Edward Pattle and John Maisters were ordered to take the matter in hand at once. They were to receive subscriptions, supervise the building and see that it went on regularly, and to make a monthly report to the Council. The work now proceeded rapidly. Early in the following year it had advanced so far that Anderson was able to write to the Bishop of London and ask him to arrange for the consecration. By the beginning of 1709 the Church was complete. On the 9th May, Anderson, as Bishop's Commissary, laid before the Council the commission to consecrate, and received permission to execute it. On the 5th June, being the Sunday after Ascension Day, the Church was duly dedicated to the service of God in the name of St. Anne.

The structure of St. Anne's has recently been studied with loving care by Mr. H.B. Hyde, and by a comparison of various views and plans, its most important dimensions and features have been ascertained. The length of the Church was eight feet. The interior consisted of a nave about twelve feet broad, with a high-pitched roof divided by rows of pillars from the north and south aisles. At the east end was a circular apse for the sanctuary. The west end was a massive section containing the vestibule, the

vestry, and the tower staircase. The tower itself, which was twenty feet square, was divided into three storeys and surmounted by a balustrade. In 1712 a bell, sent out by the Court, was ordered to be hung in a convenient handsome place over the porch, and an octagonal spire was in consequence added to the tower. For nearly fifty years the sacred edifice continued to be the chief ornament of the English settlement in Bengal, and in the earliest view of Calcutta you may see its lofty steeple rising into the sky, above all the buildings of the fort.

In the foregoing pages I have tried to trace the main outlines of the early history of the English in Bengal, up to and including the story of the Rotation Government, in the years 1704 to 1710, and I hope that, in the light of what I have written, the extracts from and summaries of the Bengal Records, given in this and subsequent volumes, will be intelligible and interesting to the reader. I have tried to bear in mind that history is the exposition of a coherent series of social changes. I have tried to show the necessity for the English settlement at Calcutta, and I have begun to sketch the consequences of this settlement. The story of the first twenty years suggests three points of view from which to follow the subsequent course of events, the external relations of the English Government, the effect of the settlement on the character of the English settlers, and lastly its effect on the character of the native of the country.

The external policy of the English was determined by the nature of the Mogul Government, a Government which exacted constant supplies of tribute from the Lower Provinces, and yet was unable in return to secure peace and good order. The great object of the Viceroy of Bengal and of his subordinates was to extract from the country enough gold and silver to satisfy the demands of Delhi and their own cupidity. The European trading companies were their great mines of wealth, which they worked vigorously. So anxious were they to get every golden egg they could from their foreign geese, that they often came near to killing the geese themselves. The English, to defend themselves against these exactions, took refuge in Calcutta, where the strength of their position enabled them to make more advantageous terms with the nabob

of Bengal. During the twenty years of which this volume treats, these advantages were seen to be very real. The English settlement advanced by leaps and bounds, and its progress would have been still greater, had it not been for the disputes between the rival companies, and the uncertainty of the nature of the English legal position, an uncertainty which was remedied, as will be seen in the next volume, by the English embassy to Farrukhsiyar.

The second point of interest is the effect of the settlement in Bengal on the English themselves. The first settlers became very largely Indianised in their manners and customs ; but as time went on, and the English became more numerous they were better able to resist the influences by which they were surrounded, and preserve their own national characteristics. Towards this safeguarding of the English character the settlement at Calcutta must have greatly contributed.

The effect of the English settlement on the natives of the country is not very noticeable in the story as far as I have brought it, yet this perhaps is the most important point of all. In Calcutta the English made many of their first experiments in ruling India. Ralph Sheldon is the first English Collector and Magistrate in Bengal. Poor and unworthy as the administration of the early settlement may seem to modern eyes, we can have no doubt that it presented a very favourable contrast to the government of the surrounding districts, a contrast which was not forgotten in 1757. The development of the administration of Calcutta and the introduction of British order and justice should be among the most interesting points upon which the volumes of records which I have yet to summarise may be expected to throw light.

BOOK TWO

**SIDELIGHTS AND REMINISCENCES
OF THE GOOD OLD DAYS**

by
W. H. CAREY

W. H. Carey joined the Indian Imperial service and came out to India in the latter half of the 19th century as an officer in the viceregal staff. Later he also served as an aide-de-camp to Lord Lytton.

In the preface of his book "The Good Old Days of the Honb'le John Company" published in 1882 from which the chapters that follow have been taken Carey writes :

"The contents of the following pages are the result of researches of several years through files of old newspapers and hundreds of volumes of scarce works on India...We do not aspire to be historians, we simply profess to lay before our readers some 'curious reminiscences' illustrating the manners and customs of the people of Calcutta during the rule of the East India Company...The work was first taken up as an amusement during the leisure hours but in the course of reading so many interesting records came under notice that it occurred to us that the present generation might take an equal interest with ourselves in a narrative of events which happened during the two centuries alluded to in Calcutta and India generally".

CHAPTER I

INNER LIFE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS

THE following from Macintosh's "Travels" is a "particular" account of the day, as it was commonly spent by Englishmen in Bengal, as portrayed in a letter from a resident in Calcutta, to his friend in London, dated Calcutta, 23rd December, 1779 : — "About the hour of seven in the morning, his durwan (door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen), harcarrahs (messengers or spies), chubdars (a kind of constables), houccaburdars and consumahs (stewards and butlers), writers and solicitors. The head bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bedroom at eight o'clock. A lady quits his side, and is conducted by a private staircase, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condescends, perhaps, to nod or cast an eye towards the solicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chil-lumjee and ewer are brought by a servant whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face and presents a towel. The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat ; is seated ; the consumah makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the houccaburdar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of the houcca* into his hand ; while the hairdresser is doing

* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in

his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping and smoking by turns. By and by his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honored with chairs. These ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock ; when attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubbards, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans and cumurbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist), they move off at a quick amble ; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers ; and if business renders his presence only necessary, he shows himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock when he and his company sit down perfectly at ease in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccaburdars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watching behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at 4 o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins ; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bed-room, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on ; and he lies down in his bed, where he sleeps till about 7 or 8 o'clock ; then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind as in the morning, is administered : his houccaburidar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies ; returns a little before 10 o'clock ; supper being served at 10. The company keep together till between 12 and 1 in the morning, preserving great sobriety and decency ; and when they

length, which is called a snake. To show the deference or indulgence shown by ladies to the practice of smoking, we need but transcribe a card for the Governor-General's and his lady's concert and supper :- "Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Mr.——, and request the favor of his company to concert and supper, on Thursday next, at Mrs. H.——'s house in town. The concert to begin at 8 o'clock. Mr.—— is requested to bring to servants except his houccaburidar—1st October, 1779."

depart, our hero is conducted to his bed-room. With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes." The writer of the above description has left out of view the morning ablution, so common and necessary to a resident of Calcutta. Surely in those early days such ablutions must have been just as necessary as they are in the present day.

It appears somewhat offensive to our old-fashioned notions of propriety, to observe the mode in which ladies, some of rank and education, were in the early part of the nineteenth century accustomed to dispose of themselves at Calcutta and other presidencies. This will be seen from the following extract of a letter from a young lady, who in ignorance of the prevailing practice, had been induced to go out to India in one of the Company's fleets. The letter, which we take from Macintosh's Travels, was addressed by the lady to her cousin, in 1779, who had desired her to tell her the result of her adventures, to give advice whether it would be fit for her to try the same experiment :

"My dearest Maria,—With respect to your request that I should tell you plainly what I think of these matrimonial schemes (for such they are, let people disguise them as they will) I never can impress upon you too strongly the folly and impropriety of your making such an attempt. Certainly, the very project itself is one of the utmost delicacy ; for what is it but running counter to all the dictates of that diffidence and native modesty for which English women have been so long held up as the perfect models ?

"True it is I am married ; I have obtained that for which I came out to India—a husband ; but I have lost what I left behind me in my native country—happiness. Yet my husband is rich, as rich, or richer, than I could desire ; but his health is ruined, as well as his temper, and he has taken me rather as a convenience than as a companion ; and he plays the tyrant over me with as much severity as if I were one of the slaves that carry his palanquin. I will just give you a hasty sketch of the manner in which I came by him. What a state of things is that, where the happiness of a wife depends upon the death of that man who should be the chief not the only source of her felicity. However such is the fact in India : wives are looking out with gratitude for the next mortality that may carry off their husbands, in order that they may return to England

to live upon their jointures ; they live a married life, an absolute misery, that they may enjoy a widowhood of affluence and independence. This is no exaggeration I assure you.

"You know that, independent of others, there were thirty of us females on board the H—, who sailed upon the same speculation ; we were of all ages, complexions and sizes, with little or nothing in common, but that we were single, and wished to get married. Some were absolutely old maids of the shrivelled and dry description, most of them above the age of fifty ; while others were mere girls just freed from the tyranny of the dancing, music, and drawing masters at boarding school, ignorant of almost everything that was useful, and educated merely to cover the surface of their mental deformity. I promise you, to me it was no slight penance to be exposed during the whole voyage to the half sneering, satirical looks of the mates and guinea pigs,* and it would have been intolerable, but for the good conduct and politeness of Captain S—. He was a man of most gentlemanly deportment, but the involuntary compassion, I fancied I sometimes discovered in him, was extremely irksome. However, we will suppose our voyage ended for nothing at all material happened, and that we are now safely landed at Calcutta.

"This place has many houses of entertainment of all descriptions, and the gaiety that prevails after the arrival of a fleet from England is astonishing. The town is filled with military and civil officers of all classes ; and the first thing done after we have recovered our looks, is for the captains to give an entertainment, to which they issue general invitations ; and everybody with the look and attendance of a gentleman, is at liberty to make his appearance. The speculative ladies, who have come out in the different ships, dress themselves with all the splendor they can assume, exhausting upon finery all the little stock of money they have brought out with them from Europe. This is in truth their last, or nearly their last stake, and they are all determined to look and dance as divinely as possible.

"Such are the majority of the ladies ; while the gentlemen are principally composed of those who have for some time resided in the country, and having realised fortunes, are determined to obtain wives with as little delay as possible. They are, as I have

* So the midshipmen on board Indiamen were called.

said, of all ranks, but generally of pale and squalid complexions, and suffering under the grievous infliction of liver complaints. A pretty prospect this for matrimonial happiness ! Not a few are old and infirm, leaning upon sticks and crutches, and even supported about the apartment by their gorgeously dressed servants, for a display of all kinds of splendour on their part is no less attempted and accomplished. These old decrepit gentlemen address themselves to the youngest and prettiest, and the youngest and prettiest, if properly instructed in their parts, betray no sort of coyness or reluctance. In fact, this is the mode in which matches are generally made ; and if now and then one happy couple come together, thousands are married with no hope of comfort and with a prospect merely of splendid misery. Generally speaking, in India, the officers make the best husbands, for they are frequently young and uninjured by the climate, and are the best disposed to attend to the wishes of their wives.

“This is called the Captain’s Ball, and most frequently the greater part of the expectant ladies are disposed of there ; it is really curious, but most melancholy, to see them ranged round the room, waiting with the utmost anxiety for offers, and looking with envy upon all who are more fortunate than themselves.

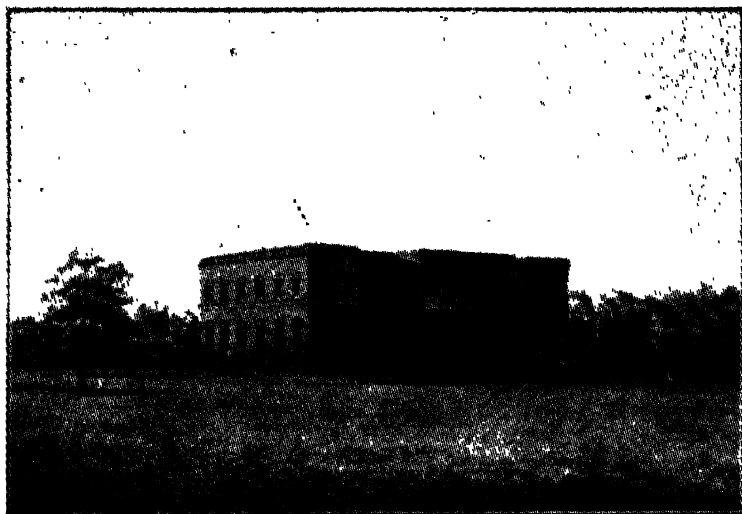
“If however, as is sometimes the case, a considerable number remain on hand ; after the lapse of about three months, they unite in giving an entertainment at their own expense, to which all gentlemen are at liberty to go ; and if they fail in this dernier ressort, this forlorn hope, they must give up the attempt, and return to England.”

On a young lady landing she was in a manner “exhibited” before those in search of partners. For the first three or four nights the house where she resided was beset with visitors, and probably the greater part of the night was spent in receiving such. It was the rule to “strike the iron while hot,” and marriages were concluded as quickly as possible. But the Governor-General’s licence to be married was necessary to constitute it a legal one. On occasion of marriages the officiating minister was accustomed to receive as his fee from sixteen to twenty gold mohurs, and five gold mohurs for a baptism. No wonder that the chaplains were able to make such splendid fortunes in a short time.

Drinking had long been one of the “rational” amusements with which our ancestors sought to beguile the time. Arrack

punch would seem to have been the first beverage to which the English in India addicted themselves—and it often proved to be the last. A traveller of the time speaks of another beverage as ruinous—"We conversed together for some time, drinking a little of hot wine boiled with cloves, cinnamon and other spices, which the English call burnt wine, and used to drink, frequently in the morning, to comfort their stomach." With such a habit it is not surprising that it was said of the people that "their lives were not worth two monsoons." At a later period there was a Persian wine, much in favor, which Mr. Ives (1757) tells us was supplied by the Company to its servants at the western factories ; and was "the best he ever tasted, except claret." It was not very long, however, before European beers and wines were imported, and consumed by those who could afford to pay the high prices then fixed on these now most accessible beverages. Punch and sherbet, being always cheap, were the common drinks of the young military men ; and pretty freely were they consumed, at all hours, from morning to night. And to this slow poison it may be confidently asserted that a very large proportion of the annual mortality may be attributed. Towards the end of the century, this vice began to decline. Men found that it was better to live than to drink themselves into untimely graves. Mr. Tennant, writing in 1796, says—"Regularity of living and temperance are much more prevalent among the present inhabitants than the first adventurers."

The hookah was the grand whiler away of time with our ancestors in old Calcutta. East Indian ladies were said to have been much addicted to its use, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a paper "furnishing the head with politics and the heart with scandal," indulged themselves with the hookah's fume, while under the hands of the perruquier in the days when powder and pig-tails were in fashion. Grand Pre thus notices the hookah and its attendant the hookaburdar :—"Every hookaburdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range themselves round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry for silence, till the noise subsides and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is



Kidderpore House in 1794



Mrs. Fay's house in 1894

whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies ; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookah. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hookah, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of a trivial importance ; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend, and often still more to a husband."

Among the advertisements of an European firm in Calcutta in 1792, we observe "Elegant Hookah bottoms—urn shaped, richly cut, with plates and mouthpieces." As noticed before, the long hookah was considered not only fashionable but an indispensable article in the dining-room at every house of elegance and respectability, and a hookah rug constituted one of the carpet work fancies of young ladies of the day, as presents to those of their relatives and friends whom they respected or loved. We remember the time when the hookah was introduced with the desert, and we have seen thirty hookahs on each side of the table, one behind almost every dinner, with its respective hookahburdar feeding the chillum (reservoir which contained the tobacco) and keeping up the red glow of the gool (ball of fire) while his master was employed in converse with his neighbours. The gurgle-gurgle of these sixty hookahs was strange music, and rather discordant, but no dinner would have been considered the thing without such accompaniment. It was not till 1840 that the practice began to fall into disuse.

Mrs. Fay writes of card-playing :—"After tea, either cards or music fill up the space till ten, when supper is generally announced. Five-card loo is the usual game ; and they play a rupee a fish, limited to ten. This will strike you as being enormously high, but it is thought nothing of here. Tredille and whist are much in fashion, but ladies seldom join in the latter ; for though the stakes are moderate, bets frequently run high among the gentlemen, which renders those anxious who sit down for amusement, lest others should lose by their blunders."

"Physic," Hartley House states, in the last century, "as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors to work it at will. The medical men in Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and re-

ceive a gold mohur from each patient for every common attendance ; extras are enormous ; medicines are also rated so high, that it is shocking to think of : in order to soften which public evil, as much as possible, an apothecary's shop is opened at the Old Fort, by the Company, in the nature of your London dispensaries, where drugs are vended upon reasonable terms. The following charges are specimens of the expenses those Europeans incur, who sacrifice to appearances. An ounce of bark, three rupees : an ounce of salts, one rupee ; a bolus, one rupee ; a blister, two rupees ;—and so on, in proportion ; so that literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune, to preserve your life."

Dr. Halliday brought a claim in the Calcutta Court of Requests, on the 2nd July, 1828, against the executors of the late Mr. Joseph, "of Sicca rupees 384, for six visits paid by him to the deceased at the rate of Sicca rupees 64 for each visit." Prosecutor was nonsuited on account of absence. We notice the case, only as an evidence of the high charge made by medical men for their visits in those days.

Williamson writes of gentlemen's dress before 1800 :—"In many instances these evening visits are paid in a very airy manner ; coats being often dispensed with ; the gentlemen wearing only an upper and an under waistcoat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly arrived from Europe, especially the officers of His Majesty's regiments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and to their neighbours ; but in the course of time, they fall in with the local usages, and though they may enter the room in that cumbrous habit, rarely fail, to divest themselves of it as soon as the first ceremonies are over, in favor of an upper waistcoat which a servant has in readiness." Lord Valentia in 1804, states that English black alpaca began to be considered more fashionable and soon superseded the white linen waistcoat. There was one singular article of dress, to which Grand Pre alludes. He says :—"To be secure from the attacks of mosquitoes it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, paste-board round the legs."

An excellent expression is that, "durwaza bund,"* and one to which several meanings are attached. "In some instances it implies that the lady of the house is lazy, and has not dressed to receive visitors ; in others that baby is ill, or perhaps otherwise occupied, and that she is attending on it : on some occasions, that she is suffering from one or other of the numerous forms of indisposition that afflict the sex in India. All these are valid excuses in their way ; but how comes it that at such and such a house where we received this message, we saw, standing in the compound, a buggy and horse extremely like those of Captain Snooks, of one of the native regiments that after four years' residence at the station mutinied and dissovled themselves ?" How can we reconcile this little fact with the message we have just received ? The interpretation is, however, easy. It signifies that the lady is more agreeably occupied than she would be if receiving us."

The introduction of tatties into Calcutta is mentioned in a letter from Dr. Campbell, dated 10th May, 1789 :—"We have had very hot winds and delightful cool houses. Everybody uses tatties now. They are delightful contrivances. My hall, by means of tatties, has been cool as in Europe, while the other rooms were uninhabitable twenty-five degrees difference by Fahrenheit's thermometer." Tatties are, however, dangerous when you are obliged to leave them and go abroad ; the heat acts so powerfully on the body that you are commonly affected with a severe catarrh."

Tiffins (lunch) seem to have come into use in Calcutta with the present century—and the dinner hour, which had been growing later and later in the day, to have been thrown back about the same time suddenly to the evening. Lord Valentia, who visited Calcutta about 1805, says :—"It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant before sunrise. At 12 they take a hot meal, which they call tiffin, and they generally go to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between 7 and 8, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time and keeps them up till midnight or later."

The siesta or mid-day rest, so common in Italy and all tropical countries, so refreshing to early risers, generally succeeded the

* The door is shut.

early dinner of former times. The siesta was, however, sometimes fatal under circumstances like those Hadley relates—"Having ate heartily of meats, and drank a quantity of porter, they throw themselves on the bed undressed, the windows and doors open. A profuse perspiration ensues, which is often suddenly checked by a cold north-west wind. This brings on what is called a pucca (putrid) fever, which will often terminate in death in six hours, particularly with people of a corpulent, plethoric habit of body. And we have known two instances of dining with a gentleman, and being invited to his burial before supper time."

Hotels generally were not established in Calcutta till about 1810 ; previous to that there were taverns in the Lall Bazar and Cassitollah. In 1780, however, we find an advertisement of a hotel in Calcutta to be kept by Sir E. Impey's "late steward and Sir T. Rumbold's late cook," where there were "turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded, and families supplied with pastry." On the increase of strangers and temporary residents in Calcutta, the cost and inconvenience of furnishing a whole house, led to the setting up of boarding houses. The "Wilson" of 1800 was established at Fultah, where a large establishment was maintained for families and single ladies, who had to embark and disembark there on account of the tide.

Hanging punkahs are said by one authority to have originated in Calcutta by accident, towards the close of the last century. It is reported that a clerk in a Government office suspended the leaf of a table, which was accidentally waved to and fro by a visitor. A breath of cool air followed the movement and suggested the idea which was worked out and resulted in the present machine. Before this discovery fans or chowries made of palm leaves, only were used. A class of natives was employed for using these fans ; they were called "Kittesol boys," and were dressed "in white muslin jackets tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with white turbans, bound by the same colored ribband."

The furniture in houses in Calcutta was much less last century than now, as besides the expense of European furniture in those days, it was considered not proper to have the rooms furnished with articles beyond the actual necessities, as it was supposed that much furniture heated the house and afforded, shelter to vermin, which were then more abundant from the swamps near

Calcutta. Mrs. Kindsley writes on this subject in 1767 :—
“Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the chairs are of one sort ; people of first consequence are forced to pick them up as they can, either from the captains of Europe ships or from China, or having sets made by blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay which are generally received about three years after they are bespoke ; so that those people who have great good luck, generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the time they are quitting them to return to England.”

Old Indians were, in bygone times, generally conceived to be distinguished for excessive wealth, diseased livers, a repulsive querulousness, of manner, and a luxurious way of life. That large fortunes were made sometimes, and that the extreme of oriental luxury was indulged in by some European residents, and hence imported in a modified form into the west, is a fact sufficiently well established for us most willingly to concede ; but we question whether these examples ought not rather to be regarded as forming the exceptions than the rule. The truth is, that in the old times very few returned to England at all ; and that as these returned with large fortunes—rarely or never honestly acquired—an impression soon got abroad that India was an El Dorado, and that pagodas and rupees were to be had for the mere stopping to pick them up. This was a sad mistake. As regards not to say that they were far less cheering than they are at the present time. The gloomy side of the picture has not been exposed to view ; but if the whole truth were to be told, how much of the wretchedness and desolation of friendless exile would be set down in the chronicle—how many sad tales of homeless want and disconsolate sorrow, and sickness, unrelieved by one gleam of kindness and comfort, would be told. There was, in those days, much more to wrestle against at the outset, much more to try, perhaps to break, the strongest spirit. They who triumphed, triumphed not in vain ; but how many were beaten down. When Mr. Shore arrived in India as a writer in 1769, his salary was—eight rupees a month ; and this too in the Secret and Political Department. When Sir Thomas Munro arrived in India as a cadet, in 1780, his pay was five pagodas a month with free quarters, or ten pagodas without. “Of the five pagodas,” said Mr. Munro, “I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the Mess, and one

for hair dressing and washing ; so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me." Fortunate young man !

We differ from our forefathers in nothing more remarkably than in the distribution of our time. We have been gradually getting into later and later hours ; lengthening out the day for purposes of business, and assimilating our customs to those which obtain at home. "The writers," says Mr. Forbes in his *Memoirs*, "at the period of my arrival at Bombay (1765) and during the whole time of my officiating in that capacity, were fully engaged from 9 o'clock to 12, when they retired from their respective offices to dinner, which was then at 1 o'clock in every class of English society. At 2 the writers returned to their employment until 5 ; when, after a dish of tea, a social walk on a fine sandy beach, open to the salubrious western breeze, gave us a keener appetite for supper than our scanty pittance of thirty rupees per month could furnish. Such was our constant practice six days in the week." And as it was at Bombay so was it in Calcutta. Writing in 1783, Mrs. Fay, the wife of a barrister, says,—“The dinner hour here is 2, and it is customary to sit a long while at table ; particularly during the cold weather. During dinner a good deal of wine is drank, but very little after the cloth is removed, except in bachelor's parties, as they are called ; for the custom of reposing, if not of sleeping, after dinner, is so general, that the streets of Calcutta are from 4 to 5 in the afternoon, almost as empty of Europeans as if it were midnight. Next come the evening airings on the Course, where every one goes, though sure of being half suffocated with dust. On returning thence, tea is served, and universally drank here even during the extreme heats. After tea, either cards or music fill the space till 10, when supper is usually announced. Formal visits are paid in the evening ; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen calls to make, and a party waiting for her at home besides. Gentlemen also call to offer their respects, and if asked to put down their hats, it is considered as an invitation to supper.”

In these times, the day's work is really a day's work ; men do not go home to tiffins or early dinners ; nor can they afford to indulge in the afternoon siestas, which in former days, were so general. A true bill, we believe, may be found on this latter charge against some ladies and some regimental officers ; and during trying hot winds in the upper provinces, the customs,

of sleeping during the middle of the day still prevails ; but the majority of European residents in India have too much to do, to think of sleeping before dinner. From 10 or 11 o'clock to 5 or 6, office men are hard at work. Let none suppose, that they lounge through their business, after an indolent undress fashion—that they loll upon easy couches hookah in hand, and lazily give instructions to their underlings, whilst they sip their delicious sherbet and puff out of the fumes of the odoriferous chillum. The life of a man of business in India is anything but a luxurious one. In spite of heat, of languor, of oppression, of all the overpowering influences of the climate, he toils throughout the long day, in a comfortless counting-house, perhaps in a room, the heated atmosphere of which is rendered more intolerable by the presence of a score of only native clerks, and returns home at sunset, jaded and exhausted, to take his evening drive, and afterwards perhaps, to be dragged to a sultry dinner party. The diners-out, however, form but a segment, though a large one of our society. There are many who delight in the quiet evening at home, and rarely or never cross their threshold, to dinner, ball, play or concert, after returning from their evening drive. The domestic virtues are cultivated as sedulously in India, as in England ; and not perhaps, by a smaller proportion of the gross amount of gentility.

The age of damsel-errantry is past. The greater number of young ladies, who embark for India on board our splendid passenger steamers, turn their faces towards the East, because their home is there. Their legitimate protectors reside in India, and they are but returning to the parental roof, from which the "circumstances of their position have temporarily banished them. They do not often arrive in the country with very extravagant notions of the splendid establishments in store for them—or, indeed, with any very absorbing thoughts of the great matter of matrimony at all. Once settled here, they differ very little, in character and conduct, from young ladies in Europe of the same rank in life. Every year, indeed, diminishes the breadth of the distinctions, which were once apparent. There is more domesticity in Indian life, than formerly characterised our social relations. Our young ladies are, for the most part, to be seen at home—happy, contented, amiable. They are daughters and sisters ; not mere husband-hunting spinsters. They have generally been educated, though perhaps not quite so carefully in some important points,

as if their education had been conducted under the maternal eye ; and their conversation is, in no respect, inferior to that of young ladies of the same age and rank in the mother country. As regards the happiness of domestic life in India, we do not hesitate to express an opinion to the effect, that in no community, with whose social characteristics we are acquainted, is there more married happiness than among the English in the East. Husbands and wives are more dependent on each other in this country than at home. There is no place in the world where a man stands more in need of the companionship of his wife, particularly in times of sickness.

“This Indian Esquireship, like death, levels all distinctions ; and supreme councillors and cooks, advocates and auctioneers, horse-doctors and civil servants, judges and shopkeepers, postillions and pilots, crannies and carpenters, butchers and bum bailiffs, upstarts and old soldiers, are all indiscriminately plunged in the vortex, and no soul is left who claims or acknowledges the respectable and gentlemanly title of your injured petitioner.”

In 1831, Calcutta was supplied with ice made at Hoogly by the projector of the “Hooghly Ice Preserve.” The tuscan, with a cargo of ice from America, arrived in the early part of 1833 ; it was an epoch in the history of Calcutta, worthy of commemoration. The ice was sold at four annas per seer in Calcutta.

OUTDOOR EXERCISE

There were few carriages in Calcutta in the beginning of this century; ladies and even doctors paid visits in palankeens; this notwithstanding that coach-makers had set up in business in the city as far back as 1780. And that they were in the habit of importing carriages is evident from the advertisements which we find in the earliest numbers of Hick’s Gazette. One of their advertisements runs thus :—“Just imported, a very elegant neat coach, a genteel rutlan roof, ornamented with flowers, very highly finished, ten best polished plate glasses, ornamented with a few elegant medallions enriched with mother-o’pearl.”

The Courier says :—“Some are to be seen lolling in their buggies and enjoying their evening drive on the beach, puffing away with the greatest nonchalance imaginable, whilst others on

horseback and in palanquins are to be seen amusing themselves in a similar way."

Lord Valentia in 1803, mentions :—"He came up the river in Lord Wellesley's state barge, richly ornamented with green and gold, its head a spread-eagle gilt, its stern a tiger's head and body ; the centre would convey twenty people with ease."

Boating parties in olden times were very frequent, between Calcutta and Garden Reach. We find Mrs. Fay writing in 1783 about these boating trips, when "the oars beat time to the note of the clarionet" :—"Kittysol boys, in the act of suspending, their kittesaus, which were finely ornamented, over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England with turbans bound by the same coloured ribband—the rowers resting on their oars in a similar uniform—made a most picturesque appearance."

Boating, in long handsome boats called snake boats was much practised, in the evening particularly. Gentlemen kept their pleasure yachts, and were accustomed to go in them to Chander-nagore or Sook Suagor on pleasure trips. Stavorinus in 1770, writes of these snake boats :—"Another boat of this country, which is very curiously constructed, is called a mourpunkey ; these are very long and narrow, and sometimes extending to upwards of a hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth ; they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which is either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal ; the paddles are directed by a man whostands up, and sometimes makes use of branch of plant to regulate their motions, using much gesticulation, and telling history to excite either laughter or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, on which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments which are highly varnished and exhibit a considerable degree of taste." The fact is, the only drive at that time was the dusty Course. There was no Strand road, and no country drives ; hence pleasure trips were made by Calcutta people of wealth on "the delightful boats and upon the pleasant waves of the Ganges."

CHAPTER II

ADVERTISEMENTS ILLUSTRATING CUSTOMS OF THE TIME

THE following is an advertisement to sailors, in 1780 to engage in privateering, which was then reckoned a favourable opening to men seeking their fortune :—"To all gentlemen, seamen and lads of enterprize and true spirit, who are ambitious of making an honorable independence by the plunder of the enemies of their country, the *Death or Glory* privateer, a prime sailing vessel, commanded by James Bracey, mounting six 22 pounders, twelve cohorns, and twenty swivels, and carrying a hundred and twenty men—will leave Calcutta in a few days on a five months' cruise against the Dutch, French and Spaniards. The best treatment and encouragement will be given."

Mr. James Wittit, a very successful "Europe and China shop-keeper," whose "dwelling-house, shop and warehouses" were near the Bankshall, and who had a garden-house, "on the road from the Boytoconnah to the burial ground," in 1784, invites inspection of his premises and conference as to terms of sale, &c., "any day of the week, except Sunday," a very remarkable exception in those days. Hicky's Gazette for March 1781, refers to Mr. Wittit's endeavours to put good books into circulation. A Hudibrastic rhyming list of goods for sale commences thus—

"Ladies', caps to adorn the head ;
Shrouds to wrap them in when dead ;
Salves to cure the itch or evil ;
Bible books to scare the devil,
As good as e'er old Wittit did sell."

[Advt.] "TOM FATT, native of China, begs leave to inform the gentlemen of Calcutta, and the public in general that any persons having tanks in their gardens, or elsewhere, and being desirous to have them cleared out, he will contract with them for

the same upon very reasonable terms, being certain that he can finish the work quicker than any Bengal people, by means of a China pump. Any gentleman willing to contract with the said Mr. Fatt, is requested to enquire at his Rum Works, at Sulkey, opposite Calcutta. N.B.—He makes loaf sugar equal in quality to that made in Europe and excellent sugar-candy. Also all sorts of cabinet-work the same as in China. Calcutta, 4th March, 1784.”

Tom Fatt did not live long after the above advertisement appeared, for in June, 1784, all his stock-in-trade, and his distillery at “Sulkey,” are offered for sale.

[Advt.] FENCING.—Mr. Soubise begs leave to acquaint his friends and the gentlemen of the settlement, that he proposes to teach the art of fencing upon the following terms :—“Two gold-mohurs entrance, and two gold-mohurs per month. He has taken a convenient house for the purpose, behind the ‘Harmonic.’ His days are Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Such gentlemen as choose to take private lessons at their own houses, will be attended on Tuesdays and Saturdays, in which case his terms three gold-mohurs entrance, and three gold-mohurs per month. 23rd June, 1784.”

On the 2nd of September, 1784, was put up for sale by auction “that extensive piece of ground belonging to Warren Hastings, Esq., called Rishera (Ishera) situated on the western bank of the river, two miles below Serampore, consisting of 136 beeghas.”

Messrs. Davidson and Co., inform their friends and the public that they have established (December 1787) in Entally a “washing and mangling business.” The following were their charges :

For a lady or gentleman	Rs. 6 per month.
A child from 7 to 12 years old	Rs. 4 per month.
A child under 6 years.	Rs. 2 per month.
A Servant.	Rs. 1 per month.

[Advt.] “FLOUR MILL. —Mr. Christopher Dexter begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, and the public in general, that he has erected at a very considerable

expense, a mill for grinding flour, being the first of the kind ever known in Bengal. The stones, which are real French Burs, are the very best produced in Europe; their principal excellence consists in leaving no sand in the flour, a fault but too general with the Bengali bakers. He has also erected ovens under the inspection of two European bakers, and proposes carrying on the baking business in all its branches. He hopes his bread will be found superior to any yet produced in Bengal, and on the same terms as the natives....Calcutta, 21st March, 1789."

Mr. John Marklew, Gunmaker, late Foreman to Jover and Son, Oxford Street, London, now returning home, gives notice that he "has disposed of all his tools and receipt for browning gun barrels to Mr. Peter Augier, gunmaker and cutler in Calcutta, who will carry on the same business as above, and hope to meet with the encouragement of the gentlemen of the settlement. 21st January, 1790."

Here is an application to the "Commissioners of the Court of Requests of the Town of Calcutta" :

"GENTLEMEN,—Understanding that the office of clerk to your Court is likely to become vacant, I beg leave, in that event to solicit your suffrages for my succession thereto. Allow me to call to your recollection that the person who thus offers himself as a candidate, is a very old servant of the Company's, whose situation and misfortunes give him a reasonable claim to the assistance of his brother-servants, and whose qualifications from his knowledge of the country languages and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the natives, render him, he flatters himself, equal to the discharge of the duties of the office he solicits. (Sd) FRANCIS GLADWIN. Calcutta, 14th June, 1790."

So highly was Madeira wine thought of in those days that one advertiser, in 1790, prefaces his announcement of the receipt of a new batch of this particular wine, with the following blast :

Now drink Madeira and, in scorn of knaves,
Leave continental wines to conquered slaves.

Madeira and claret seem to have been the usual drink of the residents in addition to pale ale. Large shipments of the above wines from England and France were standing advertisements in the papers. The price of ale and porter in hogsheads was ninety sicca rupees per hogshead.

"A. Wilson, Watchmaker, in Council House Street," has for sale, several capital watches, among which "is one on a new and singular construction, horizontal, capp'd, jewellerd, and stop, which goes while winding up, and by a separate hadod and circle shows the three hundredth part of a minute." (1791).

[Advt.] "A gentleman observing the great number of useless horses daily parading the roads about Calcutta, suggests it as a hint that they might be better employed in propagating their breed up the country, an idea, the advertiser doubts not, will be highly approved of by the patriotic owners of such cattle. This is, therefore, to give notice that any gentleman sending an incumbent of that nature to the Printer (of the Calcutta Gazette) and paying, for this advertisement, the animal will be thankfully received and religiously applied to the proposed purpose. 28th April, 1791."

"A neat, compact and new built garden-house," is advertised for private sale at 1,500 sicca rupees. It was "pleasantly situated at Chowringhy, and from its contiguity to Fort William peculiarly well calculated for an officer ; it would, "continues the advertisement, "likewise be a handsome provision for a native lady, or a child." A peculiar feature of the times (1792).

A "left-handed gun" is advertised, in 1793, by "Peter Augier, Cutler and Armourer, No. 51, Cossitollah. This reminds us to notice that among all the firms, which used to figure in the advertising pages of the Gazette of that time, none have survived even in name to the present time, except that of P. Augier, whose grandsons still carry on the old business of armourers and gunsmiths, in the same old house in Cossitollah. The building and people must have some strange mementos of the old times.

An advertisement, dated Public Department, Fort William, 25th March, 1793, calls for "Contract proposal for erecting a factory house, godowns and offices, at Cossimbazar." The Government proposed to pull down and remove the then existing factory house, with the whole of the godowns and offices within

the surrounding wall, and to construct new buildings in their stead.

In looking over the advertisements we stumbled upon the following, which is an evidence of the quaint manners of tradesmen in Calcutta of that date (1793) :—"Whereas there are several persons of the name of PRICE, whose Christian name begins with a large "j" ; J. PRICE, Esquire, doth therefore apply to so many that mistakes have frequently happened—I beg leave to decline the appellation of Esquire, and request of those who do not know me, but may in future have occasion to send notes, letters or parcels, which they may pretend shall come direct to me, that they direct to CAPTAIN JOSEPH PRICE, Clive Street, Calcutta."

Here is an advertisement of 1793, which will raise a smile on the countenances of our readers, and provide another illustration of the value of money in those times :—"A person suffering much by corns under his feet, will give one thousand sicca rupees to any person capable of extracting them, to be paid upon the performance of the cure. Enquire No. 83, Zigzag Lane."

Fine Hyson teas are advertised in 1793 at 250 sicca rupees the chest ; 125 the half, 64 the quarter and nine rupees the seer.

Doctor Liotard advertises (1793)—"Public baths, plain, mineral and aromatic," at No. 37, China Bazar.

Bhilsa, which is still famous for its preparation of the perfumed tobacco for smoking in the hooka, was, in 1793, very celebrated, and exported to Calcutta very large quantities of tobacco, much valued by European smokers, and not less so by wealthy native gentlemen. The tobacco was advertised by Messrs. Lee and Kennedy at seventy rupees per maund ; and "Aliabad" tobacco at forty rupees.

The following auctioneers carried on business in Calcutta, during the year 1793 :—Messrs. King, Johnson and Pierce ; Mouat and Faria ; Stewart and Brown ; Tulloh and Co. The last named firm became the most famous, and carried on the business of auctioneers and commission agents in a very extensive way in Tank Square, for more than fifty years, when they gave place to others.

Two large dray horses (1793) brought from Europe were sold to an agent of the Nawab Vizier for six thousand rupees

As a significant sign of the times, we extract the following

advertisement from a paper of 1794 :— “Wants a place—to wait upon a lady, either here or on a voyage to Europe, a native woman, the daughter of an European, who speaks English, can dress and attend on a lady, and has already attended one to England. Enquire at Mr. D’Couto’s, near Tiretta Bazar, for Anna D’Sylva.”

There was at this period (1794) a hotel at Budge-Budge, kept by Messrs. Dennagan and Co. The house was a large upper roomed one, and situated immediately on the bank of the river. Here might be obtained “post chaises, buggies and saddle horses.”

A person of the name of Dominick Laurency, an Italian, advertises in 1794, having brought from Europe the “Cabinet of Curcisu,” and the “Great Optic of Zaler,” both of which “curiosities,” had “attracted the admiration of the capital cities of Europe, and particularly that of London.” The cabinet was composed of figures, life size, of persons in Europe and elsewhere who had made a name for themselves, and particularly of those who were living actors of the tragedies of the French Revolution, then in full vigour. The “optic glass represents the rising of the sun and the capital cities of Europe, in their natural state and size,” &c., &c. Admission one gold-mohur.

An advertisement appears in 1794, under the signature of P. Holford, Master Chambers in Symond’s Inn, Chancery Lane, London, enquiring for information regarding a “girl Betsey,” to whom three legacies (of 1,000,400 and 200 rupees) had been left by “Thomas Downies Wilmot, formerly of the town of Calcutta, mariner.”

An advertisement by the Superintendent of Prince of Wales Island appears, in 1794, offering two Spanish dollars a head for Patna sheep brought to the island ; he “being desirous of increasing the plenty of stock on that island, for the accommodation of shipping, by establishing a breed of Patna sheep.”

Messrs. Barber and Palmer advertise, in 1794 large mercantile transactions in the papers. The name of this firm was a household word in the days of our boyhood in the city of Calcutta. It was the Palmer of this firm who became the “Prince of Calcutta merchants,” as he was styled, and earned for himself a statue in the Calcutta Town Hall. And this palatial house of business is still standing, and was for many years the Sailors’ Home in

Bow Bazar. Messrs. Palmer and Co. were the first of the princely mercantile houses which thirty years after, were the wonder of the world: It was in 1833 that their overtrading and speculations in indigo, opium, &c., caused their downfall. Palmer and Co. were the first to go, and their bankruptcy was followed by Alexander and Co. ; Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co., and some others, causing unheard-of ruin to widows and pensioners, who had embarked their all in these houses, depending with confidence on the security of the baits held out in large interest for money invested in these firms. The interest they regularly received, but the principal was irrecoverably gone.

Besides Messrs. Barber and Palmer, to which we have referred, there are other business names which are well remembered by old residents in Calcutta, and among them none more honored than the long standing coach-building establishment of Messrs. Steuart and Co., near St. Andrew's Church. That firm, after supplying about twenty partners with fortunes, passed into other hands and very lately only changed its name.

A manufacturer started in 1794 a candle-making business at No. 34, Meeryjhony Gully, "or Zigzag Lane"—Mr. Clark says that he makes his candles to such perfection, that "his tallow candles mixt with wax, appear equally as good as the best wax candles made in India ; and a whole candle will burn ten or eleven hours." His prices were—"wax and tallow candles, 30 Sa. Rs. per manund, tallow only 20 Sa. Rs. and wax only 75 Sa. Rs."

"Fine large Europe Cabbage Plants" are advertised for sale, in 1794, at Sa. Rupees eight per hundred—rather a heavy price we should think, even in those money-making days—to be had "at the late Captain Mackintyre's garden, a little below the Orphan House, opposite Chandpaul Ghat." This is the first intimation we have of the existence of an orphan house in this locality.

Here is a description of a queer old German clock, which literally astonished the weak minds of the natives in 1794, who considered it a most wonderful production of the gods. "It consisted of a sea of glass, in perpetual motion so long as the clock was going ; a ship at anchor ; a battery on which a solitary soldier marched to and fro ; a high watch tower, whose diminutive clock indicated the hour ; and a little boat, with four men and one officer, whose perpetual occupation was to row to and fro between

the ship and the battery, a distance which occupied them an hour either way. When the boat arrived at the battery the hour struck, the soldier presented arms, and a savage little band of music rushed out blowing defiance at the ship and the boat, to the tune of 'Blow, warder, blow' ! The moment the music finished the musicians retreated precipitately backwards into the watch tower, and the boat, which pulled in a circle, was returning by rather a circuitous route to the ship ; the instant it got alongside the clock tower struck the hour, but no ruffians rushed out this time, it was the ship's turn to do something wonderful ; up flew a red flag with death's head and marrowbones to the gaff, and six little bullets as big as peas, supposed to be fired from the pirate's guns, were shot by some skilful mechanism against the batter, which they all hit at the same instant, and so disappeared beneath a yawning glassy wave."

"TO BE LET ON LEASE FOR THREE YEARS.—The Herrinbarry, consisting of thirty pukka built godowns, adjoining to the north of the bazar called Tiretta's Bazar, in front of the public road leading to Chitpore, and standing on four biggahs and thirteen cottahs." (1795).

The following rather equivocal advertisement appears in a Gazette of the 29th October, 1795 :—"A gentleman lately arrived in this settlement, anxious to evince the high sense he entertains of the public liberality, in the encouragement given to his Treatise on Farriery ; wishing also to make himself perfectly acquainted with all the diseases and incidents to which horses are subject in this country, begs leave to request, that gentlemen who may have horses affected with any kind of disorder whatever will apply to him ; as he will deem himself happy in being enabled to render his study in this line of any services to the public in general, and to do justice to the noblest of the quadrupeds. A line addressed to C.D.L. and left with the Printer, will be immediately forwarded to him."

"STOLEN.—This day, a metal watch, in a green shagreen case, winds up on the outside, with a metal cap or plate that turns round to cover the key-hold. On the dial plate it tells the day of the month—a gold chain, two gold eals and a gold key ; the chain

has long oval links, each link joining by two small rings. One seal, a red cornelian engraving, a Newton's head, the other a white cornelian pump or spring seal, with R. D. in a cypher on one side. If offered for sale, stop it, and the parties ; and a reward of five gold mohurs shall be paid by applying to Captain Z. Binny, Theatre Street, Calcutta, 22nd December, 1795."

The magnificence of the buildings of those days, even of private individuals and at remote up-country stations, may be inferred from the following description of a house, "lately erected by Mr. Driver, at Berhampore," and brought to the hammer in Calcutta, on the 28th October, 1795 :—"The house is raised three feet from the level of the country, and is perfectly dry ; it consists of a very handsome hall, eighty by twenty feet, divided by columns ; four very excellent bed rooms ; one enclosed and one open verandah, twenty feet by eighteen. There is also a complete set of offices, with double coach-house and stables for six horses."

Doctor Dinwiddie advertises, in 1795, that he will give a course of lectures on National Philosophy and Chemistry—to commence on the 21st of April. "The course to consist of from 25 to 30 lectures. Subscription ten gold-mohurs."

"LADIES' HAIR DRESSER.—Charles Bennett respectfully informs the ladies of the settlement who may please to honor him with their commands, that he dresses hair in the newest taste. No. 12 Mangoe Lane, Cossitollah Street."

Vitriolic acid, "manufactured in the neighbourhood of Calcutta," is offered for sale at 2 sicca rupees per lb. (1795).

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise for sale on commission,— "Beautiful black bear skin tippets at Sa. Rs. 80 each ; ditto white rabbit ditto at Rs. 48 ; genuine otto of roses from Persia, at the moderate price of sicca rupees twenty-five per sicca weight."

The Gazette of the 16th July, 1795, has the following characteristic advertisement of a man who wishes to become an Indigo broker :—"Much inconvenience having occurred to gentlemen of the Company's ships, and others trading to England in the article of indigo, from the want of a person to act the part of a broker in the valuation of the commodity, Mr. Joseph Stephens (by the advice of his friends) begs leave to make a tender of his

services in such capacity ; trusting his long experience in that trade, as a manufacturer in this country, and the regular information with which he is furnished by his correspondents in England, will render him competent to such an undertaking.

“Mr. Joseph Stephens proposes to act as sworn broker in the purchase and sale ; as also to value the indigos of this country, between the buyer and seller ; to assort and repack the same, when necessary, on the following terms :—Buying or selling or appraising one per cent, if the amount does not exceed 50,000 Rs. ; if above that sum one and-a-half per cent. Sorting and repacking one rupee per maund.”

Messrs. Ord and Knox, tradesmen of Calcutta, find out something which they believe will be to be their advantage vide their advertisement, dated 2nd September, 1795 :—“MADEIRA WINE.—Ord and Knox having had experience of the great effect which the hot winds in the upper parts of the country have in ripening and mellowing madeira with less loss of both body and flavor, than arises in the usual way from long keeping, propose sending to Cawnpore twenty-five pipes of the first growth London Particular Wine, to reap the benefit of season 1796. By this and the voyage up and down, the wine will become riper than by some years keeping in Calcutta. They engage to deliver the wine, on its return to Calcutta to subscribers only, filled up and free of every charge and risk at sicca rupees 675 per pipe.”

“COAST CLOTHS.—For sale, just imported, direct from the loom, a few pieces very fine longcloths, from 56 to 119 sicca rupees per piece. Apply to Mr. R. Abbott.” 1795.

The Government prohibit the import of saltpetre :—“Public notice is hereby given that the Governor-General in Council has thought proper to determine, that the importation of saltpetre into the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orisa, shall be prohibited from this date, E. HAY, Secretary to the Government : Fort William, May 15, 1795.”

In the following advertisement we see the birth of the “Union Insurance Company,” which existed for many years in Calcutta, and perhaps may still exist ;—“Notice is hereby given, that a new insurance office will be established on the 1st day of June, 1795, for the purpose of insuring ships, merchandize, or goods, to all parts of the world, against all risks or dangers of the seas, &c.,

under the name of the UNION INSURANCE COMPANY, Mr. Thomas Gowan to officiate as Secretary ; and Captain John Canning as Inspector of Ships."

"Chittagong canvas fresh from the looms," is advertised for sale in 1795 at the godowns of Messrs. Colvin and Bazett—Price per single bolt Sa. Rs. 19 ; per corgé Rs. 300.

The price of glassware, in 1795, may be judged from the following—"COLOURED GLASS—A few pair of transparent green and purple hanging lamps, with smoke shades, and rick lacquered furniture, may be had at the following prices, at the warehouse of Davidson and Chalmers : 1st size, per pair 120 Rs. ; 2nd size, per pair, 100 Rs. ; 3rd size, per pair 80 Rs."

"A convenient upper-roomed house, No. 5, Court House Lane," is offered for sale, in 1795, and one of its recommendations is, that it is "free from dust and noise—happy tenants of such a house, in a lane too, which "leads to Radha Bazar." The said house had besides "a small garden." When one now views that lane and that neighbourhood, he cannot but wonder where such a garden could have existed, for all the houses therein seem of about the same age, and all for the same kind of structure.

For the first time we see an advertisement, on the 25th June, 1795, announcing the sale of an article for which Calcutta has always been famous :—"Pickled Mango Fish Roe, at four rupees per bottle, to be had of Mr. F. Jacobi, Chunam Gully."

"Two very elegant Mehannah Palanquins," says the Gazette of the 20th August, 1795, "are just finished by Mr. Steuart, who has shown great skill in the design and execution of them ; they are commissioned by the Rajah of Tanjore, and from this specimen of European art, we may expect other natives of rank will be induced to give similar orders." A spectator at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, in 1876, saw hundreds of instances where the equipages of native princes had been constructed entirely by European coachbuilders ; and many conveyances were quite according to English style, with the crests of their royal masters on the door panels.

The Honorable F. Fitzroy is in trouble (1795):—"Lord Southampton having sent several things to him last year, which he has not received, and some guns this season, Mr. F. expects that any gentleman having charge of the kind for him, will be so good as to send them to his agents." And then, perhaps guessing

the cause of such articles not reaching their destination, the honorable gentleman adds—"where (at the agents) Mr. F. will leave directions, for paying any demands the gentlemen may have for the trouble and care of bringing the things out to India."

Who in the present day hears of a gout chair ? That uncomfortable ailment exists to as great extent as it did in days gone by, but no one ever thinks of having a peculiarly constructed chair wherein the patient may recline and obtain ease from pain. So thought not our grandfathers, for W. Myers advertises in 1795, among other articles of furniture, "two mahogany Merlin's gout chairs, covered with leather, and stuffed with hair, very complete."

Rather a strange "gift to a woman"—vide under-noted advertisement :—"To be let or sold by private sale—a lower roomed house, situated immediately facing Mr. Derozio's house on the Boytaconah Road, consisting of two rooms and a large hall, with cook-room, bottlekonah and other necessary offices. There are Bootick shops belonging to the premises, to be sold with the house, which are let to good and constant tenants ; which shops alone bring in sufficient interest : the premises would be a desirable gift to a woman, and a permanent living. For further particulars enquire on the premises, or of Mr. John Athanass, in the Bow Bazar."

A gentleman of the name of Soubise advertises, in 1795, having opened a "Repository" for gentlemen's horses ; the said repository, or in other words, stables, were "situated to the north of, and nearly behind Sherburne's Bazar, leading from the Cossitollah down Emambarry Lane ; and from the Durrumtollah by the lane to the west of Sherburne's Bazar." Was this the original designation of what became the "Chandney Chowk Bazar" ?

RUINS OF GOUR.—Mr. Baillie proposes to publish, in 1795, by subscription, a set of six views of the "principal ruins of the ancient city of Gour, formerly the capital of Bengal." Subscription 40 sicca rupees for the set.

A humorous advertisement appears in the Gazette, in 1796, under the signature of a wax and tallow chandler, of the name of Shadrach Clark, carrying on business at No. 27, Cossitolah Street. This person "thinks it highly necessary to take notice of and hint to the public, that there are one or two in the town who have set up for wax and tallow chandlers, but who have never been regularly brought up to the business, and only got a little insight

into it by frequenting his house under the cloak of friendship. They sell under him on purpose to get customers, in which they might have succeeded by their intrigues with the sircars ; but their want of a thorough knowledge in the art of manufacturing candles, joined to their ignorance of the ingredients necessary for preserving tallow in this climate, and making them burn clear and last long, have brought discredit on the trade, that injustice is due only to such pretenders. S. C. will vouch for his candles, even when green, or quite new, to burn six hours ; when about a month old, eight hours (which is as long as any wax candle will burn) ; and when about two months old and more, they will burn full ten hours. These are tallow mixed with wax, as white as spermaceti candles at 30 rupees a maund. One great impediment also, he thinks, to the universal sale and use of his candles has been the bearers, whose business it is in most families to clean and keep in order the candlesticks, to light and snuff them, but whose caste will not permit them to handle or touch tallow ; but if the gentry are so far prejudiced in their favor as not to disoblige them in that respect, why might it not be made the entire business of their *khitmutgars* ?”

[Advt.] “P. Meurisee and N. Larcher most respectfully beg leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen and the public in general, who have hitherto been pleased to favor them with their commands, that in future, they will kill on Mondays and Saturdays a good fat bullock, and a well fed china pork on every second day of the week.” (1797).

A Panorama of London is advertised to be exhibited in Tank Square in 1797. Tickets of admission eight rupees.

[Advt.] “Some disagreeable circumstances too painful to relate, having imposed on Mr. Tiretta the melancholy necessity of removing the remains of his beloved wife, the late Mrs. Tiretta, from the Portuguese burying ground to a cemetery of his own, near the English burying ground, he begs leave to inform the public, that all Roman Catholic Europeans, or their immediate descendants, dying in this settlement, and preferring this cemetery, may have their remains deposited there, free of all charges, on application to the Reverend Vicar of the Portuguese Church in Calcutta ; by which they will not only avoid the sorrowful predicament in which he was placed, but enjoy the comfortable assurance,

that their remains shall rest in peace —Calcutta, March, 18, 1798.”

[Advt.] “P. Merle begs leave to inform his friends and the gentlemen of the settlement that during the cold season he purposes renewing his annual practice of curing horses of all ages at Sa. Rs. 100 each. No cure no pay : P. M. begs leave to observe ; that his mode of operation is universally allowed by all gentlemen who had been witnesses thereto, to be the safest and most effectual of any ever practised, without risque of life as well as expeditious in its cure, and which it is hoped will give a decided preference in his favor, to any other in the line, who pretend to undertake the operation without possessing the least knowlegdge, which ultimately is productive of fatal consequences independent of the loss of time in effecting the cure, which, with them, is often three months or more, when by his mode, seldom exceeds a fortnight.”

[Advt.] “AN ENSIGNCY to be sold for sixty pounds sterling less than the King’s regulated price, in an old regiment, which has been only two years and-a-half in India. Enquire of Messrs. Gardiner, Moscrop and Alexander. July 18, 1799.” From the above it would appear, an anticipated long residence in India was considered by the military as a desideratum.

An advertisement appears, on the 14th November 1799, of “Wild beasts for sale at Mr. W. Smith’s, No. 230 , Lall Bazar, opposite Mr. H. Swinhoe’s, the Attorney—A royal tiger, and a dog, his familiar and constant companion. Two royal tiger cubs male and female, four months old, in the same cage. A beautiful leopard, about five months old.

N.B.—Any person viewing them for curiosity sake only, will not be offended if half a rupee should be expected by the black keeper.”

Messrs. Tulloh and Co., auctioneers, who had now been established in Calcutta for about three years, advertised the sale for the 18th April, 1799, of the Durrumtollah Bazar, or, as it was then termed—“Bazar at Chowringhee.” The ground on which the bazar then stood measured about nine beegahs, on which there were 207 pukka built rooms or shops, 143 arched ditto, and 36 large cutcha godowns, yielding a gross monthly rent of Sa. Rs. 1,043. The bazar was “bounded by General

Stibbert's house on the east, by the Durrumtollah road to the north, by the Chowringhee road to the west, and by the Jaun Bazar to the south."

It may be interesting to know what were the rates for hire of conveyances and cattle in the year 1800. An advertisement of Mr. Dexter, a stablekeeper in Calcutta, gives us this information :

		<i>Per day</i>	<i>Per month</i>
		Rs.	Rs.
A coach and four	...	24	300
A post chaise and pair	...	16	200
A pair of horses	...	10	130
Buggy and horse	...	5	100

These rates were low, in comparison with what they were forty years afterwards.

By a notice in the papers we learn that the Calcutta Circulating Library was necessitated to close its doors to the public on the 30th September, 1800.

We observe that Livery Stables were started in 1801 by one Malachi Lyons, in a lane leading from the Wellington Square ; these stable continued to bear Mr. Lyons' name for full forty years, though they passed into other hands.

The name of the firm of Raitt, Inglis and Company appears in the Gazettes of 1800 and some previous years, as having an extensive "Chunam business" at Sylhet. This firm continued such business for many years, changing the designation of the firm occasionally as partners retired with "money in both pockets," and Inglis was the last of the old partnership. He, too, made a handsome fortune out of the lime and orange business ; we believe the old business is still continued at Sylhet.

There appear to have been greater distinctions in the malt liquors then imported from England, than there are at the present day. In an advertisement of Messrs. Davidson and Wilson on the 24th September, 1801, we have the following kinds of beer named :—"1, pale ale ; 2, strong ale ; 3, small beer ; 4, brilliant beer ; 5, strong porter ; 6, light porter ; 7, brown stout."

Bengal rum is advertised for sale at the Howrah Distillery, from twelve annas to one rupee per gallon. Either the manu-

facture cost much less than it does now, or the stuff must have been worse than country liquor.

[Advt.] "ELOPEMENT.—Notice is hereby given to the public, that my wife, named Harrapseemee Sherrin, daughter of Johanies Mullukset, Armenian, of Chinsurah, have eloped from my house, at Serampore, on the 4th December last, 1800, without any just cause or reason ; therefore this is to caution that I shall not be responsible for any debt or debts she may contract from whomsoever. (Sd.) SHERRIF ABRAHAM, Greek. Serampore, February 9, 1801."

In a communication addressed by Dr. John Fleming, first member of the Medical Board, to the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, in 1802, we are informed that Calcutta was placed in possession of the benefits bestowed on mankind by Dr. Jenner's celebrated discovery of small-pox inoculation. A superintendent was appointed to further the benefits of Doctor Jenner's discovery throughout the provinces ; and opportunities taken to instruct the Hindoo and Mahomedan physicians in the proper mode of performing the operation.

[Advt.] "For sale—a second-hand post chaise, with a perch ; to save trouble ; price, 450 sicca rupees. A handsome chair palankeen, very little used, ditto 220."

Messrs. Gammidge and Saunders set up a tavern and a farm at Fultah on the 2nd August, 1802. And there was in 1803, a hotel at Fultah called Garmange's Hotel, a building said to be "by no means disgraceful to the most improved style of modern architecture. A number of captains and travellers of consequence land here, taking their departure overland to their various destinations in India."

[Advt.] "A European wants an employ in the indigo business. Understands all the processes of the manufactory. Apply to Mr. John Morris, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta, 1803."

A most extensive collection of natural curiosities, chiefly consisting of rare insects, collected by the late Baron Von Doldorff,

a captain in His Danish Majesty's Service, is advertised for sale on the 5th January, 1805. This collection was the result of upwards of sixteen years' labor, not only in Bengal, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, but also of the Malay Peninsula of Sumatra, and most of the other islands to the eastward.

Among other articles advertised for sale at auction by Mr. Duncan, "is a large Newfoundland dog, cost eight hundred rupees."

An advertisement appears, from "a gentleman in search of employment" :—"If any single or family gentleman wishes to have a clerk, who understands several accounts, writes and reads English, French, Portuguese, and can translate ; he likewise reads Latin, and speaks good Moor and Bengal languages ; he is willing to be employed in the settlement, or go up the country or to either the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, if a suitable salary be allowed him."

[Advt.] "Malver, hair dresser from Europe, proposes himself to the ladies of the settlement to dress hair daily, at two gold-mohurs per month, in the latest fashion with gauze, flowers, &c. He will also instruct the slaves at a moderate price. Please to enquire at Mr. Bernard's, behind the Harmonic Tavern."

Russapuglah seems to have been rather a fashionable part of the City of Palaces in the earlier days. A mansion, known by the name of Frescatti, was advertised for sale on the 1st October, 1803. This house was "situated in the pleasantest part of Russapuglah, about two miles from Chowringhee, on a covetable and selected spot." An elegant octagon on a lofty mount, constitutes a part of the great acquisitions annexed to the estate ; it commands in the foreground a beautiful and extensive view of the country seat of G. Dowdeswell, Esq., and other adjacent gardens, and in the prospective the most luxuriant and picturesque scenery."

[Advt.] JOHN REQUIEM, an ancient French Captain of a ship, being lately Professor of Hydrography at the Isle of France, passed to this town by the Prevost de Langristain, Captain Mutterne, where he is settled with his family, informs the public that he and his son will teach youth to read, write, and speak the English and French languages by the best principles ; likewise

the arithmetical, geometrical and astronomical sciences, relating to the art of navigation, or the leading of a ship through the known world. Those who may please to trust the instruction of their children to their charge, may expect every satisfaction. Direct to them at No. 143, near China Bazar. They will give undoubted proofs of their abilities, probity, and behaviour, by papers delivered unto them from the best authorities of their nation. They have an instrument, newly discovered by a French gentleman, where any one may observe the longitude at sea without any calcule. If there are any curious people who desire to see the said instrument, they may call at their house, where they will, with the utmost pleasure, show and explain to them the method to make use of it."

"Lent or lost some years since !" So runs the heading of an advertisement—"The first volume of Pope's works, published by Millar, in octavo, in 1760. The owner's name is pasted on the inside of the cover, and the crest is a dove with extended wings. If the book is in the possession of any gentleman, it is requested that he will be good enough to return it ; and should it be with any person to whom a reward will be acceptable, a proper compliment will be made on giving or sending it to the printer, as a valuable edition is rendered useless from the want of it."

[Advt.] 'Stays.—Ladies' stays, for the warm season, made by Stephen Quick, No. 161, Cossitollah. They are perfectly cool, being both outside and lining of fine Irish linen, and upon so easy a construction that a servant may with ease shift the bones from one pair to another in a few minutes, so that a lady, having three or four pairs, may shift her stays as often as her linen. *N.B.*—Price one gold-mohur each pair."

"An European" advertises as wanting employment—a perfect jack of all trades :—"WANTS EMPLOY.—An European, upwards of twenty years in India, in the capacity of steward and hair dresser, who understands watchmaking, can tune pianofortes. A line directed to Mr. J. Dichle, at Calcapore, will be duly attended to."

[Advt.] 'John Lewis, Exchange Coffee House, respectfully in-

forms the gentlemen of the Calcutta Militia, that public breakfast will be provided every parade morning in the Exchange Hall, at one rupee eight annas a head—Ready money.”

Mr. Pyefinch, Farmer of Tolley’s Nullah, proposes “to supply families with firewood and charcoal at 12 sicca rupees per 100 maunds of the former, and twelve baskets per sicca rupee of the latter, and deliver them at the door.”

“William Doughty (1807) begs leave to inform his friends and the gentlemen arriving at this settlement, that he has taken that well situated and most extensive house belonging to the estate of General Martine, opposite to the College, and the south-west corner of Tank Square, where he has spared no expense in fitting it up for the reception of families and gentlemen arriving from Europe, the upper stations, &c. W. D. begs leave to observe that his house in future will be conducted under the title of the Crown and Anchor Hotel and British Chop House.”

Messrs. Steward & Co. advertise as “Wanted for hire,—a clever boat, upon the new principle, for the particular purpose of crossing the great river, from Chandpal Ghaut to Seebpore. March 18, 1807.”

An appeal was put forward for the relief of the sufferers from the famine in the Madras Presidency, in January 1807, when the “merchant princes of India,” as the Calcutta firms were then styled, subscribed most liberally ; one thousand rupees was put down by each, besides what individual partners of the firms gave. Those were days when money was made easily, and spent liberally.

“Essence for the Hookah ” such is the attractive heading of an advertisement put forth by Mr. H. McKay in the Gazette of the 3rd March, 1808. He “respectfully begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement that are partial to the hookah, that he has prepared some essence, whose fragrant odour and fine flavour will add considerable zest to this luxury.” The natives had for ages used fragrant essences with the tobacco that they smoked in their hookahs ; Mr. McKay’s must have been something of the same kind.

“Belvidere House” is advertised by Tulloh and Co., as for sale by auction on the 18th May, 1809. The house is described as a “superb mansion, lately occupied by the Commander-in-Chief at the monthly rent of sicca rupees 450.” The size of the mansion

is given—it consisted of two halls, one measuring 46 by 29½ feet, and the other 30½ by 29½ feet ; a bed room 30½ by 29½ feet ; a middle room 17½ by 17 feet ; another room 17 by 17 feet ; a card or drawing room 36 by 23 feet ; also an elegant marble cold bath and a hot bath. The above suits of apartments were on the west side of the house ; exactly similar suits of rooms were on the east side of the house. Colonnaded verandahs were on the north and south sides. There was a superb park of seventy-two beegahs of ground in extent which surrounded the mansion. This house originally belonged to Colonel Tolley, and was sold on account of his estate in 1802.

A sheriff's sale is announced for the 24th of March, of "the remainder of a term of a certain lease from Anna Maria Tolley to John Hooper Wilkinson of a certain creek or nullah, commonly called or known by the name of Tolley's nullah or canal."

Mr. Maillerdet informs the public that "the automaton, so justly admired in Europe, are now exhibited from the hours of 11 to 4 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at a house on the left-hand side of Mr. John Hannah's Gully. Admission 4 rupees."

Bottles seem to have been rather scarce in Calcutta in 1807, for Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise that they will pay five sicca rupees per dozen for empty English bottles, and four for French ones.

"Fresh Oysters" are advertised for sale "at John Morris," Cossitollah Street, at three rupees per dozen. July 1808."

In a newspaper of 1st September, 1808, we find an announcement of "Alexander Watts, boot, shoe and harness maker," having set up at No. 33, Cossitollah. This firm still exists.

Messrs. Burgh and Nosky dissolve partnership and Mr. E. Nosky carries on the business of chemist and druggist at No. 186, Lal Bazar, from the 31st May, 1809.

Mr. William Hollings advertises—"A. Damson's claret at per dozen Sa. Rs. 50 ; Do. port wine Sa. Rs. 25 ; Do. champagne still Sa. Rs. 90 ; Do. do sparkling Sa. Rs. 110."

All private sales of the Company's Europe imports were ordered to be discontinued from the 13th June, 1810.

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise "Old Hock, of superior quality, from Divie, Robertson and Harper, at 80 sicca rupees per dozen ; fine cyder, in boxes of one dozen each, packed in earth, at 24 sicca rupees per dozen."

P. Lindeman and Co. set up as undertakers and cabinet makers in the early part of 1808, and their firm, though in younger hands of the family, still exists in Calcutta. The founder of the business died at an advanced age in Calcutta.

As an illustration of the despotic rule of the Company, the following advertisement will show :

"In consequence of the disapprobation expressed by the Honorable the Court of Directors, to the establishment of the Canton Insurance Company, the committee for the society have directed us to notify to the public, its abolition from the 31st August last. Trail, Palmer and Co., Agents. Calcutta, 28th September, 1808."

On the 3rd November, 1808, R. Hamilton advertises that "he has fitted up the house No. 5, Tank Square, corner of Council House Street, for carrying on the various branches of his business, as Jewellers, &c." This is another of the old firms which have been able to continue flourishing up to the present date.

Robertson's claret seems to have commanded higher prices in the Calcutta market than their port. The claret is advertised at thirty-eight sicca rupees per dozen, while port was priced at sixteen only.

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise for sale a Manton's double-barrelled fowling-piece. Price, Sa. Rs. 650 ? (1912.)

Soda water seems to have been introduced into Calcutta in 1812. Up to that period it would appear that soda powders were in general use. Tulloh and Co., in an advertisement in the Gazette of the 19th March, 1812, state that "they have received for sale a small quantity of this pleasant drink and valuable remedy for indigestion, which they beg leave to assure their customers, is as highly charged with fixed air as that manufactured in London is, when recently made." "It may not be unnecessary," they continue, "to inform the public, that soda water is prepared by super-saturating a solution of soda with carbonic acid gas, and that its place cannot be at all supplied by what is sold as soda powders, which are merely a mixture of salts that effervesce on being dissolved. Every one acquainted with the principles of chemistry knows, that it is impossible to reduce to a solid form a salt, which only exists in solution under a great pressure." This

strange caution is added to the advertisement :—"Care must be taken to keep the bottles on their sides—if this is not attended to, the fixed air will escape in a few days." And for this valuable water the sum of fourteen rupees per dozen was charged ; and two rupees only allowed for the returned bottles. Well may the community of the present day congratulate themselves that this beverage, can be obtained at the low rate that now rules.

Tulloh and Co. advertise in 1812—Madeira wine London Particulars, 16 years old, Rs. 1600 per pipe, or 40 Rs. a dozen.

Do.	10 do.	...	Rs.	1,000 do.	...	or 32 do.
	7 do.	...	Rs.	800 do..	...	or 28 do.

American salmon as an article of commerce, seems to have been first imported into Calcutta in Septembr, 1815. Mr. Sheppard, of No. 87, Bow Bazar, advertises the fish for sale at ten rupees for a whole, or five for a half fish, and twenty-five rupees for a keg.

We see among the advertisements in the Government Gazette for 1829, one of Chinsurah cigars. That station was long celebrated for the manufacture of cigars.

An exhibition appended for the first time in Calcutta (1824) of the Theatre Mecanique. This ingenious display of picturesque scenery with moving figures was highly appreciated by the public. The price of tickets was 8 Rs. each for first seats, and 4 for second seats. A similar exhibition took place in Calcutta in 1834, but it was not sufficiently patronized by the public.

Notwithstanding that living in Calcutta was considered high in earlier times, our neighbours, the French at Chandernagore, had obtained some talisman to enable them not only to live cheaply themselves, but to feed others domiciled with them at a more moderate figure than could be done in Calcutta. A party advertises in the Government Gazette of the 5th September, 1816, that he will board and mess a single gentleman or single lady (exclusive of wines or liquors) for 35 rupees a month ; a married gentleman or a married lady, 45 rupees a month. Why the difference ? Are married people more exacting in their demands—rather the contrary we should think.

In the Government Gazette of the 27th March, 1823, we find in glaringly large letters an advertisement to the following effect :—"Mermaid, and Sea Monster's Head—Just brought round on the

ship Indian Oak, the first that have ever been seen in India. These natural curiosities were found on the beach at OIraga by some fishermen and brought to the Emperor's Court at Jeddo, the capital of Japan, and there purchased by the Dutch supercargo of the annual ship from Batavia, from whom the present proprietor obtained them : the greatest care has been taken of them, and the Mermaid in particular is in the most perfect state, and well worthy the notice of the public. * * * Terms of admission for each person—Sa. Rs. Six cash."

LOTTERIES

At the popular festivals of the German and the Swiss, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a lottery invariably formed one of the chief attractions. A Swiss antiquarian tells us that the people always found their way to the so-called "Gluckstopf" (Pot of Good Luck) or "Gluckshafen" (Haven of Happiness), which was set up in a central spot, and was sure to draw an eager crowd around it. He thinks that in this modest "Lucky Pot" we may discern the parent of the modern lottery. We read of one in Basel in 1471, and in Zurich in 1472, after which it was repeated each year at the famous Zurich shooting festival. It was known in Zurich as the "Breitopf" (Baby's Pap Pot). More than a century later, in 1576, the Zurichers carried their own "Breitopf" to Strasburg, and issued some thousands of lots. The drawing is said to have lasted for fourteen days. In 1467 we find a "Gluckstopf" in Munich, and another in 1470 at Augsburg. The legal institution of the "Gluckshafen" became so mischievous in its effects that it was abolished by law in the year 1585. "The people from all parts," observes Wurstisen, in his chronicle for that year, "gave themselves up with too much devotion to this game, and it was therefore prohibited for all future time." It appears that the first hint of these primitive German lotteries was given by the Italian merchants, who used to set up lotteries of their wares at the annual fairs and markets in central and northern Europe.

Down to the first years of the fourth George or thereabouts, the views entertained of gambling by the generality of Englishmen were materially different from those entertained at present. The vice was hardly recognised as a vice, but was rather declaimed

against as an imprudence. The Government of the day virtually patronised gambling in the form of the state lotteries, which for nearly a couple of centuries were made to yield a considerable revenue to the crown. The lotteries consisted of all sorts of schemes, the disposal of art collections, diamonds, jewellery, land, houses, life assurances, annuities, etc., most of the schemes, however, set forth lists of money prizes, varying from twenty pounds to 40,000. We give below a copy of one of the tickets :—

“LOTTERY FOR 1791 No. 13 m 584.

THE BEARER OF this TICKET will be entitled to such beneficial chance as shall belong thereto in the LOTTERY to be drawn by virtue and in pursuance of an act passed in the thirty-first year of His present Majesty's Reign.

T. THOMPSON.”

In the papers before us we see several notices of the lottery mania in England and on the Continent, and India was by no means free from the excitement.

The Calcutta Lottery appears to have been commenced in 1784. We learn that “the demand for tickets is astonishingly great,” and that the “wheels are making by Nichollas and Howat, upon the same construction as those used for the state lotteries in England.”

The plan for building an “Exchange” in Calcutta was started in September, 1789, and a “lottery” proposed. Strange that for almost every laudable, charitable, scientific or educational project, lotteries were considered the sine qua non in those days. The papers are full of schemes of this sort, and it is surprising how almost every one, in all ranks of society, invested in these gambling affairs. Even the chaplains did not think speculating in them as anything wrong.

On the 31st May, 1792, a meeting was held at Le Gallais Tavern, when it was determined to raise subscriptions for the erection of a “public building for the general accommodation of the settlement.” This we suppose was the future Town Hall of Calcutta. At the same time a Masonic lottery is advertised the profits from which were to be devoted to the erection of a building for the use of lodges of “Free Masons, Bucks or other societies, assemblies,

balls, concerts, or as a public exchange." The lottery consisted of 8000 tickets at 100 rupees each. It would appear that the two schemes must have amalgamated, for we read in a subsequent notice that "the building should be constructed in the manner best adapted to the climate ; and contain a spacious ball room, concert room, dining rooms, card rooms, dressing rooms, and other convenient and necessary apartments, keeping in view the accommodation of the Masonic Lottery." Subscriptions on the 28th June, amounted to Rs. 12,000 and shortly after to Rs. 21,724. At the same time there was a lottery got up for the benefit of the funds of the proposed Town Hall ; it numbered 5,000 tickets at 60 sicca rupees each, of which 1331 were prizes, amounting to three lakhs of rupees, and 3,669 blanks.

"The Calcutta Town Hall Lottery for 1805" is advertised "under the sanction and patronage of His Excellency the Most Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council." The lottery was for five lakhs of sicca rupees. There were one thousand prizes and four thousand blanks. In the scheme we are informed that "as the profits arising from the present lottery will be inadequate to the purpose of completing the public edifice proposed to be constructed, a lottery will be offered annually to the public, under the same sanction and superintendence, until the requisite funds shall have been provided."

The third Calcutta Town Hall Lottery for 1807 is advertised to be drawn on the 26th January before "George Dowdeswell, Esq., Commissioner of the Day."

The fourth Calcutta Town Hall Lottery for 1807 is advertised. The amount to be drawn was seven lakhs and fifty thousand sicca rupees ; and the whole affair was "under the sanction and patronage of the Honorable the Governor-General in Council." Of the whole amount Rs. 6,60,000 were to go for prizes, and 15,000 to the charges of the lottery ; leaving a nice little balance of Rs. 75,000 to the fund for the construction of the Town Hall of Calcutta.

The first Lottery for the Improvement of the City of Calcutta, established by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, and conducted by the Superintendent, under the immediate directions of Commissioners appointed by Government, "is advertised in the Calcutta Gazette on the 2nd February, 1809. The prizes were very considerable, the highest being one lakh

of rupees, another 50,000 and so on ; the total sum allowed for prizes being three lakhs, and 2,32,800 for blanks, the surplus after the payment of all expenses being devoted to the repair of roads, the formation of public squares, the conservancy of the town, the erection of public buildings, &c. But this lottery became subject to frauds, and the loss of tickets which gave great dissatisfaction. The largest prizes were invariably kept out of the wheel till the last day's drawing, in order to induce the public to purchase tickets. In a paper of the 19th December, we see advertised that the following capital prizes were still in the wheel :—One of 1,00,000 Rs ; one of 50,000 ; two of 20,000 ; two of 10,000 ; one of 5,000 ; and seven of 1,000 ; and this after several drawings had taken place. Besides which there was more than one instance when the two largest prizes were said to have fallen to unsold tickets.

A lottery scheme is put forth in the papers for the purpose of obtaining funds to defray the cost of “a public building for the general convenience of the settlement.” This scheme was originated by the D. P. G. M. of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and soon found favor with the public. The lottery consisted of 8,000 tickets at 100 rupees each, and it was easily filled up, and formed the nucleus funds sufficient for the new building.

A significant sign of the times was the number of advertisements of lotteries other than those by Government or for the improvement of Calcutta. Of these we notice a singular one by that great Indian delineator of native figures, Mr. T. Daniell, who informs the public that he had just made a tour of the most celebrated cities and places in Upper India, and that he had a large stock of subjects which he would exhibit publicly. In the meantime he throws out a lottery scheme for the speedy sale of his pictures. The scheme was 150 chances at 1250 rupees a chance. Each ticket to draw a prize, the highest prize being a picture valued at 1,200 rupees and the lowest at 250 rupees.

The following rather novel idea is propounded in an advertisement, in 1794, headed—“to the benevolent, charitable and generous.” A gentleman of the name of K'Kenly proposes a lottery on a grand scale, and commences with the following logical reasoning :—“It is a sentiment founded on reason, and generally entertained, that lotteries should not be set on foot, but for some public purpose, or for the relief of people in distress ;

and laboring under the consequences of their ill fortune." This introduces a scheme for the sale, of 10,000 tickets at two gold-mohurs each, which would yield a total of 3,20,000 sicca rupees, of which there would be 3,361 prizes of the value of Rs. 3,20,000. Ten per cent of the whole amount of the prizes was to be deducted, which after paying the expenses of the lottery, was to go to the relief of the distressed family. As the ten per cent, would form a very pretty fortune for any one," we think we may put it down that the projector was himself the distressed pater familias, or why could he not have stated the names of those needing public aid ?

A "Philanthropical Lottery" is advertised on the 3rd December, 1795, and an appeal addressed to "The benevolent charitable and generous public." The lottery is for "the benefit of a family now laboring under very great difficulty and distress, and threatened to be plunged in the greatest misery." The scheme contemplated the sale of 3,000 tickets at 50 sicca rupees each, giving a total of one and half lakhs of rupees. Ten per cent of this was to be deducted from the prizes, which after paying the expenses of the lottery was for the relief of the distressed family. If the lottery filled the family must have become considerably better off than many others who never appealed to the "generous public."

"The proprietor of the Exchange and Public Rooms informs the public (on the 28th March, 1799) that he is under the necessity of relinquishing every future prospect of advantage which he might derive from these rooms, by the pressure of debts contracted in the building. To satisfy a number of claimants who are not in circumstances to afford delay, he is advised to offer the following scheme of a lottery." The value of the Exchange and Public Rooms is set down at 99,400 sicca rupees which was to form the prize for the 180th ticket drawn ; besides which there were 384 money prizes, of the total value of 60,600 rupees. Prize of tickets 100 rupees each. Mr. Macdonald was the fortunate owner of the ticket No. 933, which drew the great prize in the Exchange Lottery, whereby he became proprietor of the Exchange Rooms.

(Advt.) "Captain Hearsey presents his compliments to his friends in India, and proposes to dispose of his villa and furniture in England, by lottery in Calcutta. To consist of 401 tickets at one hundred Calcutta sicca rupees per ticket." This is the preface

to an advertisement, dated 1st August, 1789. The advertiser must have been dazzled at the numerous announcements in the Calcutta papers of such schemes, and at the easy way in which these schemes, and at the easy way in which these schemes were invariably filled.

An elegant diamond, weighing ninety ruttees and valued at Sa. Rs. eighty thousand, is advertised as a lottery scheme, having 800 chances at one hundred rupees each.

A lottery is proposed, (1792) having 420 tickets at 48 sicca rupees each, "for a most beautiful single stone diamond ring of a prodigious size, weighing at least twenty ruttees, and intrinsically worth Rs. 20,160."

"SCHEME OF A LOTTERY.—Mr. Robert Chapman being desirous of parting with his indigo works situated to the north of the river Hooghly, opposite Calcutta, proposes doing it," by means of a grand lottery consisting of 500 tickets, at Sa. Rs. 200 each—Total one lakh.

There was another lottery scheme advertised at the same time : "ESTATES IN ENGLAND"—Tickets 1035, at Sa. Rupees 200 each. Three prizes, each a freehold estate, which were situated in Herts and valued respectively, Rs. 1,55,279, Rs. 30,172 and Rs. 21,556.

Tulloh and Co. advertise having received some tickets of "Bowyer's Popular and Interesting History of England Lottery sanctioned by the British Parliament," which they "are authorized to dispose of at two gold mohurs each ; the purchaser of every ticket will be entitled to a beautiful portrait of Lord Nelson or of Admiral Collingwood." We are further informed that the scheme of this lottery "has been sanctioned by Parliament for the disposal of the most splendidly embellished books in Europe as well as a gallery of the choicest productions of British art." "The articles which compose it have cost the proprietors upwards of 130,000 pounds ; and consist of publications that have been eagerly sought after to enrich the cabinets of most of the sovereigns in Europe as well as the libraries of the most distinguished amateurs in this and other countries : and that after this lottery is drawn, these beautiful works can never be obtained upon any terms whatever."

(Advt.) "To be raffled for at Messrs. Steuart, coach makers—

A new elegant, and fashionable Europe coach, with a set of plated harness for four horses, with postilion saddles, and long spare traces. The coach and harness cost 6,000 rupees. Thirty subscribers at rupees 200 each. Gentlemen wishing to be subscribers will please to intimate the same to Messrs. Steuart."

On the 21st September, 1822, the twenty-eighth Calcutta Lottery was put up to public sale at the Town Hall, and purchased by Messrs. Blaney and Co. for Rs. 6,11,400.

The first intimation we have of lotteries being looked on with disfavor by the Government of India, is in the following order from the Public Department, dated 20th May, 1800 :—"Notice is hereby given that the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council has been pleased to prohibit the establishment of any lotteries, the prizes in which are to be made payable in money, without the express permission of His Lordship in Council."

Orders were received from England in the latter part of 1830 by the Supreme Government to abolish the lottery committee in Calcutta.

RIVER NAVIGATION

BUDGEROWS are extinct. Steamers nearly drove them off the river, and the railroad has extinguished them. But in days previous to steam navigation they were the principal conveyance for officers, and others proceeding to the north-western provinces. The budgerow was a heavy boat, of the usual spoon shape below and at the stern ; but as the stem, or head it was shaped like an English boat, and not infrequently there was a figurehead, a hideous attempt at an European, with a black hat, a bright blue coat, and a yellow waistcoat. There were two good sized cabins in it—one to sit in and one for sleeping ; a closet behind, and a verandah in front. The cabins were nicely planked, and the sides, from about two feet about the deck up to the roof, were a series of venetian windows, that could be lifted and hooked up at pleasure. The roof was flat and formed a promenade in the evening, a place for the crew and servants to sleep at night, an awning being made for their protection by throwing a sail over a spear. There was a lofty mast and a topmast, for a couple of large square sails. Except when a strong favourable breeze was blowing, the budgerow was

usually tracked up by a rope about 80 or 100 yards long, at which the crew labored in relays throughout the day, anchoring always at night.

In the "Proceedings" of the Government, of the 25th November, 1760, we find a bill of expenses incurred in the Governor's travelling to Moorshedabad, as follows ; the voyage occupying one month and six days :—

3 budgerows at 3 Rs. a day	Rs.	216.0.0	
20 hoollucks, 6 oars at 28 Rs. per month	Rs.	672.0.0	
22 -do- 8 do 36 at	Rs.	890.0.0	
12 -do- 10 do at 40 do	Rs.	576.0.0	
2 -do- 4 do at 24 do	Rs.	57.0.0	
		<hr/>	2,411.0.0

Presents given to Nawab's people that waited with fruits, &c.	Rs.	634.0.0	
To his other servants	Rs.	1289.0.0	
		<hr/>	1 923 0 0

Nuzzur to the Nawab 40 gold mohurs and 60 sicca rupees.	Rs.	674.8.0	
To Moorshedabad Vakeel one suit of clothes.	Rs.	257.0.0	
Servants' Batty, being 169 men, chobdars, peons, musalchees, soutaburdars, burkundaz, munceys, sircars and bearers	Rs.	724.4.0	
Bearers' hire from Cossimbazar, paid Mr. Sykes.	Rs.	833.8.0	
30 Musalchees' hire	Rs.	120.0.0	
Table expenses for provisions, and wines, going and coming	Rs.	3500.0.0	
3 pieces of scarlet cloth for musket cases bearers' clothes	Rs.	240.12.0	
Dammer, oil, messales, &c.	Rs.	238.8.0	
		<hr/>	5,657.0.0

Arcot Rupees	...	10,922.8.0
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The rates for travelling by the river route to places noted below, and the time occupied in transit will be seen in the following table published in March 1781. The expense attendant on such passages may be calculated by the number of days occupied at the rate per day charged for each description of boat :—

			Rs.	A.
For a budgerow of	8 dandeeds, per day.		2	0
	10 " " "		2	8
	12 " " "		3	8
	14 " " "		5	0
	16 " " "		6	0
	18 " " "		6	8
	20 " " "		7	0
	22 " " "		7	8
	24 " " "		8	0
For a woollock of	4 " per month		22	0
	5 " " "		25	0
	6 " " "		28	0
For a boat of	250 maunds		29	0
	300 " (7 dandeeds)		34	0
	400 " (8 ,,)		40	0
	500 " (10 ,,)		50	8
To go to Burrampore is	... ...	20	days	
Moorshedabad	... ...	25	,,	
Rajmahal	... ...	37½	,,	
Mongheer	... ...	45	,,	
Patna	... ...	60	,,	
Benaras	... ...	75	,,	
Cawnpore	... ...	90	,,	
Fyzabad	... ...	105	,,	
Maldah	... ...	37½	,,	
Rungpore	... ...	52½	,,	
Dacca	... ...	37½	,,	
Luckpore	... ...	45	,,	
Chittagong	... ...	60	,,	
Goalpara	... ...	75	,,	

Those were the good old days (1792) when country boats were

despatched to the "upper stations," filled with goods, for sale at the different stations en-route, as far as Cawnpore, Messrs. Davidson and Maxwell used to despatch boats on the 1st and 15th of every month. At a later time and within the memory of the writer, Messrs. Holmes and Allan monopolised the river transport trade. Parties desirous of sending goods by this route were requested to insure such in the same boat office by a small extra payment. Those who did insure were certain of the safe arrival of their ventures in three, four or six months after date of despatch ; those who did not insure, were equally certain that their goods would never reach their destination being disposed of by the chuprasee in charge of the boats at the various stations en-route, and only the empty packages delivered to the consignees. Of course such a system could not last, and on the launch of the first "inland" steamer the transmission of goods by boat ceased.

There were two taverns at the settlement of Serampore, one carried on by Mr. Parr and the other by Mr. Meyers. A trip up the river in cumbrous budgerows and pinnances on pleasure excursions was a very common custom at the time. Large parties used to proceed as far as Bandel and other stations on the river side, and remain absent from home for days. A wayside inn, like those at Serampore, must therefore have been a treat for the voyagers and that there should have been found room for two in one settlement, proves that the visitors to Serampore must have been many, and that the town itself was worthy of notice by the dwellers of the City of Palaces. At that time ships of 600 and 800 tons used to lie off the town. Ishera, a distance of only two or three miles from Serampore, seems also to have been a place of great resort, and we find Danish ships of 800 tons making it their customs to lie off the landing place, till ready for sea, the captain transacting all his duties from on board. It is singular that while the depth of water off Calcutta has so greatly increased of late years, so as to enable steamers of the P. and O. Company and the heaviest men-of-war to be moored abreast the Fort, the depth of the river above the city has materially diminished, and now it would be impossible for a vessel of any size to attempt to pass up to Ishera or Seramoore.

Steam was then (1793) unknown in India, and in fact it was only beginning to be used in England in the navigation of vessels on the

water. We find the following notice of some experiments then being carried on at home :—"Earl Stanhope's experiments for navigating vessels by the steam engine, without masts or sails, have succeeded so much to his satisfaction on a small scale, that a vessel of 200 tons burthen on this principle, is building under his directions."

Tours were made by the highest in the land in cumbersome budgerows. On the 18th of August, 1801, the Governor General having held a Council at Barrackpore, in which he nominated Peter Speke, Esq., to be Vice-President in Council and Deputy Governor of Fort William, proceeded in his yacht, attended by his suite, on his progress to the Upper provinces. The next day he reached Chinsurah ; on the 26th Dowdpore, where the Nawab of Bengal, who had come from Moorshedabad to meet His Excellency, paid a state visit to the Governor-General. On the 31st Berhampore was reached. On the 3rd September the yacht anchored opposite to the Palace of the Nawab of Bengal at Moorshedabad, to whom and to the Begums His Excellency paid a visit of ceremony. On the 10th Rajmahl was passed ; Colgong was reached on the 14th and Bhagulpore on the 16th ; Monghyr on the 21st ; Patna on the 6th October ; Dinapore on the 26th ; Buxar on the 5th November ; Ghazeepore 10th ; Benares on the 15th. On the 3rd December Mirzapore was reached, and Allahabad on the 11th. We have given the dates to show the progress of these Viceregal journeys. It must not be supposed, however, that the voyage occupied the whole of the time. His Excellency remained for a shorter or longer period at almost every station, the honored guest of the chief civil authorities, holding levees and receiving native chiefs, besides inspecting the troops, &c., during his stay at such stations.

On the 31st March, 1807, was launched at Kidderpore the first of the vessels intended to be employed in the navigation of the river. She was named the John Shore. But we have failed to find any account of her performance, or whether she ever attempted the passage to the upper provinces.

The boat built at Lucknow by Mr. W. Trickett, in 1819, for the Nawab, was the first vessel in the upper provinces propelled by steam. It was furnished with an excellent little single engine of 8 horse power from the Butterley Works. This yacht was existing in 1837, and during Lord Auckland's visit to Lucknow, the

vessel was decked out in all its beauty for his Lordship's inspection.

The next application of steam power was made by Major Schalch to a dredging boat in 1822 ; its power was found insufficient, and the Pluto was converted into a floating battery in the Arracan expedition. She was afterwards sold, and dismantled, and her hull finally foundered in a gale, in May 1830.

The engine and frame of the Diana were carried out by Mr. Roberts to China, on speculation, in 1822 ; thence transferred to Calcutta, where they were purchased by the agency houses and fitted into a new vessel in 1823. She was first employed as a passage boat : then sold to Government for the Rangoon expedition, where she proved very useful. After the conclusion of the war she was used as a tug.

The Calcutta papers notice the introduction of steam vessels on the Hoogly in 1823. "The steem vessel," says the Calcutta Gazette of the 14th August, "may now be daily seen in active operation on the Hooghly ; and groups of wondering natives, attracted by the novelty of the exhibition crowd both banks of the river to witness its surprizing manoeuvres. We understand that it conveyed a party of gentlemen on Sunday last to Chinsurah who all expressed themselves highly gratified at the velocity of their progress, which was conjectured to be 6 or 7 knots per hour "against the stream, the ease and safety with which it was produced, and the excellence of cabin accommodation." This vessel was the Diana, noticed above.

A report was submitted in 1827 to the Bengal Government respecting the introduction of steam tugs in the river Hooghly. It was proved that the number of days occupied by the Company's ships of the two last seasons, 1825 and 1826, in getting out of the river, and the time required to get them to sea, was in some cases as much as thirty days, and in none less than four, showing an average loss to the Company in the two seasons, or rather the amount that would have been saved had steam tugs been employed, of Sa, Rs. 22,450. It was accordingly determined to have steam pilot vessels of from 160 to 80-horse power Previous to this, however, the little steamer, the Ganges, had been in Indian waters, and had excited the most lively curiosity among the natives of Bombay. Her services in the Burmese rivers during the first war with Burmah had been invaluable.

The attention of the Indian community was, by this time, fully alive to the advantages of steam navigation ; and many schemes were canvassed for shortening the voyage to and from England, by establishing steam communication, either round the Cape, or through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. A general meeting in London, in 1822, concurred with Mr Joliffe in adopting the former route ; but Captain Johnston, who was sanguine in preferring the latter, proceeded to Calcutta with a proposal to this effect ; after several public meetings, in 1823-4, a large subscription fund was raised, for the encouragement of any attempt by either route, made before the expiration of 1826 ; with limitations, as to time, of 140 days for the double voyage.

As a candidate for the prize thus held out, the *Enterprize* was the first vessel put in hand ; she was intended for the Cape voyage, and was already in progress when Captain Johnston reached England, and was entrusted with her command. She was launched in February, 1825, and arrived in the Hooghly in December, after a wearisome voyage of 113 days, 63 under steam and 40 under sail, entirely disappointing the exaggerated expectations of the shareholders and the public. It was a fortunate circumstance for the speculators that the Burmese war was then at its height, and that the Government, having proof of the utility of steamers in the services of the *Diana*, were willing to take the *Enterprize* off their hands at prime cost, retaining also Captain Johnston in command. After 10 or 12 years of good services this vessel was condemned, her engines being put into a new hull built in Calcutta with the same name.

Mr Taylor, who had seceded from the London Associations was meantime zealously pursuing the Suez scheme, and had launched the first of a series of steam tugs, intended for the Red Sea, in October 1825. The *Emulous* was the model of a smooth-water tug, but was totally unfit to contend with a heavy sea ; and it was a work of no small danger to bring her round the Cape, although dismantled of her paddles. She reached Calcutta only in September, 1826, a month after the *Juliana*, a vessel of 521 tons, laden with coals, intended as her consort. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the result of Mr. Taylor's projects. The *Juliana* was sent home under heavy mortgage for repairs, &c. The *Emulous* was forfeited through involvements here and in England. She was too late for the Calcutta Steam Funds, and

the whole train of steamers intended to be connected with her was necessarily abandoned. The *Emulous* herself was converted into a ship tug, and became the property of a joint stock company.

The *Falcon*, formerly Lord Yarborough's yacht, had been sent out on speculation, during the Burmese war. She arrived under canvas in March 1826, but not finding a purchaser, was dismantled of her machinery, and converted into an opium barque.

The *Telica* met with no better success as a steam speculation. She first tried Chili, where her supercargo, in a fit of madness, fired a pistol into her magazine, and destroyed the after part of the vessel, with himself and several passengers. She was then consigned to Calcutta (April, 1827) and exhibiting great capabilities as a tug, was purchased by Government at Rs. 61,000 and was transferred to Bombay. There she was converted into a pleasure yacht for the Governor.

In 1826, the engineer of the *Diana*, Mr. Anderson, planned and built, at Calcutta, two sister steamers, the *Comet* and the *Firefly*, which plied with passengers between Chinsurah and Calcutta daily, at eight rupees a head.

The *Forbes* was built as a private speculation. She was launched at the new Howrah Dock on the 21st January, 1829 designed as a tug for the shipping of the port. By way of experiment she was sent to China, by her owners, Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., in March, 1830, towing the *Jamesina* opium trader, and acquitted herself well, as far as regards velocity, making the passage in 38 days, while the *Red Rover*, a fast sailer was reckoned fortunate on arriving in 43 days. On the whole, however, the sea tug system would not seem to have been conducive either to expedition or economy.

The Bengal Government had paid highly for their two steamers, the *Diana* and the *Enterprize*, but yet the benefits derived from their acquisition, during the Burmese war, were such as to induce a strong recommendation of the Court of Directors to send out engines fitted for two armed vessels. The Court approving the measure, obtained a transfer of two pair of 40 horse engines, then in store at Deptford, and shipped them to India in 1826. In a separate department, a reference home had also been sanctioned upon the suggestion of Mr. Scott, the Commissioner in Assam, for two pair of boat engines adapted to the navigation of the rapid

rivers of that district : hostilities had terminated ere any of the four arrived, but the plan was prosecuted to completion and early in 1827 were launched four Government steamers the Ganges and Irrawaddy, and the Hooghly and Burhampooter. The Ganges and Irrawaddy, were built upon an English model, as 10 gun brigs of war, by Messrs. Kyd and Co., upon a contract of Rs. 125,000 each. The Hooghly and Burhampooter were also built by contract, the latter by Messrs. Kyd, the former at the Howrah Dock.

The English had held the country for more than half a century before the subject of navigating its principal rivers by means of steam boats was entertained by her rulers. If we except a partial trip by the Comet, in 1826, as high as Malda, beyond which she was unable to steam the strength of the current, the interesting experiment of ascending the great Ganges was not attempted till 1828. The subject had been mooted, but, notwithstanding the impulse given to it by the new Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, it had been set down as altogether visionary and likely to lead to disappointment.

The attempt however was made ; the little Hoogly, a wooden vessel very ill adapted for the purpose, and drawing 3 feet 8 inches of water, was sent up. She started in the height of freshes of September 1828 ; the upward voyage occupied 24 days, and the return 14, including two days detention at Benares. The whole passage up and down, 1613 miles, took 300 hours under steam, being an average rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour.

On descending from Allahabad, the Hooghly grounded on a sandbank, and was only saved from spending the whole of the dry season there (as was the fate of the Comet in the Moorshedabad river, to previous year), by the fortuitous effect of anchoring her head and stern athwart the current, which forming an eddy round her by degrees cleared away so much of the sand as to sheer off the vessel at right angles to the cables, by which she was retained ; when once clear, the force of water upon her broadside enabled her to drag her anchors until she again ran into the sand and this process continued all night until she extricated herself.

Her second expedition in April and May 1829, the hottest and driest months of the year, was attended with infinite fatigue, from the necessity of seeking for channels through the numerous

shoals of the dry season. She found an average current of only one mile per hour, but this advantage was lost to her on account of her heavy draught. She got to Benares with difficulty in 21 days, and could not reach Mirzapore for want of water.

The following is a sketch of the experimental trip made by the Hooghly steamer to Allahabad :

“She left Coolie Bazar soon after daylight on the 18th July, 1828, stowed with coals on deck and below, to the extent of about 40 tons, at a draught of water exceeding any at which she had been previously tried under steam. On the 11th at noon she passed Berhampore, and on 12th, entered the great river, and anchored at sunset at about 8 miles from the Sooty mouth of the Bhagiretty. Here, we understand, considerable difficulty was experienced in steering the vessel owing to the eddies and whirlpools, which at this season are so frequent. The inconvenience was afterwards overcome by using a rudder made on board after the plan of the native boats. Her first supply of coal was taken in at Rajmahal which reached on the 13th in the evening, leaving it again on the 14th at day light and arriving on the 20th Patna, where she remained one day, and having received a fresh supply of coals, proceeded on and arrived a little after noon of the 27th at Benares. Here it was suggested that many of the higher class of natives would be highly gratified by seeing the vessel manoeuvre, and she was accordingly steamed up to the western extremity of the city, returned and anchored ; the tops of the houses, the minarets, the ghats, and the whole banks of the river were lined with natives eagerly gazing at the novel spectacle. Many natives of distinctions visited the Hooghly, and were highly pleased and astonished with the explanations they received as to the power which enabled her, unaided by sails or oars, to make her way against wind and tide, and rapt in wonder at the extraordinary effects it could produce. The Hooghly left Benares on the 28th, and arrived at Allahabad on the 1st instant, a few hours after daylight. She remained there until the 3rd.

“This day being fixed for her departure, several gentlemen repaired on board at daylight to witness a display of her powers. The vessel was got under way and steamed a couple of miles up the Jumna. On her return off the Fort, where she had no wait for her pilot, a message was received from Doorjun Sal

expressing his desire to visit the vessel. Having obtained the requisite permission he came on board accordingly, attended by a guard and accompanied by his son, a smart intelligent lad ; they examined the vessel very minutely, asking a great many questions and appearing very much delighted with what they saw and heard.

“On the 3rd at noon, the Hooghly left Allahabad under moderate power on her return ; but within sight of the Fort unfortunately took the spit of a sand where she remained, notwithstanding every effort which the skill and energy of the gentlemen in charge of her could devise and execute, until the next morning at 2 o'clock, when by the gradually washing away of the sand from under her (the stream running about 8 knots), she swung to her anchor in deep water, and at 2 in the afternoon was got under way, and proceeded down ; on the 5th she anchored at Chunar, having on this day lighted the fires of one boiler only, 2 plan which was continued until the vessel again entered the Bhagiretty. On the 6th, at 10 A.M., she anchored at Benares, where she again became the object of universal curiosity and admiration ; she remained here until the 8th, repairing the temporary rudder, and procuring stores and fuel. At daylight (the 8th) a party of ladies and gentlemen of the station visited the vessel, when she again exhibited to the wondering eyes of the assembled multitudes another specimen of her powers in steaming the rapid current of the Ganges, in a trip to the western extremity of the town. At 8 o'clock she proceeded on her return and arrived the same evening at Ghazee pore ; leaving that place at daylight of the following morning she arrived off Dinapore at an early hour of the afternoon of the 10th. Here a small supply of coals was taken in, with which she reached Rajmahl on the 14th, having lost several hours in consequence of heavy rain and thick weather obscuring the land. On the 18th, the vessel in the evening of that day was at Moorshedabad. On the 19th, she anchored near Culna, and arrived on the 17th at 2 P.M. off Chandpaul Ghaut.”

Notwithstanding these failures the Government, or rather Lord William Bentinck, was not disheartened. One result of the attempts which had been made, and that a most important one, was the necessity for lessening the draught of the steamer. Tenders were therefore invited for building passage boats of certain dimensions and draught, and of two descriptions as regards accommoda-

tion, one for conveying European soldiers, the other for officers or passengers. These were to be towed up by detached steamers.

Nothing however was undertaken till 1832 when the first pair of vessels was launched from the dockyard alongside the Mint at Calcutta. These boats were of sheet iron which had been brought out in pieces in a sailing vessel and put together in Calcutta. The first steamer bore the name of the energetic Governor-General of the time, the Lord William Bentinck.

Though originally established for Government use exclusively, the public were allowed the use of these steamers. Several private companies soon started into existence, which competed with and passed the Government boats both in celerity and cheapness of passage and freight.

The introduction of railways between Calcutta and Allahabad and the cheap rates at which both passengers and freight are taken by trains had the effect of reducing the number of steam vessels very rapidly. Government withdrew and disposed of their vessels, which were purchased by other companies, and were plying on other rivers.

The following vessels were constructed in Kidderpore Government dockyard. They were iron vessels for navigation of the rivers up-country as far as Allahabad. Steamers—Hoorunghotta, in January 1841 ; Berhampooter in July 1841 ; Indus in January 1842 ; Damoodar in February 1843 ; Mahanuddy in March, 1843 ; Lord William Bentinck in April 1845 ; and Nerbudda in May 1845. Accommodation and Cargo Boats—Sutlej in November 1842 ; Luckia in April, 1841 ; Goomtee in January 1842 ; Bhagirutte in August 1845 ; and Soane in June 1845.

There was built in 1820 or thereabouts, and christened the Snake, the first steam vessel on the Indus, or in fact, on any river in India. She was employed in towing boats and barges, and carrying out the whole of the embarkation of troops, stores &c., sent from Bombay during the first Burmese war and the expedition to the Persian Gulf from 1823 to 1826. Her services were again similarly utilized in the China war of 1841-42, Burmese war of 1852, Persian war of 1856, Mutiny 1857, China expedition 1859, and she also assisted in the Abyssinian and Malta expeditions. Her engines were designed and built by a Parsee, and were the first ever manufactured in India. How well they were constructed is evidenced by their lasting powers. She was

twice wrecked, once in the hurricane of 1837, and again in the cyclone of 1854,*when the gunner who was in charge ran her ashore as he could, opened the cocks in the bottom of the vessel, and escaped up the funnel, where he sat till rescued. She had carried in her day most of the notabilities that had arrived in India via. Bombay ; and many of the older citizens remember with pleasure the friendly trips they had taken in this vessel to Elephanta and other places of resort in the harbour, when sailing boats were the only means of transit afloat and steam launches were unknown. She was for long used to give practical instruction on the steam engine to the young middies of the Indian Navy, who had many a lark on board, and frequently nearly brought themselves and Snake to an untimely end by their dangerous pranks with the boiler and engine-driver.

CALCUTTA IN 1857

The river Hooghly has an interest of its own. The board reach with its strong tides visible for eight or ten miles. It is crowded with vessels drawn thither from all parts of the world. A hundred and fifty ships and fifty steamers constantly occupy the berths and moorings. At the north of the city cluster the salt sloops ; the huge inland trading galleys, with their banks of rowers ; or the long painted pattamars of Western India, planned centuries ago, with huge eyes at the bows ; while everywhere the small green boats, loved by Englishmen, or the native matted dingies, with their long steering oar and over-hanging prows, ply up and down the crowded waters with their varied burdens.

Calcutta extends along the Hooghly for seven miles, and is in parts rather more than a mile wide ; its eastern and western sides are regular, the ends are slightly rounded and the city covers a space of about eight square miles. Its outer boundary is the broad "Circular Road ;" three other principal roads run through its entire length, and the shorter roads or streets cross them at right angles.

The English quarter occupied the south end of the city. Here a beautiful plain, a mile and a half long, goes down to the water's

*The "Great Cyclone" occurred in 1864. It is difficult to say whether this is the one referred to above.

edge, having Fort William in the centre on the river bank. The plain is always green ; it is level and is dotted with fine old trees ; and several parts of it has large ponds of water. On its inner sides the plain is bordered with the houses of the English, with their white walls, broad verandah, and green venetian shutters ; from which Calcutta derives its lofty name "The City of Palaces." The High Court, the Town Hall, the Treasury, and the Government House face the plain on the north. On the east side are the numerous English houses of Chowringhee, lately augmented by the handsome cluster of Victoria Square. Behind the Town Hall and Government House, towards the north, are the lawyers' chambers, the merchants' offices, the banks, English shops and stores, the libraries, the Post Office and the Custom House ; many of them clustered round the broad pond and gardens of the Tank (now Dalhousie) Square.

The native town occupied nearly six square miles of the entire city ; it fills all the northern end, and runs to the south along the back of the English quarter. In appearance it has little to boast of. A city of brick, with its houses often out of repair ; for beauty, regularity, and ornament, it is not to be compared with Benares and Delhi, the handsome stone cities of Upper India ; and is much inferior to many parts of Bombay. Except a few trunk roads of English make, the streets, roads and lanes are narrow ; and overshadowed by the lofty walls and verandahs of straggling dwellings.

The twenty bazars and markets are crowded. The Burra Bazar, apparently ready to fall to pieces and crush buyers and sellers in the ruins, is stored with the most precious fabrics that upper India can produce. The opium bazar is crowded with red turbanned Rajpoots and Bombay Hindoos, who devote themselves to speculating in that drug. All the roads and streets, destitute of pavement, are lined with shops which are innocent of glass fronts and windows ; and which exhibit, without protection from dust, piles or brass vessels, bundles of slippers and shoes, gorgeous tin lanterns, bales of cloth, mats, stools, and cane chairs ; vast piles of red pottery, pitchers, cups, and cooking-pots ; leaf umbrellas ; and hillocks of bamboos ; posts for houses, small tiles, and straw.

Scattered over the city among streets, narrow and broad, are the family mansions of the native gently, with their broad central

courts, their pillared verandahs, and numerous rooms. Some are palaces in appearance though surrounded by filthy drains ; others are sadly out of repair ; their walls eaten with saltpetre, their courts full of cast-away furnitures and heaps of rubbish, or overgrown with huge weeds ; and threatening to tumble into ruins. Of still smaller brick houses and shops of mean appearance, the number is about fifteen thousand.

So precious has space become in recent years, that the almost all vacant land outside the gardens of the better houses has been covered with common huts. Of these the city now contains over sixty thousand. Most of them consist of but a single room, which contains a huge chest, a lamp or two, some bamboo or glass oil bottles, and a miscellaneous collection of pots and pans. In the poorest the moveables may be worth five shillings ; and in the more respectable abodes may be replaced by from thirty to sixty rupees.

Throughout its entire area the city is dotted with trees which rise far above the houses, and from the flat terrace roofs present, on a clear morning in the rainy season, a green and pleasant sight. The English quarter has long been celebrated for well stocked gardens, for long lines of casuarinas, tall bushy tamarind, and banyan trees.

The population of Calcutta, of all races in 1847, by three separate calculations, carefully made, was shown to be 400,000. Since then, while the boundaries have remained the same, the demand for accommodation has multiplied houses, covered vacant spaces, and made the population far more dense than it was then, it is now 500,000. The suburbs have increased in size. Taking a mile all round the city and across the river, in the sixteen square miles thus enclosed, there are ten small towns and villages, and the native population they contain can scarcely be less than 300,000. Calcutta and its suburbs will thus contain 800,000 people, of this great population, larger than that of any city in the English empire except London itself, about 30,000 are English, German, or American, and may be called the Christian population. The entire remainder are natives of India, and must be numbered among Mohammedans or Hindoos.

The European community have seventeen Protestant churches, one Armenian, one Greek, and six Roman Catholic. Of the Protestant churches nine are Episcopal, one Church of Scotland,

one Free Church, two Congregational, three Baptist, and one Wesleyan. The Roman Catholic churches are not exclusively confined to Europeans ; two of them in the native town are largely attended by a people called Portuguese, but sprung specially from the slaves of old Portuguese families and the intermixture of Portuguese and native blood. Attached to these churches are thirteen Episcopal chaplains, and two chaplains of the Established Church of Scotland, seven Non-conformist pastors, five Armenian clergy, one Greek priest, and nineteen Roman Catholic priests. Connected with them, are seven or eight Sunday schools, a city mission and four city missionaries. Four other ministers have the care of large and well taught boys' school for the education of the sons of the Christian population ; and with excellent schools also for their daughters.

Thus separate from their Christian rulers, the native population of Calcutta follow their own religious faiths. Within the city probably 70,000 or 80,000 are Mohammedans, and 400,000 are Hindoos. The suburbs will add more than 20,000 to the latter, and a few thousands to the former.

There are fourteen native churches, containing five hundred communicants, and a nominal Christian community of one thousand six hundred individuals.

In 1882 a census was taken of the inhabitants of Calcutta, when the following returns were sent in :—Christians 13,138 ; Mohamedans 48,162 ; Hindoos 118,203 ; and Chinese 414 ; or a total of 179,917. From the statement given above it will be seen how greatly the population has increased during the thirty-five years subsequent to 1822.