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TO THE
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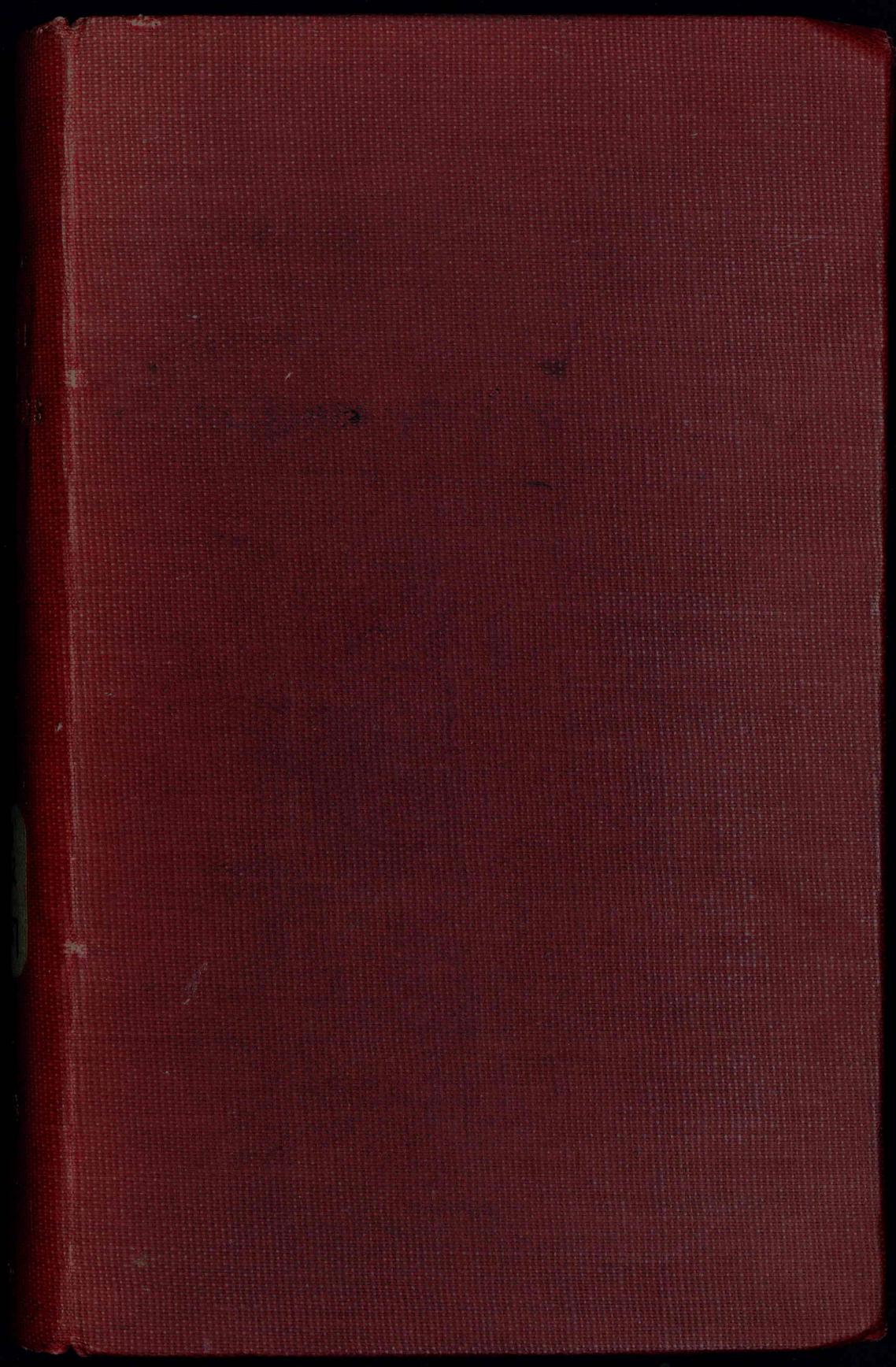
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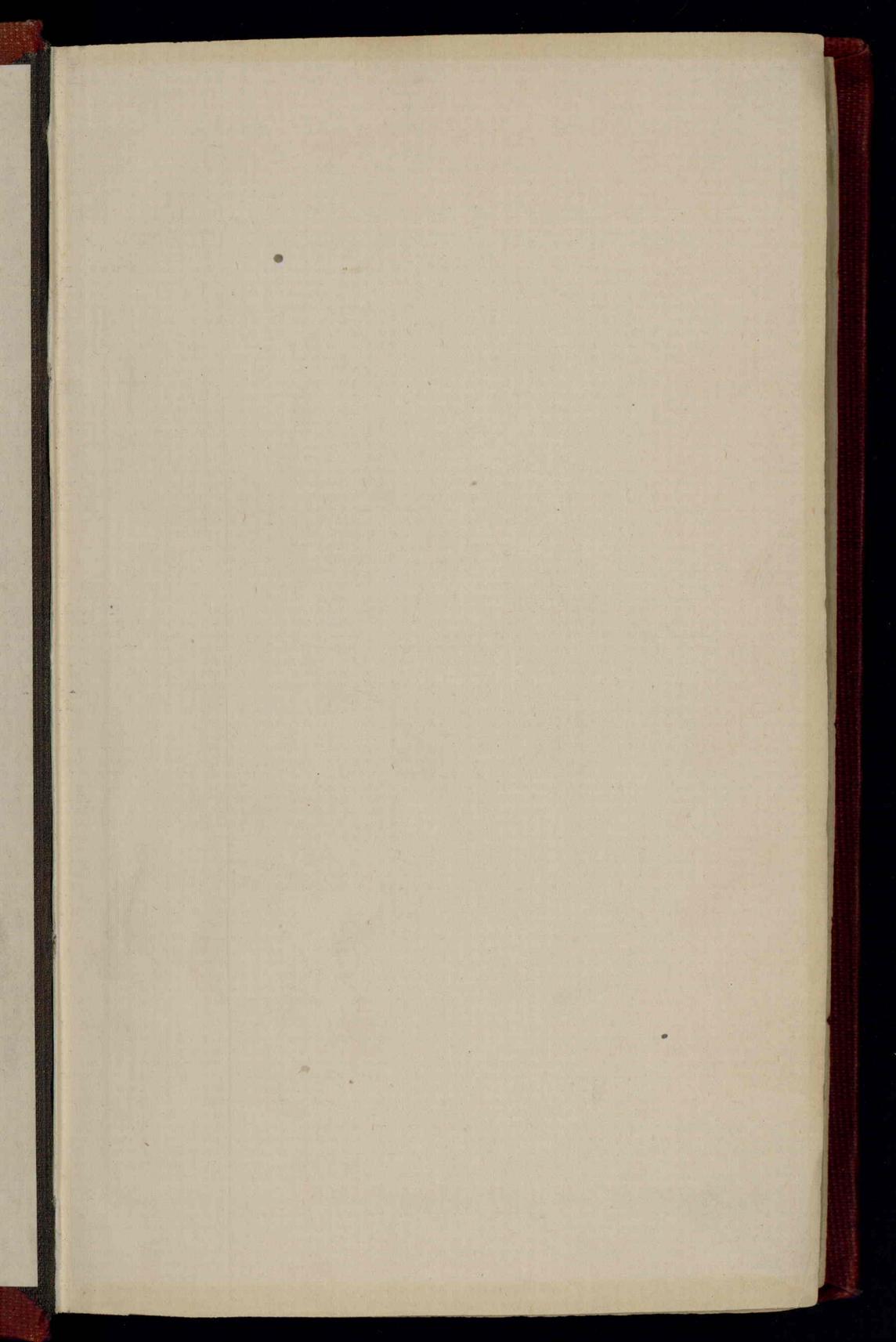


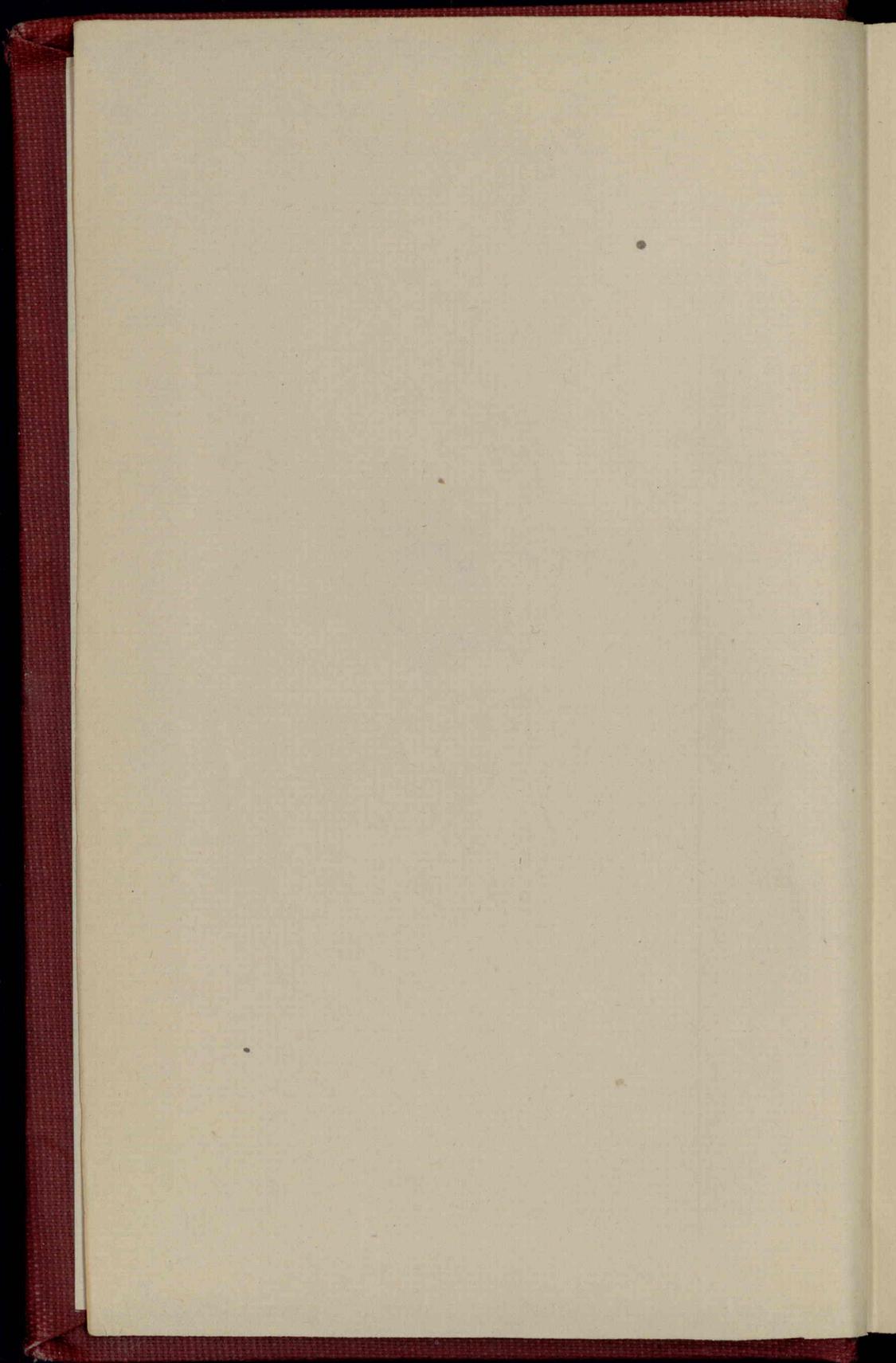
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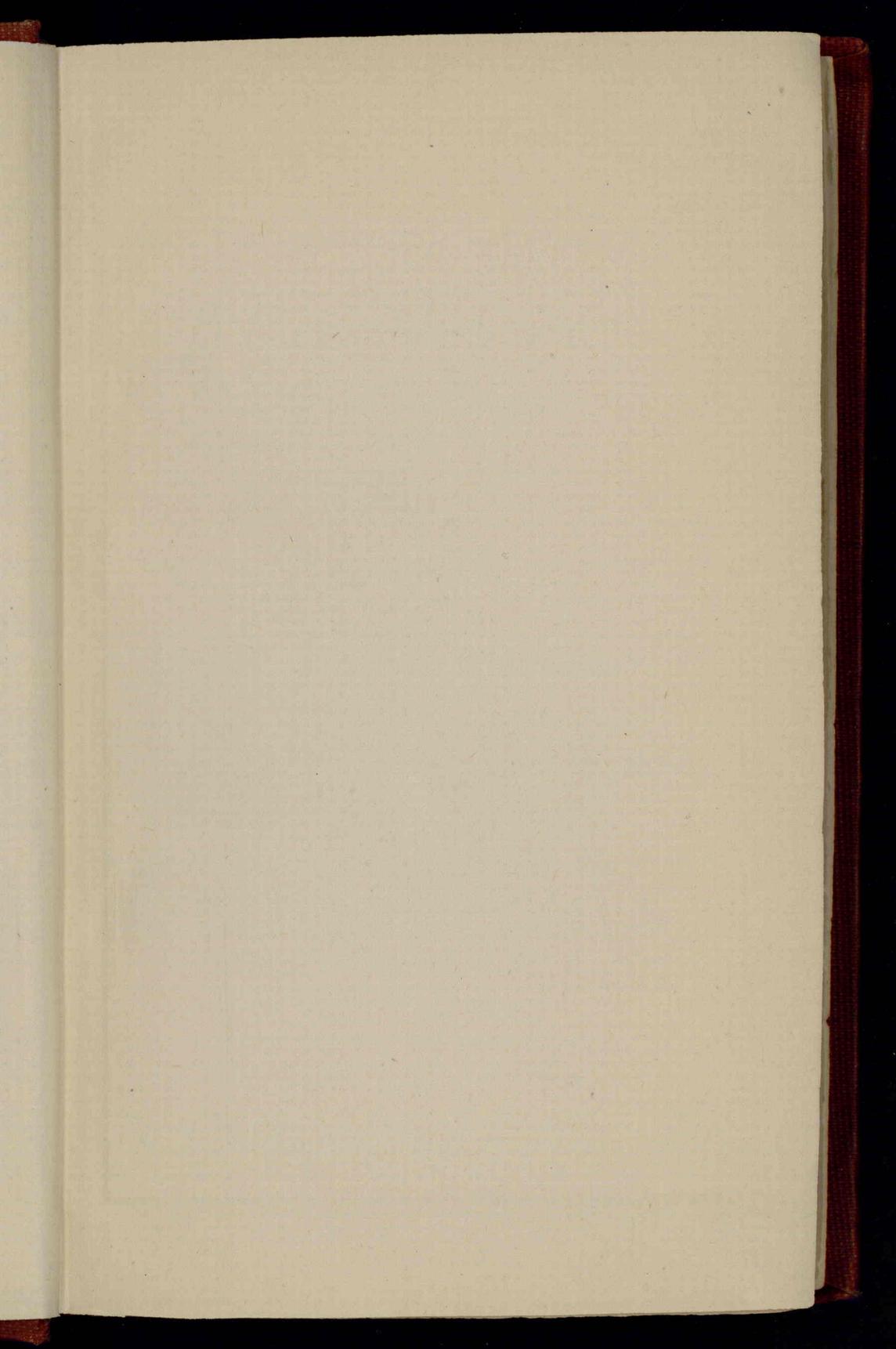
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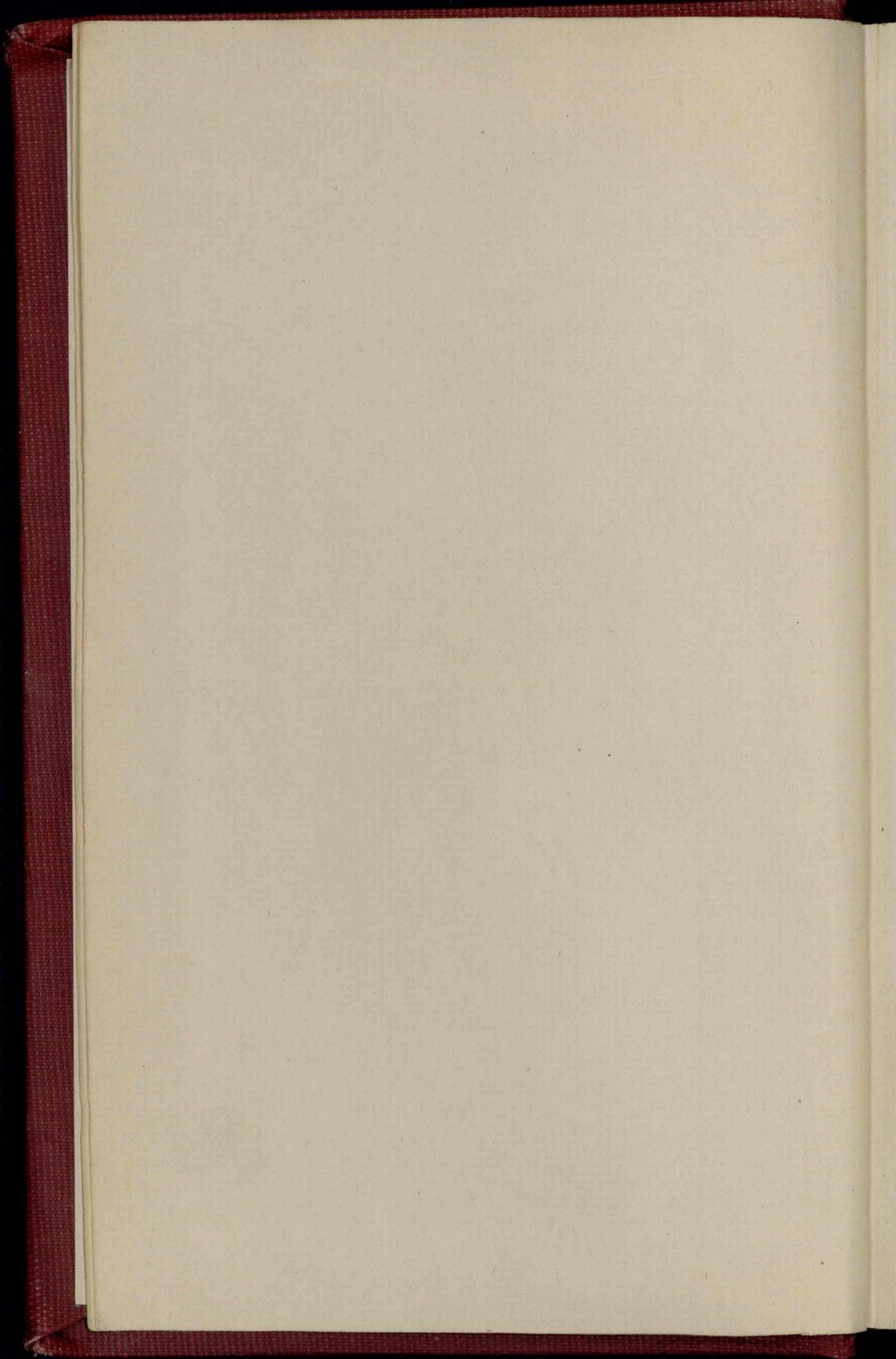
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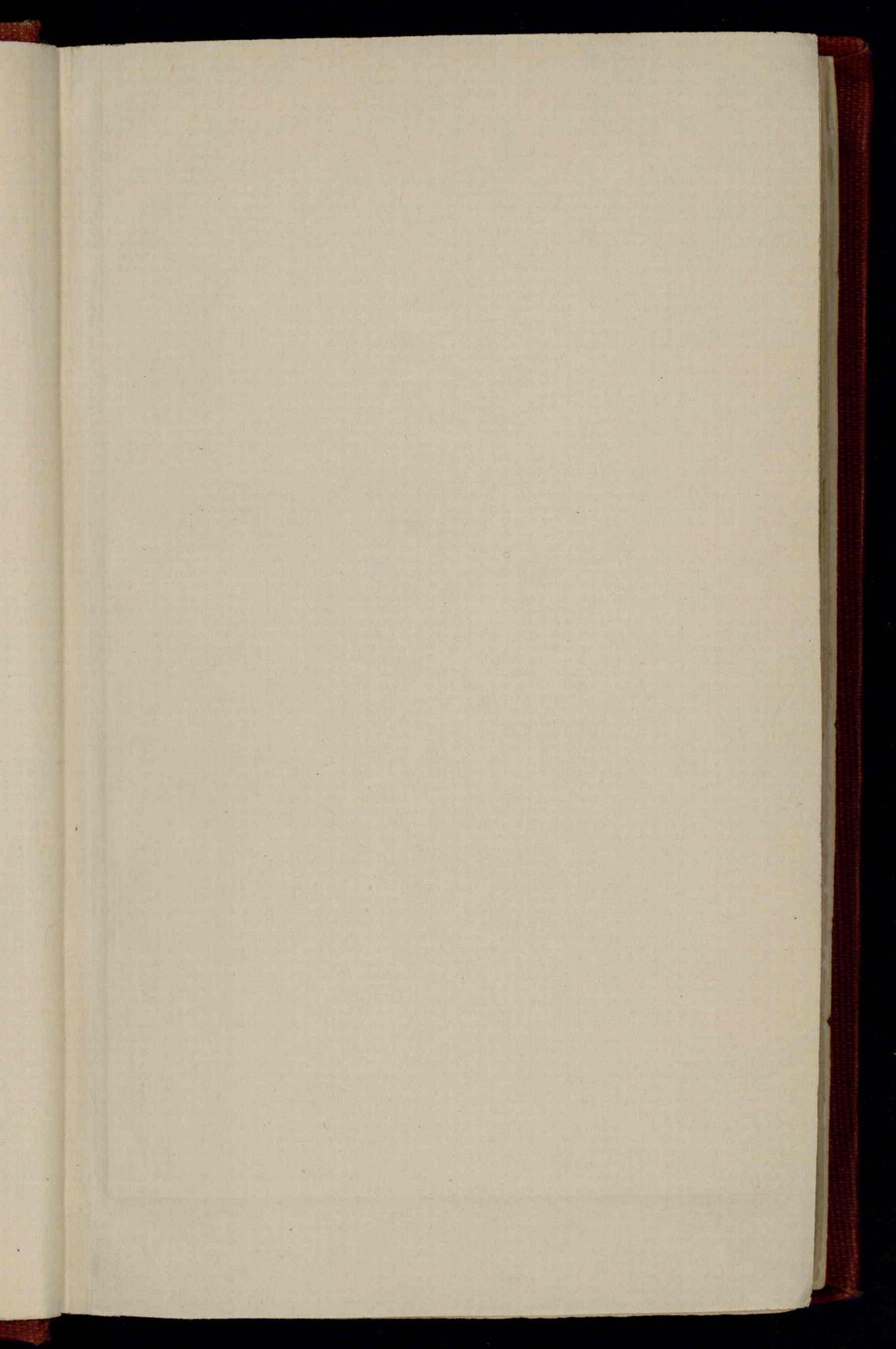
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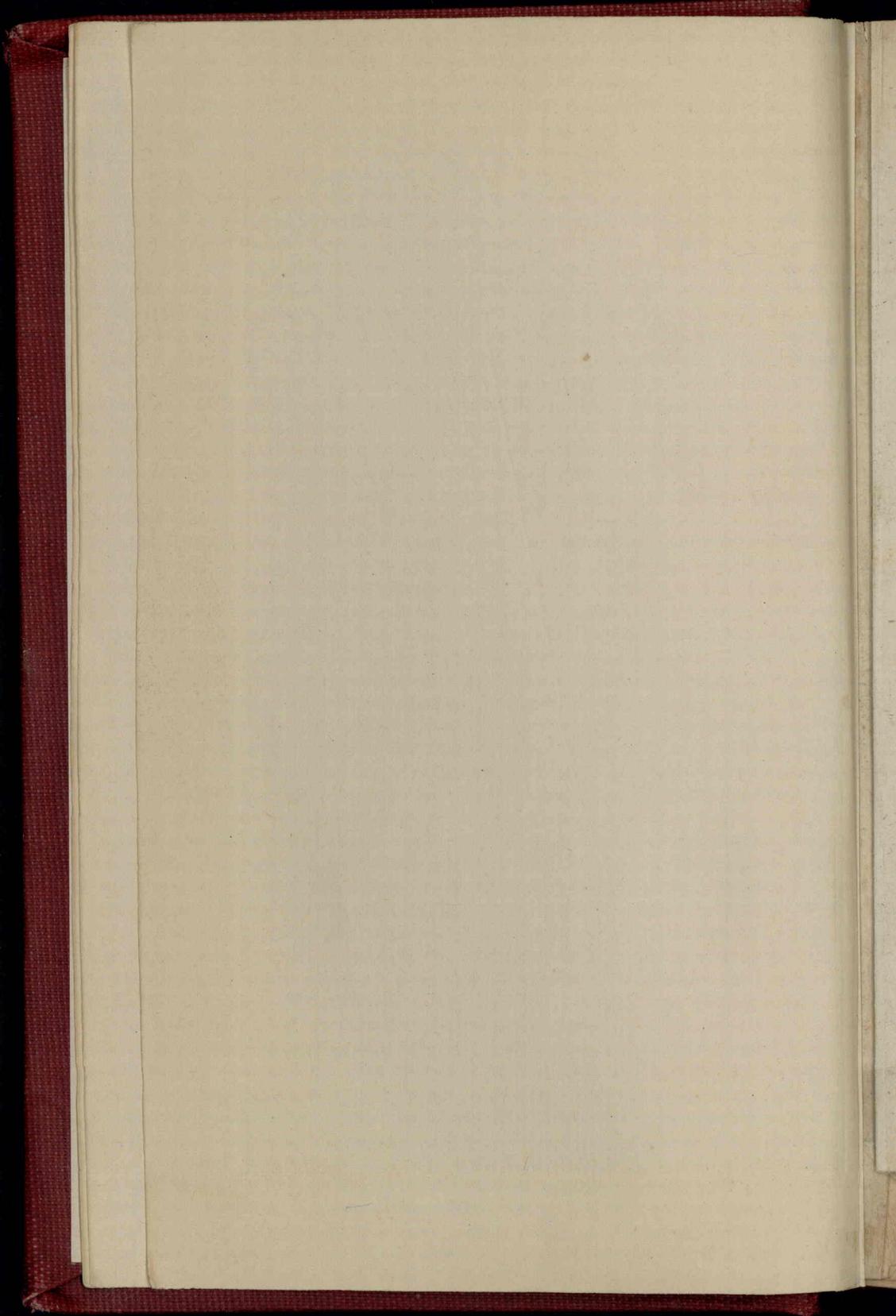


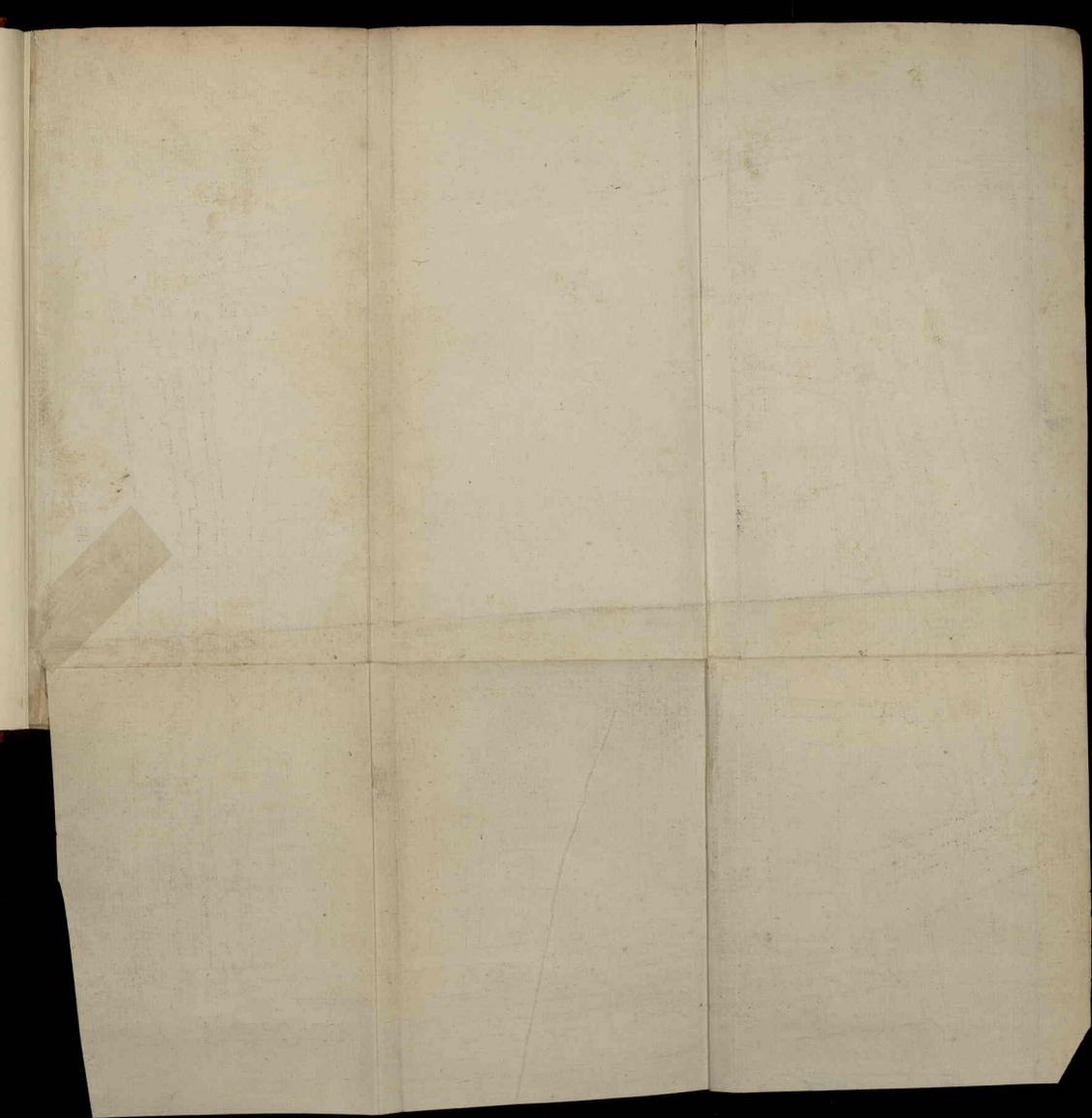


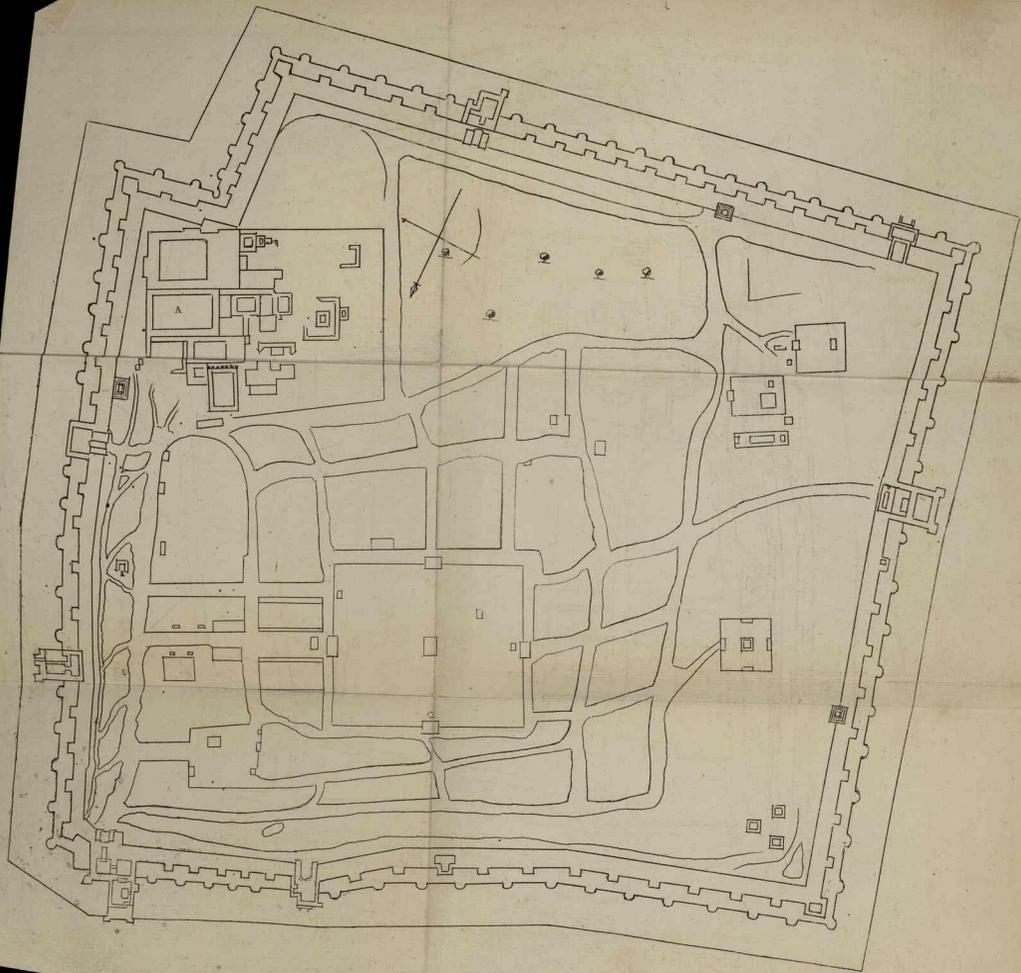












PLAN of MADURA.

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TO THE

EAST INDIES;

CONTAINING

AUTHENTIC Accounts of the MOGUL Government in general, the Viceroyalties of the DECAN and BENGAL, with their several subordinate Dependances.

O F

ANGRIA, the MORATTOES, and TANJOREANS.

O F T H E

MAHOMETAN, GENTOO, and PARSEE RELIGIONS.

O F T H E I R

CUSTOMS AND ANTIQUITIES,

With general Reflections on the

TRADE OF INDIA.

O F T H E

EUROPEAN Settlements, particularly those belonging to the ENGLISH; their respective Factories, Governments, Trade, Fortifications and Public Buildings; The History of the War with the FRENCH from 1754 to the Conclusion of the general Peace in 1763.

By ^{John Henry} Mr. GROSE.

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A NEW EDITION.

Illustrated with Views and several Plans, not in the former Edition.

To which is added,

A Journey from ALEPPO to BUSSERAH, over the Desert, by Mr. CHARMICHAEL.

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THE Mahometan princes had established themselves in several parts of India, long before Tamerlane, the Tartar prince of Samarcand, penetrated there in 1398, when he dethroned the Sultan Mahmoud, and left the empire of Indostan to his own posterity. Tamerlane died in 1404, and his descendants erected the new Dynaſty of Mahometan

B

emperors,

emperors, called the Great Moguls, one of whom, named Shah Gehan, was deposed by his son Aurengzebe, and died in 1666. Aurengzebe maintained himself in the throne near fifty years, conquered many provinces, and died in 1707. He was succeeded by his son Bahadar Shah, and the blood of Tamerlane continued to be held in too great veneration throughout the empire, to permit any others than his descendants to entertain the thoughts of ascending the throne with impunity: but some of them only accomplished the ceremony of being placed on the throne of Delli, to entitle them to be ranked in the list of its monarchs. By that dependence to the great men of the empire, to which their contests for the crown had reduced the descendants of Aurengzebe, the emperors elected, although despotic with the multitude, ascended the throne in bonds, and were in reality only the slaves of their ministers, who ruled the empire as they pleased; while the people saw the glare of a sovereign, whose commands extended no farther than among the women of his seraglio. These ministers deposed and murdered Furruckshir in 1719; after which, they placed on the throne his cousin-german Raffeih Al Dirjat, whom they also murdered, after he had reigned only three months. His brother Raffeih Al Dowlet was the successor; but died soon after, and it is suspected he was poisoned. This paved the way for Mahomed Shah * to the imperial dignity. He was son of Jehan Shah, one of the three princes who perished in contending for the crown with their brother Jehandar Shah; so that a son of each of these three unfortunate princes became emperor only to be as unfortunate as his father; but the greatest humiliation, if not

* Or Shah Hamet.

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the most tragical exit, was reserved for Mahomed Shah, the great-grandson of Aurengzebe.

At this time, in 1730, the government of the Deckan was invested in the viceroy Nizam Al Muluck, who was bred under the eye of Aurengzebe, and without rebellion had rendered himself almost independent of the emperor, though a fourth part of the empire was under his jurisdiction; having seven large territories, extending from Balasore to Cape Comorin, to which he had the indubitable right of nominating seven Nabobs, or governors of provinces. Besides, in all parts of India, there are still extensive districts which have preserved; with the Gentoo religion, the old form of government under Indian kings, called Rajah's: such are Maiffore*, whose capital is Seringapatnam; and Tanjore †, whose capital is of the same name. There are also, among the woods and mountainous parts of the country, several petty princes or heads of clans, distinguished by the name of Polygars. These are all tributary to the Nabobs, and those to the viceroys, whose capital is Aurengabad in the kingdom of Golconda.

THE fundamental laws of the government were, to acknowledge the Grand Mogul for first sovereign; the governor-general of the Deckan for his representative in that country; and the particular governors appointed by that viceroy, as holding their authority from him. These princes are by custom proud, and have a contempt for other nations. They are generally called Moors, as are all the governing people of India: but it is a great impropriety to call these Mahometan usurpers by that name; and yet, as the writers of all nations have given them that appellation, it would now be a

* Or Mysore.

† Or Tanjaour.

greater impropriety to deviate from that usage. Their attachment is so strict to ancient manners, that they never change their modes of life or fashions. There is no character these Asiatic princes are so fond of as that of a warrior; and, as they have no other notion of government, they have been continually at war with one another. They talk in a high strain of their passion for military glory; and as the word Zing, in their language, signifies a soldier, it appears, by the frequency of that termination to most of their Nabobs, how generally they affect the honor of that title.

HOWEVER, it has been observed, that all the Mahometans established in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and pusillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the same time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at present happily strangers. Hence we are almost induced to give assent to the opinion, that the prohibition of shedding blood of any kind, inculcated by the Indian religion, was a political institution, wisely calculated to change into gentler manners the sanguinary disposition, which is said to have characterised all the inhabitants of Indostan, before the religion of Brama was introduced among them.

THE Deckan*, is so called from its southern situation; and the word Soubah signifies a province; so that the viceroy of this territory is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans, improperly, Soubah. The Moorish governors, dependent on the Soubahdar, assume the title of Nabob†, which signifies deputy, who ought to hold his commission from Delli; and if at his death a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubahdar has the right of nominating a person to

* Or Decan.

† Or Navab.

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administer the nabobship until the will of the sovereign is known: but a Nabob thus appointed is not deemed authentically established until he is confirmed from Delli. The Soubahdar receives from the several Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty; but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependence on the Soubahdar, as should render them subservient to the interests of the empire; and at the same time leave them such independence, as to render it difficult for the Soubahdar to make use of them to disturb the throne.

AMONG other instances of contempt with which the majesty of the emperor was treated of late years, the governors of provinces not only counterfeited letters, orders, and patents from the court of Delli; but even hired men to act the part of officers invested by the Great Mogul, with power to confer with them on the affairs of their government. These ministerial impostors were pompously received in the capital, where the Viceroy or Nabob humbled himself before the pretended representative, who delivered in public his credentials, and the fictitious orders he had been instructed to enforce. These measures were practised to appease the minds of the people, who still retained so much veneration for the blood of Tamerlane, that a viceroy always thought it necessary to create an opinion among them, that he was a favorite of the emperor, even if he was in arms against his authority.

I HAVE mentioned this, to shew the power with which Nizam Al Muluck was invested in the year 1738, when he was no less than ninety-four years

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of age, so that he was in the prime of life at the death of Aurengzebe. His eldest son, Gauzedy Cawn, was buchee, or paymaster-general, the second man in power, next to the Vizir, in this mighty empire.

THE removal of two dangerous enemies to the throne, placed Mahomed Shah in possession of it, with a security unknown to his predecessors since the reign of Aurengzebe; but his greatest danger lay in this security. He was weak, sensual, indolent, and irresolute; conferring greater power on his own favorites, than had been assumed by former ministers. Those favorites offended Nizam Al Muluck, who loudly censured their administration: but as he was so far advanced in years, he thought himself unable to bring about a necessary reformation; or pretending that there could be no other remedy in such desperate evils than a total revolution of the empire, he sent to Nadir Shah, commonly called Thamas Kouli Khan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, and advised him to come and take possession of that of Indostan. The consequence was this, his advice was eagerly pursued, and the brave ambitious Persian easily dethroned the timid dissolute Mogul.

THE fatal hour approached, in which a Persian adventurer was to have it in his power to exterminate the race of Tamerlane, and annex the richest empire of the world to his own. Nadir Shah entered India from Kandahar in the beginning of the year 1738; and a slight battle decided the fate of the Great Mogul, who laid his regalia at the foot of the conqueror, saw his capital plundered, and a hundred thousand of its inhabitants massacred.

It was imagined, that after so easy a conquest, Nadir Shah would have declared himself sovereign of the empire, and have detached some of his Persian generals as viceroys over the distant provinces, where

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where they would have raised great contributions from the natives, and obliged the European settlements to pay largely for their liberty of trade, and the confirmation of those privileges, which they had obtained of the former lords and governors of those countries. But the conqueror only reserved to himself some of the western provinces, and restored all the rest to the unhappy Mogul, whom he formally reinstated in the throne of his ancestors. Nadir Shah then returned to Persia at the end of the year 1739, with an immense treasure. Generous to an avowed enemy, he was soon after massacred by his pretended friends. The effects of his conquest were not felt till some years after in the southern provinces, and were then of a different kind from what was at first apprehended. The constitution of the Mogul empire began to lose its vigor immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan: but since the dreadful incursion of the Persians, it has declined so much, that Soubahdars have maintained themselves in their governments against the will of the sovereign, and have appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard to his authority. Nabobs have also kept possession of their governments, in opposition both to the Soubahdar and the Mogul: but what is more extraordinary, in the offices of a despotic state, both Soubahdars and Nabobs have appointed their successors, who have frequently succeeded with as little opposition, as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion.

THE Carnatic, or province of Arcot, is one of the most considerable governments dependent on the Soubahdar of the Deckan, and comprehends the principal settlements of the Europeans, Madrafs and Pondicherry, as also the capital city called Arcot. It was not before the beginning of the

present century, that this province was entirely reduced by the Moors : but its limits now are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic ; for the Nabobs of Arcot have never extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north ; the great chain of mountains to the west ; and the borders of the kingdoms of Trichinopoli *, Tanjore, and Maiffore to the south ; the sea bounds it to the east.

SUDET ALLEE CAWN † was a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, and governed that province from the year 1710 to 1732, when he died. As he had no issue, he adopted the two sons of his brother ; appointing the elder, Deust Allee Cawn ‡, to succeed in the nabobship ; and conferring the government of Vellore on the younger, who was named Boker Allee Cawn. He also directed that Gulam Haffein, the nephew of his favorite wife, should be Duan, or prime minister, to his successor. The dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or difficulty : but the Subahdar, Nizam Al Muluck, beheld the succession of the new Nabob with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority, which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction.

DEUST ALLEE CAWN married one of his daughters to Chunda Saib §, a man of no family nor riches ; but endowed by nature with talents, and a capacity, that made ample amends for what fortune had denied him. This lord gave his own daughter, by a former wife, in marriage to Gulam Haffein, who was incapable of administering the office of Duan,

* Or Tritchanopoly ; sometimes called Trichenapaly.
 † By some called Sadatulla. ‡ Or Daoust Aly Kan.
 § Sometimes called Chunda-Saheb, and Sander-Saheb.

which

INTRODUCTION. ix

which was therefore conferred upon his father-in-law.

THE kingdoms of Trichinopoli, Tanjore, Madura, Maiffore, and Marava were governed by Gentoo princes, subjected to pay a yearly tribute to the Mogul; which was not punctually performed; and the new Nabob laid hold of this circumstance to make war upon them, and obtain their dominions for his own family. He assembled a numerous army, consisting of about thirty thousand horse, with a proportionable number of foot, the command of which he gave to his eldest son Subder Allee * and Chunda Saib, who began their warlike operations by advancing towards the territories of Trichinopoli: but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded to the south. Accordingly, they came to Madrafs, where they remained some days; then marched to Pondicherry, and continued there a longer time. Here Chunda Saib laid the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city, from whence he advanced towards the capital of Trichinopoli, a large populous place, about thirty-five leagues south-west of Pondicherry. It was completely invested by the Moorish army on the sixth of March 1736, and taken by assault the twenty-sixth of April following. Subder Allee established Chunda Saib in the government of Trichinopoli, where he assumed the title of Nabob. After making themselves masters of all the country, they invaded the kingdom of Tanjore, and besieged the capital, where Sahagy the king had shut himself up with all the troops he

* Or Sabder Aly Cawn.

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could assemble together. That place was well fortified in their manner; so that the Moorish princes turned the siege into a blockade, after having attacked it in vain for six months.

WHILE Chunda Saib commanded at the siege, his brother Bara Saib advanced towards the south with a detachment of fifteen thousand horse, and made himself master of Marava, Madura, and the country about cape Comorin. Then ascending along the coast of Malabar, he pushed his conquests into the province of Travancour. In these circumstances, Chunda Saib put the French in possession of Karical; while Subder Allee returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-Affud to succeed Chunda Saib in the office of Duan, and the latter resolved to secure his new conquered dominions as an independent government for himself.

THE Gentoo princes were greatly alarmed at these conquests, and dispatched messengers to Maha Raja the king of the Morattoes*, representing to him, that if they were not speedily assisted, their religion must be subverted, as well as their dominions destroyed, by the Mahometans. The chief ministers of that prince, most of whom were Bramins, persuaded him it was an indispensable article of his duty to comply with their request; and he at last determined to send them an army of sixty thousand horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot, under the command of his eldest son Ragogi Boufola † Sena Saib Soula, who began his march with these numerous forces in October 1739.

If it be matter of astonishment, that such numbers of fighting men are frequently brought into the field, how will it appear, when it is added to the

* Or Marattas; sometimes called Marattes, and Morattaes.

† Or Ragojee Bonfala.

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account, that every horseman has two servants; one to take care of his horse, the other to procure him forage; and that all these are accompanied by their wives and children!

THE Viceroy Nizam Al Muluck was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delli, which prevented him from marching into the Carnatic; so that he permitted the Morattoes to attack the Nabob, which they were eager to do, with the desire of pillaging a country, that had been long enriched by the gold and silver which most nations in the world had carried there for the purchase of Indian commodities. The Morattoes were now considered as the most enterprising soldiers of Indostan, and as the only nation of Indians, which seem to make war an occupation by choice; for the Rajpouts are soldiers by birth. Of late years they had frequently been at the gates of Delli; sometimes in arms against the throne; at others, in defence of it against the Affghans or Patans. The strength of their armies consists in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of resisting fatigue than any in India, and large bodies of them have been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and seem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much mischief as possible to the enemy's country; which they effect by driving off the cattle, destroying the harvests, burning the villages, and by exercising such cruelties, as induce the people of the open country to take flight on the first rumors of their approach. The celerity of their motions prevents any method of resistance against their main body, or even of effectually attacking any of their detachments: therefore, the expence of maintaining an army in the field, with little probability of fighting such an enemy, and the greater detriment arising from the devastations they commit, generally incline the governments

vernments they attack to purchase their retreat with money*.

BEFORE the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in possession of several forts and territories in the country, which the Moors obliged them to abandon; with a stipulation that they should annually receive a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the possessions which they relinquished, and as an encouragement to refrain from their usual predatory incursions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had many years neglected to pay this kind of tribute, and the Morattoes had desisted from their accustomed method of obtaining reparation, from their great fear of Nizam Al Muluck: but this restraint was now removed, by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic.

THE Morattoe army approached the Carnatic in May 1740, pillaging and ravaging all the country through which they passed. The Nabob marched from Arcot with what troops he could assemble, which were only four thousand horse and six thousand foot, to defend the passes of Damal-cherri, until he could receive fresh succours from his son Subder Allee and Chunda Saib: but he was betrayed by one of his Indian officers, who suffered the Morattoes to pass the station where he commanded. The consequence was, that the Nabob was furiously attacked in the rear of his small army, which was not guarded by intrenchments. His men resolutely defended themselves, until they saw him, and his son Hassan Allee, fall dead from their elephants. The rout was then general; most of the Nabob's

* For a more particular account of the Morattoes; their disposition; the nature of their troops; their arms, persons, and dress, see my first volume.

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officers were slain; and Meer-Affud was taken prisoner. This happened on the 20th of May, when the ground was extremely wet by the rains which fell the night before, so that many fugitives were trod under foot by the elephants, which sunk down to the middle of the leg in mud. It is said, that never was a sight more shocking to humanity than what this battle presented, of horses, camels, and elephants, wounded and furious, mingled and overwhelmed, together with officers and soldiers, sending forth hideous cries, making vain efforts to escape from the sloughs full of blood wherein they were plunged, and stifling and crushing to pieces those wounded soldiers who wanted strength to rise. The conquerors plundered the camp, carried off the military chest, and took the standard of Mahomet, as also that of the Mogul, above forty elephants, and a great number of horses. The body of Deust Allee Cawn was found among the dead; but that of his son could not be distinguished.

THE Morattoes sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions into every part of the province; while Subder Allee fled to Vellore, and Chunda Saib returned to Trichinopoli. The Morattoes wrote from Arcot to the governor of Madras, that they had large demands on the company, which they would settle at leisure: but in the mean time, they demanded three hundred thousand pagodas in part towards the pay of their army. As this letter was only sent by two horsemen, it was not difficult for the governor to return an answer: but he would not have found it so easy, in the circumstances the place then was, to avoid parting with a capital sum, if they had supported their demand, by marching one part of their army against the town; and that they neglected it, was owing to other causes, more than any opinion that his power was sufficient to resist them.

THE

THE fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation, among a people who had never before seen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob and his children had sent their families and treasures to remain there during the war; while the opulent inhabitants of Arcot removed all their valuable effects into the strong holds with which the province abounds. The Morattoe general also threatened to attack Pondicherry with all his forces, unless he had immediate satisfaction made by the payment of considerable sums. He farther demanded a yearly tribute to be paid, and the family and treasure of the Nabob to be delivered up to him. Several letters passed between him and M. Dumas, the French governor, who shewed, by his answers to the Morattoe, that he was not to be terrified at his menaces.

THE Morattoes, thus disappointed, readily listened to the proposals of their prisoner Meer Affud, who was empowered by Subder Allee to treat with them; and it was agreed, they should be paid, at different periods, ten millions of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted it immediately. This was made public; but another article was kept secret, whereby the Morattoes had liberty to attack Chunda Saib, and seize his dominions for themselves. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Subder Allee assumed the title and authority of Nabob; while Chunda Saib put Trichinopoli in the best posture of defence, as apprehensive of what had been transacted against him.

THE Morattoes accordingly quitted the province, and returned in December; invaded the country of Trichinopoli, invested the capital, cut off all supplies, and obliged Chunda Saib to surrender the place, on the 26th of March 1741, after he had bravely defended it three months. The Morattoes
put

put him, with his son, and their principal officers, under the strictest confinement; and having drained Trichinopoli, they appointed Morarow*, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, leaving fourteen thousand of their troops under his command. During the siege, the Morattoe general sent a detachment of eight thousand horse, and a strong body of foot, to the sea-coast, who attacked Porto Novo, about six leagues to the south of Pondicherry, and easily made themselves masters of an open indefensible place, which they plundered, and carried off all the merchandizes found in the magazines of the English, French, and Dutch. The same detachment marched from Porto Novo to Goudelour, an English settlement four leagues south of Pondicherry, which they pillaged. After this, they encamped at Archiouac, a league and half from Pondicherry; from whence they marched to attack Congymer and Ladras, two establishments belonging to the Dutch, whose magazines they entirely plundered.

SUBDER ALLEE was thus confirmed Nabob by the Morattoes, and Chunda Saib was removed from exciting intestine commotions: but the resentment of Nizam Al Muluck still remained to be appeased. The late calamities so much affected the new Nabob, that he removed his court from the open and defenceless city of Arcot, and took up his residence at Velore, which was well fortified, and had a strong citadel formerly built by the Morattoes. With the same spirit of precaution he sent his wives and children with his treasures to Madras; because he suspected the connections which subsisted between Chunda Saib and M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. The Nabob made several visits from Velore to his family at Madras; and these journies

* Or Morari-row.

were reported to Nizam Al Muluck, as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by sea to Mecca, to spend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of Mahomet.

MORTIZ ALLEE, who had married the Nabob's sister, was now governor of Velore, and was unwilling to pay his contingent for the Morattoes; in which he was joined by other governors, who represented to him, that the Soubahdar would be pleased with any violent measures that might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a Nabob who paid little deference to his authority. A conspiracy was formed, and Subder Allee was assassinated by some Abyssinian slaves; after which Mortiz Allee influenced the army to proclaim him Nabob; but they as soon dethroned him, and Seid Mahomed Cawn, the young son of Subder Allee, was declared lawful successor to the government of the Carnatic.

THE Soubahdar Nizam Al Muluck had no danger to apprehend from the court of Delli, and marched in the spring from Golconda to Arcot, at the head of his army, which was composed of eighty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. Such a force could meet with no resistance: he settled the government at Arcot, which he conferred on Coja Abdullah Cawn, and took the young prince whom he had deposed under his own care. He also expelled the Morattoes from Trichinopoli; and returned to Golconda, where he was attended by the new Nabob, who was poisoned on the road, and was succeeded in his government by Anaverdy Cawn *, through the favor of Nizam Al Muluck.

THE new Nabob arrived at Arcot in April; and the introduction of this stranger into the Carnatic was the source of those events, which gave rise to the war in India between the English and French.

* Or An'war-adean Khan.

SECTION II.

Account of ANAVERDY CAWN : he is confirmed in the government of the CARNATIC :—The War between GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE in 1744 : it extends to their settlements in the EAST INDIES. Commodore BARNET sent there with a Squadron from England in 1745 : his capture of some French ships in the Indian seas ; and his arrival at Madrafs. M. DE LA BOURDONNAIS sent with a French Squadron to reinforce Pondicherry.—Commodore Barnet dies in 1746, and is succeeded in the command by Captain PEYTON. An engagement between the two Squadrons off Negapatnam.—The state of Madrafs under governor MORSE : it is besieged by the French army and Squadron from Pondicherry, under the command of M. de la Bourdonnais. The strength of the Besiegers, and the Besieged : the town capitulates and surrenders. The French Governor of Pondicherry revokes the treaty of ransom : the English Governor and Council are sent prisoners of war to Pondicherry : and M. DE PARADIS is appointed governor of Madrafs. Amount of the French booty there ; and of the English loss.—Commodore de la Bourdonnais reinforced by some ships of war from France : his Squadron destroyed by a storm. He quits the French service ; is taken in a Dutch ship, and brought prisoner to England, in 1747 : his removal to France, confinement in the Bastile, and honorable discharge.

ANAVERDY CAWN was the son of Anawar, who was made by the Great Mogul Aurengzebe, on account of his great erudition and knowledge of the Koran, one of those religious officers appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign ; who also ennobled him

C

with

with the rank as a commander of 250 horse. He retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finished his days. His son Anaverdy was raised to a higher degree of nobility, by being ranked a commander of 500 horse, and was appointed governor of a district called Coorah Gehanabad, from whence he went to Amedabad, where Gazi O'din Cawn, the Soubahdar of the southern provinces, gave him an honorable post in the city of Surat; and when Nizam Al Muluck succeeded his father Gazi O'din in the Deckan, he appointed Anaverdy Cawn Nabob of the Yalow and Raja-mundrum countries, which he governed several years, till he was promoted to the government of the Carnatic on the death of Coja Abdullah Cawn.

BEFORE this time, the Carnatic had been governed by three successive Nabobs of the same family, who considered that government as a kind of inheritance, which they ruled with all the good effects of a mild and generous administration; so that their subjects beheld with regret the transferring of the government into the hands of any stranger, and were desirous of having for their Nabob the deposed son of Subder Allee Cawn. The Soubahdar committed the care of the young prince to the new Nabob, with the authority of a guardian, till he came of age, when it was pretended he should be invested with the power of Nabob; and he was treated by his guardian in a splendor adequate to his birth: but he was soon assassinated in his palace at Arcot by a desperate band of discontented Patans, whose cruelty was imputed to be the result of a confederacy between the regent Nabob and the governor of Velloor, both of whom disavowed the fact. Anaverdy Cawn proved his innocence to Nizam Al Muluck, who sent him a full and regular commission of the nabobship

bobship of Arcot, soon after the death of Seid Mahomed.

WAR had been declared between Great Britain and France in March 1744; but neither party took any public notice of the situation of affairs in the East Indies: however, the French India company, in 1742, offered the English a neutrality for the East Indies, which was imprudently rejected; and the war was carried into these remote regions, where the Nabobs were soon made sensible, it was their interest to supply one party or other with their mercenary troops.

IMMEDIATELY on the declaration of the French war, the English East India company perceived the necessity of sending a squadron to India; because it might effectually prevent the French from injuring the British commerce there, and would probably ruin the French company. This was the more necessary to be done, as the English company had not only suffered by their competition with the French in trade; but also by the great encouragement which had been given the French, to smuggle their India goods into the British dominions. In point of interest, indeed, the Dutch were more concerned to ruin the French commerce, in those parts, than the crown of Great Britain: but as the Dutch had not declared war against France, nothing of that kind was to be expected from them; while Great Britain was left, in this business, to attend the concerns of Holland equally with her own; and, by attacking the French in the Indian seas, serve both interests, at her own expence.

THE affairs of the French company were in a better condition than ever in India; which occasioned apprehensions that the British commerce would be greatly incommoded. This promoted an application from the English company to the lords

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of the admiralty, for a squadron to be sent for the protection of their trade and settlements, and to annoy those of the French in India. Accordingly, a squadron was appointed for the service, under the command of commodore Barnet, consisting of four ships*, with which he set sail from Portsmouth on the 5th of May. This squadron did not proceed immediately to the English settlements in India; but passed beyond them, and cruized in two divisions in the Straits of Sunda and Malacca, with a design to interrupt the French company ships, then expected to be on their return to Europe, without any convoy. The commodore and lord Northesk disguised their ships, by painting and rigging them in the Dutch manner, and in this condition arrived in the Straits of Banca, where they continued at anchor, till the 25th of January 1745, when they saw three large French ships coming down, which they attacked and took, after a smart engagement of about three glasses. The French ships belonged to the company, and were laden from Canton to Europe: the one was called the Dauphin, commanded by captain Butler; another was the Hercules, commanded by captain Dufrein; and the third was the Jason, commanded by captain Delametrie: they were about 700 ton, with 30 guns, and 150 men, each; very deeply and richly laden, chiefly with tea, china-ware, and silk; with which the commodore proceeded to Batavia, where

* This squadron was as follows :

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Deptford,	Commodore Barnet,	400	60
Medway,	Captain Peyton,	400	60
Preston,	Lord Northesk,	300	50
Diamond,	Captain Moore,	120	20
	Total	1220	190

the

the whole squadron was to rendezvous, and from thence fall down to the coast of Coromandel. The two other men of war, were also disguised like Dutchmen, and took a French privateer at Achen in Sumatra, which was fitted out from Pondicherry to cruize in the China seas. They also took a French ship from Manilla, richly laden; and then joined the commodore at Batavia, from whence the whole squadron set sail, and appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July; at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, its fortifications were not completed, and no French marine force had appeared in India since the declaration of war.

M. DUPLEIX now presided at Pondicherry, the government of which had been resigned to him by M. Dumas in October 1741, together with the title and privilege of Nabob, which had been conferred on the late governor by the reigning Mogul, whereby he was made Mansoubdar, with the command of 4500 Mogul cavalry, being the first honor of that kind ever conferred upon any European in Indostan. M. Dupleix was not bred a soldier, and the appearance of the British squadron alarmed him, for the safety of Pondicherry. He therefore prevailed on Anaverdy Cawn to insist with the English government of Madras, that the ships of war should not commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot: but the Nabob also assured the English, that he would oblige the French to observe the same neutrality. This made so much impression upon the government of Madras, that they requested and prevailed on commodore Barnet to confine the operations of his squadron to the sea.

THE French were not only intent on defeating the expedition of commodore Barnet; but had even

put into execution a scheme for expelling the English company from all their settlements on the coasts of Coromandel. M. Mahè de la Bourdonnais, the governor of the isles of France and Bourbon, two settlements belonging to the French in the Indian ocean, about thirty-four leagues to the eastward of Madagascar, was sent, in 1739, with a squadron of large ships and 1500 men, to reinforce Pondicherry; which arrived there in 1741. As the English had refused the neutrality offered by the French, the latter came to the resolution of giving a vigorous exertion to their force in India: and accordingly, on the 11th of April 1745, the French monarch granted M. de la Bourdonnais a commission, whereby it was ordered, "That all captains and officers of the India company's ships, should acknowledge him for their commander, and to obey him as such; whether he should go on board any of those ships, or might judge proper to send them on any particular expedition." This commission was received at Pondicherry, on the 6th of January following, by M. de la Bourdonnais, who was, like the Du Quenes, the Barts, and the Du Gue-Trouins, a man qualified for doing great things with a small force; and one who understood commerce as well as fighting. He instantly applied his whole attention how to distress the English company; and, as the most effectual way, determined to attempt the reduction of Madrafs, with its subordinate settlements, rather than lose his time in uncertain cruizes, by endeavouring to intercept the ships belonging to the English company.

COMMODORE BARNET died at Fort St. David's in April, 1746, and was succeeded in the command by captain Peyton, who sent home two ships, and was reinforced by three other men of war from England,

land, when his squadron consisted of seven ships *. M. de la Bourdonnais had also a squadron consisting of eight ships, the largest of which belonged to the king, and the other seven were fitted out by the company as men of war †.

THE two squadrons met on the 25th of June, and came to an engagement off Negapatnam. The French had much the superiority in number of men; but the English had greatly the advantage in weight of metal, by which the fortune of battle is now generally decided at sea: the English also sailed better than the French, and were worked with greater skill. The action began at half an hour past four in the afternoon, and continued till seven, when it grew dark, and occasioned the separation of both the squadrons, with little loss on either side. ‡ Commodore Peyton made sail for

* These were as follows :

Ships.	Commanders.	Men	Guns.
Medway,	Commodore Peyton,	400	60
Preston,	Lord Northesk,	300	50
Harwich,	Captain Carteret,	300	50
Winchester,	Lord Thomas Bertie,	300	50
Medway's Prize,	Captain Griffith,	240	40
Lively,	Captain Stevens,	120	20
Total		1660	270

† These were :

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Achilles, - - - -	74	700
Duc d'Orleans, - - - -	56	400
Bourbon, - - - - -	56	400
Neptune, - - - - -	54	400
Phoenix, - - - - -	54	400
St. Louis, - - - - -	44	400
Lys, - - - - -	40	300
Infulaire, - - - - -	20	250
398		3250

‡ The English had 14 men killed, and 46 wounded. The French had 27 killed, and 53 wounded.

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Trincanomaly bay in the island of Ceylon; and the French commodore returned to Pondicherry: the former afterwards disappeared, and sailed for the bay of Bengal; while the latter made preparations for besieging Madrafs.

THE English called on the Nabob Anaverdy Cawn to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land: but they omitted to employ the most certain means of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his assistance with a present of money; which imprudent parsimony left the Nabob unconcerned about their interests.

NICHOLAS MORSE, Esq; was at this time governor of Madrafs, which had been raised to a degree of opulence and reputation, that rendered it inferior to none of the European establishments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia: but the place had been in a bad state of defence for some years, and still continued so, notwithstanding commodore Bernet had apprized the company, and particularly their secret committee, of the insecurity of their settlement, by a letter, dated on board the Deptford in Madrafs road, on the 24th of September 1745, wherein that experienced and judicious commander represented, "That he must speak his surprize, to find a place of such consequence as this was to the company, in such a condition: the works seemed rather built by chance than design; the bastions were placed contrary to all rules, and the curtain was no better than a long unflanked garden-wall; and the garrison was so weak, that, if he was governor, he should never sleep sound in a French war, if there were 500 Europeans in Pondicherry: that he had seen, and considered the plan of the works proposed; thought it a very good one; and, when it was completed, the town would be sufficiently fortified on that side: but then, that something

thing must be done towards the sea, where there were embrasures for form, not use, there being no rampart to mount guns upon: that the distance between the bastions was very great, and there was again a long weak wall without flank or defence; so that two sixty gun ships would, in two hours time, make an entire breach from bastion to bastion." Governor Morse, as the company had so long neglected to send a skilful engineer, did all that lay in his power for the security of the place, and sent for the best he could get from Bombay in 1745: but had the fortifications been in the best order, they would have been of little use, without a sufficient number of men to defend them; and this was the present case.

M. DE LA BOURDONNAIS was well acquainted with the situation of Madras, the nature of the works, and the strength of the garrison; so that he neglected nothing that could contribute to make his advantage of any defects in the fortifications of the place. On the 3d of September, the French Squadron anchored four leagues to the south of Madras, having on board the troops, artillery, and stores intended for the siege. Here some of the troops were landed, and marched to St. Thome, about three miles to the southward of Madras: there they secured the landing of another part of their men on the 4th, without any interruption from the garrison, which was incapable of sending a detachment sufficient to make any material opposition. The town was immediately invested on the land side, where the French made their grand camp at Chindadre Pettah; while the Squadron prevented any relief by sea.

THE French army consisted of 1100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 sepoy, disciplined in the European manner. On board the Squadron there remained 1800 European mariners; and this
force

force was too formidable to be resisted. Long before the war with France, the English company had promised to augment the garrison of Madras to 600 Europeans, exclusive of the gun-room crew; yet the recruits were so few, that when the French invested it, the whole garrison consisted only of 300 Europeans, twenty-three of which were Portuguese deserters from Goa, thirty-four were in the hospital, and there were such numbers incapable of service, that all the effective Europeans to be depended upon did not exceed 200: to which may be added, the crew of the princess Mary, being eighty men; and about 200 Topasses, a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, and little to be depended upon, as there was not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary requisites for a soldier. The principal officer among the garrison was one Peter Eckman, an ignorant superannuated Swede, who had been a common soldier, and now bore the rank of a first lieutenant: he was assisted by two other lieutenants, and seven ensigns. To all which may be farther added, that though the garrison had near 200 pieces of cannon, yet they wanted men that were capable of playing them; besides that, the want of military stores was equal to the paucity of military men.

MOST of the Asiatics immediately deserted the place, and flew up into the country with their most valuable effects. The Nabob sent no assistance to the garrison; for such was his avaricious temper, that it could not resist the powerful policy of French corruption, as he preferred the gold of France before the ties of honour, and the security of that settlement, which it was his own interest to preserve.

THE French began to bombard the town on the 7th of September, which they continued till the 10th, when William Monson, Esq; and John Hally-

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Hallyburton, Esq; were sent, as deputies, from the governor to the French camp, to see what terms would be granted, and if it was possible to procure the ransom of the town. The deputies were honorably treated by M. de la Bourdonnais, who entered into a consultation with them, and offered them the following conditions: "That the town should be delivered up, and all the English remain prisoners of war: that the articles of capitulation being settled, those of the ransom should be regulated amicably: that the garrison should be conducted to Fort St. David; and the sailors sent to Cuddalore."

As the instructions of M. de la Bourdonnais were, not to make any new settlement, he had in his power only this alternative, either to destroy such as he should become master of, or treat for a ransom. The latter was more adapted to his interest: but, as he had only agreed it should be regulated in a friendly manner, the English deputies demanded of him a farther explanation; when he made them this answer: "Gentlemen, I do not sell honor: the flag of my king shall fly over Madras, or I will die at the foot of the walls. In regard to the ransom of the town, and in every thing that is interesting, you shall be satisfied with me; (and, taking the hat of one of the deputies, he said) here is nearly the manner how we will regulate matters: this hat is worth six rupees, you shall give me three or four for it, and so of the rest."

THESE articles were accepted and signed, upon which the French took possession of the town. The magazines, warehouses, and other places, were delivered over to the French officers and commissaries; and the English soldiers and sailors were carried on board the French ships in the road; while the governor and council settled the price of the ransom with the French commodore at 1,100,000 pagodas,

pagodas, or 421,666l. sterling; besides a very valuable private present to the commodore, who was willing to evacuate his conquest upon these terms, and leave the English in full possession of their presidency.

THERE WAS not a man killed in the French camp during the siege; and only five Englishmen were killed in the town by the explosion of the bombs, which destroyed three houses.

THE same day that Madras surrendered, a messenger from the Nabob Anaverdy Cawn arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to M. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expressed great surprize at the presumption of the French in attacking Madras without his permission, and threatened to send his army there if the siege was not immediately raised. But M. Dupleix sent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promising, that the town should be given up to him; and by representing, that the English would certainly be willing to pay him a large sum of money for the restitution of so valuable a possession.

THE French government at Pondicherry at first ratified the treaty of ransom: but, on the 20th of September, they declared it null and void; so that commodore De la Bourdonnais was obliged to revoke the terms of the ransom, and leave Madras under the government of M. de Paradis, a Swiss, who was the favorite of M. Dupleix. The consequence was, that the British governor and council, on the 13th of November, were carried prisoners to Pondicherry; while the rest of the English inhabitants were ordered to quit Madras; upon which they dispersed to different places, and left the French in possession of all their effects.

THE promise of a ransom was the principal inducement that prevailed on governor Morse to make so speedy a surrender; and if the French had
not

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not perfidiously broke their engagement, the price of the ransom would have been a very favorable circumstance to the English company: for the French obtained a booty of silver, woollen goods, velvets, copper, iron, lead, and stores for use and sale, to the value of 73,000*l.* sterling; in plate, furniture, mint necessaries, and other small articles, 12,000*l.*; 1600 bales of calicoes, 7000 bags of saltpetre, and 800 landies of red wood, valued at 72,800*l.* prime cost; in all, 157,800*l.* They also took the princess Mary Indiaman; with two snows, called the Mermaid and Advice, employed in the company's service: to this might be added a much more considerable sum, from the deprivation of so important a branch of commerce, and the loss of revenues; besides the expence of the public buildings, which cost upwards of 160,000*l.*; and which the French intended to demolish, if they had not received fresh instructions, in consequence of the English having taken Cape Breton. That circumstance caused the French to alter their measures, with the view of exchanging one place for the other: but though the English afterwards, in pursuance of the general treaty of peace, left Cape Breton in a better condition than when it was taken; yet the French acted very differently at Madras, where they destroyed the fortifications, and principal buildings, before they delivered it up.

COMMODORE de la Bourdonnais aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of every English settlement on the coast of Coromandel, which he was in a better condition of attempting, by the arrival of three men of war * from France at Pondi-

* Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Centaur, - -	74 - -	700
Mars, - -	56 - -	420
Brilliant, - -	50 - -	400
Total	180	1520

cherry,

cherry, on the 27th of September, with 1520 men on board.

BUT in this he was prevented by a storm which happened on the 2d of October in the night, and blew so violently hard, as to render the greatest part of the French squadron, then riding in the harbor of Madras, incapable of service. The Duc d'Orleans, Phoenix, and Lys, were foundered: as also were the Advice and Mermaid prizes: the Achilles lost all her masts; and the other ships had the greatest difficulty in disengaging themselves from the fury of the tempest, in which 1200 of their men perished, with sixty of the English garrison of Madras, who were on board the Duc d'Orleans. About twenty other vessels, belonging to different nations, were either drove on shore, or perished at sea: but the ships which were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry felt no effect of the storm that raged at Madras. It is observed, that the violence of these hurricanes is generally confined to sixty or eighty miles in breadth; though in their progress they frequently blow quite across the bay of Bengal.

THIS event was favorable to the English, because the French were preparing for the reduction of Fort St. David; which this storm prevented.

THE French commodore left M. de Paradis in possession of Madras; and then sailed to Pondicherry, from whence he took the disabled ships to refit at the isle of Bourbon, where he arrived in December. He soon after left that island, which, from a forest, he had rendered a flourishing colony, and the arsenal of all the military expeditions in India that might be undertaken by the French. The misunderstanding between him and the council of Pondicherry deprived France of the fruit of his labor. He quitted the French service, and went with the principal part of the plunder of Madras

dras to Batavia, where he converted most of it into jewels, and embarked himself with two of his officers, and some of his treasure, in a Dutch ship, for Holland; which ship was taken by an English privateer, and carried into Falmouth in December 1747. Two other Dutch ships from Batavia, with Madras goods on board, and two French officers, were also taken by another privateer, and carried into Milford. But the commodore's lady, with most of the jewels, arrived in a Portugueze ship at Lisbon. The commodore was confined some days in Pendennis castle, from whence he was conducted to London in the custody of two messengers. He was treated with the utmost politeness, and afterwards sent to France, where the friends of M. Duplex had influence enough to get him confined to the Bastille, three years and a half, on account of a pretended debt of a million of livres to the India company. Thus, this gallant man, whose name ought to be for ever dear to the French nation, was treated at Paris like a criminal: but at length the commissaries appointed by the king, with an unanimous voice, pronounced him innocent. France gave him another title; she called him her Avenger. The decree by which he was acquitted, met with as loud acclamations at Paris, as the taking of the French prizes had done at London. The commissaries only restored him to his liberty; but the nation in raptures gave him his reward; and if he had survived the subsequent ill successes of his country at sea, his abilities would probably have raised him to the highest commands in the navy of France.

S E C T I O N

SECTION III.

The strength of the French at PONDICHERRY; which is attacked by the NABOB's troops, who are repulsed.—Account of Fort St. DAVID, which is put into a defensible situation by governor HYND. It is besieged by the French army from Pondicherry, commanded by M. BURY, in December 1746. The strength of the besiegers and the besieged: the Nabob sends troops to assist the English; and the French are repulsed, with great loss.—The British Squadron reinforced by the arrival of commodore GRIFFIN, at Fort St. David, in 1747. The strength of his Squadron; and of the Fort. The strength of the French Squadron at Pondicherry. The British commodore burns the Neptune, a French ship of war, in Madrafs-road: and the French governor of Madrafs takes the Princess Amelia Indiaman. The French improve the fortifications at Pondicherry and Madrafs.—Major LAWRENCE returns from England to Fort St. David in January 1748; assumes the command of all the forces in India belonging to the company; and puts the Fort into a good state of defence.—The French Squadron, under M. BOUVET, arrives with troops at Madrafs, and returns to Mauritius.—Admiral BOSCAWEN arrives from England, with his Squadron and troops, at Fort St. David, in July 1748: the list of his ships, and the number of his troops.—The siege of Pondicherry. The strength of the town. Attack of Fort Ariancopang: Major GOODERE killed, and Major LAWRENCE taken prisoner: the Fort destroyed by the French, and repaired by the English. The siege began: a sally made, in which M. Paradis is wounded. The siege raised. Loss on both sides. Rejoicings at Pondicherry on raising the siege.—Advice arrives of a cessation

cessation of arms in Europe; and of a GENERAL PEACE.—*A storm destroys a great part of the British Squadron on the coast of Coromandel.—Madrafs delivered to the English in a ruinous condition. Admiral Boscawen takes possession of it; and also of St. Thome, which he fortifies. He assists Major Lawrence in his attack upon Devicotah, which the king of Tanjore cedes to the English for ever.—The Admiral returns to England.—The recommencement of commotions in the CARNATIC.*

THE Nabob of Arcot was ordered by the viceroy Nizam Al Muluck to reinstate the English in their presidency of Madrafs; in which attempt he was unsuccessful; because the French were too powerful to be intimidated by any Asiatic force. The storm to which the French Squadron had been exposed, ruined the marine force of that nation in India, and preserved the English establishments from imminent danger: yet this disaster gave such an addition of strength to the French establishments in the Carnatic, that the events which afterwards happened on the coast of Coromandel, seem to have been the consequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French Squadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. M. de la Bourdonnais had left behind him 1200 disciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ships which came last from India; and about 900 sailors were taken out of the ships that remained on the coast. By this addition, the whole body of the French troops, on the coast of Coromandel, amounted to near 3000 men.

THE Nabob Anaverdy Cawn suspected that M. Dupleix had no intention to put him in possession of Madrafs, and sent a body of ten thousand men,

under the command of his eldest son Maphuze Cawn, to invest the town : but, on the 22d of October 1746, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, to attack the besiegers, who had never seen such artillery employed against them ; and had no conception, that it was possible to fire the same piece of cannon five or six times in a minute with execution ; for, in the awkward management of their own clumsy artillery, they think it well done if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line, until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them, which immediately put their whole body into confusion, and occasioned a precipitate flight. The French killed about seventy Moors in the attack, and returned into the town without losing a man. Maphuze Cawn then took possession of St. Thome, from whence he was easily expelled, with considerable loss, and obliged to seek for safety in Arcot.

IT was more than a century since any of the European nations had obtained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprizes had persuaded the Europeans that the Moors were brave and formidable ; but that opinion was now removed, when it was found, that the French under M. Paradis had defeated a whole army with a single battalion.

THE reduction of Madrafs gave the English at Fort St. David, Bombay, and Bengal, an opportunity of putting themselves in a more defensible situation ; which governor Hynd very diligently observed at Fort St. David, by strengthening the fortifications, and taking a considerable number of the Indian militia into his pay. The government of this place depended on that of Madrafs, to which
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it was immediately the next in rank: but on the breach of the treaty of ransom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding those of Madras as prisoners to the French, took upon themselves the general administration of affairs on the coast of Coromandel. They began by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his assistance against the French, which was readily granted, and another army sent for that purpose under the command of Maphuze Cawn, and his brother Mahomed Allee Cawn.

THE troops destined to attack Fort St. David assembled at Ariancopang, about two miles south-west of Pondicherry. They consisted of 1700 men, chiefly Europeans, of which fifty were cavalry: they had also two companies of Caffre-slaves, natives of Madagascar, and of the eastern coast of Africa, disciplined and brought into India by M. de la Bourdonnais: they had six field pieces, and six mortars: the whole commanded by M. Bury, the oldest officer of the French troops in India. They marched on the 8th of December at night, and arrived the next morning at the river Panna, which runs into the sea about a mile and half of Fort St. David. The garrison of that place, with the addition of the officers and soldiers who had escaped from Madras, consisted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses, which were intended to defend the fort; while the defence of Cuddalore was entrusted to 2000 hired Peons; for at this time the English had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European discipline, though the French had set the example, by raising some companies of sepoy's at Pondicherry.

ABOUT a mile and half to the north-west of Fort St. David was a country-house appointed for the residence of the governor, behind which was a large

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garden inclosed with a brick wall; and before the house, a court with buildings on each side of it. The French passed the river at a ford about a quarter of a mile from the garden, and advanced to take possession of it; in which they met with little resistance from the Peons, and then laid down their arms to rest themselves after their fatigue. While they were in this disorder, they were attacked by Maphuze Cawn and Mahomed Allee with 6000 horse and 3000 foot, which arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimondalum, four miles west of the fort. The French ran to their arms in confusion, rushed out of the garden into the plain, and endeavoured to re-cross the river before they could be attacked: but the Nabob's troops came up with them before they arrived there, and several times advanced sword in hand upon their main body, which were protected by their artillery. The English garrison sallied out as soon as they perceived the French retreating; but did not come up in time to assist in interrupting their passage over the river, which was not effected without considerable loss. The English and Moors advanced in pursuit of the French; but could not overtake them, until they had marched six miles on the other side of the river; by which time the troops were recovered from their panic, and were drawn up in such good order, that it was not thought prudent to attack them; so that they returned to Ariancopang at seven in the evening, having been in motion almost twenty-four hours. They lost four of their best officers, and near 200 men killed and wounded; with all their tents, ammunition, six camels, two mortars, two chests of arms, four drums, and all their provisions.

M. Dupleix soon after made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cuddalore, and then ravaged some part of the province of Arcot; which exasperated
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the Nabob more than ever; yet the French governor prevailed on the Nabob to recal his army from Fort St. David, at a time when it had received no supplies either from Europe or the settlements in India.

THE French renewed their preparations in March 1747, for another attempt on Fort St. David; in which they were also disappointed by the arrival of commodore Griffin, with three ships of sixty guns, one of fifty, and another of forty, to reinforce the British Squadron, which then consisted of eleven ships*. The commodore landed 150 marines, and 500 sailors, at Fort St. David, as a temporary augmentation of the garrison; which was farther reinforced in June, by 100 Europeans, 200 topasses, and 100 sepoy, from Bombay; with 400 sepoy from Tellicherry; and 150 soldiers came likewise in the company's ships from Europe in the course of the year. The French Squadron was also reinforced, and consisted of eight ships†; which had been refitted, but were never brought out to encounter commodore Griffin, though he blocked up Pondicherry during all the month of August; and, by his dispositions, prevented them from receiving any manner of supplies for a considerable time af-

* These were as following:

Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.
York - - -	60	Winchester -	50
Princess Mary	60	Eltham - - -	40
Exeter - - -	60	Pearl - - -	40
Medway - - -	60	Medway's Prize	40
Harwich - - -	50	Lively - - -	20
Preston - - -	50		

† Achilles - - -	74	Neptune - - -	54
Centaur - - -	74	Brilliant - - -	50
Bourbon - - -	56	Lacrine - - -	50
Mary - - -	56	St. Louis - - -	44

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terwards: he also burnt the Neptune man of war in Madras road, on the 23d of September. The French took the princess Amelia, one of the ships belonging to the company, who put in at Madras, imagining it had been possessed by the English; for the French kept the British colours flying at Fort St. George, and this stratagem had like to have deceived more of the English commanders in the service of the India company. The Britannia escaped only through the misconduct of the French: the Exeter might have met with the same fate as the Amelia, had she not been forewarned of her danger by a British man of war, who happened to be cruising off the place, just as she was coming to an anchor: and the Oxford too was saved, by fortunately having a person on board capable of discoursing in the country language, and by that means learnt of a Catamaran, who was fishing off the Fort, that the place was in possession of the French.

THE force under commodore Griffin was insufficient either to reduce Pondicherry, or recover Madras; because the French had repaired the fortifications of the former, where they had mounted 180 pieces of heavy cannon, and erected six additional forts to flank their exterior works; the magazines and arsenal were well provided; and the garrison, with the military Indians, formed a body of near 5000 men. Madras was also put into a defensible situation: and the ministry of Delli, instead of assisting the English in the re-possession of their Indian presidency, professed a neutrality; nor could the Nabob be farther induced to interfere in the quarrel between the two nations; which occasioned the British commodore to relinquish all his expectations of retrieving the honor and character of his country, till the arrival of a proper reinforcement, which was speedily expected under rear admiral Boscawen,

Boscawen, when Pondicherry was to be threatened with a siege.

In January 1748, major Lawrence arrived from England at Fort St. David, with a commission to command all the forces in India belonging to the company; and he made all the necessary preparations for the defence of Fort St. David and Cuddalore. The French attempted again to surprize the latter: but the major gave them an unexpected reception, and obliged them to a precipitate retreat, with the loss of many men. While Mr. Griffin lay at anchor under the walls of Fort St. David, the French squadron, commanded by M. Bouvet, was discovered, on the 9th of June, off Negapatnam, by the captain of the *Lively* man of war, who immediately proceeded to Fort St. David, and gave intelligence thereof to the commodore: but the French arrived without interruption at Madras, where they landed their men, money, and stores; after which, they returned to Mauritius*.

As the French were thought to have the superiority of ships in the East Indies, rear-admiral Boscawen was ordered there in 1747, with a squadron of six ships of the line; a frigate, sloop, bomb-ship, hospital-ship, and a tender; having two thousand marines on board, to reinforce commodore Griffin, and return the visit of Madras, by an invasion at Pondicherry. But this squadron did not depart from Portsmouth till the 1st of November, when the admiral set sail with fifteen India ships under his convoy. They arrived at Madeira on the 14th of December, from whence they departed on the 26th, and anchored at the Cape of Good Hope on the

* They landed 400 soldiers, with 200,000 l. in silver, which had been sent from France to the island of Mauritius for the service of Pondicherry.

28th of March 1748. They left the Cape on the 8th of May; and, after making an unsuccessful attempt against the French at the island of Mauritius, 400 miles east of Madagascar, the whole squadron arrived at Fort St. David on the 29th of July, when admiral Boscawen assumed the command, while commodore Griffin was preparing to return to England.

THIS junction of the two squadrons formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that ever had been seen together in the East Indies; for it consisted of nine ships of the line, two frigates, a sloop, and two tenders; besides fourteen of the company's ships; having 3580 sailors on board; so that it was determined immediately to undertake the siege of Pondicherry, for which purpose the necessary preparations had been made at Fort St. David. The admiral landed the troops, and formed a camp about a mile from the fort, where he was reinforced by the marines on board commodore Griffin's ships, and by the company's men under major Lawrence.

TWELVE independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines, and 80 artillery men, composed the regular troops in the king's service. The company's troops consisted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 200 were Topassies, together with 70 artillery men. The Dutch, at Negapatnam, sent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans. There were also 1100 seamen on board the ships ready to be landed, who had been taught the manual exercise at sea. All these formed a body of 4120 Europeans: to which were joined 1100 sepoy, paid by the company; and 2000 horse sent by the Nabob Anaverdy Cawn, who still changed sides as he found the English or French officers gained the advantage. The heavy cannon and cumbrous stores were laden on board the ships under the command of captain Lisle, who had orders to anchor, with
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the whole squadron, two miles to the southward of Pondicherry, and remain there till farther orders. Captain Pawlet, of the *Exeter*, was sent before to anchor off the town; and was followed by three other ships, with directions to take the soundings all about, and to cut off all communication, upon that side, from the French squadron, which was then cruizing in the streights of Malacca.

EVERY thing being prepared, the army began to march, on the 8th of August, towards Pondicherry, from which they were at the distance of about twenty four miles. They continued their march on the 9th and 10th, without any appearance of an enemy: but, on the 11th, the French made a shew of about 300 foot and some horse, at an entrenchment they had thrown up, about four miles from the town, which they abandoned at the approach of the army.

THE garrison of Pondicherry consisted of 2000 Europeans, and 3000 Indians. Governor Dupleix, with the assistance of M. Paradis, had erected several additional fortifications about the town, put the fort of Ariancopang in a defensible situation, and apprehended no danger from a siege, of which they had intelligence long before the arrival of admiral Boscawen on the coast.

THE company's agents at Fort St. David had gained very little intelligence necessary to direct the admiral in his operations; and when the army approached the Fort of Ariancopang, there was no person who could give a description of the place. However, the admiral was informed, by a deserter, that the garrison consisted only of 100 men, white and blacks; therefore it was resolved, to make an attempt with the grenadiers and piquets, consisting of 700 men, under the command of major Goodere, to gain a lodgment in the village contiguous to it, and to raise a bomb battery there. The engineers
were

were ordered to reconnoitre it, and reported that the body of the place was of little strength; but that the enemy had thrown up an entrenchment in front, which must be first stormed, and the fort might easily be taken afterwards.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 12th, early in the morning, this detachment, accompanied by a body of Moors, marched up to the village, when they discovered that this supposed entrenchment was only a heap of ruins, and that at a few yards behind it lay the fort, not with such slender defences as had been reported, but fortified with a cavalier at each of the angles, a deep dry ditch, and a covered way. These works rendered it impossible to take the place by a coup de main, especially as the Moors were afraid to advance with the intrenching tools, while the French flanked the detachment from two batteries they had raised on the other side of the river, whereby about 150 men were killed or wounded. Among the slain was major Goodere, the commanding officer of the artillery, who was wounded in the leg by a cannon ball; which was the most sensible loss they could have sustained, as he was a very able and experienced officer, on whose skill the admiral principally relied for conducting the capital siege. However, it was determined to reduce the fort, and the French were resolved to defend it. The disciplined sailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, were landed from the ships: and the garrison in the fort were increased to 460 men. A battery was opened, on the 18th, with great success against the fort: but the garrison made a bold sally, and took major Lawrence prisoner, who commanded in the entrenchments, and was deserted by his men. Soon after one of the French batteries blew up, and destroyed about 120 men; upon which the besiegers immediately got some royals into the village, and began to bombard
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the fort, which was also blown up by the garrison, who retreated to Pondicherry, and the besiegers took possession of Ariancopang, where they remained five days in repairing the fort, in which a garrison was placed. The army then crossed the river, and got possession of a strong post in the bound-hedge of Pondicherry, about a mile from the walls. This post being to the north-west of the town, the admiral ordered the ships down to the northward of it; where he opened a communication that way on the 28th, and began to break ground before the place on the 30th at night, about 1500 yards from the walls, which was at too great a distance; for it is the general practice in sieges, to make the first parallel within 800 yards of the covered way.

BEFORE morning, two trenches were flung up at the distance of 100 yards from each other; and about noon a body of 500 Europeans, with 700 sepoy, sallied from the town; but were repulsed by the advanced guard of 100 men, with considerable loss, having about a hundred men killed and wounded, and among the latter was M. Paradis, the principal commander. The English lost captain Brown, who defended the second trench, till he was mortally wounded; after which, his post was gallantly sustained by ensign CLIVE, who afterwards made a glorious figure in India.

THE besieging batteries were not completed till the 25th of September, when they began to play, consisting of one of eight guns, and one of four guns; with one bomb battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, besides another of fifteen cohorns. The French were also very active and industrious on their part; having raised three fascine batteries to play upon the trenches of the besiegers; besides, they formed an inundation in the front of their works, so as to render it impossible to carry them on any farther.

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THE bomb-ketch could do no execution against the citadel; nor could the battering ships approach within 1000 yards of the town, and point blank shot is less than half that distance. Only two persons were killed on board the fleet, one of whom was captain Adams, commander of the *Harwich*, a fifty gun ship, whose thigh was taken off by a cannon ball. The French asserted, that the fire from the ships had done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the street.

THE fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which, that from the town increased, and dismounted nine pieces of cannon. The besiegers were stopped in their approaches by the inundation, and their men were not able to carry on the siege. The superiority of the French batteries made it impracticable to make a breach in the curtain: therefore, the admiral assembled a council of war, on the 30th, where the state of affairs being taken into consideration, and it appearing, that the strength of the army was greatly reduced, and daily lessening by sickness, occasioned by their fatigue; that the ships of war could be of no service against the town, having cannonaded a whole day without apparent effect; that the monsoons and rainy season were daily expected, which would not only oblige them to raise the siege with the loss of the artillery and stores, but render the rivers impassable, destroy the roads, and cut off the retreat of the army to Fort St. David; besides the risk of the ships being driven off the coasts: for these reasons it was unanimously resolved, "to embark the stores and cannon, and raise the siege."

FIVE days were employed in shipping the cannon and heavy stores, destroying the batteries, and re-embarking the sailors. On the 6th of October, in the

the morning, the troops began to march on their return to Fort St. David; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the Fort. They arrived the next evening at Fort St. David, unmolested by the French.

THUS terminated this expedition, with the loss of 757 soldiers, 43 artillery men, and 265 seamen, in all 1065 Europeans, to the besiegers. The French lost about half that number during the siege; though they denied their loss was so great.

WHILE a particular war was thus carried on in Asia, a general peace was concluded in Europe, which was definitively signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 7th of October, by the British, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries, whereby it was agreed, "That there should be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as land; and a sincere and inviolable friendship preserved between the high contracting powers, their heirs, successors, kingdoms, states, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what rank and condition soever they might be, without any exception either of places or persons. That there should be a general oblivion of whatever was past during the war: and that each party should be put into the possession of all his effects, honors, and revenues, which they either actually enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed, at the commencement of the war; notwithstanding all disposals, seizures, or confiscations, occasioned by the war. That all prisoners and hostages should be restored without ransom. And that all the conquests that had been made since the commencement of the war in the East Indies, or any other part of the world, should be restored."

THE French at Pondicherry sung Te Deums as soon as the siege was raised, and gave as many demonstrations of joy, as if the place had been relieved from the greatest calamities of war. M. Duplex

pleix sent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the Great Mogul himself, acquainting them, that he had repulsed the most formidable attack that ever had been made in India. In return, he received from them the highest compliments on his own prowess, and on the military character of his nation, which was now regarded as greatly superior to that of the English throughout Indostan.

ADMIRAL Boscawen sent some of his ships to Achin, and others to Trincomaly, to avoid the stormy monsoon; but he remained himself with the land forces at Fort St. David. In November advices were received, that a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed on the 5th of May: however, the admiral was instructed to remain in India, until he should receive intelligence that the general peace was concluded.

IN the beginning of January 1749, the British squadron returned to Fort St. David; and M. Bouvet came again from Mauritius to Madras, with the same ships that had eluded commodore Griffin. The French commander landed a large sum of money, and 200 soldiers.

THE northern monsoon changed on the 13th of April, and the southern set in with a hurricane, which committed great ravages at sea, very fatal to the English squadron. The *Namur*, of 74 guns, in which admiral Boscawen hoisted his flag, perished, with 700 men: the *Pembroke*, of 60 guns, was wrecked, and only six of the crew saved: the *Apollo* hospital-ship was lost with all her crew: and two of the company's ships were stranded between Fort St. David and Cuddalore. Fortunately the admiral was on shore, and most of the other ships were either at Trincomaly, or in parts of the coast, to which the greatest violence of the hurricane did not extend.

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THE sword was sheathed, and it depended on the agents of the two companies to re-assume their mercantile occupations in tranquility; for, by the fifth article of the definitive treaty of peace, which was signed on the seventh of October 1748, it was agreed, "That all the conquests made since the commencement of the war, or which since the conclusion of the preliminaries signed the 19th of April, might have been, or were made, either in Europe, or the East or West Indies, or in any other part of the world whatsoever, should be restored without exception, in conformity to what was stipulated by the preliminary articles, and by the declarations that had been since signed." His Britannic Majesty sent two noblemen to Paris, to remain there as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton, which was surrendered to the French on the 23d of July, in a better condition than when they left it: but as for Madras, the French had no hostages in England, which left this seat of the British presidency in the East Indies entirely at their mercy, and afforded a remarkable instance of the generosity of the French, who left fort St. George in a desolate and ruinous condition. Admiral Boscawen sailed thither to take possession of the town, which was evacuated in August, and restored to the English. The French had utterly destroyed that part of the Black Town, which lay within three hundred yards from the White, where the buildings belonging to the most opulent Indian and Armenian merchants stood: with the ruins they had formed an excellent glacis, which covered the north side of the White Town; and they had also flung up another to the south side.

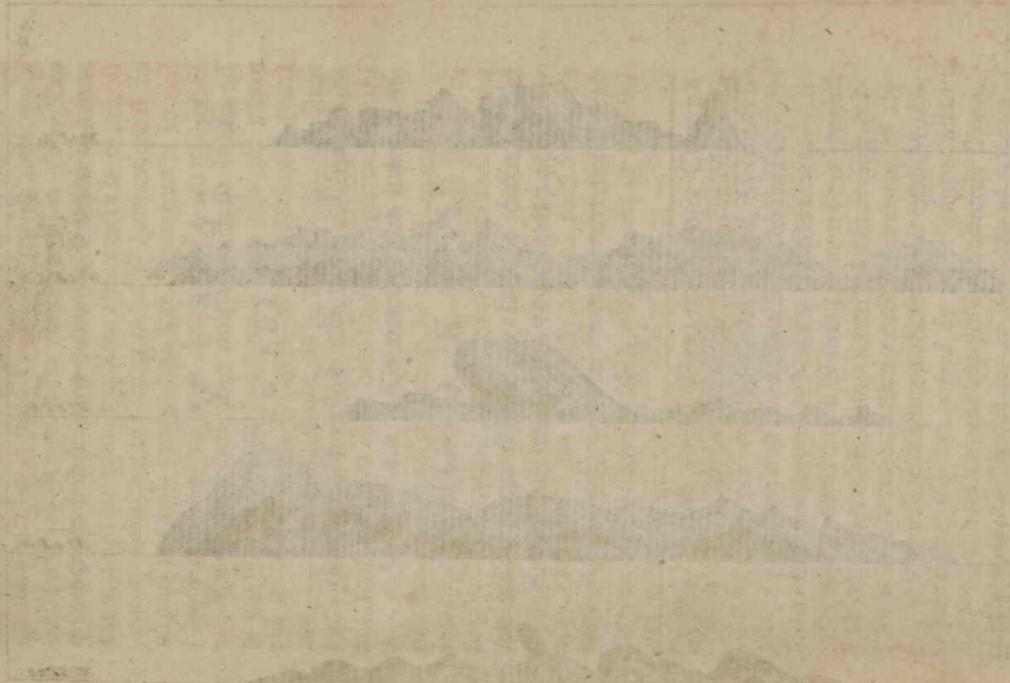
ADMIRAL Boscawen took possession of St. Thome, to prevent the French from settling there; and a small redoubt was raised at the mouth of the river, capable of containing thirty men. He also assisted
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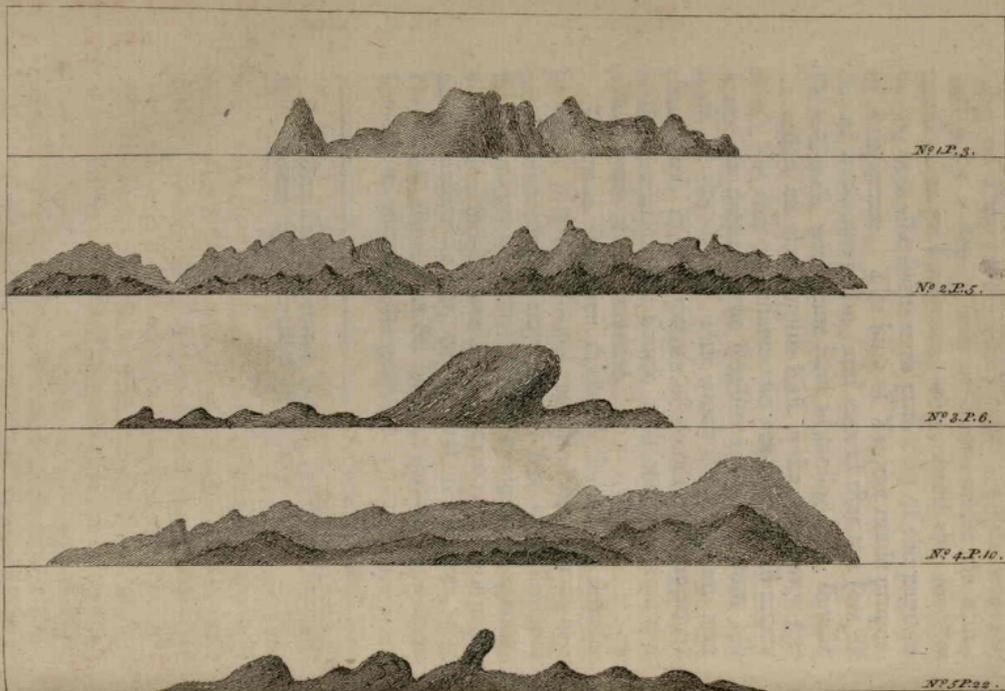
the company in obtaining a settlement from the king of Tanjore at Devi Cotah*, which was attacked by a strong body of troops under the command of major Lawrence, who carried the fort by storm, and afterwards took possession of the pagoda of Acheveram. The king of Tanjore made proposals of accommodation, and agreed that the fort of Devi-Cotah, with some land adjoining to it, should be ceded to the English East India company forever: but this compliance did not proceed so much from his dread of the English arms, as from his sense of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, in consequence of events that happened in the Carnatic, and struck with consternation the whole coast of Coromandel.

ADMIRAL Boscawen declared, he would remain in India, if the presidency requested him not to depart at that critical conjuncture: but they suffered him to return with the fleet and troops to England, while the French were making new commotions in the Carnatic: so that, on the 21st of October, the fleet sailed from Fort St. David, leaving 300 men behind, to reinforce the garrison.

* Or Devi-Cottah, between Fort St. David and Tranquebar. In some maps it is called Tiru-kottey.



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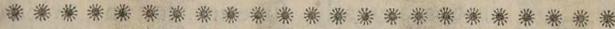


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V O Y A G E

T O T H E

E A S T - I N D I E S .



B O O K VI.

*The Rise of the War in INDIA between the
ENGLISH and FRENCH in 1754.*

C H A P. I.

General remarks.—M. DUPLEIX releases CHUNDA SAIB from his imprisonment among the MORATTOES, in 1748.—The Great Mogul, MAHOMED SHAH, is murdered, and succeeded by his son HAMET SHAH—The death of NIZAM AL MULUCK.—He is succeeded by his son NAZIRZING, who is opposed by his nephew MUZAPHERZING.—Nazirzing confirms ANAVERDY CAWN in the government of the CARNATIC; and Chunda Saib unites with Muzapherzing: they are joined by the FRENCH under M. D'AUTEUIL; and opposed by Anaverdy Cawn, who is defeated and slain, at the battle of AMOUR, in 1749.—The victors take the city of ARCOT;

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and Muzapherzing appoints Chunda Saib the Nabob of that province. They are assisted by the French, commanded by M. LAW; and invade TANJORE; which they evacuate in 1750, retreat to PONDICHERRY, and are reinforced by 2000 French under M. d'Auteuil.—Nazirzing marches into the Carnatic, and appoints MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN the Nabob of Arcot and Trichinopoli. He is joined by the ENGLISH troops commanded by major LAWRENCE: they engage the enemy, and Muzapherzing surrenders himself prisoner.

THE late war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David a number of troops, greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had assembled in India before: and the two settlements, when no longer authorized to fight against each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests between the princes of the country.

At this time, the English and French companies were in possession of their respective presidencies and factories, as well on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as also on that of Orixia and in Bengal. They attempted, from 1749 to 1754, to oppose each other only as auxiliaries to the Indian princes. A truce was then agreed upon between both nations; after which they recommenced hostilities, when war was declared between Great Britain and France in 1756, and continued them till the general peace was concluded in 1763. This war was gloriously conducted by the English forces in India, of which the following is an authentic account.

CHUNDA SAIB, who was made prisoner by the Morattoes, when they took the city of Trichinopoli in 1741, was esteemed by them a prize of so much importance, that they not only kept him under the strictest confinement, but rejected all the offers

offers he had made for his ransom, as much inferior to what they imagined his wealth enabled him to pay. He remained in that confinement about six years, during which time he corresponded with his friends in different provinces, and suggested to them the means of inducing the Morattoes to set him at liberty for a moderate sum.

THE chiefs of the Carnatic were still attached to the former succession of Nabobs, and were unwilling to pay obedience to Anaverdy Cawn. After the assassination of the young Seid Mahomed, they fixed their attention on Chunda Saib for their governor; but this testimony of their deference for some time, only served to rivet his fetters more strongly; for the Morattoes increased their demands, in proportion as they found the character of their prisoner rising in importance.

THE manufactures of India proper for European markets were advanced much in price, and greatly declined in goodness, which was principally attributed to a long succession of importations of silver. These disadvantages convinced M. Dupleix, that the trade of Indostan was no longer worth the attention of France: but as he discovered the unmilitary character of the natives, and the perpetual dissensions of their governors, he conceived, that by joining some of these competitors, he might gain by conquest more advantages than any other European nation had derived from trade: therefore he determined to prosecute this plan, by giving assistance to Chunda Saib, whose family he had treated at Pondicherry with all imaginable respect, and held a constant correspondence with him in his imprisonment, till he obtained his release, by guaranteeing the engagement to the Morattoes, who were at last satisfied with 700,000 rupees, and consented to furnish him with 3000 of their own troops.

WITH this force, Chunda Saib left Sattarah in the beginning of the year 1748, intending to push his fortune wherever the opportunity presented, until he should acquire treasure and force sufficient to attack the province of Arcot. He assisted the Rajah of Chitterdourg against the Raja of Bedrour, and soon after saw himself at the head of 6000 men: but this force being still insufficient to attempt the conquest of the Carnatic, he found resources in the consequence of other events, which had lately happened at Delli, and in the government of the Soubahdarship of the southern provinces.

THE Great Mogul, Mahomed Shah, continued to govern the empire in so feeble a manner, that the principal officers acted in their several departments without controul, and became a terror to their sovereign. In March 1748, the Patans advanced towards Delli with a numerous army; and the Mogul sent an army against them, commanded by his son Hamet Shah*, during whose absence, the vizir, with several omrahs, took possession of the palace, and murdered the emperor. His son returned victorious over the Patans, and affected to abdicate his right to the throne, until he had got the principal conspirators into his power, whom he put to death, and ascended the throne with all the appearance of a soldier and a monarch. He appointed Ghazi Odin Cawn †, the eldest son of Nizam Al Muluck, captain-general of all his forces; though he suspected that Soubahdar, as the principal source of the enormities practised by the omrahs at Delli. However, he was soon delivered from the terror of such apprehensions, by the death of Nizam Al Muluck, which happened the same year. It was reported, that the Soubahdar poisoned himself

* Or Shaw Ahmed.

† Or Gauzedy Khan.

through fear of the Mogul's resentment: but he was 104 years of age at the time of his death.

THE Soubahdar left five sons; the eldest commanded at Delli, and refused the viceroyalty of the Deckan, which was conferred on his next brother Nazirzing*, who seized his father's treasures, and kept possession of the sovereignty: in which he was opposed by his nephew Eradmoodin Cawn †, the son of his sister, who was the favorite daughter of Nizam Al Muluck; upon whose death a report prevailed, that he had appointed this grandson his heir and successor. As a feudatory to the Mogul empire, Nizam Al Muluck had no right to bequeath even his treasures, much less his sovereignty: but it was then many years that the fundamental regulations of the empire had been infringed with impunity by the Soubahdars.

BOTH of the contending princes asserted their right of government, under the appointment of the Mogul; and Eradmoodin Cawn assumed the title of Muzapherzing ‡, by which he was afterwards known, and pretended that he was thus dignified by the emperor. But the wealth which Nazirzing had possessed, enabled him to keep his father's army in pay; nor could Muzapherzing oppose him with any probability of success; therefore he kept an army of 25,000 men in the countries west of Golconda, in expectation of some favorable event to attack his uncle, and dispute his right, in a more formidable manner.

NAZIRZING confirmed Anaverdy Cawn in the government of the Carnatic; and Chunda Saib united with Muzapherzing to supplant both the

* Or Nazir-jing; which signifies victorious in war.

† Or Hydayet Mohy Odin.

‡ Or Murzafa-jing, which implies, "the invincible." He is also called Muzepher-jing.

viceroys and the Nabob; in which they succeeded by the assistance of M. Dupleix, to whom Chunda Saib promised to make a cession of the town of Vilanure*, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. This may account for the conduct of the French; who, after obtaining so many favors from the court, for protecting the lawful governor of Arcot in 1741, should now fly in its face, and support a rebel.

CHUNDA SAIB prevailed on Muzapherzing to attack the Carnatic first, which would furnish such resources both of men and money, as might enable him to return and attack Nazirzing with equal force. They were determined to conquer, or perish in the attempt; for the young-prince was naturally brave, and looked upon Chunda Saib as his protector, whose military reputation rendered him of great consequence; and M. Dupleix readily came into the triumphirate, as nothing could be more conformable to his views, than such an opportunity of aggrandizing at once his own reputation, and the interests of his nation in India.

WHEN the army commanded by Muzapherzing approached the confines of the Carnatic, the French governor ordered 400 Europeans and 2000 sepoy, with a train of artillery, to march and join them, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, accompanied by Raja Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, who had resided at Pondicherry during the whole time of his father's imprisonment. But M. Dupleix acted in open violence to the fundamental laws of the country, in rebelling against the Nabob Anaverdy Cawn, the legal governor of the province, holding his authority from Nazirzing, the governor gene-

* Vilenoor, or Villanore.

ral of the Deckan, the representative of the Great Mogul.

ANAVERDY CAWN regulated his army, which, like those of most Indian princes in times of peace, was composed of an undisciplined multitude. He insisted none but the best men and horses, of which he formed a well appointed army, consisting of 12,000 horse, and 8000 foot. With this force he determined to defend the entrance of the Carnatic to the last extremity: but he made no application to the English for their assistance; who were equally blind to their real interest, in neglecting to join the Nabob, when they found his rival supported by the French.

WHEN Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib were joined by the French, their army amounted to 40,000 men; with which they advanced to attack the Nabob, who was encamped with 20,000 men under the fort of Amour, fifty miles west of the city of Arcot, and thirty south of Damalcherri, where Deust Allee Cawn was killed fighting against the Morattoes in 1741.

THIS fort of Amour was erected on the summit of a mountain, between which and a large lake was one of the principal passes that led into the province. Across the pass the Nabob had thrown up a strong entrenchment defended by some artillery, which was served by about fifty fugitive Europeans. The ditch of the entrenchment was filled by water from the lake; with which Anaverdy Cawn had also caused the ground in front to be overflowed.

M. D'AUTEUIL offered to storm the intrenchment with his own troops, which they accordingly attempted; but were repulsed. They rallied, and made a second attack, in which their principal commander was wounded, and his men obliged to retire again. However, they advanced a third time, while the Moors, whom they assisted, were only

spectators of the repulses they had sustained. The last attack was successful, and the French gained the intrenchment; after which, they formed, and advanced towards the main body of the enemy, where the standard of the Nabob was displayed. He was there in person, mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by his best cavalry, whom he animated with great spirit to act like soldiers. The troops under Chunda Saib joined the French, and now advanced with them to the general attack, which was fatal to the Nabob, who received a musket shot in his breast, and fell dead on the field. His troops fled, many were taken, and more killed. Maphuze Cawn, his eldest son, was among the prisoners: but his other son, Mahomed Allee Cawn, saved himself by flight. Twelve of the French battalion were killed, and sixty-three wounded: about three hundred of their sepoyes were destroyed; but few men were lost among their Moorish allies.

THIS decisive battle was fought on the 23d of July 1749; the victors were well rewarded by the spoil, of which the French had their share. The next day, they marched for the city of Arcot, and took possession of it without any opposition. Here Muzapherzing assumed all the state of a viceroy of the Deckan, and appointed Chunda Saib Nabob of the Carnatic, as also of all the other dominions which had been under the jurisdiction of Anaverdy Cawn; whose son, Mahomed Allee Cawn, escaped to his government of Trichinopoli, where he remained in security, and waited an opportunity to revenge the death of his father.

MUZAPHERZING and Chunda Saib raised great contributions in their new government; after which they marched with the French to Pondicherry, where they made a triumphal entry, and were received with all the ostentatious ceremonies due to
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the high rank they assumed, according to the oriental marks of respect. Chunda Saib presented M. Dupleix with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry: the plan of future operations was settled: the Moorish princes again took the field, and encamped about twenty miles to the west of the town.

THEY were assisted by a body of French, commanded by M. Law, nephew of the famous Mississippi Law; and then invaded the kingdom of Tanjore, where they demanded forty millions of rupees, as the arrears of tribute from the death of the Nabob Subder Allee Cawn in 1741. The king shut himself up in his capital, and offered to pay a ransom: but, at the same time, he corresponded with Mahomed Allee Cawn at Trichinopoli, and joined with him in exhorting Nazirzing to come and settle the affairs of the Carnatic in person, after the example of his late father Nizam Al Muluck. He also solicited assistance from the English, who sent him twenty Europeans, and advised him to make a vigorous defence. The town was bombarded, and the walls assaulted; which terrified the king, who agreed to pay Chunda Saib seven millions of rupees, as Nabob; and two hundred thousand immediately in hand to the French troops: he also ceded to the French company the sovereignty of many villages granted them by Chunda Saib, which had formerly depended on the town of Karical.

THE treaty was ratified on the 21st of December: but the king of Tanjore had not completed the first payment in January 1750, when Chunda Saib was informed by M. Dupleix, that Nazirzing was marching from Aurengabad towards Arcot; which struck Muzapherzing with so much terror, that he immediately broke up his camp, and returned towards Pondicherry with great precipitation.

NAZIRZING

NAZIRZING was on his route to Delli, when he heard of the battle of Amour, which made him return to his capital, where he augmented his army, and took 30,000 Morattoes into his pay. He entered the Carnatic time enough for some of his light troops to harrafs his enemies, in their retreat from Tanjore to Pondicherry, where they arrived without any considerable loss, and encamped under the walls in the beginning of March. M. Duplex sent them 50,000*l.* to pay the army, and augmented the French battalion to 2000 Europeans, whom he sent, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, to encamp with the army of Muzapherzing.

THE president and council of Fort St. George received information, that Chunda Saib and the French intended to harrafs them in their own districts; which made them send for a reinforcement from Bengal, to replace a detachment they had sent under captain Cope to assist Mahomed Allee Cawn at Trichinopoli. That prince joined Nazirzing in his march, with 6000 horse, and the English detachments at Waldore, a fort about fifteen miles west of Pondicherry. As it is customary among all eastern princes to make presents on the first visit, when the Nabob waited on Nazirzing, he asked him what he had brought? The Nabob took captain Cope by the hand, and presenting him, said, "He had brought that gentleman, and the assistance of the English nation." The viceroy was pleased with the answer, and appointed Mahomed Allee Cawn to succeed his father as Nabob of Arcot and Trichinopoli.

NAZIRZING was approaching his nephew at the head of a very numerous army, which consisted of 300,000 fighting men, one half whereof were cavalry, with 800 pieces of cannon, and 1300 elephants. This force of the viceroy, and the great number

number of feudatory lords who followed his standard, convinced the English that he was the real Soubahdar of the Deckan; and as he had earnestly requested a farther reinforcement of European troops from them, an embassy was resolved to be sent him from Fort St. David: but before the presents necessary to accompany it could be got ready, upon a report that the whole garrison of Pondicherry were marched out to join Muzapherzing, a body of 600 Europeans was sent to join Nazirzing, under the command of major Stringer Lawrence, accompanied by captain Dalton, and also by Mr. Westcott, one of the council, by way of commissary, to superintend the company affairs.

MAJOR Lawrence joined the viceroy at Vilanure, and was very graciously received. Among other oriental compliments, the viceroy desired the major to take upon him the command of his whole army, and proposed to attack the enemy immediately. The major told him, "the attack might be attended with great difficulty, as the enemy was strongly posted, and had a large train of artillery: though, if he pleased to march between them and Pondicherry, he might cut off their communication, and oblige them to fight at a greater disadvantage." The viceroy persisted in his resolution: "What, says he, shall the great Nazirzing, the son of Nizam Al Muluck, even for an advantage, seem to retreat before so despicable an enemy? No: he would march and attack them in front." Major Lawrence told him, he might do as he pleased; he was ready to support him.

THE viceroy was inflexible, and the two armies, on the 24th of March, approached so near as to cannonade, but at such a distance as had no effect. The French officers were disgusted with the nature of the present service, in which they had so much danger to encounter; and M. d'Auteil had such
little

little confidence in his troops, that he sent a messenger to acquaint major Lawrence, "that although they were engaged in different causes, it was not his intention that any European blood should be spilt; but as he did not know in what part of the army the English took post, he could not be blamed if any of the French shot came that way." The major sent him for answer, that "the English colors were carried on the flag-gun of their artillery, which the French might easily perceive, and thereby discover where the English were posted: and he assured him, he was also unwilling to shed European blood; but if any shot came that way, he would return them."

To know if the English were in earnest, the French fired a shot over their heads; which the English answered, with three guns well pointed. Several of the French officers deserted their troops, which greatly intimidated them, and induced their commander to retire immediately towards Pondicherry, leaving Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib in the utmost astonishment. The French left eleven cannon behind, and forty of their artillery men. Chunda Saib accompanied M. d'Auteuil in his retreat; but Muzapherzing, who displayed the standard of the empire as Soubahdar, was unwilling to expose it to any disgrace, as it is supposed that ensign never retreats.

For some days before the cannonade, messengers had passed between the two camps, with overtures of accommodation between Nazirzing and his nephew, who was prevailed on to make a submission to his uncle; and it is said, that the latter swore on the alcoran, that he would not make the former a prisoner, or deprive him of the governments which he held under his grandfather Nizam Al Muluck. However, when the young prince approached the head-quarters of Nazirzing, he was arrested, and
put

put in irons : soon after his camp was attacked, and his troops easily defeated, with a prodigious slaughter, as no quarter was given them. A party of horse fell in with the French gunners, and cut some of them to pieces : they would have slaughtered the whole, if the English had not rescued them from the fury of the Moors, from whom they took them by force, got their wounds dressed, and took all the care of them that humanity required. In return, M. Dupleix wrote a long protest against major Lawrence, for making French subjects prisoners in time of peace : but the poor men, more sensible of the obligations they were under to the English, very gratefully acknowledged their tender usage ; and confessed, it was entirely owing to them they were saved.

THE Morattoes harrassed the French in their retreat, and killed nineteen of their men. In the mean time, the English ambassadors from Fort St. David arrived at the camp of Nazirzing, who received them with great marks of respect and professions of esteem for the English nation, together with large promises of what he would do for them. Part of their instructions to the viceroy were, to obtain an enlargement of the English bounds round Madrafs, and for the grants of some revenues to defray their expences in assisting the circar, or country government ; which the viceroy frequently promised, and certainly intended to perform, had not his minister Shawnavas Cawn been wholly attached to the interest of his enemies, and of Muzapherzing, whose submission was only politic, and artfully contrived, that he might be near at hand to concert a scheme, which in a few months was put in execution, at the expence of his uncle's life.

C H A P. II.

The Nabobs of CUDAPA, CANOUL, and CANDANORE, confederate with the FRENCH against NAZIRZING, who sends part of his army against them under MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN, in 1750.—The Nabob is joined by the ENGLISH, commanded by captain COPE, who cannonades the French, and retires. The Nabob defeated by the French, who attack GINGEE, which they take by storm.—Nazirzing marches from ARCOT to Gingee. The French, under M. DE LA TOUCHE, attack his camp, and are joined by the rebel Nabobs, who assassinate the viceroy.—MUZAPHERZING is declared SOUBAH-DAR: he is inaugurated at PONDICHERRY; and appoints CHUNDA SAIB Nabob of Arcot.—Muzapherzing marches from Pondicherry towards AURENGABAD, accompanied by the French troops, commanded by M. BUSSY, in 1751: but is attacked by the rebel Nabobs, who assassinated his uncle. The viceroy is killed, and the Nabob defeated.—SALABATZING, the brother of Nazirzing, is appointed Soubahdar: he confirms the grants made to the French, who attend him to his capital.

THE success of Nazirzing seemed to assure him the peaceable possession of his government: but his capacity was unequal to the management of so important a trust, and treason began to infect his councils. The Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Candanore, were the most considerable of the feudatory lords who accompanied him into the Carnatic. They were all Patans by birth, possessed of the daring spirit which characterizes that nation, and had many of those troops in their pay, who are reckoned the best soldiers among these eastern Moors;

Moors; and as the policy of this ill-governed empire requires frequent assassinations, these Patans are esteemed very useful in that kind of villainy. The confinement of Muzapherzing by his uncle as a state-prisoner was their pretence of complaint, and they confederated to pull the viceroy from the throne.

M. DUPLEIX entered into a negotiation with Nazirzing, and sent two of the council of Pondicherry as ambassadors to the camp, one of whom understood the Indostan and Persian languages, which are those only used in the Mahomedan courts. They had an audience of ceremony, and demanded, that the estate of Muzapherzing should be invested in his son, until the viceroy was reconciled to the father; and that Chunda Saib should be appointed Nabob of the Carnatic. These demands were rejected, and the French deputies left the camp: but if they failed in acquiring the apparent ends of their mission, they obtained the real advantages proposed from it by M. Dupleix, who thereby became acquainted with the state of Nazirzing's court, and established a correspondence with the discontented Nabobs. He had put M. d'Auteuil under arrest, for retreating from Muzapherzing, and reinvigorated his troops by his own resolution: but on the return of the deputies he permitted M. d'Auteuil to reassume the command, and assisted Chunda Saib to levy new troops, which might convince the disaffected Nabob, that he was both prepared and determined to continue the war:

SUSPICIONS were entertained of the clandestine conduct of the French deputies, and major Lawrence at an audience endeavoured to inform the viceroy of what he had heard; but his interpreter had not courage to make such a declaration, and misrepresented the fact. The confederate lords prevailed on the viceroy to proceed to Arcot, upon
which

which major Lawrence returned with his troops to Fort St. David, where he arrived on the 20th of April; and soon after Nazirzing broke up his camp at Waldore, which gave his enemies an opportunity of recommencing hostilities.

WHEN the viceroy arrived at Arcot, he sent orders to seize the houses and effects belonging to the French at Masulipatnam and Yanam: but M. Dupliex, in July, sent a detachment of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy to attack the former place. They were put on board two large ships, with several pieces of battering cannon, and a quantity of military stores, which anchored in the road, after a passage of three days. The troops landed in the night, attacked the city by surprize, and took it with little loss; after which they put it in a better posture of defence.

THE viceroy spent his time at Arcot in luxury and indolence; while the conspiracy was carrying on against him at Pondicherry, and in his own camp. The Nabobs advised M. Dupleix to proceed to action, and he ordered five hundred Europeans to attack the pagoda of Trivadi*, about eighteen miles west of Fort St. David. This pagoda served as a citadel to a large Pettah, by which name the Indians call every town contiguous to a fort. The place made no resistance, and the French garrisoned it with fifty Europeans and one hundred sepoy.

THESE successes alarmed Mahomed Allee Cawn, who, with great difficulty, prevailed on Nazirzing to permit him to take the field with twenty thousand men. The Nabob also procured assistance from the English at Fort St. David, who ordered a body of 400 Europeans, and 1500 sepoy, to join him, under the command of captain Cope.

* Trividi, or Trevedy.

Major Lawrence would have taken the field himself; but the chair becoming vacant by the removal of Mr. Floyer, he was obliged to take the government, till Mr. Saunders, who was appointed to succeed, could come from Vizagapatnam; and soon after his arrival, the major embarked for England, on the 12th of September 1750.

CAPTAIN Cope joined the Nabob in July near Gingee, when the army marched towards the French near Trivadi. The garrison refused to surrender; and captain Cope proposed to the Nabob to make a general assault: the Nabob consented, but his troops refused to make the attempt. The army then advanced towards the French camp, and a cannonade ensued on the 20th, which lasted from noon till night, when the English quitted their ground, with the loss of ten Europeans and fifty sepcoys, besides 200 of the Nabob's troops. Captain Cope could not prevail upon the Nabob to march towards Pondicherry, which must have cut off the communication between that place and the French camp; whereupon the English troops were ordered to leave the Nabob, and return to Fort St. David, where they arrived on the 19th of August.

As soon as the English withdrew, the French united all their forces to attack the Nabob, who imprudently retreated but a few miles from their camp. The French army now consisted of 1800 Europeans, 2500 sepcoys, and 1000 horse levied by Chunda Saib, together with twelve field pieces. The Nabob's army was composed of 15000 horse and 5000 foot; which were encamped between two villages that secured the flanks; the rear was defended by a river; and the infantry defended some intrenchments in front: the cavalry formed a second line in the camp, when they should have been drawn out on the plain. In this absurd disposition, the Nabob was attacked by the French on the 21st,

who entered his camp in the night, set fire to it in several quarters, and soon put his whole army to the route. They killed about 1000 men, without any loss on their own side. The Nabob fled to Arcot with a few attendants, and the other fugitives were totally dispersed.

NAZIRZING still spent his time at Arcot in luxurious indolence, while the French marched against Gingee* with a resolution to take it. This place is about thirty-four miles north-west of Pondicherry, and was both large and strong. It was formerly the residence of a race of Morattoe kings, whose dominions extended from hence to the borders of Tanjore: these princes were the ancestors of the famous Sevajee, who became king over all the Morattoe nations; and it is said, that Sevajee himself was born at Gingee. The fortifications, as well as those of Vellore, bore the marks of the military character of that nation to which they belonged. The fortress was about three miles in compass, and three times larger than the town. The wall was irregularly built, being carried over the tops of four mountains, which made so many distinct fortresses: the chief was that in the north-west angle, called Rajah Gadu, having a double inclosure, part furnished by the rock itself. The city was at the foot of the fortress, as also was the palace of the ancient Rajahs, separated from the rest by an intrenchment. The Indians esteem no fortifications very strong unless placed upon high and difficult eminences, and always regarded Gingee as the strongest fortress in the Carnatic.

THE French troops easily got possession of the town, where they were exposed to a continual fire from the forts, which they bombarded, and stormed

* Or Jinji.

ſucceſſively in the night, till the whole were reduced ſword in hand, with the loſs of only twenty men in the different attacks.

THE loſs of this important place awakened Nazirzing, who aſſembled his troops together at Arcot, and advanced to Gingee. His army had been greatly diminished by the return of ſeveral chiefs to their own diſtricts: however, his camp conſiſted of 50,000 horſe, 60,000 foot, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon, beſides their numerous attendants; ſo that the whole contained a multitude of about 300,000 men. This great body moved ſo ſlowly, that they were fifteen days in marching thirty miles. The rains ſet in with great violence, and overflowed the whole country. Proviſions became ſcarce, and ſickneſs began to ſpread in the camp, which continued till December, when the rainy weather ceaſed. Nazirzing renewed his correſpondence with M. Dupleix, and offered him very favorable terms of pacification: but the Patan Nabobs were now ready to put their conſpiracy into execution, in which they had engaged ſo many other principal officers, that the greateſt part of the army was on their ſide; and M. Dupleix ordered the French troops at Gingee to march againſt the viceroy, and accompliſh the views of the conſpirators.

M. DE LA TOUCHE was the commander of the French troops at Gingee, from whence he began his march, on the 4th of December, at the head of 800 Europeans, 3000 ſepoys, and ten cannon. The plan was communicated to M. Buffy and ſome other officers, who gave hints to the ſoldiers ſufficient to inſpire them with confidence; and a guide was ſent by the conſpirators to conduct the troops, where they were to make the grand attack upon the viceroy's head quarters, as he lay perfectly ſecure in his own imagination, and ſunk in all the effemi-

nacy of an Asiatic camp, which extended eighteen miles, and formed a kind of blockade round the town.

THE French attacked the camp, on the 5th, at four in the morning. The advanced posts were soon dispersed, as were also 25,000 foot who supported the viceroy's artillery. The firing spread an alarm to the nearest commanders who were not in the conspiracy: one body succeeded another, and all were repulsed in turn. The French owed their preservation to their good management of their field pieces, whose quick firing did wonderful execution, and kept off the surrounding cavalry. After passing the line of cannon, they gained their way so slowly, that they were three hours advancing three miles into the camp, when they perceived a numerous body of horse and foot drawn up in order, extending as far as the eye could reach. The French were dismayed, till they perceived in the center of that body an elephant with a large white flag, which was the signal of the conspirators for the French, who were immediately informed of it by their officers, and expressed their joy by repeated shouts.

It was some time after day-light before Nazir-zing could believe that his camp was attacked by the French; but when convinced of it, he roused those majestic ideas in which he had been educated. Messengers arrived every minute to inform him of the progress of the French. He then enquired what dispositions were made by his own generals, and was informed, that the troops of Cudapa, Canoul, and Candanore, together with those of Maifore, and 20,000 Morattoes, were ready drawn up, but had not advanced against the enemy. The enraged prince then quitted his tent, mounted his elephant, and attended by his body-guard, advanced towards those troops. He soon met the Nabobs

bobs of Cudapa and Candanore, whom he reproached with neglect and cowardice, in not daring to defend the imperial standard against the most contemptible of enemies. The traitors answered, they knew no enemy but himself; and Cudapa discharged a carabine from his elephant, which lodged two balls in the breast of the unfortunate Nazirzing, who fell on the plain, and instantly expired. His guards were so much terrified at this sudden assassination, that they were easily dispersed or slain. The Nabob ordered the head of the murdered viceroy to be severed from the body, and exposed it on a spear to the view of the whole army, through which the news was spread with great rapidity by the elevation of little white banners, that served equally as a signal to the French, who sent M. Bussy to congratulate Muzapherzing on the death of his uncle, to whom he was immediately declared successor by all the conspirators.

This unexpected event must have caused great confusion in the camp: but what may appear very extraordinary in Europe, though common in Asia, every thing was quiet in a few hours, as if nothing had happened. The death of Nazirzing was no sooner known among his troops, than the greatest part of them came in crowds to range themselves under the banner of his successor, who, after being a prisoner seven months, was saluted Soubahdar of the Deckan; and by nine in the morning every sword was sheathed, notwithstanding that three brothers of the murdered prince were in the camp. The new viceroy proceeded to the tent of state, where he received homage from the principal officers, who had paid it to his uncle the day before: but Mahomed Allee Cawn, and the prime minister Shanavas Cawn, made their escape from the camp; the former fled to his fortress of Trichinopoli; and the latter to Chittaput.

M. DE LA TOUCHE, accompanied by all his officers, went in the evening with great ceremony to pay their respects to Muzapherzing, who received them with dignity and gratitude. The news of this important revolution was known in the afternoon at Pondicherry, where Chunda Saib was the first who announced it to M. Dupleix, who proclaimed it to the town by a general discharge of the artillery, and in the evening he received the compliments of the principal inhabitants. The next day a Te Deum was sung, and deputies were sent to congratulate the Soubahdar on his accession to the throne, who had entrusted the guard of his person, and the care of his treasures, to the French; which disgusted the confederate Nabobs, who made exorbitant demands on the prince for their services in contributing to his elevation; but were prevailed on to accompany him to Pondicherry, where every thing would be settled to their satisfaction by M. Dupleix.

ON the 15th, the viceroy entered the gates of Pondicherry in a triumphal manner, attended by a numerous and splendid train, among whom were most of the principal lords of his court, who were magnificently received by M. Dupleix and Chunda Saib. The viceroy had a private conference with the governor, in which he explained the difficulties he lay under from the pretensions of the Nabobs, who demanded, that their arrears of tribute should be remitted, their territories enlarged, and half of the late viceroy's treasury be given up to them. M. Dupleix told the Nabobs, that if such concessions were extorted, the Soubahdar would be unable to support the dignity he had acquired: upon which they agreed to accept of half the money found in the treasury of Nazirzing; and that agreement was ratified by their oath of allegiance on the alcoran to Muzapherzing, who afterwards retired to the house appointed for his reception, where he had

had the tendereſt of all ſenſations, the pleaſure of embracing his mother, wife, and ſon.

THE next day the Soubahdar's inauguration in the throne of the Deckan was very pompouſly performed, in which M. Dupleix acted a principal part, and appeared in the habit of a Mahomedan lord of Indoſtan. He was the firſt that paid homage to the viceroy, who declared him governor for the Mogul of all the countries ſouth of the river Kriſtna, comprehending a territory almoſt as large as the whole kingdom of France. He likewiſe received the command of 7000 horſe; and it was ordered, that no money ſhould be current in the Carnatic, but ſuch as was coined at Pondicherry.

THE immediate advantages ariſing to the French Eaſt India company by theſe conceptions, were the poſſeſſions of a territory near Pondicherry producing annually 96,000 rupees; of that near Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, valued at 106,000; and the city of Maſulipatnam with its dependencies, of which the yearly income amounted to 144,000 rupees; in all, a revenue of 43,250 l. ſterling, according to the French account; but theſe advantages were ſmall, in compariſon of thoſe which M. Dupleix expected to maintain from his extenſive authority, though it was not conſtitutionally confirmed by the Mogul. Chunda Saib was alſo declared Nabob of Arcot, and its dependences, under the authority of M. Dupleix.

THE treaſures of Nazirzing were computed at two millions ſterling, and the jewels at half a million, of which M. Dupleix engroſſed the greateſt part. The viceroy gave 50,000 l. to the French officers, 50,000 l. to their troops, and as much to the company. On this, M. Dupleix aſſumed the ſtate and formalities of an eaſtern prince. He held his durbar, or court, in his palace at Pondicherry,

and suffered neither the natives, nor his own countrymen, to approach him, without a present, after the eastern manner. He also mounted his elephant, and was publicly proclaimed Nabob.

THIS desperate stroke against Nazirzing was a matter of such great consequence to the French, that M. Dupleix designed to have built a town, called Fateabat, or place of victory, on the spot where the viceroy was murdered. He laid out the plan of it in a regular manner; erected two fine choultries, or open houses like the Turkish caravanferais, for the reception of travellers; gave 3000 rupees to be distributed among settlers; and, as lord proprietor, granted them great immunities for a term of years. To distinguish the share which the French had in this affair, called by them a victory superior to any thing of the kind recorded in history, a pillar was to be erected in the market-place of this new town, with a pompous inscription in the French, Arabic, Persian, and Indostan languages, signifying, that "this town was built in memory of a victory obtained by the French, commanded by M. de la Touche, over the army of Nazirzing, on the 5th of December 1750, in the 36th year of the reign of Louis XV. and the 3d of Hamet Shah, during the government of M. Joseph Francis Dupleix, of the order of St. Louis, knight of St. Michael, and commandant-general of the French Nation in India, and in the 8th year of his government." Unluckily for him, future ages will not be the wiser for it; for captain Clive, a year after, in re-taking the Arcot country, burnt the town, and destroyed the monument on which the pillar was to have been erected.

NOTHING now retarded the departure of Muza-pherzing to his capital city Aurengabad, for which he began his march from Pondicherry at the head of his army: but as his government might not be free from commotions, he was accompanied by

M. Buffy,

M. Buffy, at the head of 600 French, 3000 sepoy, and a large train of artillery, to establish him in his dignity. The army departed from Pondicherry on the 4th of January 1751, and marched till the latter end of the month, when they arrived in the territory of Cudapa, about sixty leagues from Pondicherry. Here some of his troops were attacked by those of the Nabob, who, together with the Nabob of Candanore, fomented this quarrel to depose the Soubahdar, as they thought he had not sufficiently rewarded them. M. Buffy interfered; but the viceroy told him, that every Patan in his army was a traitor, and the truth of this assertion was soon confirmed.

THE three Nabobs had united all their forces, and posted them to defend a defile which lay in the rout of the army. The viceroy was no sooner apprized of their revolt, than he hurried away to attack them at the head of his cavalry, without waiting for the French. The rebels were repulsed; the Nabob of Candanore was killed; and the Nabob of Cudapa fled out of the field desperately wounded. The enraged viceroy pursued the Nabob of Canoul, who stood on his defence, with a small body of troops, and advanced towards his enemy. Exasperated by this defiance, the young prince made a sign for his troops to leave the person of the Nabob to be attacked by himself. The two elephants were directed to meet each other; they approached side to side; and Muzapherzing raised his sword to strike his enemy down: but the Nabob struck his javelin into the brain of his antagonist, who fell back dead. Instantly, the Nabob was mortally wounded, his troops attacked, overpowered, and cut to pieces.

THE French troops were struck with the deepest consternation when they heard of the fate of Muzapherzing, whereby all the advantages were destroyed
which

which they had acquired by the death of Nazirzing, and M. Buffy was left without pretensions to interfere any farther in the concerns of the Deckan. He convened the principal officers, some of whom were for placing the son of the late viceroy in the government: but as he was an infant, and three of his uncles were prisoners in the camp, it was agreed, that the vacant dignity of Soubahdar, should be conferred on Salabatzing, the eldest of the brothers of Nazirzing. The three princes were released from their confinement, and Salabatzing was proclaimed Soubahdar of the Deckan, with the universal consent of the army, who looked upon the fall of the three conspirators as a retribution of the divine justice, which is a creed implanted among the Mahometans.

SALABATZING confirmed every thing that had been granted by his nephew to the French, who acknowledged his right to the government, and attended him to his capital.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN is joined by the English under captain COPE, at TRICHINOPOLI, in 1751. CHUNDA SAIB is assisted by the French under M. D'AUTEUIL; who is opposed by another body of English under captain GINGIN. Some forts taken by both parties. Chunda Saib encamps near VOLCONDA: a description of that fort. The English are defeated there, and retreat to Trichinopoli: that city described.—The character of captain CLIVE: He is sent with a detachment to reinforce captain Gingin at Trichinopoli, and returns to Fort St. DAVID; from whence he is sent with some troops to reduce the province of ARCOT: he takes the Capital; and defeats the enemy at TIMERY. RAJAH SAIB is sent with an army from Trichinopoli to oppose captain Clive, whom he besieges at Arcot: account of that fort: the siege raised.—Captain Clive is joined by a detachment from Trichinopoli: he takes Timery; is joined by the Morattoes under BOSINROW; and obtains a victory over the French and Rajah Saib at ARANI. He besieges and takes CONJEVERAM, and returns to Fort St. David.—The French and Chunda Saib form the siege of Trichinopoli.

MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN had escaped with great difficulty to Trichinopoli, where captain Cope was sent to support him, with 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, at the beginning of the year 1751; for a treaty of alliance was concluded between the English and the Nabob, who signed the grants to them, and they engaged to assist him to the utmost of their power. Chunda Saib raised 8000 troops, and took the field, assisted by a French battalion of 800 men under M. d'Auteuil: and the English sent

sent 500 Europeans, and 1200 sepoy, commanded by captain Gingin, a Switzer, to observe their motions.

THE English were determined not to appear as principals in the war: they had been unsuccessful in assisting Mahomed Allee Cawn in an expedition against Madura; and captain Gingin was ordered to remain near Fort St. David, till he was joined by the troops from Trichinopoli. Chunda Saib took the forts of Chittaput, Arani, and Velloor. He threatened Trichinopoli; but was closely followed by captain Gingin, who took the pagoda of Verdachelum*, and was joined by 100 Europeans, with 4000 of the Nabob's troops, commanded by his brother Abdul-wahab Cawn.

CHUNDA SAIB was encamped near Volconda †, a strong fortress, about seventy miles west of St. David, and forty-five from Trichinopoli, in the road to Arcot. Its principal defence was a rock 200 feet in height, and about a mile in circumference at the bottom, where it was inclosed by a high and strong wall, mostly cut out of the solid rock. It was also inclosed by another wall near the summit, which was surrounded by a third. Adjoining to the east side of the rock was a stone fort built on the plain; and contiguous to it was a town slightly fortified with a mud wall. Captain Gingin encamped in a large grove about a mile and a half south-west of Volconda, and was in sight of Chunda Saib's camp, who had prevailed on the governor of the town to admit his troops. This brought on an engagement between the two armies, in which Chunda Saib had the advantage. The English battalion was seized with a panic; their officers, particularly captain Dalton and lieutenant Clive, en-

* Or Vardachelam. † Or Vcl-kondah.

deavoured to rally them; but in vain. They retreated to the streights of Utatoor*, about twenty-five miles from Trichinopoli: Chunda Saib followed, and encamped within five miles of them. He made an attack upon the English advanced guard, commanded by captain Dalton, who repulsed the French; after which, the English were deserted by many of the Nabob's troops, and marched to Trichinopoli, where they encamped under the walls. The enemy still followed, and encamped on the plain, on the east side of the town, from whence they cannonaded the English, but at too great a distance.

THE city of Trichinopoli is about ninety miles inland from the coast, and stands on a plain which runs in length from east to west about nineteen miles, and once was crouded with rich villages and plantations of trees; but since the war, hardly a trace of either was left. The town was in form of an oblong square, the longest sides of which were east and west. On the north runs the river Cavery †, less than half a mile from the fort. The town was near four miles in circumference, with a double circuit of walls, and round towers at equal distances, according to the eastern method of fortification. The outward wall was eighteen feet high, and five feet thick, without rampart or parapet: the inward was much stronger, being thirty feet high, with a rampart of stone, decreasing by large steps from the ground to the top, where it was ten feet broad, and had a thin stone parapet about seven feet high, in which were loop-holes to fire through. There was an interval between the two walls of twenty-five feet; and before the outward, a ditch thirty feet

* Utatur, or Outatoore; sometimes called Pallikonda.

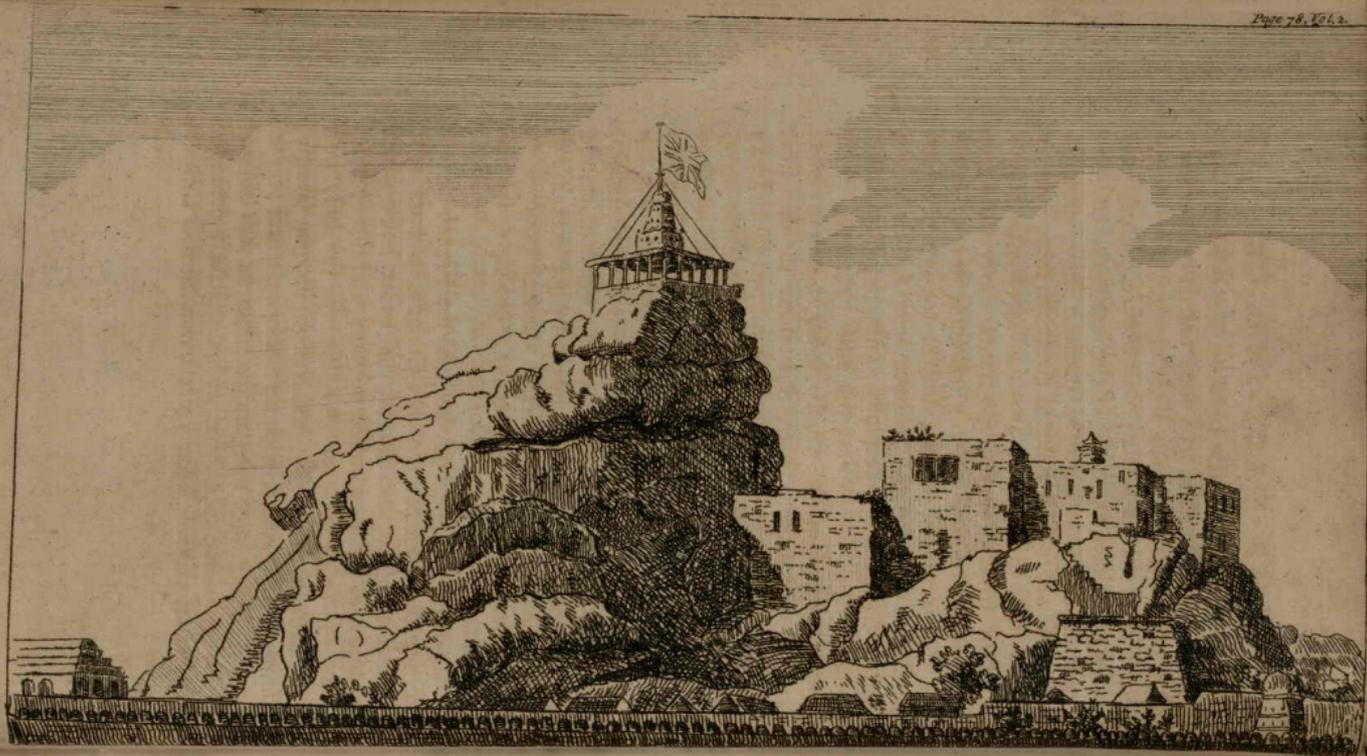
† Kaveri, or Cauvery.

wide and twelve deep, unequally supplied with water at different seasons, but never quite dry. A most extraordinary rock, about 250 feet high, stands in the middle of the old town to the north, from which the adjacent country is discovered for many miles round: and on the top of this rock was a pagoda, which was of singular use to the English during the whole war. Here was constantly stationed a man, with a telescope, who gave them, by signals and writing, an account of all the enemy's motions.

THE English battalion was now reduced to 400 men, who encamped on the west side of the city, and the Nabob's troops on the south side: but captain Cope, with 100 Europeans sent there in the beginning of the year, remained within the walls. Chunda Saib and the French took possession of Seringham, which had been evacuated by the Nabob: it was a post occupied by the French all the war, and was excellent as such, for an army that would keep their communication open.

THE island of Seringham* is formed about six miles north-west of Trichinopoli by the river Cavery, which divides itself into two branches: that to the northward takes the name of the Coleroon †; and that to the southward preserves its old name, the Cavery. Each of these rivers, after a course of about ninety miles, empty themselves into the sea; the Coleroon at Devi-cottah, and the Cavery near Tranquebar, at about twenty miles distance from each other. In this island, facing Trichinopoli, and about a mile from it, stood the famous pagoda of Seringham, surrounded by seven square walls of stone, twenty-five feet high, and

* Shirangam, or Syrringham. † Kolloram, or Colderon.



four thick. The space between the outward and second walls measured 310 feet, and so proportionably of the rest. Each inclosure had four large gates, with a high tower; which were placed, one in the middle of each side of the inclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall was about four miles in circumference, and its gateway, to the south, was ornamented with pillars, some of which, were single stones thirty-three feet long, and five in diameter; but those which formed the roof were still larger; and in the inmost inclosure were the chapels. About half a mile to the east of Seringham was another large pagoda, called Jumbikistna, which had but one inclosure. The great veneration in which Seringham was held, arose from a belief, that it contained the identical image of the god Wischnu, worshipped by Brama; and pilgrims from all parts of India came here, with an offering of money, to obtain absolution. A large part of the revenue of the island was allotted for the maintenance of the bramins; who inhabited the pagoda; and these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude not less than 40,000 souls, maintained without labor, by the liberality of superstition: but their repose was now doomed to be disturbed, and their temple polluted, by the violence of arms.

In the beginning of August, the French sent a strong detachment to attack Coilady, a mud fort, about a mile to the east of the great bank which terminates the island of Seringham, and fifteen miles east of Trichinopoli. As this was the only post which still held out for the Nabob, captain Gingin, sent ensign Trusser, with 20 Europeans and 100 sepoy, to reinforce the garrison: but he was obliged to abandon the fort, after he had gallantly defended it several days. This success determined Chunda

Saib

Saib to cross the Cavery : he left a garrison in Seringham ; and encamped with the rest of his army to the east of Trichinopoli ; which his forces were not sufficient to besiege, and both parties continued inactive the remainder of the campaign ; while the English collected another army, and invaded Arcot, in which expedition the present lord Clive nobly distinguished himself.

THE presidency of Fort St. David were concerned at the progress of the French and Chunda Saib, who had drove Mahomed Allee Cawn entirely out of the Carnatic, and in a manner invested him before the walls of Trichinopoli, where they daily augmented their army, and collected warlike stores. The ships from England, being arrived with some recruits, a detachment of eighty Europeans, and 300 sepoy, with a large convoy of stores, were sent from Fort St. David in the middle of July, to relieve Verdachellum, which was the only fort north of the Coleroon that acknowledged the Nabob, and was then invested by the troops of a neighbouring Polygar. This party was commanded by lieutenant Clive, a young gentleman, the son of Richard Clive of Styche, near Drayton, in the county of Salop, Esq; and nearly related to Sir Edward Clive, one of the judges of the court of common pleas. Colonel Lawrence, speaking of Mr. Clive, calls him, "A man of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper and a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier ; for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led an army like an experienced officer, and brave soldier, with a prudence that warranted success. This young man's early genius, continues the colonel, surprized and engaged my attention, as well before, as at the
siege

siege of Dawcottah*, where he behaved, in courage and judgment, much beyond what could be expected from his years; and his success afterwards, confirmed what I had said to many people concerning him."

MR. Clive, soon after the reduction of Devi-Cotah, reassumed the mercantile service of the company in which he first went to India, and now acted as commissary of the army, which he had accompanied to Volconda, from whence he returned to Fort St. David, while the English troops marched to Trichinopoli. He defeated the Polygar's troops, and entered Verdachelum without any loss. From thence he sent his detachment through the country of Tanjore to reinforce the battalion at Trichinopoli, which they joined without interruption before the French had passed the Cavery: but Mr. Clive returned to Fort St. David, attended by twelve sepoy, and some servants, who were surrounded by the Polygar's troops, which killed seven of the sepoy: the others dispersed for want of ammunition, and Mr. Clive saved himself by the speed of his horse from a party of cavalry, who pursued him several miles.

THE French were still superior to the English before Trichinopoli, where the presidency sent another reinforcement under Mr. Clive, who had a captain's commission given him on this occasion. His detachment consisted of 100 Europeans, and 50 sepoy, with which he entered the Tanjore country, whose king suffered both the English and French troops to march through it to Trichinopoli. The French detached 30 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, from Coilady, to intercept captain Clive, who came in sight of them near the village of Con-

* Devi-Cotah.

dour*, about ten miles north of Tanjore. Both parties attempted to get possession of the village, and a skirmish ensued, in which the English had so much the advantage, that they arrived safe at Trichinopoli, where their battalion was now augmented to 600 men; but the French had 900, and the troops of Chunda Saib were ten times the number of those under the Nabob, whose treasures were exhausted, and his revenues daily cut off or exacted by the enemy.

CAPTAIN Clive returned from Trichinopoli to Fort St. David, where he represented this situation of affairs to the presidency, and proposed to attack Arcot, as the only means to draw off Chunda Saib from Trichinopoli. He offered to lead the expedition, and it was immediately undertaken. Colonel Lawrence says, that "this expedition was attended with uncommon success, which some people were pleased to term fortunate and lucky: but in his opinion, from the knowledge he had of the gentleman, he deserved, and might expect from his conduct, every thing as it fell out."

THE captain, on the 21st of August, embarked from Fort St. David for Fort St. George, in the Wager Indiaman, with 130 Europeans, and 200 sepoy: but, on his arrival at Madras, he was reinforced by 80 Europeans, and 300 sepoy; so that he found himself at the head of 210 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, with only eight officers, six of whom had never experienced military service before; and yet with this little army, and three field-pieces for their artillery, he undertook and effected the conquest of a large province.

THEY marched from Madras on the 26th, and arrived on the 29th at Conjeveram, a large city,

* Kandur.

with a fortified pagoda, about forty-five miles from Madras. On the 31st, they halted within ten miles of Arcot, the capital of the province, sixty miles from the coast; a populous city, but defended only by a large despicable citadel built with earth. The garrison consisted of 1100 men, who were terrified at this sudden approach of an enemy, and immediately abandoned the fort. The English, on the 1st of September, entered the city, which had no walls, and quietly took possession of the citadel, in the sight of 100,000 of the inhabitants, who gazed on them with admiration and respect.

In the fort were eight pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of lead and gun powder; as also effects to the value of 50,000*l.* deposited there for security by the country merchants, to whom they were punctually restored. They had offered captain Clive a large sum of money, on his entering the fort, to prevent the place from being plundered, which he refused: but caused a proclamation to be made, that such as were willing to stay, should receive no injury; and those that were unwilling might depart, with their effects of all kinds, grain and provision excepted, for which they should be paid the full value immediately. The fort was inhabited by near 4000 persons, who were permitted to remain in their habitations. This judicious generosity conciliated most of the principal inhabitants to the English interest; and gained the good opinion and affection of the country people in such a manner, as afterwards contributed to save the place; for those that did not chuse to stay in the fort, when the English came to be invested there, gave captain Clive the most exact intelligence of all the designs and motions of the enemy; so that they never attempted any thing that he was not prepared in the best manner to receive and oppose.

CAPTAIN Clive was apprehensive that the enemy would be reinforced, and return into the town, if he confined himself to the fort: he therefore marched out of it, on the 4th, with the greatest part of his men and four field-pieces. The same afternoon he discovered the fugitive garrison, consisting of 600 horse and 500 foot, drawn up near Timery*, a fort situated six miles south-west of the city: but when they perceived the English within musket-shot, they retreated to the hills in their rear; where it was difficult and dangerous to follow them; upon which captain Clive marched his men back to Arcot. He marched out again on the 6th, and found the enemy, who now appeared to be 2000, strongly posted in a grove within gun-shot of Timery. They had two field-pieces managed by some Frenchmen, who fired smartly as the English advanced, and killed three Europeans: but they fled as the troops approached nearer, and left many men dead behind them. Captain Clive then took possession of the village under the walls of the fort, and summoned the governor, who refused to surrender, as he found the English had no battering cannon; upon which the troops returned again to Arcot, where they remained in the fort, and were diligently employed in many necessary works.

THE enemy were now increased to 3000 men, and encamped within three miles of the town: but, on the 14th, captain Clive marched out of the fort in the dead of night, with the greatest part of his garrison, who entered the camp by surprize while the enemy were sleeping in their tents, many of whom were killed, and the rest fled in the utmost confusion. This success was obtained without the

* Or Timary.

loss of a man, and made the English appear still in a more formidable light.

THE two eighteen pounders and some military stores were on the road from Madras, escorted by a few sepoy, who arrived safe at Conjeveram, and were joined by a large detachment from Arcot, which the enemy then thought was left unguarded, and marched up with their whole force to attack the fort. This was bravely defended, and the inhabitants shewed no sign of insurrection during the attack, which continued till the return of the detachment with the convoy, when the enemy precipitately abandoned the town.

THE French and Chunda Saib were so much mortified at the loss of this important place, that they sent all the force they could spare from Trichinopoli to retake it. This detachment was composed of 4000 horse and foot, who were joined in their route by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and also by the troops already collected in the neighbourhood of Arcot. The whole body when united amounted to about 8000 men, commanded by Rajah Saib*, who entered the city of Arcot on the 23d of September, and fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob. But he was followed from Trichinopoli by a detachment under the command of captain Kilpatrick, to support captain Clive, who was invested, and on the point of being closely besieged, by a numerous army, commanded by a young spirited prince, assisted by the French troops, and several European engineers.

THE English garrison had nothing but their own vigilance and bravery to support them in this siege of the fort of Arcot, which was above a mile in circumference. The walls were ruinous; the ram-

* The son of Chunda Saib.

part too narrow for artillery; and the parapet low and slightly built. The towers were decayed; and the ditch was dry in many places. Between the foot of the walls and the ditch was a space about ten feet broad, intended for a fausse-braye; but this had no parapet at the scarp of the ditch. The fort had two gates, one to the north-west, the other to the east: both of which were large piles of masonry projecting forty feet beyond the walls: and the passage from these gates, instead of a draw-bridge, was a large causeway which crossed the ditch. The houses near the fort had little wood-work in their construction, and could not be easily set on fire, so that the besiegers took possession of them, to fire upon the ramparts.

THUS situated, captain Clive was determined to make one vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of the town; and on the 24th, at noon, the greatest part of the garrison, with the four field pieces sallied out of the north-west gate, which faced a street that ran to the north, turned to the east, and formed another street where the palace was situated. Captain Clive intended to put the enemy between two fires, and ordered a platoon under ensign Glas to march up the street on the eastern side of the fort, which led up to the palace; and advanced himself with the main body along the north street. The French troops were drawn up in front of the palace, with four field pieces; and, as captain Clive advanced, a brisk cannonade began at the distance of only thirty yards. The French were drove from their guns in a few minutes, and ran into the palace; while their Moorish troops got possession of all the houses in the street, from whence they fired with so much aim, that fourteen men, who attempted to carry off the French artillery, were all either killed or wounded. Captain Clive found it was impracticable to bring off their guns, and returned

to

to the fort, where he found the platoon under ensign Glas, whose march was retarded by 400 sepoy, whom he defeated; but this interruption prevented him from arriving in time to render the service for which his men were destined. In this sally, the garrison had fifteen Europeans killed, among whom was lieutenant Trenwith, whose death was occasioned by his nobly preserving the life of his commander, in this manner. A sepoy from a window was levelling his piece at captain Clive, as he was encouraging his men in the street: Mr. Trenwith perceived the sepoy, and pulled the captain aside; upon which the sepoy changed his aim, and shot the lieutenant dead. Lieutenant Revel, the only officer of artillery, was also disabled, with sixteen other men.

THE next day, Rajah Saib was joined by Mortiz Allee, with 2000 men, from Velloor; and at night some of their sepoy fired upon the ramparts from the adjacent houses. At midnight, ensign Glas was sent with ten men to blow up two of the houses which most annoyed the fort; but the ensign was unsuccessful in the attempt, and disabled from farther action by a violent fall.

THUS, at the beginning of the siege, captain Clive was deprived of the service of half his officers who accompanied him in the expedition; for one was killed, two wounded, and another returned to Madras; while the troops fit for duty were diminished to 120 Europeans, and 200 sepoy. These were besieged by 150 Europeans, 3000 horse, 2000 sepoy, and 5000 peons.

THE besiegers were not furnished with battering cannon for fourteen days, during which time they kept firing their musquetry from the houses, and bombarding from four mortars; by which they killed three serjeants and several men, who at different times accompanied captain Clive in visiting

the works. The store of provision in the fort was only sufficient to supply the garrison two months, which made it necessary to send away all the inhabitants, whom the besiegers permitted to pass their guards. The French artillery arrived from Pondicherry, consisting of two eighteen pounders, and seven smaller pieces; upon which they opened a battery to the north-west, and dismounted one of the eighteen pounders in the fort. In six days they beat down all the wall lying between two towers, and made a practicable breach of fifty feet. The garrison, both officers and men, were extremely alert and indefatigable in making works to defend it: trenches were dug, and scattered with crows-feet; palisadoes were carried on along the trenches, and continued up the rampart to the parapet. All these preparations intimidated the besiegers from making an assault, before they had made another breach, which they attempted by a battery erected to the south-west.

LIEUTENANT Innis was sent from Madras, with 100 Europeans and 200 sepoy, to relieve captain Clive: but this party was surrounded at Trivatore by 2000 of Rajah Saib's troops, who killed twenty of the English; which deterred the rest from continuing their march, and they retreated to Ponomaley, a fort belonging to the company, fifteen miles west of Madras. This retreat left the garrison at Arcot little expectation of succour from the settlements: however, their spirits were raised by the hopes of other resources. Morarow was encamped, with 6000 Morattoes, about thirty miles from Arcot, and offered his assistance to such brave men as the defenders of that fort: upon which, Rajah Saib proposed very honorable terms to the garrison, if they would surrender; if not, he threatened to put every man to the sword. Captain Clive treated these proposals with contempt; which exasperated
Rajah

Rajah Saib, who had also made a breach to the south-west, and was determined to storm the fort.

CAPTAIN Kilpatrick had joined the party under lieutenant Innis, and was advancing to Arcot, before which some of the Morattoes had appeared, and attempted to enter the town. This determined the besiegers to make their last effort, and dispositions were made for the assault, of which captain Clive was so seasonably apprized, that he was well prepared to receive them with mask batteries. He knew the very hour of attack, which was to begin at the dawn of day, by the signal of three bombs. After concerting the best measures of defence, and being almost exhausted with fatigue, he lay down to sleep, and ordered his attendants to awaken him at the first alarm.

As soon as the morning broke, on the 14th of November, Rajah Saib led his troops to the attack, in four principal divisions, two of which advanced to the gates, and the other two to the breaches, while others came with ladders to the walls. Captain Clive found his garrison at their posts, according to the dispositions he had made. The assailants began the storm, by attacking both breaches and one of the gates, which they attempted to force open with elephants, that had large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads: but these animals turned from the musketry, and trampled on those who conducted them. The storm to the north-west was carried on with a mad kind of intrepidity, heightened by the inebriation of eating Bang, a plant which either stupifies, or excites the most desperate excesses of rage. The Moors passed the breach, and some of them got over the first trench before the defenders gave fire; but they were soon repulsed by the musketry and two pieces of cannon, which did such execution, that the attack ceased in a few minutes. It was renewed by another body, and then
ano-

another succeeded, who were drove back in the same manner. They were equally unsuccessful in attacking the south-west breach, where they embarked seventy men on a raft to cross the ditch: but captain Clive himself fired one of the field-pieces, which destroyed the raft, and many of the men were drowned. In these different attacks the assailants continued the storm almost an hour, and then suddenly relinquished all their attempts; soon after which, they retreated and disappeared. The French troops were drawn up at a distance, and were only spectators of the attack by their allies, who had about 400 men killed and wounded, and among the slain was the commander of their sepoy, who had distinguished himself with great bravery. Many of the garrison were sick, so that the number which repulsed the storm was no more than eighty Europeans, and 120 sepoy, officers included: these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, fired 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack; in which they had only four Europeans killed, and two sepoy wounded: but during the time that the fort was invested, they had forty-five Europeans and thirty sepoy killed, with a greater number of both wounded, most of whom suffered by the fire of the enemy's musketry from the houses, which was continued till the next morning, when they precipitately abandoned the town, where they left four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition. Thus ended a siege, maintained fifty days, under every disadvantage of situation and force by a small body of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most able veterans.

THE different chiefs who assisted Rajah Saib returned to their own districts, and he retired to Velloor with the French and the troops from Trichinopoly; while captain Kilpatrick joined captain Clive,

Clive, who left him with a garrison in the fort, and took the field on the 19th. His army consisted of 200 Europeans, 700 sepoy, and three field pieces, with which he marched to Timery, and took that fort, where he left a small garrison. He was soon after joined by 600 Morattoes under Bofinrow *, the nephew of Morarow, whose camp had been attacked and plundered by the French and Rajah Saib within a short march of Velloor, from whence they decamped, and joined a reinforcement from Pondicherry at Arani †, a strong fort about twenty miles south of Arcot, when their army consisted of 300 Europeans, 2000 horse, and 2500 sepoy, with four field-pieces.

CAPTAIN Clive marched towards Rajah Saib, and came up with him in the plains of Arani, where both armies came to a general engagement, on the 3d of December, about noon. Captain Clive stationed his Morattoes in a grove of palms to the left; the sepoy in a village to the right; and the Europeans, with the field pieces, in the center, in an open ground, which extended about 300 yards between the grove and the village: in the front were rice-fields, which were swampy; and the approach of the enemy's cannon would have been impracticable, had there not been a causeway leading to the village on the right. The French troops, with 1500 sepoy, and their artillery, marched along the causeway; while the horse, with 1000 sepoy, attacked the Morattoes before the other wing was engaged. The Morattoes behaved with great spirit, and fought in a manner peculiar to themselves: they made five successive charges, in which they were always repulsed by the superiority of numbers. The French were galled on the

* Or Boznrow. † Aranie, Arnie, Arnee, or Arni.

other wing, as they advanced along the caufeway to the village, and formed an extenfive front in the adjacent fields, which reached almoft to the grove. They were spiritedly oppofed on all parts, and vigorously purfued in their retreat. About 50 of the French, and 150 of their horfe and fepoys, were either killed or wounded in the engagement, which continued five hours. The Englifh had 20 Europeans, 8 fepoys, and 46 Morattoes, killed or wounded.

RAJAH SAIB retreated to the town of Arani, and from thence to Ginjee, leaving many tents, and a large quantity of baggage behind. He was clofely purfued by the Morattoes, who took his military cheft, in which were 100,000 rupees; and they alfo returned with 400 of his horfes. Many of his fepoys deserted, and offered their fervice to captain Clive, who incorporated 600 of their beft men among his own troops, and compelled the governor of Arani to take an oath of fubmiffion to Mahomed Allee Cawn.

THE French had repoffeffed Conjeveram, and placed a garrifon in its pagoda of 30 Europeans, and 300 fepoys, who impeded the communication between Arcot and Madrafs, and had furprized a party of difabled men returning from the fiege, among whom, were the officers Revel and Glas: fome of the men were murdered, but the officers were fpared.

BOSINROW proceeded with his Morattoes from Arani to Trichinopoli, by order of his uncle Morarow: but captain Clive marched with his own force to Conjeveram, where he arrived on the 14th, and fummoned the French officer to furrender, which he refufed, and threatened to expofe his captives on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. Two 18 pounders arrived from Madrafs, and the pagoda was battered in breach at the diftance of 200 yards.

The

The French had no cannon; but fired smartly with their musketry, which killed several men at the battery: and lieutenant Bulkley was shot through the head, as he reconnoitred the pagoda in company with captain Clive, who stood close by his side when he fell. A breach was made after a siege of three days; upon which, the garrison abandoned the place, and left the English prisoners behind.

CAPTAIN Clive destroyed the defences of Conjeveram; sent 180 Europeans and 500 sepoy to Arcot; and returned with the remainder of his troops to Madras; from whence he proceeded to Fort St. David, and arrived there before the year was expired.

WHILE the English were thus successful in the province of Arcot, the French carried on their attempts against Trichinopoli; for which they had been supplied with battering artillery from Carical, and had erected three batteries, but all of them at too great a distance to perform any execution, so as to make the least impression on the walls, or among the English and their sepoy, who were encamped close to the west side of the town, while the Nabob's cavalry encamped to the south. Some skirmishes happened, of little consequence, during the month of October: but the besiegers fired smartly every day, and supplied the besieged with a great number of cannon-balls, all of which had the English mark; being the same that the ships had fired against Pondicherry, with as little effect as they were now thrown away against Trichinopoli.

THE Nabob was promised assistance from the king of Maissore, whose subjects detested Chunda Saib. The French detached a party to terrify that prince; and captain Cope was sent after them with an English detachment to drive them from the fort of Kistnavaram, thirty miles west of Trichinopoli, in the high road to Maissore. Captain Cope was mortally

mortally wounded in attacking the enemy; and captain Dalton was sent to take the command: but both parties retired without coming to action, and returned to Trichinopoli, where many powerful allies were engaged on each side.

C H A P. IV.

RAJAH SAIB *plunders the country near MADRASS: Captain CLIVE is sent from Fort St. DAVID to command the army at Madrafs. He takes CONJEVERAM; defeats the French at COVREPAUK; and returns to St. David, from whence he is sent with major LAWRENCE to reinforce the troops at TRICHINOPOLI. The Nabob MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN is joined there by the MAISSOREANS and their MORATTOES, the TANJORINES and TONDEMAN: and CHUNDA SAIB is joined by the troops under MORAWA and ALLUM CAWN. Some account of these different allies.—The French attack the English in their march at KOILADDY and ELIMISERUM; but are defeated, and Allum Cawn is killed. Major Lawrence takes the command of the Nabob's army at Trichinopoli: and M. LAW and Chunda Saib encamp at SERINGHAM. Captain Clive takes LALGOODY; and Elimiserum surrenders to captain DALTON.—M. D'AUTEUIL is sent with an army from PONDICHERRY to reinforce Chunda Saib, and supersede M. Law. Captain Clive fortifies SAMIAVARAM, and marches to intercept M. d'Auteuil at UTATOOR. The French take Samiavaram; which is retaken by captain Clive.—The Tanjorines take Koiladdy. Captain Dalton attacks M. d'Auteuil, at Utatoor: the French are repulsed, and retreat to VOLCONDA. Captain Dalton joins captain Clive, who takes*

PIT-

PITCHANDA. Chunda Saib is deserted by his allies; surrenders himself to MONACKJEE, and is murdered: his character, and remarks on his death. — Captain Clive makes M. D'Auteuil and all his troops prisoners at Volconda: and M. Law surrenders his whole army prisoners of war to major Lawrence and the Nabob at Seringham. General remarks on these transactions.

WHILE captain Clive was at Fort St. David, Rajah Saib collected a considerable force at Chettaput, from whence they marched towards Madras, in the beginning of January 1752, approaching so near as within nine miles, to a place called St. Thomas's Mount, where the English gentlemen had their country seats, in the company's territory of Ponomalee. The Moors plundered these houses of all their furniture, carried off all the provision they found, and sent the whole to Pondicherry. After these hostilities they returned to Conjeveram, garrisoned its pagoda with 300 sepoy, and kept the field between this place and the fort of Ponomalee, which they threatened to attack.

THE English presidency determined to make an effort to reduce this enemy, before they sent a reinforcement to Trichinopoli; and captain Clive was sent to Madras, to take the command. A detachment of 100 Europeans arrived there from Bengal, and 80 more were taken from the garrison of Madras; which were joined by 200 Europeans and 500 sepoy from the garrison of Arcot. The whole united force consisted of 380 Europeans, 1300 sepoy, and six field-pieces; with which captain Clive took the field on the 2d of February. The enemy had an army of 400 Europeans, 2500 horse, and 2000 sepoy, with a large train of artillery: but, notwithstanding this superiority, they were afraid to meet captain Clive, and fortified themselves

selves strongly in their camp at Vendalore, a village about 24 miles south-west of Madras. The English advanced to attack them in the rear; upon which, they suddenly quitted their camp, and reunited their scattered parties at Conjeveram, from whence they marched towards Arcot, which they expected to have found without a garrison. Captain Clive, therefore, made a forced march of 20 miles to Conjeveram, where the garrison of the pagoda surrendered on the first summons. He followed the enemy so close, that they were obliged to encamp near the fort of Covrepauk*, within eight miles of Arcot, where they lay to receive him, posted in a very advantageous manner.

THE English army arrived in sight of Covrepauk, on the 1st of March at sun-set, when the van, marching in the high road, were fired upon from the right, by the French artillery, posted in a thick grove of mango-trees, which had a ditch and a bank in front, within 250 yards of the English troops. Captain Clive had little hopes of forcing the enemy in this strong situation: however, observing a water-course at a little distance to the left, he immediately struck out of the road, and threw his men into it for shelter; while the baggage fell back half a mile, with one of the field-pieces and a platoon to defend it. The enemy, deceived by the assurance M. Dupleix had given of captain Clive's weakness, quitted their posts, and marched towards him in a column of six men in front. The English formed in the same order, and a fire was kept up on both sides for two hours: but when they came to the push of their bayonets, the French retired within their intrenchments. As it was then about ten o'clock, and part of the English troops raw, the

* Cauvery-Pauk, Kaveri-pakam, or Coveree-paute.

victory remained doubtful, till captain Clive sent a detachment under lieutenant Keene, to take a compass, and fall upon the rear of the French battery, which was well executed. The detachment entered the grove unperceived, and gave their fire in a general volley at the distance of 30 yards. The French immediately abandoned their guns, and fled; but many of them were taken prisoners. The other part of their army soon received intelligence of this disaster, on which they immediately took flight, and their horse dispersed at the same time. The English troops re-united, and remained under arms until day-break, when they found themselves in possession of eight pieces of cannon, 200 stand of arms, and a great quantity of ammunition. They killed 50 Europeans, and made 60 more prisoners: the French also lost about 300 sepoy. Of the English, 40 Europeans and 30 sepoy were killed; besides a greater number wounded.

THE fort of Covrepauk submitted to captain Clive, who proceeded to Arcot, and marched against Veloor: but before his troops came in sight of that place, he received an order from the presidency of Fort St. David, to repair thither with all his force, which they had determined to send to Trichinopoly. He therefore changed his route, and came to the spot where Nazirzing had been killed, and M. Dupleix had planned out his new town, which captain Clive caused to be entirely demolished, and then continued his march to Fort St. David, without interruption from the enemy, who were dispirited by his success. Their horse were disbanded; and the French troops and sepoy were recalled to Pondicherry, where M. Dupleix expressed the highest resentment against Rajah Saib. Thus the valor and conduct of captain Clive in the Carnatic, recovered to the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn an extent of country 60 miles long, and 30 broad, the

annual revenues of which, amounted to 400,000 pagodas, or 160,000l. sterling.

CAPTAIN Clive returned to St. David's on the 11th of March, and the troops were ready to take the field again on the 15th, when the Dorrington arrived from England with major Lawrence on board, who resumed his command. The chief scene of the military operations was now to be at Trichinopoli, for which place major Lawrence and captain Clive marched on the 18th, with 400 Europeans and 1100 sepoy: they had eight field-pieces, and escorted a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, through the king of Tanjore's country towards Trichinopoli, where the Nabob Mahommed Allee Cawn, and also Chunda Saib, had been greatly reinforced by the country troops.

THE only prince in the peninsula, from whose situation, power, and inclination, Mahomed Allee Cawn could expect to be properly assisted, was the king of Maissore*, whose territory is bounded to the east by the southern part of the Carnatic, and the kingdom of Trichinopoli: to the west it extends in some parts, within 30 miles of the sea-coast of Malabar. The capital is Seringapatnam: and his annual revenue is computed at twenty millions of rupees, or 2,500,000l. sterling. The king was then an infant, and the government was ruled by his uncle Nanderauze, who was called the dallaway†, or regent. He agreed to assist the Nabob on very extravagant terms, assembled an army, and took 6000 Morattoes into pay under the command of Morarow. This army consisted of 12,000 horse, and 8000 foot, which encamped in November at

* Or Mysore.

† Or dolaway.

Carour, 50 miles from Trichinopoli, upon the banks of the Coleroon; from whence 500 Morattoes were detached under Innis Cawn to Trichinopoli in December; and another body of the same troops were sent to Arcot under Bosinrow. The main army decamped at the beginning of the year, and was led by Nanderauze, who wrote to the Nabob, desiring that a strong party of Europeans might be immediately sent to his assistance, as he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which he ought to conduct himself against white men who fought with musketry and cannon. He was joined on the 2d of February by captain Dalton, with a detachment from Trichinopoli, by which he was conducted to that city, where he was astonished at the martial appearance and regularity of the English troops, whom he treated with great politeness and esteem. The Morattoes made war their profession; yet they had neither art nor discipline: they were only pillagers, and as such were formidable to the Moors. They rode hardy horses, inured to fatigue, and chiefly fed with standing corn. The common men had no cloathing but a turban on the head, and a sash round the waist; and instead of a saddle, they used a kind of pad. Truly formidable with their sabres, they were fatal to troops that were once broke. But the Morattoes, who now joined the English, under their chief Morarow, were only a body of mercenary horse, or roving free-booters, that alternately took pay of the highest bidder. The junction of the Maissoreans determined the king of Tanjore to declare for the Nabob. The kingdom of Tanjore adjoins to Trichinopoli: its length from the west to the sea is about 100 miles; and its breadth along the sea-coast is 90 miles. This prince sent to Trichinopoli 3000 horse and 2000 foot, under the command of his

general Monack-jee*. The Polygar Tondeman, whose country lies between Tanjore and Madura, also sent 400 horse, and 3000 Colliers. These last are a people almost savage, who inhabit the woods between Trichinopoli and cape Comorin: their name, in their own language, signifies thieves, and justly describes their character; for they live on plunder, and are particularly remarkable for stealing horses. They creep along the woods with a spear eighteen or twenty feet long, trailing on the ground, which they manage on occasion with great dexterity. They are troublesome in the field, by giving frequent alarms, and in their woody country it is dangerous to attack them. Thus the force of Mahomed Allee Cawn became suddenly superior to that of Chunda Saib; for the troops of his allies, joined to his own, formed a body of 20,000 horse, and 20,000 foot.

THE army of Chunda Saib had also been augmented to 15,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, by the junction of 4000 Peons and Colliers belonging to Morawa, a polygar, whose country lies to the south of Tanjore: as also by 3000 horse commanded by Allum Cawn †, the governor of Madura, an extensive country, that lies between those of Trichinopoli and Tinevelly. Allum Cawn was a man of great interest in the country, and a soldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the service of Chunda Saib, and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore, whom he left, and came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer soon gained him influence and respect, which he employed to corrupt the garrison, and succeeded so well, that the troops created him governor, and consented to maintain

* Or Monagee.

† Or Allam Khan.

the city under his authority for Chunda Saib, whom he acknowledged as his sovereign.

THE regent of Maissore, and Morarow, endeavoured to prevail on captain Gingin to make a general attack upon the enemy with the whole army: but the English captain knowing that these Indian troops were incapable of rendering any material service against fortified posts defended by Europeans, and that his own battalion must sustain the principal attack, determined to wait until he was reinforced by major Lawrence and captain Clive, who arrived on the 26th of March, at Tricatopoli*, a fort belonging to the king of Tanjore, within twenty miles of Trichinopoli; where they deposited a large part of their stores.

BOTH armies were equally concerned for the fate of the approaching reinforcement; and M. Dupleix sent repeated orders to M. Law, who commanded the French battalion, to interrupt them at all events. M. Law reinforced the garrison at Coilady; and major Lawrence, on the 27th, marched his troops along the high road, within point blank shot of that fort, from whence six pieces of cannon fired upon them across the Cavery. This fire occasioned some confusion among the baggage, and was answered from four guns in the rear, supported by 100 Europeans, commanded by captain Clive; while the line marched on inclining to the left; which direction soon preserved them from the enemy's fire; but not before twenty Europeans were killed. They then halted, and were joined by the rear division; after which they continued their march without farther interruption, and the same evening halted within ten miles of Trichinopoli. Captain Gingin then detached 100 Europeans, and fifty

* Or Tircalupalli.

dragoons; who joined the reinforcement before morning. Captain Dalton was also sent from the city at day-break, with his own company of grenadiers, and another of the battalion; in all 200 Europeans, 400 sepoy, and four field pieces: this detachment was to take post at a rock called the Sugar-loaf, about three miles south of the French rock, from whence they were to join the reinforcement, when it came in sight.

MAJOR Lawrence advanced towards Elimiferum*, three miles south-east of the French rock. Here was a fortified pagoda on the summit of a rock, where the French had mounted cannon; and between these two posts they had drawn up the main body of their army in order of battle, while the other troops were in a line, which extended from the French rock to the village of Chuckley-pollam by the river-side. However, the English commanders eluded this disposition to surround them: then they advanced; and a cannonade ensued, which was the hottest ever seen on the plains of Indostan; for the French fired from twenty-two pieces of cannon, and the English from nine. The French retreated in half an hour; and the English artillery drew up: but Chunda Saib's cavalry, animated by the example of Allum Cawn, firmly sustained the cannonade, till that gallant officer was killed. His head was taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was encouraging his troops to advance; upon which they fled. Major Lawrence was unwilling to expose his men to more fatigue under such a burning sun, and ordered the pursuit to cease, when captain Clive had followed them so close, as to force them into a great water-course near the French rock, where they were on the point of being en-

* Or Elmiferam.

filaded by a fire that would have made great havoc among them. Seven English soldiers were struck dead by the heat, and fourteen were killed or wounded. The French had forty men killed or wounded; and more than 300 of Chunda Saib's troops, with an elephant, and 285 horses, were found dead on the plain. The Morattoes never attacked the enemy, which deterred the other Indian troops in the service of the Nabob from improving the success of this day; for they remained idle spectators at a distance, nor could be induced to make a single charge, not even to interrupt the retreat.

MAJOR Lawrence renewed his march, and arrived that night at Trichinopoli, where he took the command of the whole united army; which was composed of 1200 Europeans and Topasses in battalion, with 1200 sepoy in English pay, and the Nabob's troops, with those of his allies; who were all consulted by the major, to settle the plan of operations for the campaign. They concurred in opinion, that a general attack should be immediately made upon the enemy's camp; or, if they retreated to the island, to cut off their communication with the country: but when the time was to be fixed, the major found both Moors and Indians so superstitiously devoted to fortunate and unfortunate days, that many would be apparently lost before they could agree in the notion of a favorable hour, without which none of them thought it safe to venture an engagement.

THE enemy avoided any attack, by returning to the island, where their army amounted to 600 Europeans, Topasses, and Caffres; 1800 sepoy in French pay; and the troops of Chunda Saib, with those of his confederates. M. Law took up his head-quarters in the pagoda of Jumbakistna: some of Chunda Saib's troops re-entered the pagoda of

Seringham, others encamped under the northern wall, and the rest extended farther eastward along the bank of the Coleroon.

MAJOR Lawrence endeavoured to cut off their supplies; and, promising himself great success from the activity and vigilance of captain Clive, he detached him with 400 of the best Europeans, 1200 sepoy, and 4000 horse, with eight pieces of cannon, to take post on the other side of the island, which he happily effected on the 7th of April, and stormed Lalguddy*, a mud-fort, where the enemy had a large magazine of grain, sufficient to maintain ten thousand men for two months.

AT the same time, captain Dalton was sent with his company of grenadiers, some Morattoes and sepoy, to attack Elimiserum. They had two pieces of cannon, and a mortar; which took up too much time in conveying through broken roads: however, the enemy surrendered, when they found they were to be bombarded. The English had five Europeans, and ten sepoy wounded; but they took fifteen Europeans, thirty sepoy, and two pieces of cannon, one of which was a fine eighteen pounder. The smaller piece was left with some sepoy to garrison this post; and the rest returned to Trichinopoly with the large gun, which was presented to the Nabob, as the first trophy that been taken during the campaign.

THE new activity which began to appear in the English battalion, induced Morarow to relinquish his correspondence with Chunda Saib, and impressed the enemy with terrors equal to those which they had formerly created in their opponents. There seemed to be no judgment in their councils, nor spirit in their actions: they were afraid to fight, and ashamed to retreat.

* Or Lalguddy.

It was necessary for the Nabob to reduce the posts of which the enemy were in possession to the north of Coleroon; and to intercept the reinforcements which might be sent from Pondicherry through the streights of Utatoor: therefore it was determined, that captain Clive should chuse such a central situation between the streights of Utatoor* and the Coleroon, as would best answer all these intentions; and particularly, that his division should not be out of the reach of a forced march from Trichinopoli, lest the whole of the enemy's force should fall upon him before major Lawrence could move to his assistance.

CAPTAIN Clive proceeded seven miles to the north of the Coleroon, and took possession of the village of Samiavaram, about ten miles from Seringham, and on the high road to Pondicherry, through which the enemy's convoys must pass. In the village were two pagodas, about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, one on each side of the high road leading to Utatoor, which was fifteen miles from Samiavaram. These pagodas were allotted for the quarters of the Europeans and sepoy; but the Morattoes and Tanjorines encamped without. Ravelins were immediately flung up before the gates, and a redoubt was constructed to command the road to the north and south.

WHEN M. Dupleix was informed of this situation of affairs, he sent M. d'Auteuil to supersede M. Law in the command. He took with him a reinforcement from Pondicherry, consisting of 120 Europeans, 500 sepoy, and four field pieces, with a large convoy of provisions and stores. They arrived at Utatoor on the 14th, and captain Clive marched the same night with the greatest part of his force to

* Or, Outatoor; sometimes called Pallikonda.

intercept him. M. Law was apprized of this march, and detached 80 Europeans, with 700 sepoy, to attack the pagodas in the absence of captain Clive, who at the same time was returning from Utatoor, where M. d'Auteuil received advice of his approach, and regained the fort.

CAPTAIN Clive arrived at Samiavaram about eleven at night, when his men, fatigued with so long a march, went to rest in the camp, and he retired to his palankeen in an adjacent choultry. The French party arrived near the camp at midnight, and were challenged by the advanced guard of English sepoy, who were deceived, and sent one of their body to conduct the enemy to the head-quarters. Among the French party were forty English deserters, whose officer was an Irishman, and told the sepoy, when they challenged, that he was sent by major Lawrence to reinforce captain Clive. They continued their march through a part of the Morattoe camp, without interruption, till they came to the lesser pagoda, where they were challenged by the centinels, and by others posted in the choultry in which captain Clive lay asleep. They returned the challenge by a volley into each place, attacked the pagoda about four in the morning, dislodged the English, and put all they met to the sword. Captain Clive starting out of his sleep, and alarmed at the firing, ran immediately towards it; by which means he joined the French sepoy, who were firing at random, and pushing into the pagoda: imagining them his own troops, who endeavored to screen themselves from an attack, he began to reprimand them in the country language, angrily demanding what they were firing at. The sepoy, in this time of darkness and confusion, paid little regard to him, till one of their officers suspecting him to be an Englishman, drew his sword, and cut at him; which he parried, by advancing forward, and receiving the
blow

blow from near the hilt : but another officer of the English sepoy, accidentally coming to his assistance, cut the French sepoy down, and disengaged captain Clive ; who, perceiving his mistake, and fortunately escaping, went and joined his own troops, then under arms. Conceiving that the enemy would not have attempted so desperate an enterprize without supporting it by their whole army, he resolved to storm the pagoda before the troops who were in it could receive any assistance. The entrance of the gateway would admit only two men a-breast ; but the English soldiers made the attack with great resolution. The deserters within fought desperately, and killed the officer who attempted the storm and fifteen men ; upon which the attack was suspended until day-break, when the commanding officer of the French made a sally, but was killed with twelve of his men. The rest ran back into the pagoda, where captain Clive advanced to parley with them, leaning on the shoulders of two serjeants, as he was weak with the loss of blood. The Irish officer presented himself with great insolence, and fired his piece at the captain, whom the ball missed, but killed one of the serjeants. The French disavowed such an act, which might exclude them from any pretensions to quarter, and seeing the English cannon approach, they immediately surrendered at discretion, to the number of 66 Europeans. The French sepoy without had discovered the danger of their situation before the pagoda was attacked, and marched quietly off out of reach of the Europeans : but they were pursued by the Morattoes, who came up with them on the open plain before they could gain the bank of the Coleroon, and inhumanly cut them all to pieces, so that not a single man out of 700 escaped alive. A bloody carnage ! in which cruel exploits the Morattoes

toes chiefly distinguish themselves. The English had only nine men killed and wounded.

PITCHANDA* and Utatoor were now the only posts which the enemy held to the north of the Coleroon: but they still possessed Coilady, and thereby commanded the eastern extremity of the island. Major Lawrence detached the Tanjorines, under Monackjee, to attack Coilady, which he took on the 26th of April, whereby the enemy were deprived of their last magazine of provisions, and became every day more and more distressed; while M. d'Auteuil remained at Utatoor for a proper opportunity to arrive at Seringham.

MAJOR Lawrence sent captain Dalton, with a party from his own division to attack M. d'Auteuil. It was composed of 150 Europeans, 400 sepoy, and 500 Morattoes, with four field pieces. They marched from Trichinopoli on the 9th of May, halted at Samiavaram, and arrived the next evening within two miles of Utatoor. A skirmish ensued; but the French were repulsed, and retreated to Volconda with such precipitation, that they left a great quantity of military stores behind in the fort, of which the English took possession.

CAPTAIN Dalton remained only two days at Utatoor, and then marched to join captain Clive, who was preparing to attack Pitchanda, and on the 14th moved the greatest part of his army down to the Coleroon. Along the northern bank of this river, from Pitchanda to the ground opposite the great pagoda of Seringham, was a large mound of earth fifty feet broad at the top, thrown up by the country people to resist the current of the river, which in this part sets strongly from the opposite shore whenever the waters rise. The enemy's camp on

* Or Pitchunda.

the island lay opposite to this mound, and within cannon-shot; it was therefore determined to employ the artillery against them, until the battery against Pitchanda could be finished. On the 15th, at sunrise, six pieces of cannon began to fire upon the camp from embrasures cut through the top of the mound, which sheltered them from the guns of Pitchanda. The camp was soon in the utmost confusion, and abandoned in two hours. The garrison of Pitchanda made an unsuccessful attempt to interrupt the cannonade; and the next morning the fort was so vigorously attacked, that the garrison beat the chamade, to surrender prisoners of war: but the English sepoy mistook this signal for a defiance, and fired a volley which killed several men, and struck such a terror, that fifteen Frenchmen jumped over the walls into the river, where they were drowned. The rest, being 60 Europeans and 200 sepoy, surrendered to the English, and were sent to the Nabob at Trichinopoli.

By the reduction of this fort, the communication of the enemy was cut off from the other side the Coleroon, and their Indian camp was again exposed to a cannonade; which terrified the allies of Chunda Saib, who had the mortification to see most of them revolt, and join the Nabob, or return into their own territories. There remained with Chunda Saib no more than 2000 horse, and 3000 foot, who took shelter in the pagoda of Seringham: while the French battalion, with 2000 sepoy, shut themselves up in Jumbakistna, which they preferred to the other pagoda, because its outward wall was in a better condition, and its smaller extent more proportioned to the number of their troops.

Major Lawrence sent for a train of battering cannon from Devi Cotah; and, on the 18th of May, passed the Cavery to the island, where he encamped opposite Jumbakistna. On the 27th, captain

tain Clive was detached with 100 Europeans, 1000 sepoy, and six field pieces, to make another attempt upon the French at Volconda. The next day they arrived at Utatoor, and the French advanced within seven miles of it, but were then intimidated, and returned to Volconda, where they were briskly pursued by the Morattoes and sepoy. The governor of the fort refused to give any protection to the French, who were obliged to surrender upon terms that were soon settled between captain Clive and M. d'Auteuil. It was agreed, that the deserters should be pardoned; that the French commissioned officers should not serve against the Nabob for twelve months, and the private men remain prisoners of war at his discretion. The whole party consisted of 100 Europeans, of whom thirty-five were English deserters, 400 sepoy, and 300 horse. Captain Clive also took three pieces of cannon, 3000 muskets, and 800 barrels of gunpowder, besides 50,000 rupees; though the whole booty made by his troops amounted to 10,000*l.* sterling at least. The horsemen and sepoy were disarmed and set at liberty as usual; and captain Clive returned to his camp with the other prisoners.

In this situation, Chunda Saib was dispirited, and threw himself under the protection of Monackjee, which cost him his life. He might have escaped to Pondicherry, but dreaded M. Dupleix. M. Law suggested to him the necessity of attempting to make his escape, by bribing some chief of the confederate army to permit him to pass through his quarters. The application was made to the Tanjorine general, who received the overture, and carried on the correspondence with so much address as induced Chunda Saib and M. Law to think they had gained him over to their interest. A large sum of money was paid to him, and much more promised,

mised, with every other advantage he thought proper to stipulate.

ON the 31st of May, the battering cannon arrived from Devi Cotah, and M. Law was summoned to surrender at discretion; while Monackjee advised Chunda Saib to come over to him that very night. He took an oath, the most sacred of all to an Indian soldier, on his sabre and poniard, wishing they might be turned to his own destruction if he failed in his engagements, which were to send Chunda Saib with an escort to Karical: but when the unfortunate prince put himself into the power of the Tanjorine, he was fettered and confined as a prisoner, till his fate was determined by the Nabob.

THE next day, the Nabob, the Maissore and Morattoe generals, Monackjee, and major Lawrence assembled, and debated how to dispose of Chunda Saib. They were of different opinions, and the major proposed, that the English should have the care of him; which was by no means approved; and they parted, without coming to any resolution: but Monackjee put an end to the dispute, by ordering the head of his prisoner to be struck off on the 3d of June. The executioner of this deed was a Patan, who found the unhappy victim an aged man, stretched on the ground, where he stabbed him to the heart, and afterwards cut off his head; which was immediately sent to the Nabob, who then for the first time saw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a sight of it, they tied the head to the neck of a camel; in which manner it was carried five times round the walls of Trichinopoli; attended by 100,000 spectators, who insulted it with all the indecent invectives peculiar to the customs of their country. The military abilities of Chunda Saib were much greater than are commonly found in the generals of Indostan: and in his private character, he was generally acknowledged to have

have been a brave, humane, generous, and benevolent man, especially as princes go in Indostan. The many examples of a similar fate, which are perpetually produced by the contests of ambition in this unsettled empire, have established a proverb, "that fortune is a throne;" and therefore he who falls in such contentions is only accounted unfortunate, without having the odium of rebellion or treachery charged on his memory, unless he opposes the Great Mogul, who is esteemed as the sovereign of all.

M. DUPLÉIX, in his memoirs, falsely asserts, that major Lawrence himself ordered the death of Chunda Saib, notwithstanding that calumny had been clearly refuted before.

WHEN M. Law saw the fate of his ally, and heard of the defeat of his countrymen at Volconda, he thought of surrendering, and desired the mediation of the English with the Nabob. Major Lawrence held a personal conference with M. Law, who desired that the English would facilitate the retreat of his army into the French settlements: but major Lawrence answered, that the English were in close alliance with the Nabob; in justification of whose conduct he produced a letter, wherein M. Duplex declared, he would never cease to pursue Mahomed Allee, while a single Frenchman remained in the Mogul empire.

THE French in Seringham had only rice enough for two days; and as there was no possibility of relief, or holding out any time, M. Law accepted the terms prescribed by the Nabob; whereby "the pagodas were to be delivered to him, with all the guns, stores, and ammunition: the Europeans, Topasses, and Caffres, were to be prisoners of war; the officers to give their parole not to serve against Mahomed Allee Cawn, or his allies; and the deserters to be pardoned." These articles were signed
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by M. Law on the 3d of June; and the next morning the English took possession of both the pagodas. In that of Jumbakistna, the French troops flung down their arms in a heap, and surrendered prisoners to captain Dalton, who marched into the fort with 250 chosen men. The prisoners consisted of 35 commission officers, 725 battalion men bearing arms, sixty sick and wounded in the hospital, and 2000 sepoy: their artillery were four thirteen inch mortars, eight cohorns, two petards, and 31 pieces of cannon, of which eleven were for battering, mostly eighteen pounders, and the rest field pieces: they had also a great quantity of ammunition stores, and carriages of all sorts in very good condition. The horse and foot who had taken refuge in the large pagoda received the Nabob's Cowle, or protection, and were permitted to pass away without molestation; after which they separated and dispersed.

Four hundred of the French prisoners were escorted to St. David; and the rest, together with the artillery and stores, were conducted into Trichinopoli, to complete the triumph of Mahomed Allee Cawn, who thus found a formidable army reduced without a battle, and himself reinstated in the Nabobship of the Carnatic. Although nominal lord of a country extending from the river Pennar to cape Comorin, he really had possessed no more of this great dominion, than the ground inclosed by the walls of Trichinopoli, where he had been closely besieged by a superior enemy.

THE French acted as allies to the rebels, who almost destroyed the country: but the English assisted the lawful prince, appointed by the Mogul, who was so sensible of his obligation to them, that major Lawrence, in his letter of the 12th of June, said, "he had great hopes the English company would be able to carry on their trade in India to

more advantage than any other European nation." In short, the whole business of this war was effectuated in a few sieges and some skirmishes, in several of which, not a man of the English was lost: so that, in reducing the country to the obedience of the Nabob, and making near 1000 Europeans prisoners, the English had not 50 men killed.

BUT signal as these successes had been, so far were they from restoring tranquility to the Carnatic, that in the very principles which produced them, were intermixed the seeds of another more dangerous and obstinate war.

C H A P. V.

The French establish SALABATZING as Soubahdar of the DECKAN at AURENGABAD: and M. DUPLEIX proclaims RAJA SAIB Nabob of ARCOT.—The dispute between MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN and NANDERAUZE, who encamps near TRICHINOPOLI, from whence major LAWRENCE and the Nabob march to Arcot. They make the governor of VOLCONDA pay allegiance to the Nabob; and take TRIVADI. Major Lawrence resigns the command to captain GINGIN, and returns to MADRASS.—Major KINNEER attacks the French army at VICKRAVANDI, and is repulsed. Both armies encamp near Fort St. DAVID. Major Lawrence defeats M. de KERJEAN at BAHOOR: and the English return to Trivadi. Captain CLIVE takes the Forts of COBELONG and CHINGLAPET, and returns to ENGLAND. Major Lawrence compels the governor of VANDEWASH to submit to the Nabob.—Nanderauze attempts to take Trichinopoli from captain DALTON, who attacks and plunders the MAISSOREAN camp at SERINGHAM, where the English are unsuccessful, and the

the Maifforeans cut off all supplies from the city.—
Salabatzing poisons his brother GAZI ODIN CAWN
at Aurengabad: and M. Dupleix deserts the in-
terest of Rajah Saib.

EVERY thing was thus happily finished to the southward, and nothing remained to be done, but to settle the Nabob Mahommed Allee Cawn in quiet possession of his territories to the northward, where the French retained Gingee and some other places. M. Dupleix was not easily dejected: his pride supported him, and his mind was full of resources.

HE had established Salabatzing as Soubahdar of the Deccan, and the troops whom he sent on that expedition acquired immense riches for their services. In their March from Cudapah they came to Canoul, the capital of that Nabob who killed Muzapherzing, and they determined to punish the inhabitants for the treachery of their governor. The place was defended by four thousand Patans, who were soon put to flight, and retired into the castle, which was stormed by the French troops led by M. de Kerjean, a nephew of M. Dupleix; who soon took the place, and the army of Salabatzing assisted in putting all the garrison to the sword. Many of the inhabitants were also massacred; and the wife of the late Nabob, with her two sons, were made prisoners, in March 1751. M. Buffy then prevailed on Salabatzing to settle the governments of Adoni, Cudapah, and Canoul on Sadoudin Cawn, the infant son of Muzapherzing; which sovereignty is said to have produced the young prince the annual revenue of near 1,000,000 l. sterling. This was done politicly by the French, to raise an opinion of their justice, as well as of their power, through the countries in which they were attempting to establish themselves, where no European force

had ever appeared before. The army then crossed the Krishna, and were joined by 25,000 Morattoes, commanded by Balazarow, the principal general of the Nanah, or king of all the Morattoe nations; after which, Salabatzing made his public entry into the city of Golconda on the 2d of April, and was invested with all the authority of Soubahdar, on the musnud, or throne, without opposition. He amply rewarded the French, from their principal commander to the common soldier: M. Buffy had a present of 100,000 l. sterling; the other officers received proportional gratuities, and every ensign received 50,000 rupees, or 6250 l. sterling. The monthly pay of a captain was settled at 1000 rupees, or 125 l. sterling; and that of a common soldier at sixty rupees, or 9 l. sterling. The policy of M. Dupleix, in taking possession of Masulipatnam, was now apparent, by the facility of sending supplies from that port to Golconda. The Soubahdar found many persons disaffected to his government. He was described as a weak and infatuated prince, that had dishonoured the Mogul government, by subjecting himself and his authority to the arbitrary will of a few infidels, who grasped at unlimited power, under pretence of assisting their allies: but Salabatzing acted the old pompous ceremony of receiving letters-patent from the Great Mogul, whereby he was appointed viceroy of all the countries which had been under the jurisdiction of his father Nizam Al Muluck. He then proceeded to Aurengabad, where he arrived on the 18th of June in a very magnificent manner, and was joyfully received by the populace, who were impatient to see a Soubahdar of the Deckan again making his residence in their city, which had been deprived of that advantage from the time that his father died. Balazarow was dissatisfied, and ravaged the
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the adjacent countries at the head of 40,000 cavalry: they were opposed by the French, who repulsed them in several onsets. Battles and negotiations succeeded alternately during the other part of the year, and until the end of May 1752, without producing either a decisive victory, or a definitive treaty.

THESE services gave M. Bussy supreme influence over Salabatzing, from whom he obtained a commission, appointing M. Dupleix Nabob of the Carnatic; which was sent to Pondicherry with several other pompous patents, and the Soubahdar promised they should soon be followed by an ambassador from the Great Mogul.

M. Dupleix published all these as authoritative mandates to awe the Carnatic, diminish the character of the English, and terrify the Nabob. He collected new troops at Pondicherry; and proclaimed Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib, Nabob of Arcot; while he pretended, that he himself was appointed governor of all the country from the river Krishna to the sea; which was an absolute forgery.

THE injustice of his cause never disturbed him; and, in consequence of his pretended appointment, he kept his durbar or court, sat on a sofa, and received presents from his council, as well as the natives, in all the splendor and dignity of an oriental prince.

HE expected a very large company's ship, called the Prince, with M. de la Touche and 700 men: but this ship was burnt in her passage to India, and scarce a man saved: however, the ships lately arrived from France brought a large reinforcement of troops, to which M. Dupleix added most of the sailors from the company's ships, and sent Lascars on board to supply their room in the navigation to China.

MAJOR Lawrence received intelligence at Trichinopoly of what was transacting at Pondicherry; and

was farther informed, that the governor of Madras was preparing to attack Gingee, which was well supplied with all manner of stores, and garrisoned by 150 Europeans, besides a great number of sepoy and blacks. The major represented to the Nabob, the necessity of his immediate march at the head of the confederate army into the Carnatic, where the reputation of their late successes would contribute greatly to reduce such fortresses as were in the interest of Chunda Saib, and facilitate the establishment of his authority over the province, from which he had received neither assistance nor revenues. The Nabob consented to the plan; yet was unwilling to put it into execution; for he had secretly promised to deliver up Trichinopoli to the Maissorean general, who refused to march until that promise was performed. The Nabob prevaricated, and said that "Trichinopoli was the Great Mogul's, to whom he was only a viceroy, appointed to govern it during the pleasure of that imperial sovereign; and that the resigning of it to an Indostan king would involve both himself and the English in continual wars with the whole Mogul Empire." The Morattoe general asked the Nabob, "how he could answer to the Great Mogul, if he gave up so considerable a part of his dominion to such an insignificant people?" But the Maissorean threatened to attack the Nabob if he marched out of the city to join the English; whose appearance produced an accommodation; and it was agreed, "that the Nabob should grant the revenues of the Seringham district to the Maissorean." On these conditions he agreed to assist the Nabob with all his force in the reduction of Arcot: but neither side gave any credit to the other; and both expected advantages by gaining time.

THE Nabob made preparations to set out for Arcot with what troops continued under his command, which were now reduced to a small number; for

for the Tanjorines, and Polygar's troops, were returned to their respective countries; while the Maiforeans, and their subsidiary Morattoes, remained in their encampment to the west of the city, which was thereby endangered; so that captain Dalton was left there with a garrison of 200 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and 2000 Peons, who were instructed to take every precaution that might prevent a surprize.

THE English battalion, now reduced to 500 men, together with 2500 sepoy, and accompanied by the Nabob at the head of 2000 horse, began their march from Trichinopoli, under the command of major Lawrence, on the 28th of June, and halted at Volconda for some days, till the governor took an oath of allegiance to the Nabob, who then detached his brother Abdullwahab Cawn with 1000 horse to Arcot. The rest of the army proceeded to Trivadi, where they arrived on the 6th of July, and found a garrison of French sepoy in the pagoda, who surrendered on the first summons. The troops then encamped in that neighbourhood, where major Lawrence left the command to captain Gingin, and went to Fort St. David, from whence he proceeded to Madrafs, where the seat of presidency had lately been renewed.

THE Nabob found that little regard was paid to his authority in the province of Arcot, and he requested of the English presidency to assist him in the reduction of Gingee; which they readily undertook, though major Lawrence dissuaded them from the attempt. Accordingly major Kineer, an officer lately arrived from Europe, was detached from the camp at Trivadi, with 200 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and 600 horse, on this expedition. They marched on the 23d of July; the next day they obliged the fort of Villaparam to surrender; and arrived at Gingee on the 26th. M. Dupleix

no sooner heard that the English had passed the mountains, than he detached 300 Europeans, and 1500 sepoy, to relieve the place; upon which, major Kineer left it, to meet the French, who took possession of Vickravandi*, a town situated in the high road. The English were reinforced from the camp by the rest of the Nabob's cavalry, and 100 Europeans. Major Kineer marched, on the 26th, to engage the enemy, who were posted in a strong situation. The greatest part of the town was encircled by a rivulet, which served as a ditch, and was defended by a parapet, formed of the ruins of old houses. The English marched directly to the attack with the fire of their musketry only; which the enemy returned both from their musketry and field pieces. The English sepoy fled: major Kineer was disabled by a wound in the leg; forty of his officers and men were killed or wounded; and the rest retreated to Trivadi, from whence the army marched. The French received little loss: but the English battalion suffered more disgrace in this action, than in any other that had happened during the war; which so much affected major Kineer, that though he recovered of his wound, his vexation threw him into a fever and a flux, which soon carried him off.

THE French took and demolished the fort of Villaparam, and were joined by all the force they could bring into the field; the whole amounting to 450 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and 500 Moorish horse. This army advanced and encamped close to the bounds north of Fort St. David; upon which the English and the Nabob's troops quitted Trivadi, and encamped at Chimundelum, a redoubt in the bound-hedge, three miles westward of the fort.

* Or Vickaravandy.

Here they remained: some days inactive, expecting a reinforcement from Madras. A company of 100 Swifs, under captain Schaub, were sent from thence in the common and slightest boats of the country, called massoolas, and ordered to proceed to Fort St. David by sea; for it was not imagined, that the French would dare to violate the British colors on this element: but the boats were intercepted by a French ship, and all the men were taken as prisoners of war to Pondicherry. This was an action against the law of nations, and an open violation of the peace then subsisting between them and the French; sacred there, as well as in Europe, though they were allies in different causes. However, M. Duplex insisted, that the capture was as justifiable as that made of his own troops at Seringham.

ON this occasion, major Lawrence embarked from Madras, with another company of Swifs, on board one of the English ships; he arrived safe at Fort St. David on the 16th of August, and took the command of the army. The French were then commanded by M. de Kerjean, who was returned from Golconda: but when he heard that major Lawrence was arrived, he decamped suddenly in the night, and retreated to Bahoo*, four miles from Fort St. David. He then fell back to Villavour, and was pursued by the English troops, who attacked the French advanced post, within three miles of Pondicherry, and obliged their whole army to take protection under the walls of the town. The English commander could not force them to an action, and had recourse to a stratagem, to draw them from their strong situation. He seemed afraid of the French, and precipitately returned to Bahoo. The stratagem succeeded, and M. Du-

* Or Bahoo.

pleix peremptorily ordered his nephew to follow the enemy. He obeyed, and encamped within two miles of them on the 25th, when major Lawrence made the necessary dispositions for giving him an immediate attack.

THE English army consisted of 400 Europeans, 1700 sepoy, and 4000 of the Nabob's troops, with nine pieces of cannon. The French army was composed of 450 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and 2000 horse. The English troops began to march at three the next morning, and the attack began a little before the dawn of day. Their sepoy formed the first line, and the battalion the second; the artillery were divided on the flanks; and the Nabob's cavalry were stationed to the right, on the other side of a high bank, which ran from the English to the Enemy's camp. The sepoy engaged on both sides till day-light, when the French battalion were discovered drawn up; their right defended by a bank, and their left by a large pond. The English received a brisk fire from the French cannon; and the small arms soon began. The English advanced firing; and the French stood their ground until the bayonets met. This terrible crisis of modern war is generally determined in a minute, and few examples of it occur. The company of English grenadiers broke the French centre with two platoons; on which their whole line gave way, threw down their arms, and fled. The Nabob's cavalry plundered the camp, instead of pursuing the fugitives. M. Kerjean, 13 officers, and 96 private men, were made prisoners; and many more were killed or wounded: all their artillery, ammunition and stores were taken by the English, who had four officers, and 78 private men killed and wounded.

THE remainder of the French fled to Pondicherry; and M. Dupleix was obliged to wait the
arrival

arrival of further reinforcements before he attempted any thing more in the field. However, he was busy in the cabinet, and instigated the Maiffoean general to create new troubles at Trichinopoli; for which purpose, Innis Cawn was detached with 3000 Morattoes from Seringham in the middle of August, with instructions to inspect the Nabob's camp, and afterwards to join the French: but their defeat at Bahoor altered the whole plan, and the Morattoe took an oath of fidelity to the Nabob. When this was done, major Lawrence formed a camp at Trivadi, and prepared to employ the remainder of the season, before the rains began, in reducing the country between Pondicherry and the river Paliar. At the same time, the Nabob requested of the presidency at Madrafs to send a force to attack Chinglapet and Cobelong, two strong forts, situated to the north of that river, which kept in subjection a considerable tract of country, and from whence detachments frequently plundered the territory belonging to himself and the company.

THE monsoon was coming on, a season of heavy rain and storms, which begin about September, and generally continue to December. Captain Clive therefore undertook this enterprize to serve the Nabob, and marched from Madrafs with 200 European recruits, and 500 sepoy newly raised. With these troops, and four large pieces of battering cannon, he marched on the 10th of September against Cobelong*, twenty-five miles south of Madrafs, and within musket-shot of the sea. The fort had no ditch, but was surrounded by a strong wall, flanked by round towers, on which were mounted thirty guns; and it was garrisoned by fifty French and 300 sepoy. The English troops arrived in the

* Cowlong, Kabelon, or Kobolan: but called Saudit Bundar by the Moors.

evening within two miles of the fort, and a detachment advanced to a garden within 600 yards of it, under the command of lieutenant Cooper, who was killed by a musket-shot: but the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 13th, and besides the cannon mounted on the walls, there were found fifty other pieces of the largest calibres, which proved to be part of the artillery that the company had lost at Madras, when taken by M. de la Bourdonnais in 1746.

THE next morning a detachment arrived from Chinglapet, which was intended to surprize the English camp: but they were discovered by captain Clive, who formed an ambuscade into which they fell. The English fired with such vivacity as to kill or wound near 100 French in a few minutes, and the rest provided for their safety by flight to Chinglapet. Their commanding officer, twenty-five Europeans, and 250 sepoy, with two pieces of cannon were taken: but the English sustained no loss.

CAPTAIN Clive marched directly to Chinglapet*, which is situated twenty miles west of Cobelong, forty-five south-west of Madras, and within half a mile of the Paliar. This was esteemed a very strong fort, being almost encompassed with a morass, and surrounded by two walls, the ramparts of which were sixteen feet thick; a wet ditch faced with stone, sixteen feet wide, quite round the outward fort, and another half round the inner. The garrison consisted of forty Europeans and 500 sepoy, who had fifteen pieces of cannon mounted on the walls; but the commanding officer was then a prisoner upon parole. A battery was erected to the south within 200 yards of the fort, and a breach was made in four days; upon which the garrison surrendered on

* Chengalaput, or Shengel-petty.

honorable terms, evacuated the fort on the 31st of October, and marched away to Pondicherry.

THE reduction of these places secured all the country between Sadras and Arcot. A garrison was placed in Chinglapet; but the fortifications at Cobelong were destroyed. The troops returned to Madras, where captain Clive embarked for England at the close of the year, univcrsally acknowledged as the man, whose example first roused his countrymen from the lethargy into which they were dropped before his reduction of Arcot; and who had principally contributed to raise their military reputation, by a train of uninterrupted successes acquired by his prudence, activity, courage, resolution, and intrepidity. He arrived in England in October 1753, and informed the company of the situation of their affairs in the Mogul empire. The directors presented him with a rich sword, set with diamonds, in reward of his great services: and he soon afterwards returned to India, where his farther services made him the object of admiration and terror throughout all the East.

DURING captain Clive's expedition, the Nabob and major Lawrence advanced their army from Trivadi to Vandewash*, a fort twenty-five miles north of Gingee, and under the government of Tuckia Saib, who had married one of the sisters of the late Nabob Subder Allee Cawn. The widow of that unfortunate prince, and his only son Allee Deust Cawn, resided with Tuckia Saib in the fort; and it was imagined, that a place capable of sending forth such pretenders to disturb the title of Mahomed Allee, would have been attacked with the utmost vigor: but the Nabob was in such distress for money, that he accepted of 300,000 rupees, or

* Vandiwash, or Wandawashel.

37,500 l. sterling, as a ransom to preserve the town and fort from hostilities. The money was paid, and the army returned to Trivadi, where they prepared cantonments for themselves during the rainy monsoon, which began on the 31st of October at night, with a violent hurricane. The rain fell continually for several days, and laid the whole country under water; which spread a sickness among the troops, and obliged them to retire to Fort St. David, where they arrived on the 15th of November. The Morattoes under Innis Cawn returned towards Seringham; and as Fort St. David afforded quarters only for the English, most of the Nabob's troops disbanded, and returned to their own habitations.

WHILE the Nabob's affairs were thus successful in the north, they wore a different aspect in the south, where the Maissoreans endeavoured to seize Trichinopoli. The Nabob had given admission to 700 of their troops as a part of the garrison; and when major Lawrence marched away, their general Nanderauze bribed some of the Nabob's Jemidars, or captains of the Peons, to join with his own men in a scheme to surprize the city, which was vigilantly guarded by captain Dalton, who had received some hints of the conspiracy, and caused the artillery on the ramparts to be pointed every evening inwards on the quarters of the Maissoreans and the suspected Peons. This alarmed the Jemidars, who confessed the plot, and implored forgiveness; which was granted them by captain Dalton and Kiroodin Cawn, the Nabob's brother-in-law. Nanderauze then hired some assassins to shoot them both; but two of the villains were detected, and punished: they confessed the fact, and were blown into the air from the muzzles of two field pieces, in sight of the whole army drawn up under arms; which is a military

litary punishment very common among the Indian troops.

THE Maifforean general thought himself no longer safe under the cannon of the city, and removed his camp three miles to the westward. When the two months stipulated for the delivery of the city were expired, he formally sent four of his principal officers to demand the surrender of it; which was refused by Kiroodin Cawn, who reproached the commissaries with the treacherous practices of their general; and the latter then made a demand on the Nabob of 8,500,000 rupees, or 1,062,500 l. sterling, for the service he had performed, and the expences he had sustained. M. Dupleix not only inflamed this difference, but also bribed Morarow to his interest, and promised to put the Maifforeans in possession of Trichinopoli. Ambassadors were thereupon sent to Pondicherry, where a treaty was soon concluded for that purpose, and war was resolved; which was delayed for some time, on account of the Nabob's success in Arcot.

MORAROW decamped with most of his Morattoes, and marched to Pondicherry, where M. Dupleix promised to send some Europeans to Seringham; while Nanderauze intercepted all the supplies that were sent to Trichinopoli. The effects of this hostility were soon felt, and the presidency of Madras were determined to treat him as a declared enemy. In consequence of that resolution, captain Dalton marched out of the city, at ten at night on the 23d of December, with the greatest part of the garrison, to beat up the Maifforean camp, which then extended under the northern wall of Seringham: but Nanderauze himself remained in the pagoda with a numerous guard. The troops passed the Cavery, crossed the island, and marched along the bank of the Coleroon, till they came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's camp, when they halted to refresh

fresh themselves, and to form for the attack. They were divided into two bodies: the first marched only four in front, being designed to penetrate through the camp, firing two to the right, and two to the left: while the other was drawn up in a more compact manner, to halt as soon as they came among the tents, and remain there as a support to the first party; which moved on unperceived by the enemy, whose advanced guard was found fast asleep, and were instantly dispatched with bayonets. The English then entered the camp without opposition, and began a brisk fire to the right and left, which they continued from front to rear. The alarm was spread, and the consternation great throughout all the camp. The wounded men filled the place with dreadful shrieks, and those who escaped fled away with great outcries of warning to their friends. Their troops within the pagoda manned the walls; but were afraid to fire upon their own people, who were totally dispersed in less than an hour. The sepoys plundered the camp, and took as many horses as they could lead away; with which they marched foremost out of the camp, and were followed by the Europeans in good order; but they received a smart fire from the walls, which killed and wounded twenty men, of whom seven were regulars. The troops returned into the city by break of day, when they discovered the enemy returning to the island, where they hastily struck all their tents, and took refuge in the pagoda; from whence they continued to cut off all communication between the city and the country.

CAPTAIN Dalton then prepared to bombard the pagoda, and with that view, sent half his force the following night a-cross the river, which was fordable. They dislodged the enemy from a great choultry near the water-side, directly opposite to the south gate of Seringham. The building was

100 feet square, and 30 high; which the English inclosed in the morning with a strong intrenchment, and also made a parapet with sand-bags round the roof, where they mounted two field pieces. Captain Dalton found this post of such importance, that he was determined to support it with the rest of his force, which he stationed with four field pieces opposite the Choultry, on the southern bank of the river, where it was only 400 yards wide. The enemy remained quiet in Seringham till noon, when they had sufficiently intoxicated themselves with opium, and began to appear in a numerous body: but the field pieces kept them at a distance for some time. A party of Morattoe horse dispersed some of the Nabob's sepoy, who had crossed the river, and began to fire from an untenable post. The Morattoes then attacked the intrenchment at the great Choultry, and were repulsed with considerable loss. The garrison gave three huzza's on the retreat of the Morattoes; but were instantly alarmed by the imprudent retreat of an officer, who crossed the river to give captain Dalton some information concerning his artillery; which struck such a panic into the men, that they quitted the intrenchment, and attempted to repass the Cavery. This was perceived by a body of 3000 Maissorean horse, who were drawn up on the bank, and immediately galloped into the bed of the river, where they cut down the whole party, excepting fifteen men. Animated by this success, they attacked captain Dalton's division on the other side; but here they were obliged to retire with the loss of several men and horses, whose riders fell within twenty yards of the artillery. Captain Dalton advanced into the bed of the river, where he remained, till he had collected the dead and wounded, which were 70 Europeans, and 300 of the best sepoy; besides the lieutenants Wilky and Crow, who were slaughtered in the intrenchment,

trenchment, where they gallantly determined to stay after vainly attempting to rally the men, among whom, not one who survived could give any reason why he quitted his post, as only one man was then wounded in the intrenchment, where they had nine barrels of ammunition.

CAPTAIN Dalton had then no farther hopes of expelling Nanderauze from Seringham, and returned to guard Trichinopoli; where the strength of the garrison was diminished near one-half, not so much by the number, as by the quality of the troops that were lost. The 700 Maissoreans in the city were permitted to retire with their arms and baggage: but captain Dalton detained their commander Gopaulrauze, the brother of Nanderauze, with some of his attendants.

THE Maissoreans had a post about four miles west of Trichinopoli, at the pagoda of Byaloor, where the guard prevented the country people from carrying provisions into the city. This pagoda had a strong wall, and they had choaked up the great gate with mud, leaving at the bottom a wicket, by which only one man could enter at a time. Captain Dalton sent a detachment of thirty Europeans and some sepoy to surprize this post in a dark night; in which they succeeded, and put all the Maissoreans they found there to the sword.

NANDERAUZE sent out several parties to scour the plain between the city and the territory of Tondeman, from whence only provisions were obtained. They seized some of the people who were bringing rice from the country, whose noses they cut off according to their usual barbarity, and sent them to Trichinopoli in that mangled condition. This cruelty struck such a terror, that the city was without supplies, till the Maissorean parties were drove off by a detachment of 400 Europeans and sepoy, who attacked a large body of the enemy in the night, and

and put them to flight, with such considerable loss, as deterred them from appearing in those parts again. Nanderauze then resolved to divide his force, and form a camp between the city and Tondeman's country. He remained with one half of his army at Seringham; and the other half, being 5000 horse and 3000 foot, under the command of Virana, moved from the island with their baggage, and encamped at a place called Facquire's Tope, or the grove of the Facquire, four miles west of Seringham, and one to the south-west of Trichinopoly. This camp was surrounded with an intrenchment and a mud wall; the effect of which was soon severely felt in the city, where no more provisions were brought to market, the shops were shut, and the inhabitants dreaded all the calamities of an approaching famine; while the garrison was incapable of removing their distress, or dissipating their fear, as they were too weak to drive the enemy from either of their camps; in which melancholy state they continued till a large reinforcement arrived from Arcot, under the command of major Lawrence, in May 1753.

THIS situation of affairs in the south gave infinite satisfaction to M. Dupleix, who also received the most agreeable dispatches from the north, where his ally Salabatzing had removed a most dangerous competitor for the Soubahdarship, by the murder of his brother Gazi Odin Cawn. This prince marched from Delli at the head of 150,000 men, and appeared before Aurengabad in the beginning of October, to assert his right to the government of the Deckan. He was met by Salabatzing with an army of 100,000 men, assisted by the French battalion; who after some successful skirmishes, reduced Gazi Odin to enter into a negotiation: but while it was carrying on, Salabatzing prevailed on his mother to poison Gazi Odin, who was also her

own son. This abhorrent act was followed by the success expected from it; for the Mogul army dispersed on the death of their general, who left a son named Shah Abaddin. This prince was possessed of a principal employment at the court of Delli, and was worthy of the highest dignity: he obtained the commission of Soubahdar of the Deckan; but the convulsions that threatened the imperial throne suggested to him other views, which soon after made him the most important object in the state.

THE revenues which Salabatzing received at Aurengabad, were continually exhausted by the numerous army he maintained; for the charge of the French troops alone amounted to 3,200,000 rupees, or 400,000 l. sterling. His revenues from the Carnatic were inconsiderable, and the power of M. Dupleix was confined to the districts between Pondicherry and Gingee, which produced no more than 1000,000 rupees, or 125,000 l. sterling: therefore he determined to make Rajah Saib relinquish the title of Nabob, which he intended to confer upon Mortiz Allee Cawn of Velloor, from whose wealth and power he expected considerable resources to carry on the war.

HOWEVER, after a war of ten years in India, all these differences were terminated by the general treaty of peace, concluded at Paris on the 10th of February 1763, whereby Salabatzing was acknowledged lawful Subah of the Deckan, and Mahomed Allee Cawn for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic.

C H A P. VI.

The campaign of 1753.—Both armies take the field in the province of ARCOT, and encamp near TRIVADI. The MORATTOES barrafs the English convoys, and cut off an advanced guard near Fort St. DAVID. The English defeat the Morattoes, and kill BOSINROW. MORTIZ ALLEE CAWN is proclaimed Nabob of Arcot at PONDICHERRY.—Major LAWRENCE leaves a garrison at Trivadi under captain CHASE, and marches to the relief of TRICHINOPOLI. His interview with the king of TANJORE. He arrives at Trichinopoli: and NANDERAUZE collects all his force at SERINGHAM.—The French take Trivadi; defeat the English near VELOOR; and send a reinforcement under M. ASTRUC to Nanderauze.—The battle at the ROCK, in which the French are defeated; BALLAPA is killed; and Trichinopoli preserved.—Major Lawrence leaves captain DALTON in garrison, and marches with the army to Tanjore, to join a reinforcement from Fort St. David.—The enemy, commanded by M. BRENIER, blockade Trichinopoli, which is abandoned by the inhabitants for want of provisions. Major Lawrence returns with the reinforcement, and 5000 Tanjorines under MONACKJEE. The battle at the SUGAR-LOAF-ROCK; captain KIRK is killed; the French retreat to WEYCONDAH; and the English enter Trichinopoli. The Tanjorines take ELIMISERUM. Major Lawrence encamps at the FIVE ROCKS: the enemy retreat towards Seringham, and receive a strong reinforcement.

THE year 1753 was opened with fresh hostilities in the province of Arcot, where both armies took the field in the beginning of January near Trivadi. The English had 700 Europeans,

2000 sepoy, 1000 of the Nabob's cavalry, and their own little troop of twenty men, commanded by major Lawrence. The French had 500 Europeans, 2000 sepoy, 4000 Morattoes under Morarow, and their own troop of sixty horie. M. Dupleix was determined to protract the war on the sea-coast as long as possible, that Nanderauze might not be interrupted from blockading Trichinopoli: he therefore ordered his troops in Arcot to act on the defensive, and to strengthen their entrenchments; which obliged major Lawrence to remain inactive in his camp: but the Morattoes were alert in cutting off supplies from the English camp. On the 19th, they cannonaded the village of Trivadi, where they were repulsed by the English grenadiers, and lost 118 men. On the 28th, they harrassed the convoy from Fort St. David; but would not venture to attack the troops, who killed 300 of their horses. On the 13th of February, 400 of them advanced within musket-shot of the western redoubt at Fort St. David, flourishing their sabres, and menacing the guard, which irritated them to advance into the plain, though they were only twenty-five Europeans and fifty sepoy, under the command of a serjeant. The Morattoes retreated, until the party was advanced half a mile from the redoubt, when they suddenly turned, galloped up, and surrounded them. The English gave them a general volley, which did some execution; but the Morattoes impetuously broke in upon them before they could load again, and put every man to the sword. However, in an attack which they made on the 2d of April, they were severely handled, and among the slain was Bofinrow, who assisted captain Clive at the siege of Arcot.

ABOUT this time, the Phoufdar Mortiz Allee Cawn set up his standard in the province, and marched with 1500 horse, and 3000 sepoy, to Pondicherry,

Pondicherry, where he was proclaimed Nabob with great ceremony, and paid 400,000 rupees, or 50,000 l. sterling to carry on the war; after which he returned to Velloor, and committed great devastation in the province, without meeting any opposition from Abdullwahab Cawn.

THE French would not quit their intrenchments, which consisted of a parapet cannon proof, with several redoubts, a broad and deep ditch, and a good glacis, defended by thirty guns. Major Lawrence then resolved to storm their camp; for which purpose he was reinforced by 200 Europeans from Fort St. David: but he found the enemy were too strongly posted, and desisted from the attempt, under the necessity of altering his plan of operations, by marching to relieve the garrison at Trichinopoli, whose supplies were constantly cut off by the Maissorean troops, which obliged captain Dalton to send an express to major Lawrence for immediate assistance.

MAJOR Lawrence left a garrison of 150 Europeans, and 500 sepoys, under the command of captain Chase, and marched with the Nabob, and the rest of his army, on the 20th of April, to Fort St. David, to collect the necessary supplies of military stores. The army marched through the dominions of the king of Tanjore, who sent his prime minister Succojee, to compliment the Nabob and major Lawrence as soon as they crossed the Coleroon; and when they arrived at Condoor*, within ten miles of the capital, he desired an interview with them. He met them half way at one of his gardens, on the 4th of May, where he was attended by his whole court, who made a very magnificent and splendid appearance. He was escorted by 3000 horse well mounted, and 200 elephants in silver trappings.

* Or Kandur.

After ceremoniously passing each other in their Palankeens, the major was conducted to an inner garden, and there received by the king, under a pavilion, supported by pillars of silver, elegantly covered and furnished. The king agreed to assist the Nabob with a body of cavalry; and after a refreshment of fruits, a shower of rose-water, and being anointed with other roses, the major was dismissed, with presents of elephants, horses and sircpahs.

THE army marched, and arrived at Trichinopoli without interruption, on the 6th, when major Lawrence found his whole united force, fit for the field, consist of 500 Europeans, 2000 sepoy, and 3000 of the Nabob's cavalry: but Nanderauze had recalled Virana from his camp, and collected all his force on the island, amounting to 10,000 horse, 6000 black infantry, and about 100 Europeans, with a good train of artillery.

In the mean time, the French attacked Trivadi, which was gallantly defended by captain Chase, who made an unsuccessful sally, wherein sixty Europeans, and two companies of sepoy, were either put to the sword or taken prisoners. The place was then cannonaded, and the garrison, intoxicated with arrack, obliged their commander to capitulate. But this gallant young man was so sensibly affected with his misfortune, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died soon after at Pondicherry. Mortiz Allee was joined by fifty Europeans with three pieces of cannon, and threatened to besiege Arcot. This alarmed Abdullwahab; who assembled 1000 horse, and 1200 foot, under the command of Nazeabulla Cawn, another of the Nabob's brothers; who was joined by forty Europeans, and 200 English sepoy, with two field pieces, under the command of ensign Smith. They marched out of the city on the 21st of April, and attacked the Phouf-dar's

dar's army near Velloor. The English cannonaded the French, but were deserted by the Nabob's troops, and the whole party were killed on the spot, or taken prisoners to Velloor, and among the latter was ensign Smith.

AFTER the reduction of Trivadi, M. Dupleix detached 300 Europeans and 1000 sepoy, with four field pieces under M. Astruc; and also 3000 Morattoes under Innis Cawn, to join Nanderauze: they marched by Volconda, and arrived at Seringham soon after the English entered Trichinopoli.

MAJOR Lawrence allowed his troops three days to refresh themselves, and then marched with the battalion and sepoy to Moota-Chellinoor, a village three miles west of the city, where he crossed the river, and landed on the island, with an intention to give the enemy battle, or cannonade their camp. His troops were attacked by a body of Morattoes commanded by Harrasing, who was repulsed, and retreated towards the pagoda, exposed to the fire of all the cannon. M. Astruc then advanced with his troops, and began a brisk cannonade, which continued on both sides till noon, when a slight skirmish ensued. The cannonade was afterwards renewed, and continued till evening, when the English troops repassed the river, and returned to the city, with the loss of four private men and some sepoy killed; but two officers were killed and three wounded.

As it seemed too difficult a task to dislodge the enemy from the pagoda, major Lawrence gave all his attention to the means of supplying the garrison with provisions; for which purpose he occupied the camp that the Maissoreans had abandoned at the Facquire's Tope, and applied to the king of Tanjore and Tondeman both for troops and provisions. But Nanderauze neglected no opportunity to alienate

nate these precarious allies from the Nabob's interest: he bribed the principal officers belonging to Tondeman; and gained the prime minister of Tanjore over to his interest.

In this situation major Lawrence was obliged to remain upwards of five weeks, without an opportunity of acting against the enemy, who were then properly reinforced, and able to take the field. They quitted Seringham, crossed the Cavery, and encamped on the plain about three miles to the north of Facquire's Tope, from whence they marched, and took possession of some high mountains called the Five Rocks, which are about a mile south of that Tope, and had been abandoned by the English when major Lawrence went into the city for the recovery of his health. This brought him immediately to the camp, where he had only 500 Europeans and 2000 sepoy, part of whom were continually employed to escort the convoys of provisions; and of the Nabob's horse no more than 100 encamped with the English, for all the others refused to march until they were paid their arrears. The enemy's force was now augmented to 450 Europeans, and 1500 well disciplined sepoy; 8000 Maifforean horse, 3500 Morattoes, and two companies of Topasses, with 1000 sepoy, in the service of Nanderauze; besides 15,000 Peons, a rabble armed with imperfect weapons worthy of those that bore them, such as matchlocks, bows and arrows, swords, pikes, clubs, and rockets.

MAJOR Lawrence quitted the intrenchments, and encamped about a quarter of a mile nearer the city, which it was apprehended must be abandoned to save the troops from perishing by famine. However, the major stationed a guard of 200 sepoy on a small work half a mile south-west of his camp, and near a mile north-west of the enemy's. M. Astruc perceived the importance of this post, and
marched,

marched, early in the morning of the 26th of June, to attack it, with his grenadiers, and a large body of sepoy, who were repulsed, upon which they were supported by their whole army; while the English army advanced to support their sepoy, leaving 100 Europeans to defend the camp: but the French drove the sepoy from the rock, and hoisted their own colours there. This obliged major Lawrence to halt, and consider what was proper to be done in such an important moment, on which the fate of the war seemed to depend. There was little time for deliberation; as the French battalion were posted behind the rock, which was covered by their sepoy supported by their grenadiers, while their artillery fired upon the English troops from the right and left of it: the Maissoreans were drawn up in one great body, at the distance of cannon-shot, in the rear; and the Morattoes kept skirmishing on all parts of the English battalion, who were not to be disconcerted or intimidated by such irregular attacks; being convinced by repeated experience, that a body of well-disciplined infantry would always prevail against undisciplined cavalry, notwithstanding a great superiority of numbers. The English officers and soldiers unanimously agreed, that it was safer to make a gallant push, than a timid retreat before their enemies. The major ordered his grenadiers to attack the rock with fixed bayonets; while he wheeled round the foot of it with the rest of the troops, to engage the French battalion. The soldiers received his orders with three huzza's, and the grenadiers immediately marched: they disregarded the scattered fire from the rock, and never halted till they got to the top of it; the French being so much terrified at their intrepidity, as to quit their post without striking a blow. Some of the best sepoy followed the grenadiers, and all together began a strong fire upon the French battalion, drawn up within pistol-shot below. The English
battalion

battalion then appeared, and drew up within twenty yards of the enemy, who were struck with consternation at such a resolute attack made upon them, in the midst of their numerous allies, by such a small body of men. However, the French kept a good front with recovered arms until the English gave their fire, which fell heavy, and threw the French into such irreparable disorder, that they instantly gave way and ran, leaving three pieces of cannon, with some ammunition carts behind them. The Morattoes rushed in to cover their retreat, but were repulsed with great loss, when they desisted from their attacks, and retreated to the main body of the Maifforeans, where the French formed with their allies. Some of the English grenadiers were sabred by the Morattoes, who greatly lamented the loss of one of their principal commanders: this was Ballapa, the nephew of Morarow: he had broke his sword in cutting down a grenadier, when another, who was loading his piece, and saw his comrade fall, shot both ball and ramrod through his body. Major Lawrence knew this young man, and had often remarked his bravery when fighting on the English side: he had great spirit, and was an excellent horseman: his body was found in the field, and sent to his uncle, in the major's Palankeen. The French would not renew the fight, and the English returned to their camp, with many prisoners, and three guns taken from the enemy, whose cavalry endeavoured to interrupt their march, but were always repulsed, and suffered severely by a cannonade from eight six-pounders loaded with grape.

THUS was Trichinopoli preserved by the undaunted spirit of the English troops, which dispirited the enemy, and gave the English sepoy an opportunity of bringing great quantities of provisions to the camp. However, two or three more such encounters would have left all the English on the plains

plains of Trichinopoli, if no reinforcement was sent to major Lawrence, who received advice, that some ships were arrived on the coast with recruits from England, and that a detachment was ordered to Trichinopoli, by the route of Tanjore. The major therefore left captain Dalton to guard the city, broke up his camp, and marched to the city of Tanjore, to join the detachment, and prevail on the king to furnish the troops he had promised the Nabob, whose army had deserted him.

THE enemy took this opportunity to blockade Trichinopoli, which they could effect without much difficulty, by their superiority of European troops. The scarcity of provisions obliged the inhabitants to quit the city, which was left almost desolate, though it had formerly contained 400,000 persons; for the military people who remained in it, including soldiers and all artificers, were not 2000 men. Of these 1000 were Peons, posted between the outward and inward wall: 600 were sepoy, stationed round the ramparts; and about 200 were Europeans, who guarded the gates, and lay on their arms every night, to be ready on any alarm. The French troops were now commanded by M. Brenier, who prepared to make an escalade, and sent a spy into the city to direct the attempt: but the spy was discovered, and the attempt declined.

MAJOR Lawrence was joined at Tanjore by the detachment from Fort St. David, which consisted of 170 Europeans and 300 sepoy. His army was also increased by the Tanjorine forces, amounting to 3000 horse, and 2000 foot, commanded by Monackjee. The whole army marched from Tanjore, on the 5th of August, with a convoy of 4000 bullocks laden with provisions; and arrived within sight of Trichinopoli on the 9th, when the major was apprized by signals that the enemy were in motion. Their cavalry, in different parties, extended
about

about three miles between the French Rock and the Golden Rock: their main body was posted at the Sugar-loaf Rock; and a detachment took possession of the Golden Rock, within a mile to the rear of their main body. Major Lawrence halted about a mile south-east of the Sugar-loaf Rock, and formed his line of march, as if he intended to attack the main body of the enemy: but he marched round the Golden Rock, and drove the French from thence with his grenadiers and 800 sepoy detached from the front of the line. The English battalion was drawn up in the plain, where several men were killed by the artillery from the enemy's advanced party, whom major Lawrence with the grenadiers, 200 other Europeans, and 300 sepoy, marched boldly to attack without cannon. The troops were galled by the French artillery, which killed several men, and among them captain Kirk, at the head of his favorite grenadiers, whom nothing during the war had ever disheartened before: They were sensibly struck with the death of their officer, whose place was instantly supplied by his friend captain Kilpatrick, and animated by his example, the men pushed intrepidly on to revenge their captain's death. The enemy had not courage to stand the shock, and fled towards Weycondah. Their main body then advanced; but retired, as soon as the main body of the English approached; which ended the engagement. The French battalion had 115 men killed; and left many wounded, with three cannon, on the field. The English battalion had 36 men killed and wounded; but their greatest loss was in captain Kirk.

THE English army entered Trichinopoli, and the French encamped at Weycondah. The Tanjoreans marched out, and took Elimiserum, where the enemy had left a garrison of 200 sepoy and some Europeans; while major Lawrence formed a camp at the

the Five Rocks, to intercept the convoys from Maiffore. This obliged the French to decamp, on the 23d, and make a disorderly retreat to Moota-Chellinoor, a strong post on the bank of the Cavery, which secured their communication with Seringham, where they received a very strong reinforcement.

M. DUPLEIX had sent for some troops from Mauritius, and 400 arrived from thence at Pondicherry in June: these were joined by 2000 sepoy, with six guns; as also by 3000 Morattoes, with a great number of Topasses and Peons, under the command of Morarow. Great rejoicings were made by the French on this occasion, and the English were obliged to act upon the defensive again.

C H A P. VII.

The continuation of the campaign in 1753. A large detachment sent from MADRASS to TRICHINOPOLI, under captain RIDGE, and captain CAILLAUD. The French, commanded by M. ASTRUC; and the English, under major LAWRENCE, encamp on the plain before Trichinopoli. The battle at the SUGAR-LOAF-ROCK: the French are totally defeated, and retreat to the island. The English take WEYCONDADAH; and enter into cantonments at COILADDY. The French army is reinforced, and commanded by M. MAISSIN; who attacks Trichinopoli, but is repulsed with great loss by captain KILPATRICK.—The English are also successful in the CARNATIC, where they oblige the enemy to raise the siege of TRINOMALEE, and defeat MAHOMED COMAUL at TRIPETTI.—The MORATTOES invade TANJORE, and are defeated by MONACKJEE.—The French acquisitions from SALABATZING.—The MOGUL HAMET SHAH is dethroned, and succeeded by ALLUM GEER.—A Congress held at SADRASS between the English

English and French; and is abruptly ended in January, 1754.

THE presidency of Madras were alarmed at the large reinforcement which had been sent from Pondicherry to Seringham, and were determined to strengthen their own army with all the men that could be spared for the field. Accordingly, 240 Europeans and 300 sepoy, commanded by captain Ridge, were sent in one of the company's ships to Devi Cotah, from whence they marched through the Tanjore country, and arrived on the 19th of September at Kelli Cotah, a fort, fifteen miles east of the city of Trichinopoli. At that time the French army was commanded by M. Astruc, who encamped between the Sugar-loaf and the Golden Rock: while major Lawrence encamped with his forces at some distance to the south-east of the French Rock. Both armies continued some days in this situation, encamped in the open plain without a bush on it, at about two miles distant from each other; but as the swamps in the rear of both the camps did not permit either to remove farther back, they refrained from beginning a cannonade till the 20th in the morning, when the English fired from an eighteen pounder upon the French, which drew all their attention on that side; while the English were joined by their reinforcement from Kelli Cotah, with whom captain Caillaud arrived.

THE junction of these troops gave fresh spirits to their countrymen, and major Lawrence resolved to attack the enemy. He quitted the ground near the French rock on the 20th; and encamped at the Facquire's Tope, where he was joined by 100 Europeans from the garrison. At night the tents were struck, and sent to remain under cover of the artillery of the city: the troops were ordered to take their

their rest in the open field, and to be under arms at four in the morning.

THE enemy's camp extended on each side of the Sugar-loaf Rock, but much farther to the west than the east. The Morattoes were encamped to the east; the French quarters were close to the west of the rock; and beyond these were the Maissoreans, who reached almost as far as the Golden Rock, and occupied the ground at a great distance behind the two rocks; and the rear of the camp was covered with thickets and rocky ground. The French had flung up an intrenchment in front of their own quarters: the Morattoes had done the same: and at the Golden Rock, which commanded the left flank and the front of the Maissoreans, the French had stationed an advanced guard of 100 Europeans, 200 topasses, and 600 sepoy, with two pieces of cannon, under a vigilant partizan. Major Lawrence was apprized of these dispositions; and at the hour appointed, marched his troops in profound silence towards the Golden Rock. He had lulled the French into a security, by cannonading the day before; which made them think he had no other view than to disturb their camp with his shot. The English battalion of 600 men, formed the van in three equal divisions: the first was composed of the grenadier company of 100 men, under captain Kilpatrick; the picket of 40, under captain Caillaud; and two platoons, each of 30 men, under captain Campbel: the artillery of six field pieces, with 100 artillery men, were on the flanks of each division: 2000 sepoy followed in two lines; and the Tanjorines were in the rear. The Golden Rock was mounted in three places at once by the first division of the battalion, who drove the enemy down, and took two field pieces loaded with grape. The troops were animated by this success, and their commander immediately led them on to the grand camp, which

altered his disposition, as it was necessary to form his troops again, that the three divisions of Europeans might march in one line in front through the Maifforean camp, to fall at once upon the left flank of the French: the sepoy were divided on each flank of the battalion, at some distance in the rear: while the Tanjorines moved to the front of the French intrenchment, to create what confusion they could with their fire-arms and rockets. The battalion marched on with repeated huzza's, as to certain victory; the drums beating the grenadiers march, the gunners with their port-fires lighted on the flanks, and the sepoy sounding their military music. The troops formed as they marched, and attacked as they formed: the black camp was easily passed, and they came up with the French at dawn of day, when the engagement began. The French received the English fire, and then discharged a general volley upon them. Among those who suffered in this onset was captain Kilpatrick, who commanded the division on the right, and fell desperately wounded; upon which captain Caillaud put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and took the command of the whole division. He gained the left flank of the intrenchment, and poured in a close fire upon the French battalion: the grenadiers pushed on with their bayonets, and drove them crowding upon their center, which also gave way, and a well levelled discharge from the center and left of the English battalion in front completed the route. M. Astruc endeavoured to rally them, and they made a stand; but the grenadiers renewed the attack with their bayonets, and put them again to flight, which became general. The English troops had marched through a constant fire of nine pieces of cannon; attacked a line of men which greatly out-numbered themselves; and in ten minutes drove the enemy out of their lines. They however rallied

ed again, and made some faint resistance, supported by the Morattoes, who rode up very desperately: but as these could not sustain a galling fire, which fell upon them from all quarters, they also ran away, and left the English complete masters of the field of battle, all their camp, cannon, baggage, and ammunition. The whole action lasted near two hours; and when the victory was totally decided, the English troops drew up on the French parade.

THE French had 114 men of their battalion either killed or wounded, and 95 more were taken prisoners: among the latter were M. Astruc and ten officers; many others were taken in straggling parties; so that the whole of their loss was at least 300 Europeans, and it might have been much more, if the Tanjorines had exerted themselves as they were ordered. The English had thirty men killed, and forty two wounded: among the latter were six officers, of whom major Lawrence was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, and captain Kilpatrick received a shot through his body. The captain concluding his wound must be mortal, would not permit any of his people to stay by him, but sent them to join the company in pursuit of the enemy. Some straggling Morattoes here came up, and cut him with their sabres as they passed, which would have been repeated by others; but the surgeon seeing him in that danger, stood and protected him till the success of the day cleared the field of the enemy.

THIS action was decided entirely by the musketry; and the French, having thus left the English masters of the plain, with an open communication, escaped over the river to the island, by the pass of Mootachillinour. It was some hours before the whole arrived at Seringham; for the throng consisted of 30,000 men of all sorts on foot, and 16,000 horse;

besides a great number of oxen, camels, and elephants.

THE Nabob's standard was planted in the enemy's camp, and the English flag displayed on the top of the Sugar-loaf Rock; which proclaimed the triumph of their arms to the country several miles round: but the same evening, major Lawrence removed his army to besiege Weycondah, in which was a garrison of fifty French and 400 sepoy.

THIS fort was originally a pagoda and choultry, situated on the top of a rock about thirty feet high. The rock was afterwards inclosed by a strong stone wall, carried up as high as the top of the rock itself, and built thick enough to afford a rampart about five feet broad; besides a slender parapet, which had loop-holes to fire through: and on the west-side was a gateway, the top of which communicated with the rampart. A watercourse served instead of a trench to shelter the English troops, who cut embrasures through the bank, about 400 yards from the wall, which was battered with two eighteen-pounders, and shells were thrown from a mortar and two cohorns. The wall was beat down, within twelve feet of the ground; but the breach was not practicable: however, a body of 600 sepoy made an attempt to mount the walls, and were repulsed. The sepoy then assaulted the gate: but this attempt was also ineffectual, till a resolute Englishman, who was serjeant to a company of sepoy, mounted on the shoulders of one of them, and got up to the top, where he planted the colors of his company on the parapet. He was followed by others, some of whom went down and opened the gate on the inside, when those without rushed in like a torrent, and attacked the garrison at push of bayonet. In the first fury several were killed; but about 400 who threw down their arms, and called for quarter, were spared.

THE army encamped at the French Rock, and were plentifully supplied with provisions both in city and camp. Captain Dalton then quitted the command at Trichinopoli, and returned to Europe. The rainy monsoon was coming on, which occasioned major Lawrence to canton his troops at Coiladdy, about fifteen miles east of the city, on the frontiers of Tanjore, from whence the army might be supplied with provisions. The major sent 150 Europeans, the sick of the battalion, and 400 sepoy, into Trichinopoli: a detachment was left at Elimiferum; and the rest of the English troops entered into cantonments on the 23d of October. They were still accompanied by the Nabob, with his attendants: but the Tanjorines returned to their own country, to celebrate a grand festival; while the English grew very sickly in their quarters, losing six officers and many soldiers in about a month.

In the beginning of November, the French at Seringham received a reinforcement of 300 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 1000 sepoy, with some cannon. Their whole army was now commanded by M. Maiffin, who crossed the river, on the 27th at night, to attack Trichinopoli, where captain Kilpatrick had recovered of his wounds, and succeeded captain Dalton in the command.

THE entrance into an Indian fortification is through a large and complicated pile of building, projecting in the form of a parallelogram from the main rampart: this building consists of several continued terraces of the same height as the main rampart, and communicate with it; and the inward walls of these terraces form the sides of an intricate passage, about twenty feet broad, which leads by various turnings at right angles through the whole pile, to the principal gate that stands in the main rampart.

THE French were 800, and 600 were to esca-
lade; while M. Maiffin, with 200, and a body of
sepoys, were to wait the event, prepared to second
and join the first party, when they had got over
the wall. Their forces were distributed agreeable
to the different false attacks they were to make:
but the real one was to be made on Dalton's bat-
tery, which was the center of the west face. The
guard appointed for the garrison was of fifty sepoys,
with their officers, and two European gunners: the
rounds had gone at twelve o'clock, and found them
present and alert; but when the attack began few
of them were on duty. The French passed the
ditch, which was almost dry, at three in the morn-
ing of the 28th. They placed the ladders, and the
whole 600 mounted on the battery, without inter-
ruption, or the least alarm to the garrison. They
turned two cannon on the battery against the town,
and discharged them with a volley of small arms,
their drums beating, and their soldiers crying out,
vive le roy. They were persuaded that firing alone
would frighten the garrison; but that was soon
alarmed by the piquet, and stood prepared. Cap-
tain Kilpatrick immediately ordered a party to the
place attacked, and others to their respective alarm-
posts. He was still confined to his bed; but his
orders were well executed by lieutenant Harrison.
The French having drawn up their scaling-ladders
into the battery, sent two parties down from it into
the interval between the two walls. They attempt-
ed the inward wall, in which they were defeated,
and then only thought of making their escape, or
screening themselves from the fire of the garrison.
The first was impracticable, as their ladders were
mostly destroyed, and they within the first wall:
yet some attempted leaping off the battery into the
ditch, eighteen feet perpendicular; but the greater
number lay hid under the parapet. At length day-
light

light appeared, when the French threw down their arms, and asked for quarters, which was immediately granted. The English officers from the rampart ordered them to assemble in the interval between the two walls, from whence they were conducted, in small bodies at a time, through the gateway they had assaulted. The French had 362 Europeans taken prisoners, 65 of whom were wounded; and of these eight were officers; 37 were found killed on the works; and upwards of 70 were killed or disabled by leaping into the ditch. Thus ended the assault of Trichinopoli, which impaired the French force more than any other event since the reduction of Seringham. Lieutenant Harrison died soon after these important services, and was greatly regretted as a brave and prudent officer.

THE firing was heard by the out-guards at Coiladdy, upon which major Lawrence immediately detached a party to reinforce the garrison, and prepared to follow with the rest of the army; but heavy rains prevented him from arriving before the 3d of December; while the enemy re-crossed the river, with the 8000 Maissorean horse.

HAD the English been able to pursue their fortune, their advantages would have been real: but, instead of it, their successes were only a respite, and they soon had the same to go over again; having, however, the consolation to think they had done all they could against so great a superiority.

DURING these transactions to the south of the Coleroon, the English arms had likewise gained some successes in the Carnatic. The French and their new Nabob had laid siege to Trinomalee, the garrison of which place signalized themselves by their frequent sallies, and were reinforced by 60 Europeans and 500 sepoy from Madras and Arcot in September. This detachment found all the avenues blockaded, and concerted measures with the

governor, whose name was Barkatoola, to favor their junction by making a vigorous sally, which was successfully executed, and the besiegers were entirely defeated. The general of the Nelloor troops was killed; and Hufsan Allee, who commanded the French sepoy, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. This loss of their commanders struck the troops with so much consternation, that they immediately raised the siege.

MAHOMED Comaul was one of those adventurers who had set up the standard of independency, and thereby alarmed the presidency of Madrafs. He surprized the capital of Nelloor, the north-east part of the Nabob's dominions; and then made preparations to attack the pagoda of Tripetti. This temple was situated on the top of a mountain, about seventy miles north-east of Arcot, and was one of the most famous in all the Deckan. The feast of the God to whom it was dedicated was annually celebrated in September, and the offerings made by the concourse of pilgrims who arrived from all parts to assist at it, amounted to so great a sum, that the bramins paid the government a yearly revenue of 60,000 pagodas, or 27,000 l. sterling. This revenue was assigned by the Nabob to the English, as a reimbursement in part of the great expences they had incurred during the war: and as neither the bramins, nor the pilgrims, were solicitous to whom this money was paid, it was the intention of Mahomed Comaul to get possession of the pagoda before the feast began. He was counteracted by the presidency of Madrafs, who sent ensign Holt with a detachment of 40 Europeans, 200 sepoy, and three pieces of cannon, to defend the pagoda. When this party arrived near Tripetti, they were attacked by Mahomed Comaul, with 5000 horse and foot, who obliged ensign Holt to retreat: but the next day he was joined by some of
the

the Nabob's forces, and proceeded again towards the pagoda. Mahomed Comaul met them on the plain, and a cannonade began, by which ensign Holt was killed. However, ensign Ogilby continued the engagement, and a shot from one of the field pieces killed the elephant of Mahomed Comaul, whose army instantly fled, before he had time to mount a horse. He was taken prisoner, and carried to Nazeabulla Cawn, by whose order he was instantly beheaded; which prevented further insurrections in the Carnatic for some time.

THE king of Tanjore refused to quit his alliance with the English, and the French sent 1500 Morattoes to ravage his country in December. They plundered and burnt the country down to the sea-coast; but Monackjee attacked them with 3000 horse, and destroyed the whole party. About 800 Morattoes were killed, many others were wounded, and the rest taken prisoners. Monackjee ordered all the dead bodies to be hanged upon trees; and all the prisoners, even the wounded, to be impaled alive in sight of the high roads.

M. Bussy, with his army, was still attending and supporting Salabatzing, to the northward, as prince of the Deckan: but was thwarted in his designs by Seid Lascar Cawn, the duan or vizir, who held the post of captain-general of the army under Nizam Al Muluck, and had accompanied Nazirzing into the Carnatic in that character. However, it was agreed, that the provinces of Mustaphanagar, Yalore, Rajamundrum, and Chickacole, should be given up to the French company in full sovereignty. This acquisition added to Masulipatnam and the province of Condavir, which the French had already obtained, rendered them masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orixa, in a regular line of 600 miles from Medapilly to Jagernaut.

THESE countries were bounded by a large chain of mountains, which run almost in the same direction as the sea-coast, and are in some places about 90 miles from it, although in others not more than thirty. They are covered with impenetrable forests of bamboes; and have five passes in their whole extent. The province of Condavir lies between the river Kristna and Gondegam, which enters the sea at Medapilly. The limits of the other four provinces are not exactly ascertained: yet it appears, that Mustaphanagar joins to the north of Condavir; that Yalore lies to the north-west of Mustaphanagar; that Rajamundrum is bounded to the south by these two provinces; and that Chickacole extends 250 miles from the river Godaveri to the pagoda of Jagernaut. The revenues of these provinces were computed at 3,100,000 rupees; of Condavir at 680,000; and the dependencies of Masulipatnam at 507,000; in all 4,287,000 rupees, equal to 535,675 l. sterling. So that these territories rendered the French masters of the greatest dominion, both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed by Europeans in the empire of Indostan, not excepting the Portugueze, when in the height of their prosperity. Nor were commercial advantages wanting to enhance the value of these acquisitions; for the manufactures of cloth proper for European markets were made in this part of the Deckan, of much better fabric, and at much cheaper rates, than in the Carnatic. Large forests of teak-trees* grew in Rajamundrum, which was the only part of the coast that furnished this wood: and Chickacole abounded in grain, of which great quantities were exported every year to the Carnatic.

THE Mogul Hamet Shah, notwithstanding the appearance of vigor with which he ascended the

* Like Oak,

throne in 1748, soon fell into the same indolence as characterized all the successors of Aurengzebe; but he was now deposed, and this change was occasioned by the following event. The Mogul sent his buckshee Shah Abadin Cawn*, who was the nephew of Salabatzing, to suppress an irruption of the Rajpoots†. He succeeded in this expedition, which made the Mogul jealous he would dethrone him, and a scheme was laid to put him to death; but Shah Abadin Cawn returned to Delli, and seized the Mogul, whose debaucheries made him a scandal to the throne. The buckshee assembled the Omrahs, and placed on the throne Allum Geer, a near relation to the late Mogul: and the deposed prince, according to the cruel policy of their government, was deprived of his sight by passing a red-hot iron before his eyes. Shah Abadin then declared himself vizir to the new Mogul, whom he suffered to interfere very little in the administration; and finding that great disorders had been introduced in the provinces near the capital, he determined to reform these before he extended his views farther. In this resolution he dissembled his resentment against Salabatzing for the murder of his father, and pretended to be well satisfied that the Soubahdarship of the Deckan should remain under the government of his uncle.

MR. SAUNDERS had been at the head of the English presidency ever since the death of Nazirzing, and convinced by that event of the ambitious schemes formed by M. Dupleix, determined to oppose them to the utmost of his strength, notwithstanding he had no instructions from the company to engage in hostilities. The two governors had carried on a sharp controversy by letters a consider-

* Or Sche Abeddin.

† Or Rashpoots.

able time; and at last it was agreed to hold a congress at Sadrafs, a Dutch settlement between Madrafs and Pondicherry.

THE English deputies were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart: those for the French were the father Lavour, superior of the jesuits, and Messieurs de Kerjean and Bauffet. They met on the 3d of January 1754; and the two governors superintended their proceedings by letters, which were no more than twelve hours in coming from Pondicherry, and only six from Madrafs. The English deputies opened the conference by proposing as the basis of the negotiation, that Mahomed Allee Cawn should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic; and that the king of Tanjore should be guaranteed in the peaceable possession of his kingdom. The French proposed the acknowledgment of Salabatzing as Soubahdar of the Deckan, and the immediate release of the French prisoners taken during the war: in return for which, the English were to be exempted from the ground-rent of Madrafs, and were to keep possession of the country of Ponamalee, and some establishment was to be made for Mahomed Allee after his difference with the Maifforean was settled concerning Trichinopoli. It was impossible to have made proposals more directly opposite; for by acknowledging Salabatzing without restrictions, the French would become absolute over the English in the Carnatic; as they would of the French, if Mahomed Allee was acknowledged; so that each side required of the other to give up every thing before they had well begun to treat of any thing. However, the business did not stop, and the French deputies produced seven patents, which they called their authorities for interfering as they had done in the affairs of the Mogul government, and for making the present demands. Two of these patents were from Muzapherzing; one appointing M. Dupleix commander

mander in all the countries from the river Krifna to the sea; the other confirming Chunda Saib governor of the Carnatic; two others ratifying the former: another giving the countries of Arcot and Trichinopoli to M. Dupleix after the death of Chunda Saib; the other appointing Mortiz Allee of Ne-lor lieutenant under M. Dupleix in these countries: the last piece was a letter from the Great Mogul, confirming all that Salabatzing had done in favor of M. Dupleix and his allies. They delivered copies of these patents to be scrutinized by the English deputies, who asserted their authority under patents from Nazirzing, Gazi Odin Cawn, and the Great Mogul, appointing Mahomed Allee, Nabob of the Carnatic; which was another flat contradiction, and of such a nature, as could not be adjusted without sending the deputies to Delli: the English deputies came close to the point, and proposed, that the English and French should be put in possession of lands of equal value in such different parts of the province as might prevent future disputes; that the commerce of the two companies in the Carnatic should be established on equal terms of advantage; that security should be given to the Maifforeans for such a sum of money, as upon an equitable adjustment of their accounts might appear to be due to them; that a pension should be assigned to Raja Saib, the son of Chunda Saib; and that the French prisoners should be released; provided M. Dupleix would acknowledge Mahomed Allee Cawn Nabob of the Carnatic.

THESE proposals left the French superior by the whole of their possessions to the north, which were of much greater value than what the English would have been content to take, subject to an equality with them in the Carnatic: a moderation which would have been inconsistent with the continual success of the English arms, if the expences of the

war

war had not already greatly hurt the commercial interests of the East India company, restrained by their charter from enlarging their capital. The French rejected this proposal, and insisted strenuously on the validity of their titles: but while they were explaining the various events which had led their nation to the acquisition of such important prerogatives, the English deputies discovered, that the Mogul's letter to M. Dupleix wanted the usual signature, which is a seal engraved with his name and titles, and stamped with ink at the head of the patent. They also observed, that the seal impressed on the wax, which had secured the cover of the letter, appeared by the date to be thirty-three years old, and consequently belonged to a former emperor. The French persisted to defend the authenticity of their papers; and the English were convinced the whole was a forgery; which broke up the conference eleven days after it began, and left both sides more exasperated than ever.

C H A P. VIII.

The Campaign of 1754.—Reflections on the War in INDIA. Negotiations to terminate it in EUROPE.—Military actions in the kingdom of TRICHINOPOLI. The ENGLISH Convoy cut off. Proceedings of the MAISSOREANS and MORATTOES. Captain CAILLAUD defeats the FRENCH, who invade TONDEMAN'S country, and the kingdom of TANJORE. The English follow them, and return to Trichinopoli. MORAROW returns into his own country with the Morattoes: some account of them. Major LAWRENCE repulses the French under M. MAISSIN: enters Trichinopoli, and finishes the Campaign.—Other transactions in the CARNATIC, and GOLCONDA.—M. GODEHEU supersedes M. DUPLÉIX; and agrees upon a cessation of arms with governor SAUNDERS. Admiral WATSON, commodore POCOCKE, and Colonel ALDERCRON arrive at MADRASS. A PROVISIONAL TREATY, and a TREATY OF TRUCE, concluded between the English and French. Remarks thereon, and on M. Dupléix. The English and French governors settle the peace of India, and return to Europe.

IT is but a small part of India where the English company have forts, and that only in the neighbourhood of Indostan; as Bombay, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, Bengal, Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, and some other small forts, besides the island of St. Helena. When a war happens there, the British nation must be at the expence of sending fleets and troops upon extraordinary occasions; for a trading company should not be turned into a military one.

A WAR was carried on in that country for almost four years with various success; in which the French acted

acted as auxiliaries on one side, and the English as auxiliaries to the other. On the English side, their merchants, writers, and all the factors took up arms to defend their properties. They were not curbed by the mutiny and desertion act; yet they beat the French, and the vast armies of their allies. The French company had their troops sent over by the king, who might be at the expence of maintaining them; but they were kept up in the name of the company; because it is impossible ever to treat in the name of the crown with any of those eastern princes, who are haughty even to a degree of ridicule. The English company sent over Swiss recruits to that country, which disgusted the English foldiers; and it was so natural to suppose that some of them would desert to the French, that when M. Dupleix heard of it, he said, "he was very much obliged to the English company, for sending over recruits for the troops under his command."

THE stock of the English company, in 1753, consisted of 3,200,000 l. upon which they divided eight per cent. and the government paid them three per cent. upon that 3,200,000 l. It then was observed, that the war in India was first occasioned by the English company's rejecting the offers of neutrality made by the French, with respect to that country, and that it had been continued by the government four years, at the expence of more than a million of money, eight large ships of war, and many valuable lives, upon a supposition that the trade, under an exclusive charter, was gainful both to individuals and the public. This supposition was disproved in an account, whereby it appeared, that the payment of eight per cent. on the trade, during the years 1752 and 1753, produced a deficiency of 254,300 l. This loss must at last be sustained by every individual, as time must rather increase than diminish it; for it was said, there was annually a
loss

loss to the public of 660,000 l. by the exportation of that value in bullion, for which England received nothing in return, that was either necessary to life, or could employ its manufactures.

THE dispute between the English and French East India companies, became the object of ministerial consideration in Europe. The directors of the English company made representations to their ministry, on the hostilities in which they were involved on the coast of Coromandel, and solicited the support of the government, either to terminate or carry on a war, which their own resources were unable to continue against the French company, strongly supported by the administration of France. The British ministry soon perceived the necessity of interfering vigorously to stop the ambitious projects of M. Dupleix, and began a negotiation with the French ministry on the subject. Monsieur Duve-laer, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them resided many years in India, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the ministry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderness, at that time one of the secretaries of state, who acquired an extensive knowledge of the subject, however intricate and little understood. His Britannic majesty ordered a squadron of his ships to be equipped, and one of his regiments to embark, for the East Indies. This convinced the French administration, that a perseverance in their schemes of making conquests, and obtaining dominions in Indostan, would soon involve the two nations in a general war, for which the French were unprepared: therefore, they consented, that the disputes of the two companies should be adjusted by commissaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be possessed when the treaty should be

concluded. The French ministry were convinced, that M. Dupleix was an improper person to be trusted with such a commission, and they took the resolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry, which was conferred on M. Godeheu, a director of the French company, who was fully empowered to treat with governor Saunders on the terms of pacification.

As commodore Barnet* was sent with a squadron in 1744, to assist the English company in their Indian settlements; so rear-admiral Watson and commodore Pococke were now sent there with a squadron † of five ships of the line, one frigate and a sloop, which sailed from Corke in Ireland, with colonel Aldercron's regiment of foot on board, in March 1754; and the whole squadron arrived at Fort St. David in October following, when a cessation of arms was agreed upon between the English and French.

THE French seized the advantage when they broke up the congress at Sadras, and renewed hostilities at Trichinopoli, where the number of French prisoners obliged major Lawrence to augment the garrison to 300 Europeans and 1500 sepoy; 150 of the battalion also remained sick in the hospital; so that the whole force with which he kept the field was no more than 600 Europeans, including the artillery men, and 1800 sepoy. The French battalion was now equal to the English; be-

* See the Introduction to this Vol. p. XX.

† Ships.	Guns.	
Kent, - -	72	Rear Admiral Watson, and capt. Speke.
Cumberland, - -	66	Commodore Pococke, and capt. Harrison.
Eagle, - -	60	Captain,
Tyger, - -	60	Captain Latham.
Salisbury, -	50	Captain Knowles.
Bridgewater, -	24	Captain Martin.
King-fisher-sloop, 14		Captain Smith.

vides,

sides, they had four companies of Topasses, each of 100 men, distinct from their battalion: they had also 6000 sepoy, and the Maifforeans and Morattoes remained as before, with little alteration in their numbers. But notwithstanding this superiority, the French would not venture to quit the island, and encamp to the south of the Cavery.

THE plain of Trichinopoli having been so long the seat of war, scarce a tree was left standing for several miles round the city; and the English detachments were obliged to march five or six miles to get firewood. Their provisions came chiefly from the Tanjore country; but the merchants would not venture nearer than Tricatapolly, a fort eighteen miles east of Trichinopoli, from whence they were escorted to the camp. The detachments sent on these services were seldom less than 150 Europeans and 500 sepoy; who had safely escorted seven convoys from the beginning of January to the middle of February 1754; at which time a convoy was in readiness, much larger than any of the former. It consisted of a great quantity of military stores, as well as provisions, the carriage of which required 3000 oxen. The escort was therefore made stronger than usual, and was composed of two captains, six officers, and 187 men rank and file, with four pieces of cannon, and 800 sepoy. They were surrounded and attacked on their march from Kelly Cotah*, on the 15th of February, by 400 Europeans, 6000 sepoy, and 12,000 horse, Morattoes and Maifforeans, with seven pieces of cannon. The Morattoes were commanded by Morarow and Innis Cawn, who galloped up at full speed, and instantly charged every part of the line; some pushing on to the intervals which

* Or Killicatah.

separated the different platoons, and then falling on them in flank, while others attacked them in front. The charge was so sudden and impetuous, that few of the English troops had time to give more than a single discharge; while most of the sepoy's threw down their arms and fled. The bullocks were terrified by the tumult, which they increased by pushing on all sides to get away, sometimes against the enemy, at others upon the escort. However, the English soldiers made an irregular resistance, every man trusting only to himself, resolved to sell his life as dear as possible. This was continued until the French troops came up, who obliged the Morattoes to retire, and offered the English quarter, which was accepted. In this unhappy affair 53 men were killed, 134 were taken prisoners, and 100 of them were wounded. Of the eight officers, four were killed, and three wounded, only one escaping. Lieutenant Revel, who served at the defence of Arcot, commanded the artillery in this action; he saw the day was lost, and the enemy ready to seize the cannon; so that he suffered himself to be cut down without making resistance, rather than quit the work in which he was employed, of spiking up one of the field pieces.

Four cannon, and about 7000 l. in money, with all their convoy, provisions, and military stores, fell into the hands of the enemy, who returned with their booty and their prisoners to the island. They soon after set the sepoy's at liberty, who returned to the English camp: the French also permitted the surviving English officers to depart on their parole, which was taken in the name of Salabatzing. The garrison of Elimiserum, as soon as they heard the firing, marched to secure the village of Cootaparah, that the convoy might take post in it: but before they could arrive all was lost.

MAJOR

MAJOR Lawrence thought this was a most heavy stroke upon his brave handful of men, above a third, and his best troops; for among them were that gallant company of grenadiers, who had always behaved so well on every occasion, where bravery and resolution were to be shewn; and who may be said, without exaggeration, to have rendered more service than the same number of troops belonging to any nation at this time in the world.

THE presidency of Madras soon heard of this misfortune, and sent a detachment of 180 men, under the command of captain Pigou, to Devi Cottah, by sea: but major Lawrence was convinced, that this party was not strong enough to march to the camp; and dreading to leave the city exposed to another assault by moving to join them, he ordered captain Pigou to wait at Devi Cottah until he was reinforced by some succors expected from Arcot under the command of Maphuze Cawn, the Nabob's elder brother, who had been released by the French, and had collected a body of 2000 horse and as many Peons to join his brother.

In the mean time, major Lawrence was determined to maintain his ground on the plain, notwithstanding he had only 400 Europeans in the field. The smallness of this number made it impossible to bring provisions from such a distance as the Tanjore country; whose king discouraged his merchants from supplying the English, because he thought their late misfortune would oblige them to retire from Trichinopoli. The major therefore represented to the presidency of Madras, the necessity of recovering the king of Tanjore to the interest of the Nabob; and Mr. Palk, who had, during his former residence at Tanjore, made himself acceptable to the king, was sent there again in the middle of April. He now found the king difficult of access, and more than ever under the influence of

his minister Succojee, who was carrying on a treaty with the Maifforeans, and had prevailed on his master to imprifon Monackjee, under pretence that he had not accounted regularly for the monies iffued for the expences of the army. The representations made by Mr. Palk, prevented the king from concluding the treaty with the Maifforeans; but did not induce him to fend his troops to Trichinopoli.

About this time, the Maifforean general detached 1000 horfe, and as many fepoys, to his own country, which Balazarow had entered and plundered with his Morattoes: but Nanderauze was foon after reinforced by 2000 Morattoes, under the command of Morarow's brother. Even this reinforcement could not induce the enemy to quit the ifland, and encamp on the plain; although it was evident, that this meafure would inevitably oblige the Englifh either to bring on a general action, or retire.

In thefe circumftances, it was difcovered that the Englifh army had for fome time been expofed to the danger of treachery, from a perfon in whom major Lawrence had been obliged to refofe the utmoft confidence. This was Poniapah, the principal linguift, who had an averfion to Mahomed Iffouf, the chief commander of the Englifh fepoys. This officer was an excellent partizan, and was bred up under captain Clive: he was brave and refolute in attempts, but cool and cautious in action: he constantly procured intelligence of the enemy's motions; and, having a perfect knowledge of the country, planned the marches of the convoys fo well, that by frequently changing the roads, and the times of bringing the provifions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for fix weeks. However, the enemy got intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanore, and fent a party to attack that place; but they were repulfed by the fepoys ftationed there. The Maifforean general

neral prevailed on Poniapah to charge Mahomed Iffouf with a design to assist in delivering up the town: but the villainy was detected, and Poniapah was blown off from the mouth of a cannon. This complicated treachery shews to what dangers the affairs of Europeans in Indostan may be exposed, by not having persons of their own nation sufficiently masters of the country languages, to serve instead of the natives as interpreters.

MORAROW demanded his arrears of Nanderauze, and withdrew his forces from Seringham. He encamped with them, on the 11th of May, to the north of the Coleroon, and declared, he would not return before the money was paid.

THE next day, a party of 120 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, with two field pieces, under the command of captain Caillaud, marched from the camp at four in the morning; intending to wait about two miles to the south of the Sugar-loaf Rock, for a convoy of provisions which was ordered to advance out of the woods. The post in which the party were to halt, had formerly been one of those reservoirs of water called Tanks, which occur so frequently in the dry plains of this country, where that element is procured with so much difficulty. These Tanks are generally dug square, the sides of some being 500 feet long, and of others not more than 100: with the earth taken out is formed a mound, which incloses the Tank at the distance of forty feet from the water. The Tank in which the party intended to take post was choaked up; but the mound remained. The advanced guard was commanded by Mahomed Iffouf, who discovered the enemy as they lay in wait to intercept the convoy; upon which, captain Caillaud determined to attack them.

THE day was just beginning to dawn, and the troops were formed in one line; the sepoy on the

right, and the Europeans on the left: the sepoy's attacked the enemy on the right, while the Europeans fell on the left flank. The charge was vigorously made; and the enemy abandoned the Tank, of which the English immediately took possession, and soon discovered the numbers of the enemy, who were 250 Europeans, with four cannon, 1000 sepoy's, and 4000 Maifforean horse, who divided in two bodies, one on each side of the Tank, and began a smart cannonade, which was briskly returned.

MAJOR Lawrence was then so much indisposed, that he had the day before been obliged to go into the city; and captain Polier commanded in his absence, who no sooner heard the firing, than he marched with the rest of the army to support the detachment. The rest of the enemy's army crossed the Cavery at the same time, and when the whole joined, their numbers were 700 Europeans, 50 dragoons, 5000 sepoy's, and 10,000 horse, with seven cannon. The English army was composed of only 360 men in battalion, 11 troopers, and 1500 sepoy's: however, the men were not dismayed, and prepared with great alacrity to fight their way back to the camp. The French formed together within cannon-shot to the right of the Tank, and their line extended a great way beyond it towards the city. The English defiled first out of the Tank into the plain, marching onward in a column, ready to face the enemy: the sepoy's followed in a line, which terminated in a right angle with the rear of the battalion, and extended to the left of it. The French fired their cannon; but the English proceeded without halting to another Tank, about a mile from that which they had quitted. Here captain Polier was wounded, and gave up the command to captain Caillaud.

THE

THE enemy now seemed determined to let the English escape no farther, and threatened a general assault on the Tank; for their sepoy and cavalry drew up on three sides of it, while the French menaced the other. The three English field pieces were brass six-pounders, capable of discharging a great quantity of grape-shot; and the artillery men, with their usual calmness and dexterity, fired them so well as the French battalion advanced, that they struck down near 100 men in a few minutes; upon which their line halted, irresolute for some time whether to proceed or retreat: at last they gave way, when the lucky minute was improved, by the English advancing and giving them a fire, which completed what the cannon had begun. The sepoy and Maissorean cavalry had been kept at bay by the English sepoy; but when they saw the French retreat, they followed, and the whole returned together by Weycondah to Seringham; while the English, contented with this unexpected success, did not pursue, but continued their march quietly to the camp. They had six officers wounded out of nine, 59 private men killed and wounded, and about 200 sepoy: but the enemy's loss was much more considerable, having near 200 of their battalion, and 300 sepoy, killed or wounded.

THE convoy arrived the same night in the camp, which was in such want of provisions, that if the enemy had only taken the resolution of encamping near the ground where they had fought, the English army would have been obliged to decamp and march to Tanjore.

THE enemy were afraid to attack the English camp; but, the second night after the engagement, M. Maiffin, with all his Europeans, 3000 sepoy, and 2000 horse, penetrated into the country subject to the Polygar Tondeman, whose people were
alarmed,

alarmed, and removed their effects into the thickest parts of their woods, where it was impossible to follow them. The enemy found nothing but desolate villages to burn, except at Killanore, where they dispersed the English sepoy's from that post, and took about 300 bags of rice. From thence they marched into the Tanjore country, and appeared before Kelly Cottah, which surrendered on the second day.

MAJOR Lawrence immediately prepared to march towards Tanjore, that he might avail himself of the first impression which these hostilities might make upon the king. The guards at Elimiserum and the other out-posts were drawn off: 100 of the battalion were sent into the city to augment the garrison to 400 Europeans; and the rest of the army set out the 23d, at two in the morning, proceeding through Tondeman's woods. Orders were also sent for the reinforcement at Devi Cottah to join the army at Tanjore. That detachment deterred the French garrison at Chilamburum from committing any hostilities, and preserved Palam Cottah: but the English, in marching back from thence, were attacked by the French, who killed some, and made prisoners of others, as they crossed the Coleroon.

MAJOR Lawrence pursued his march through the woods, and was met by the Polygar Tondeman, who expressed the strongest fidelity to the English and their allies. The king of Tanjore also sent an express to hasten the major's march, for the enemy having taken Coiladdy, cut through the great bank, which may be called the bulwark of the fertility of this country, as it prevents the waters of the Cavery from running into the channel of the Coleroon. The king sent his uncle Gauderow, with 1500 horse to Tricatopoly, where he was attacked by

Morarow

Morarow at the head of 3000 of his best troops, who fell at day-break so furiously on the Tanjorines, that only 300 with their general escaped; the others being all killed or taken prisoners.

Two days after this defeat, the English army arrived at Tanjore, where they were joined by the detachment from Devi Cottah, of 150 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, under the command of captain Pigou. Major Lawrence prevailed on the king to banish Succojee from his presence and councils; and not only to reinstate Monackjee in the command of the army, but also to appoint him prime minister. This change was very essential to the interest of the Nabob; and Monackjee immediately began to levy new troops: but as it required some time to collect them, major Lawrence requested the presidency to hasten the junction of Maphuze Cawn, and of the reinforcements which were arrived at Madras from Bombay and Europe; so that the whole might march from Tanjore to Trichinopoli in one body.

ACCORDINGLY a detachment of 400 men in battalion, half Europeans and half Topasses, together with 500 sepoy, marched to join Maphuze Cawn at Conjeveram, and from thence to proceed with him to Tanjore: but he would not march till the English presidency agreed to pay him 100,000 rupees, or 12,500 l. sterling. About the same time Morarow received 300,000 rupees, or 37,500 l. sterling, from the Nabob and the king of Tanjore, on condition that he would return into his own country, and never more be an enemy against them or the English. He also extorted 50,000 rupees from Nanderauze, and then marched with all his troops to Volconda, left the province in the beginning of July, and went to his own country, which lies about 100 miles north-east from Arcot. Here Morarow, after he surrendered Trichinopoli to
Nizam

Nizam Al Muluck in 1741*, was permitted to erect a principality, dependant on the Soubahdar of the Deckan, but independant of his own nation. He soon made himself respected and revered by his neighbors, inlisting none of his countrymen but such as were of approved valor, whom he treated so well, that the whole army seemed as one family. The choice he made of his officers still more discovered his capacity; for there was not a commander of 100 horse, who was not fit to lead an army: so that this body of troops were the best soldiers of native Indians throughout all the empire at this time. Besides the qualities common to the rest of the Morattoe nation†, such as activity, stratagem, great dexterity in the management of their horses and sabres, they had by their conflicts against Europeans almost surmounted the terror of fire-arms, although opposed to them with the steadiest discipline; and were even capable of standing against the vivacity of a cannonade from field pieces; though this terrible annoyance was seldom made use of in India before the present war, and continued to strike all other Indian troops with as much terror, as their ancestors felt when regular musketry was first employed against them.

THE garrison of Trichinopoli had their convoys from the woods greatly incommoded by the French and Maissoreans, who crossed the Cavery, and encamped on the plain, between Elimiserum and the Five Rocks. Major Lawrence was anxious to return, and pressed Monackjee to march: but few of the Indian generals have any notion of the value of time in military operations; and Monackjee found such difficulties in recruiting his cavalry, that he de-

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xv. xvi.

† Ibid. p. x.

clared he could not be ready before the end of July.

MAJOR Lawrence and the Nabob marched with the English troops from Tanjore on the 22d, and encamped at Atchempettah, a town in the woods belonging to the Colleries, about twelve miles west from Tanjore; and five days after he was joined by the Tanjorine forces under Monackjee, who now declared, that his troops would be greatly dissatisfied if they proceeded any farther before Maphuze Cawn arrived with his reinforcement; which obliged the Nabob to wait for those troops.

MAPHUZE CAWN was advanced no farther than Fort St. David; and major Lawrence ordered the detachment of Europeans to march without him: they marched under the command of captain Forbes, and arrived at Atchempettah on the 14th of August; the next day the whole army was reviewed, in presence of the Nabob and Monackjee. The English troops consisted of 1200 men in battalion, part of them Topasses, with 3000 sepoy, and 14 cannon: the Tanjoreans were 2500 horse, and 3000 foot, mostly armed with muskets; but they also had some pieces of cannon: the Nabob had only his guard of fifty horse. They marched through the woods on the 16th, and the next day entered the plain about a mile to the south-east of Elimiserum, intending to pass between the Sugar-loaf and the French Rock. M. Maiffin was informed of their approach, and marched from his camp at the Five Rocks, to oppose their passage.

THE English army advanced close by Elimiserum in a direct line from thence to the city, and passed a bank which might have been advantageous to the enemy; after which they halted, and formed in two lines, extending obliquely between the Sugar-loaf and the French Rock. The first line was composed entirely of the English troops; the
battalion

battalion with the field-pieces in the center, and the sepoy on each wing: in the second line was the baggage, accompanied by the Tanjorine cavalry and Peons; with the rear-guard of 100 Europeans, and 400 sepoy. In this order they waited for the enemy, who were drawn up in a line parallel to them, at about the distance of a mile. Their battalion was reinforced the preceding night with 200 men, so that it consisted of 900 Europeans and 400 Topasses, who with their sepoy were on the right near the Sugar-loaf Rock: the Maiffore cavalry, about 10,000, extended so far to the left, that many of them were drawn up to the westward of the city. A cannonade began on both sides: but the English fire was superior, and struck down above fifty of the French battalion in a few rounds; upon which they retreated towards their camp at the Five Rocks, in the same order as they advanced. Major Lawrence would have pursued them; but the Maifforeans had attacked his rear, and took off some of the convoy. He prevented the bad consequences that might have happened; after which his army continued their march, and encamped near the walls to the south of the city. The English had eight men killed by the cannonade, and among them captain Pigou, an officer well beloved, and greatly lamented. About 100 of the French battalion were killed or wounded: but the irresolution and faintness of their behaviour was not imputed so much to want of courage, as to orders, which it was supposed their commander had received, to avoid a general engagement.

MAJOR Lawrence entered Trichinopoli, to the great joy of the garrison, who began to want provisions. He moved, on the 20th, to the Facquire's Tope; upon which, the enemy set fire to their camp, and retreated to Seringham. Elimiferum was taken, and garrisoned by 200 English sepoy; after which,
Monackjee

Monackjee was detached with the Tanjorine troops, accompanied by 220 Europeans, and 600 sepoy, with two cannon, under the command of captain Joseph Smith, to Coiladdy, to protect the Coolies, employed there in repairing the great bank which the enemy had ruined about three months before. The rainy season was now set in, and major Lawrence distributed the rest of his troops in cantonments in Warriore pagodas, somewhat west of the city, on the 13th of September.

THE two armies at Trichinopoli were in expectation of a suspension of arms, and attempted nothing remarkable against each other after the French retreated to Seringham. Few disturbances happened in other parts of the provinces, since Maphuze Cawn had marched from Conjeveram to Fort St. David, where he still remained. The Phoufadar of Veloor offered to acknowledge Mahomed Allee Cawn; upon which the presidency of Madras gave him their protection so long as he submitted to the Nabob; and Abdulwahab Cawn made a treaty with him upon the same condition.

IT was with some difficulty that the French established themselves in the four northern provinces ceded to them by Salabatzing. They were opposed by Jaffier Allee Cawn and Vizeramrauze; the one a Nabob, and the other a Raja, who entered into a league, and agreed to resist the French with all their force. Their treaty was soon dissolved, and Jaffier Allee took refuge with Ragogi Bonsala the Morattoe general, who entered some of the provinces in dispute with 20,000 horse, and defeated the Raja, who fled to Masulipatnam for protection from the French. The Morattoes burnt the Dutch factory at Bimlapatnam, in which they found several chests of treasure: but they offered no violence to the English factory of Vizagapatnam.

IN July, M. Buffy came from Golconda to Masulipatnam, from whence he went to the city of Rajamandrum, and settled the government of his new acquisitions, in which he met with no farther obstruction from the Morattoes, who deserted Jaffier Allee, and he made his submission to Salabatzing.

M. GODEHEU arrived at Pondicherry, on the 2d of August, with the appointment of commissary-general and governor general of all the French settlements. He proclaimed his commission, and assumed the administration of the government; which M. Dupleix resigned to him with an appearance of composure and serenity, and was treated by his successor with all imaginable respect. He was permitted to continue the exhibition of those marks of Moorish dignity, which both Muzapherzing and Salabatzing had granted him to display, when they appointed him Nabob: these were of various flags and ensigns, instruments of military music, particular ornaments for his palankeen, and a rich Moorish dress, in which equipage he went to dine with the new governor on the feast of St. Louis.

M. GODEHEU immediately acquainted governor Saunders of the intentions of the French India company; and sent back to Madrafs the company of Swiss soldiers which M. Dupleix had made prisoners at sea the year before. The two governors entered into a correspondence, and both seemed desirous of agreeing to a suspension of arms; which was negotiated with spirit, and concluded with cordiality.

ADMIRAL Watson soon after arrived with his squadron at Madrafs, where he landed the 49th regiment of 700 men, commanded by colonel Aldercon; with forty of the king's artillery men, and 200 recruits for the company's troops. The French had also received 1200 men, half of which were hussars, under the command of colonel Fitcher, a German

German Partizan: but the rest were only raw recruits. Both sides were now able to bring into the field an equal force of about 2000 Europeans: but the English troops were much superior in quality to the French, who were sensible of this disparity; and at the same time dreading the advantages which the English might derive from their squadron, the French governor shewed a moderation in his proposals sufficient to induce Mr. Saunders to agree to a cessation of arms, before the terms of the treaty were adjusted.

THIS suspension of arms was to take place on the 11th of October, and continue to the 11th of January 1755. The treaty consisted of nine articles, whereby it was agreed, "that all acts of hostility should cease for three months between the two nations in all the Carnatic: their troops were not to act either as principals or auxiliaries; and should oblige their allies to enter into the same engagement: both nations were to enjoy a free commerce; and prisoners were to be mutually exchanged."

As the allies on both sides were included in this cessation it was proclaimed at Madras, Pondicherry, Trichinopoly, and all other places where the English and French had troops on the coast of Coromandel, on the 11th of October. When the proclamation was made, major Lawrence returned to Madras, where he received a commission appointing him to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the king's service. The president, in the name of the company, presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, as a distinguishing proof of their acknowledgments of his military services: but he was dissatisfied, that an officer of superior rank was sent to command the troops.

WHEN this suspension of arms was declared, admiral Watson left the coast, and sailed to Bombay, to avoid the stormy monsoon, while the two governors,

as far as they had power, adjusted the terms which were to restore tranquility to the Carnatic. They were only authorized to make a conditional treaty, which was not to be deemed definitive until it received the approbation of the two companies in Europe, who reserved to themselves the power of altering or annulling any part or the whole of it.

MR. PALK and Mr. Vansittart were sent to Pondicherry, where they concluded a provisional treaty between " Thomas Saunders, Esq; president for the honorable English company on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, governor of Fort St. George, &c. and the Sieur Charles Robert Godeheu, commissary for his Most Christian Majesty, commander general of all the French settlements on both sides the Cape of Good Hope, and at China; president of all the councils there established, and director-general of the India company of France." The treaty consisted of eleven articles, and by the first it was agreed, that the two companies were to renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity; and should never interfere in any difference that might arise between the princes of the country. The 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles relate to the settlements of both nations and their districts, whereby it was agreed, that all places, excepting those which should be stipulated in the definitive treaty to remain in the possession of the two nations, should be delivered up to the government of Indostan. The governors then proceeded to give their opinion what places each might retain without a risque of engaging them in future wars, either with one another, or with the princes of the country. In the Tanjore country, the English were to possess Devi Cottah; and the French Karical; with their districts: on the coast of Coromandel, the English were to enjoy Madrafs and Fort St. David; the French to keep Pondicherry, with districts of equal value;

value; and if it should appear, that the English possessions in the kingdom of Tanjore, and in the Carnatic together, were of more value than the French possessions in those countries, then the French were to be allowed an equivalent for this difference, in a settlement to be chosen between the river of Gondecama and Nizampatnam: Mazulipatnam and Divi were to be ceded; or if the French held one, the English should retain the other: the rivers of Narzapore and Ingeram were to be free: and as the English had Vizagapatnam in the Chicacole country, the French were to settle a factory there on an equality with it. By the 8th article it was agreed, that these conditions accepted on both sides, although they were not to be law for a definitive treaty in Europe, should nevertheless produce a truce between the two nations and their allies, until news was received in India of the answers made in Europe concerning this agreement. By the 9th article, neither nation should be allowed to procure, during the truce, any new grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence of new establishments; but only to rebuild and repair the fortifications then subsisting in the establishments they possessed at that time, in order to prevent their entire ruin. By the 10th, it was agreed, that until the arrival of answers from Europe to these articles, which were to be dispatched by the first ships, to be submitted to the decision of the two companies, under the pleasure and approbation of the two crowns; the two nations should not proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation of what they then possessed; every thing being to remain on the footing of *uti possidetis*. And lastly, that in regard to indemnification, the two nations might expect for the expences of the war; this article should be amicably adjusted in the definitive treaty.

THIS provisional treaty was signed by the French governor at Pondichery, on the 26th of December; and by the English governor at Fort St. David on the 31st. The truce was signed at the same time with the provisional treaty, which it confirmed, and contained twelve articles, as follows:

- I. To take place on the 11th of January 1755, the day of the expiration of the suspension of arms, proclaimed on the 11th of October 1754: all hostilities should cease between the English and French.
- II. DURING this truce, which should be in force until they were informed in India of the answers made in Europe concerning the provisional treaty; the troops of the two nations, French and English, should not act against each other, either as principals or auxiliaries.
- III. THE two nations, English and French, engaged to oblige their allies to observe all that was stipulated for the accomplishment of a truce by virtue of the treaty; and whoever should dare to infringe it should be reputed a common enemy, and should be reduced to good order by force of arms.
- IV. IF either of the two nations, French or English, or either auxiliary troops or allies, should commit any act of hostility, possess themselves of any place, or any one should cause any damage to be done to another during the truce, both obliged themselves to make reparation, proportionable to the damage, and to the entire restitution of what should be taken.
- V. IF the allies, or other troops in pay of either nation, should be guilty of any act of hostility,
or

or commit any pillages in the territories whereof either nation was then in possession; it should be lawful for both nations to repulse their insults by force, by which the injured nation should not be deemed to have infringed this agreement.

VI. If the allies or auxiliaries, troops of either nation, should take up arms, and insult the countries of which the nation, they were allied to, was then in possession: in that case, the two nations should assist each other against this enemy, who should thereby become the common enemy of both.

VII. THE troops of the two nations should be employed, during the truce, in the care of their present establishments and possessions; they might be transported freely, and without any difficulty, from once place to another, at the pleasure of the governor, generals, and commanders of each nation; and all persons actually under the protection of either flag, might likewise go and come at pleasure, without being molested either in their persons or effects.

VIII. TRADE should be free throughout the Carnatic, and in all the countries to the northward of the Coromandel coast, for the two contracting nations: they might fetch merchandizes from all the places in the dependance of each other, and transport them freely, without any restraint, through the respective Jageers and territories.

IX. ALL common enemies, or the particular enemies of either nation, who should come to attack the English and French in their present possessions, and trouble the tranquility which

was to reign in India, should be repulsed by the united force of the two nations, French and English.

- X. As soon as the truce was proclaimed, the mutual exchange of prisoners should be set about, man for man; and means should be resolved on for the ease of those which should not be exchanged.
- XI. COMMISSARIES should be appointed on both sides, to examine into the infringements committed by each party, or their auxiliary troops or allies, and settle the restitution to be made of all the places taken, during the truce, against the tenor of the suspension of arms; as likewise of all that might have been taken from them by those auxiliary troops, in merchandize, money, effects, or otherwise; and further to settle in a fixed method, for a guide, during the whole time of the truce, all the names, and the extent of every country, paragana*, and village, under the power, and in the possession of the two nations, English and French.
- XII. IT was agreed, that whenever, in the course of the truce, any complaint should be made, by either of the two nations, of an infringement of the fourth article; the commissaries appointed on each side, should examine and certify the fact, that justice might be done to the injured nation, either by restitution or reparation, according to the nature of the injury received.

* District.

THIS convention was in reality nothing more than a cessation of hostilities for eighteen months; since there was no positive obligation on either of the companies to adopt the opinions of their representatives expressed in the provisional treaty. The number of prisoners taken by the English were 900; whereas the French had only 250; but they were left to enjoy the revenues of all these territories which they had acquired during the war. These incomes, according to the accounts published by themselves, amounted to a very capital sum, as follows: from Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, 96,000 rupees: 105,000 from the eighty villages in the district of Pondicherry: from Masulipatnam, with its dependencies; and from the contiguous territories of Divi, Nizampatnam, Devrecottah, and Condavir, 1,441,000: from the four provinces of Yalore, Mustapha-Nagar, Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, 3,100,000: from lands in the Carnatic, south of the Paliar, 1,700,000: from the island of Seringham and its dependencies, which Mahomed Allee Cawn had given up to the Maissoreans when they came to his assistance, and which they now gave to the French, 400,000; in all 6,842,000 rupees; or 855,250 l. sterling.

THE accessions made by the English during the war produced only a revenue of 80,000 rupees, or 10,000 l. sterling, drawn annually from lands lying to the north of the Paliar, and mortgaged by the Nabob to reimburse the great sum of money they had spent in military expences on his account. However, the English kept one advantage in their power, by not releasing 650 prisoners whom they had taken during the war, more than the French had taken from them; and they derived another advantage by the removal of M. Dupleix from the government of Pondicherry. He embarked there on the 14th of October; and on his arrival in

France, he made a demand of three millions of rupees upon the India company, for money which he had disbursed on their account. The company refused to pay him; but he was protected by the ministry, which he well deserved from the nation, as it never had a subject so desirous and capable of extending its reputation and power in the East-Indies. He was the first European who thoroughly perceived the imbecility of the Indostan government, and despised the power of all the Indian princes; at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul empire, and tamely suffered the insolence of its meanest officers. He understood the theory of war, but wanted military qualifications to carry his projects into execution; so that he removed his commanders after a defeat; and no less than six had been employed by him, with equal ill success, since 1752.

THE treaties were published on the 11th of January 1755, the day on which the former suspension of arms ended. Mr. Saunders quitted the government of Madras on the 13th, and embarked for England. Admiral Watson returned with his squadron from Bombay, at the end of the month; and M. Godeheu returned to France in the beginning of February, leaving the power of the governor much more limited than it lately had been. The two presidencies were now at peace with each other, and gave their whole attention to manage their respective territories, revenues, and alliances, to the best advantage, without infringing the truce.

B O O K VII.

The incidental War in INDIA, carried on by the ENGLISH, both by Land and Sea, in the Years 1755 and 1756.

C H A P. I.

The French views.—MUTINY-ACT passed in ENGLAND extended to the Company's troops in INDIA.—Colonel HERON's expedition into the countries of MADURA and TINEVELLY, to collect the NABOB's revenues in 1755. Some account of the COLLERIES, who inhabit those countries. The Polygar LACHENEIG compelled to submit. The Polygar MORAWAR allies with the Nabob, under the protection of the English, who take the city of MADURA, and plunder the pagoda of COILGOODY. Tinevelly taken: NELLECOTAH plundered. Remarks.—Colonel Heron returns from Tinevelly to TRICHINOPOLI: his army attacked by the Colleries at the pass of NATAM: particular account of that affair.—The MAISSOREANS decamp from SERINGHAM, and return into their own country: remarks on the conduct of NANDERAUZE. The Nabob MAHOMED ALLEE CAWN returns from Trichinopoli to ARCOT: his reception at TANJORE, St. DAVID, ARCOT, and MADRASS. Remarks.

 GODEHEU left M. Leyrit his successor at Pondicherry: M. Bussy commanded in the north, with the Soubahdar Salabatzing; and M. de Sauffay was left to command the French troops at Seringham. The latter was offered by Nanderauze, the Maissorean general,

general, three lack of rupees, or 37,500 l. sterling, to march off, and leave him at liberty to surprize Trichinopoli, which was then in possession of the English; but the Frenchman refused the bribe with disdain.

M. Buffy was left at liberty, in the late treaty, to enlarge the valuable and extensive possessions which the French held in the north; and the English were soon convinced, that while one side of the country had laid down their arms, there was no security for other parts. It appeared early in the year 1755, that the French were endeavoring to acquire the dominions of all the provinces of the Deckan, expressly contrary to the ninth article of the provisional treaty. M. Buffy demanded of Salabatzing, the possession of the fort of Golconda: and M. Leyrit encouraged the Phousdar of Velloor to take up arms against the Nabob: he even sent 300 French, and as many sepoy, from Pondicherry to support the rebel, and oppose the English employed by the Nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes, that held under him.

COLONEL Aldercron's regiment and the company's soldiers acted with great unanimity in India; which was the more necessary, as an act of parliament had been passed in England in 1754, intituled, "An act to punish mutiny and desertion in the officers and soldiers belonging to the East-India company." This seems to be a kind of perpetual mutiny-act in the East-Indies; for thereby, the commander in chief of his majesty's forces, wherever any of them were employed, was to have the sole power of appointing courts-martial, not only to try any of his own officers or soldiers, but also any of the company's officers or soldiers that were sent upon the same command. It was then imagined, that this would occasion disputes between the governors and officers belonging to the company, and his majesty's

jeſty's officers in that country; becauſe a jealousy might naturally ariſe between the two corps, which were upon a contrary footing, and a different character.

THE British troops, after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, were employed in aſſiſting the Nabob to collect his revenues from the inferior governors; one half of which was to be paid to the Nabob, and the other half to the company. Maphuſe Cawn arrived at Trichinopoli towards the cloſe of the year 1754, with 1000 horſe, and was appointed governor of thoſe countries by the Nabob, at whoſe requeſt a detachment of 500 Europeans, and 2000 ſepoys, were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinevelly, to aſſiſt in reducing them both to his obedience. Maphuſe Cawn joined his troops to the Engliſh detachment; and the Nabob accompanied them ſome part of the way.

THIS army was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Heron, who acted in that rank under general Oglethorpe in America; but was involved in ſome litigious diſputes in England, from whence he was ſent as major of the company's forces to India. He marched his troops, in the beginning of February 1755, from their cantonments at Warriore pagodas, and halted thirty miles to the ſouth of Trichinopoli, at a village called Warampate, where the Polygars of this part of the country had pre-viously been ordered to ſend their agents to ſettle their accounts with the Nabob. The four principal Polygars obeyed the ſummons; but Lachenaig re-ſuſed; upon which it was reſolved to attack his country. The army marched ten miles to the ſouth-weſt of Warampate, in the high-road leading to Dindigul, and came in ſight of his woods, which lay about two miles weſt of that road.

THE

THE subjects of this, as well as of all the other Polygars in these southern parts of the peninsula, are Colleries, a people differing in many respects from the rest of the Indians, and hitherto little known to Europeans: but I have already given an account of them in my first volume; to which I shall now add something farther.

FATHER Martin, a jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighboring country of Morana, describes the Colleries as more barbarous than all other savages in any part of the globe. He asserts, that when two of these people, either male or female, have a quarrel, each is obliged to suffer and perform whatever cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on themselves or any of their family; and that the fury of revenge operates so strongly among them, that a man for a slight affront has been known to murder his wife and all his children, to have the inhuman satisfaction of compelling his adversary to commit the like murders in his own family: but the jesuit stands single and suspected in his assertion; for, to the honor of human nature, none of the English officers distinguished any traces of these abhorrent practices.

THE whole country of the Polygar Lachenaig was fortified either by nature or art; for it was surrounded by hills lying at some distance from one another, which were craggy and covered with bushes, so as to be impassable to any but the Colleries themselves, who had thrown up works from hill to hill, peculiar to their rude and cunning way. For those works were a thick wall, composed of large stones laid one upon another, without cement, and flanked at proper distances by round towers made of earth, well rammed down: before the wall was a deep and broad ditch; and in front of the ditch a large hedge of bamboes, so thickly set,
that

that it could not be penetrated without the hatchet or fire.

THE army attacked a part of this barrier early in the morning, and the field-pieces were placed upon an eminence that commanded the towers which defended the face of attack. The Colleries appointed to guard the towers, abandoned them as soon as the cannon began to play: but great numbers of them, armed with marchlocks and bows and arrows, persisted in defending the hedge; while others appeared on the hills, shaking their spears, and making hideous howls, in hopes to terrify the assailants. At length the army forced the barrier, after losing several men. Mahomed Iffouf was then detached with 500 sepoy, 50 Europeans, and a field-piece, to attack the principal town, which was distant about four miles: but before the detachment could come in sight of the town, they were stopped by another circumvallation of the same kind, stronger than the first. Here the enemy had collected their whole force, and defended themselves with more obstinacy than before. They killed twelve Europeans, and 104 sepoy; which obliged the detached party to send for succors from the main body. Immediately 100 Europeans advanced, and the enemy disappeared. The whole army then proceeded to the principal town, which was deserted by the inhabitants, who had fled with their cattle to the hills. Lachenaig then submitted, and paid his tribute.

THE Nabob returned to Trichinopoli; and the army, with Maphuze Cawn, proceeded to Madura, where they arrived in ten days. This is a strong Indian town, about sixty miles south of Trichinopoli; and, like that, encompassed with a wall; but being of much greater extent, would require a large garrison to defend it. The Polygar quitted his capital,

capital, and retired with his garrison to Coilgoody*, a strong pagoda eight miles to the east, and the army entered Madura without any opposition; though the greater part of the inhabitants remained, who seemed well satisfied with the change of government.

HERE the army received a deputation from the Polygar Morawar, whose country adjoined to the western districts of Madura and Tinevelly: he intreated to be received into alliance with the English, under whose protection he promised to be faithful to the Nabob; and, as a proof of his sincerity, offered to give the company two settlements on the sea-coast of his country, opposite to Ceylon, which would greatly facilitate their future communications with Tinevelly. The English had then no other way of approaching that city but by a tedious and difficult march of four or five hundred miles; but reinforcements might be sent by sea from Madras or Fort St. David in four or five days to the settlements which Morawar intended to give, from whence the march to Tinevelly was no more than fifty miles. Colonel Heron embraced the proposal, and entered into an alliance with the Polygar, whom he permitted to hoist three English flags in his garrisons.

COLONEL Heron soon after marched from Madura to attack the fugitive governor in Coilgoody: but he fled, and left the greatest part of his troops to defend the pagoda. The carriages of the cannon broke down in a rugged road, and the troops were not furnished with scaling ladders: but the colonel thought it a disgrace to retreat, after he had summoned the place, and determined to force his way into it, after the Indian manner, by burning down

* Or Colguddy.

the gate with bundles of straw. He encouraged the troops by his own example, and carried the first torch himself; for he was a strong and valiant man. Mahomed Issouf followed with another torch; so that the two principal officers of the army were now seen acting the part of volunteers, leading a forlorn hope. Success rewarded their courage; the gate was soon burnt down; the soldiers rushed in, and put several of the garrison to the sword. The place was plundered, and the temples pillaged; which made the people of the country hold the profaners of their religion in the utmost execration and abhorrence.

THE army returned to Madura, where a garrison was left of Europeans and sepoy for security of the city; and the rest of the army proceeded to Tinevelly, where they arrived on the 16th of March. This town is about sixty miles south of Madura, and was without defences, so that it was entered without opposition. The renters of the open country acknowledged the Nabob; but some of the Polygars made pretences to evade the payment of the tribute due from them, whereupon hostilities were commenced against them.

A DETACHMENT of 100 Europeans, and 300 sepoy, with two field-pieces, were sent to attack the fort of Nellecotah, forty miles south of Tinevelly. They performed the march in eighteen hours, and the next morning stormed the place, which was fortified by a mud-wall with round towers. The assault was made with great resolution; the troops gained the parapet without being repulsed, and the garrison called out for quarter, which was refused. The exasperated soldiers cruelly put all they met to the sword, even women and children, suffering only six persons out of four hundred to escape alive. If cruelty is incompatible with courage, it is difficult to find an excuse for this barbarous act, committed
by

by some of the bravest of Englishmen, who had served under colonel Lawrence on the plains of Trichinopoli.

THE Polygar Morawar would have joined colonel Heron with 5000 men; but his service was refused, that the king of Tanjore and Tondeman might not be offended at such a connection with one whom they esteemed their mortal enemy.

THE revenues collected during this expedition were not sufficient to pay the expences of the army. Part of the tributes were embezzled by Maphuze Cawn, who prevailed on colonel Heron to give him the investiture of the Madura and Tinevelly countries at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 rupees, or 187,500 l. sterling.

It was now reported that Salabatzing was advancing into the Carnatic, at the head of his army, accompanied by the French troops under the command of M. Buffy, to demand the Mogul's tribute, which had never been paid since the death of Nizam Al Muluck. This induced the presidency of Madras to order the return of colonel Heron with the troops under his command to Trichinopoli; and he accordingly quitted Tinevelly on the 2d of May: but instead of proceeding directly to Trichinopoli, he was prevailed on by Maphuze Cawn to march against Nellytangaville, a fort situated about thirty miles west of Tinevelly, belonging to a refractory Polygar. It was the misfortune of colonel Heron to place the utmost confidence in his interpreter, who constantly betrayed him, and now informed the Polygar, that the English had no battering cannon; which encouraged him to defend his fort, that was built of stone and very strong. He answered the summons with insolence; upon which the field pieces and cohorns fired smartly upon the fort for several hours but in vain; therefore it was determined to desist and march to Madura, where the
army

army arrived, with Maphuze Cawn, on the 22d of May.

HERE colonel Heron left a garrison of 1000 sepoy, under the command of Jemaulsaib, an officer of some reputation, and next in rank to Mahomed Isfouf. The army quitted Madura on the 28th of May, and a party was sent forward to take post at a mud fort called Volsynatam, near the entrance of the woods belonging to the Colleries, who threatened vengeance for the loss of their gods at Coilgoody, and had already given a specimen of their resentment by murdering a party of sepoy, whom the commanding officer of Madura sent out to collect cattle.

THE army had now to pass one of the most difficult and dangerous defiles in the peninsula, called the pass of Natam. It began about twenty miles north of the city, and continued for six miles through a wood, impenetrable every where else to all but wild beasts and Colleries. The road of the defile was barely sufficient to admit a single carriage at a time; and a bank running along each side of it, rendered it a hollow way. The wood was in most parts contiguous to the road; and even in such places where travellers had felled part of it, the eye could not penetrate above twenty yards.

THE main body joined the detachment in the evening, and the whole passed the night at the fort. The next morning at day-break they prepared to march through the defile, and a detachment of Europeans, pioneers, and sepoy, under captain Lin, were sent forward to scour the woods: they met with no interruption, and halted near the town of Natam, on the farther side of the wood. Soon after the rest of the army entered the pass in the following order of march. Some companies of sepoy led the van, followed by a serjeant and some Europeans: immediately after them came the first

division of artillery, with the tumbrils containing military stores: then followed the battalion led by captain Polier; after whom proceeded the rear division of artillery and tumbrils; which were followed by a serjeant and twelve men; and these by some companies of sepoy: then came the baggage of the whole army, carried by bullocks and coolies, with several elephants and camels belonging to Maphuze Cawn, and accompanied by some sepoy to protect them. The rear of the whole line was closed by a guard of twenty Eupropeans, forty Caffres, and 200 sepoy, with a six-pounder, under the command of captain Smith. Colonel Heron with a few horse rode before the line. The whole army entered the defile, and proceeded, wondering they saw nothing of an enemy of whom they had heard so much: but the line of march was stopped by one of the heaviest tumbrils belonging to the rear division sticking in a slough, out of which the oxen were not able to draw it. The officers of artillery suffered the troops marching before to go on; and the officer who commanded in the rear of the battalion did not suspect what had happened, and continued his march; while most of the sepoy, who marched behind the rear division of artillery, were also suffered to pass the carriage in the slough, which choaked up the road, and prevented the other tumbrils which followed, as well as the three field-pieces that formed the rear division of artillery, from moving on, and these stopped the whole line of the baggage. Thus the front division and main body of the army were separated from the rear, which was also deprived of those sepoy who were suffered to proceed. The Colleries, though unperceived, kept spies near the road to watch every motion: but refrained from making any attack, until the main body had advanced two miles forward. Then great numbers of them appeared, and
attacked

attacked the rear guard of the baggage; but the fire of a few platoons soon obliged them to retreat. However, they suddenly attacked the rear division of artillery, whose officers got their field-pieces into an opening, from whence they fired smartly on the enemy, who maintained the attack for some time with courage, and a variety of weapons, such as matchlocks, bows and arrows, javelins, pikes, and rockets. They made a loud and savage noise with screams and outcries, when attacking and attacked. Finding themselves much galled, they quitted the road, and retired into the thickets on each side, from whence they renewed the fight. At length, their confused outcries were changed to one voice, and all united in bellowing out the word *swamy*, meaning gods. This noise was accompanied with violent gesticulations and antic postures, like men frantic with joy; for some of them had seized the tumbrils, in which were the little brazen images of their divinities, taken at Coilgoody. They conveyed these away, and renewed their attacks for several hours, till four in the afternoon, when they sallied again into the road among the baggage, Coolies, and market people of the army, killing all they met, without distinction of age or sex. Every thing was then thrown into confusion; and men, women, and children fled to the rear guard as their only sanctuary. Captain Smith generously protected them, and joined the rear division of the artillery about dusk. As no time was to be lost, great part of the stores and baggage were left behind, and captain Smith marched about two miles farther in the pass, where he came up with the battalion, whom he found lying on their arms, without either the commander in chief, or any one of the captains among them. These five officers had all been suddenly taken ill about noon, with the violent heat of the sun, and had passed in their

palankeens through the wood, to the advanced guard under captain Lin; while the subordinate officers had no orders to succor the rear. Captain Smith then took the command of the battalion, marched through the wood without farther interruption, and joined the van where they had halted. Here the army passed the night, and were joined by a detachment from Trichinopoli, where they arrived on the 6th of June, and encamped at Warriore pagodas.

MAPHUZE CAWN returned to Madura; and colonel Heron was recalled to Madras, where he was tried by a court-martial for misconduct in this expedition, which was proved against him in some instances, and he was rendered incapable of serving the company any longer. He soon after returned to Europe, and died in Holland.

WHILE these transactions passed to the southward, the Maissoreans remained in their camp at Seringham, where Nanderauze diligently employed himself in schemes to get possession of Trichinopoli. He was persuaded by a bramin that he had seduced many of the garrison, and that a strong party was ready to join him in the city; which so much elated the Maissorean, that he communicated the secret to M. de Sauffay, the commander of the French troops, who immediately sent intelligence to the garrison. Captain Kilpatrick returned him thanks for the information, and desired him to acquaint Nanderauze, that if he would venture to make the attack, the city-gates should be left open for his reception. The Maissorean declined the challenge, and returned to his own country on the 14th of April, when the great drum was beat, as the signal of de-camping, and the whole army crossed the Cavery; leaving the French in possession of the island of Seringham, and the other territories which the Nabob had transferred to Nanderauze on his arrival, and
of

of which he had collected the revenues from that time. It is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himself with more imprudence than the Maifforean in the course of this war. The possession of Trichinopoli was the object of all his ambition, which would have proved his greatest misfortune, as it would certainly have involved him in a war with the Mogul government, and might have ended in subjecting the country of Maiffore, like the Carnatic, to be a province of the empire. At length, after having wasted three years, absent from his own country at the head of an army of 20,000 men, he was obliged to return without receiving any compensation for the expences he had incurred.

THE Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn left a garrison of 500 men at Trichinopoli, under the command of captain Kilpatrick; and, on the 9th of July, was triumphantly conducted to his capital, by an escort of 300 Europeans, and 1000 sepoys, commanded by captain Polier. They proceeded through the country of Tanjore, and were met by Conackjee, with a numerous train, at Kondoor. This interview, like many others between persons of such rank in Indostan, passed in the strongest protestations of inviolable friendship, and the greatest dissimulation of the human heart.

FROM Kondoor, the Nabob proceeded to Fort St. David, where he encamped, and was visited by Mr. Stark, the deputy governor, and his council; by colonel Aldercron, with a captain's guard; and by the admirals Watson and Pocock, accompanied by their several captains and lieutenants, who were carried in their palankeens, which were preceded by their midshipmen, who walked in their uniforms. The Nabob received them very magnificently in his tent, and held a long conversation with the admirals, by the assistance

ance of an interpreter. Admiral Watson expressed his concern for the calamities of war which had been felt in that country; and assured the Nabob, that the king of Great Britain had sent him to protect his dominions; as also that he would execute his commission with great fidelity. A few days after, the Nabob returned this visit to the British commanders at the fort, where he was received with the highest military honors. His train consisted of six elephants, 12 camels, 400 horse, and 6000 sepoy, with 10,000 Cooleys and spectators. The admirals accompanied him on board the Kent, in which the commanding flag was hoisted; and the Nabob was seized with astonishment when he entered on board: but he was particularly struck with the lower gun battery, consisting of 28 guns, carrying balls of 32 pounds. The admiral obliged him with the view of a man of war under sail; and, on his leaving the Kent, the whole squadron saluted together, the yards were manned, and the seamen gave three English cheers. This general acclamation fired the Nabob with joy; and he ordered his interpreter to tell the admiral, it was amazingly warlike.

THE Nabob, on the 19th of August, arrived within a mile of Arcot, and encamped on the plain, where his dervises advised him to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city, which fell out on the 21st. In the mean time, colonel Lawrence, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Palk, who were deputed to invite him to Madras, arrived at his camp, and contributed to raise the splendor and reputation of his public entrance into his capital, from which he had been absent ever since the death of Nazirzing.* On the 30th, he came to Madras,

* See this volume, p. 69.

where he held several conferences with the presidency, and consented to make over to the company some farther assignments on the revenues of the country, to reimburse their expences in prosecuting the war: after which, he was attended with a strong detachment to collect the revenues, one half whereof was to be paid the company; and a member of the council was appointed to accompany the Nabob, to see that this agreement was punctually fulfilled.

ADMIRAL Watson departed with the fleet from Madras, on the 10th of October, to avoid the northern monsoon, and arrived on the 10th of November at Bombay, where he found several of the company's ships from Europe, with a considerable number of troops, sent with an intention to be employed in an expedition projected in England.

EVERY thing continued quiet on the coast of Coromandel: but, in 1756, admiral Watson distinguished himself against Tulagree Angria, on the coast of Malabar; as also in the kingdom of Bengal, against the viceroy Surajah Dowla, who was excited by the French to commit an unexampled act of barbarity against the English at Calcutta, for which he was afterwards deposed by colonel Clive.

C H A P. II.

The English company project an expedition from BOMBAY, with the assistance of the MORATTOES, to oblige SALABATZING to dismiss the French troops in his service. The command of that expedition is given to lieutenant colonel SCOTT, who dies at MADRASS in May 1755; and colonel CLIVE succeeds to the command at Bombay: but the intended expedition is set aside by the loss of the ship DODDINGTON, in which the company had sent their plan; and another expedition is agreed to be carried on against TULAGREE ANGRIA.—A succinct and authentic narrative of the loss of the Doddington Indiaman, on the 17th of July 1755, upon the barren island or rock of CHIOS, near the south-east coast of AFRICA.

WHILE the English company were uncertain of the event of the negotiation in India, they received advices of the acquisitions which M. Buffy had obtained from Salabatzing. This made them conclude, that negotiations alone would not induce the French to quit such great advantages; and they determined to strike at their power in the northern parts of the Deckan by more effectual means.

AURENGABAD, the capital of this division of the Mogul empire, lies no more than 150 miles west of Bombay; and the country of the Morattoes much nearer. The presidency of Bombay had maintained a friendly intercourse for some time with the Saha Rajah; and from the frequent disputes in which his general Balazerow was engaged with Salabatzing, it was thought he might be instrumental in removing the French troops from the service of that Soubahdar: therefore, it was determined to encourage

encourage the Morattoes to attack him, and assist them with a strong body of Europeans, so as to compel the viceroy to dismiss the French.

AN enterprize of this importance required a commander of much experience in the military and political systems of the country, and captain Clive offered the directors to conduct it. The company had rewarded his services by appointing him governor of Fort St. David, and by obtaining for him a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the king's troops; so that he was then preparing to return to India: But the court of directors*, in compliance with very powerful recommendations, appointed lieutenant-colonel Scott to command the expedition. This officer went to India in 1754, in the station of engineer-general of all their settlements; but died at Madras, on the 12th of May 1755, of a violent fever. The company desired colonel Clive to proceed to Bombay before he went to the coast of Coromandel, that he might be ready to supply any accident. The troops sent from England on this service were three companies of the king's artillery, each of 100 men; and 300 recruits; who arrived at Bombay on the 27th of November,

* The following gentlemen were chosen directors of the East-India company on the 9th of April 1755.

William Barwell, Esq;
 * Robert Bootle, Esq;
 H. Crab Boulton, Esq;
 John Boyd, Esq;
 * Christ. Burrow, Esq;
 * Ch. Chambers, Esq;
 * Sir Ja. Creed, Knt.
 Roger Drake, Esq;
 * John Dorrien, Esq;
 Peter Godfrey, Esq;
 Charles Gough, Esq;
 Robert Jones, Esq;

* John Manship, Esq;
 Na. Newnham, jun. Esq;
 John Payne, Esq;
 * Henry Plant, Esq;
 Tho. Phipps, Esq;
 Jones Raymond, Esq;
 * Thos. Rous, Esq;
 * Henry Savage, Esq;
 * Laur. Sullivan, Esq;
 Winchcot Turner, Esq;
 * Tim. Tullie, Esq;
 * Max. Western, Esq;

Those marked with Asterisks were new ones.

when

when colonel Clive, finding that colonel Scott was dead, proposed to the presidency to undertake the plan recommended to them : but they imagined it could not be carried into execution without infringing the convention made by Mr. Saunders and Mr. Godeheu. This was acting with too much caution ; for every thing relating to Salabatzing and the French troops in his service, seemed to have been studiously avoided. The court of directors had explained their whole plan to the presidency of Madras ; but the ship which had the letters on board was unfortunately wrecked on a rock about 800 miles east of the Cape of Good Hope, within sight of the land. The presidency of Bombay sent advices to Madras of the arrival of colonel Clive : but they had now taken the resolution of employing all their force, in conjunction with the fleet, against Tulagree Angria, who had long been a formidable enemy to the English commerce on the coast of Malabar.

HERE I shall beg leave to insert the following succinct and authentic narrative of the loss of the Doddington Indiaman ; as it was on board this ship that the company sent their plan for attacking Salabatzing ; and more especially as it will be a permanent memorial, to all future navigators, of that fatal spot, where this ship and most of her crew were unfortunately lost. I have been favored with this account, by a gentleman who has diligently compared the different relations made of this matter, and I hope it will be received as a curious and useful piece ; part of which is extracted from the journal of Mr. Jones the chief mate, and the other part from the journal of another of the surviving officers.

The

The loss of the DODDINGTON.

THE Doddington, captain Samson, sailed from the Downs, on the 23d of April 1755, in company with the Pelham, Houghton, Streatham, and Edgcourt, all in the service of the East-India company, and got clear of the channel in seven days. The Doddington made Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd islands, lat. 16 north, on the 20th of May, and on the 21st got into Porto Prior bay. On the 27th, having taken in their water, they proceeded on the voyage together, and continued in company steering south by east $\frac{1}{4}$ east, till the 28th, when captain Samson, finding he sailed better than the other ships, parted from them in the night by steering a different course, and had a pleasant passage in seven weeks to the Cape of Good Hope. Having doubled the Cape, a new departure was taken from Cape de Agulhas * on the 8th of July; and having steered eastward about 24 hours, between the latitude of 35 deg. 30 min. and 36 deg. the captain ordered the ship to be kept E. N. E. It was dirty squally weather; the wind from S. S. W. to S. S. E. with a large sea. They ran on that course from five to seven knots an hour, with courses and treble-reefed main-top-sail, and double-reefed fore-top-sail, until the 16th of July. At midnight had 70 miles on the board; but about a quarter before one in the morning, the ship struck, and in less than twenty minutes was entirely wrecked.

It was a dark and stormy night, and the only warning they had of danger, was calling out, "Breakers a-head, and to leeward." The helm was immediately put a-lee: but before she came quite head to wind, she struck lightly, and then

* Le Gullas, or Anguillas.

stronger;

stronger; at which time the sea broke directly into her forward, stove the boats, and washed several persons overboard. Although they used their best endeavours to get her about, it was to no purpose, the sea breaking all over her, and she struck so hard, that the main-mast went away by the board, and the rest of the masts soon followed. In this dreadful situation, expecting every moment to be swallowed up, some-body cried out land! But it was only the range of the sea, on the other side of the breakers. The ship continued lifting and striking with every sea, till unfortunately she at last lay down on her star-board side, and soon parted; every sea driving some of her away. As the lar-board side and quarter was then the only place above water, all those who were able got there; while the ship still kept driving towards the breakers, and the sea was covered with her wreck.

As captain Samson sat with the chief-mate on the quarter, he said he had pricked off that day at noon, and judged himself ninety leagues from the land; so that he imagined this to be some unknown rock, where possibly the Dolphin was lost. They expected every minute to be washed by the sea, and the captain bade them all farewell; hoping they should meet again in the next world. Soon after they were all washed off, and in a short time ten of them met on some ragged rocks, where they crept close together to keep themselves warm. The severity of the weather, and their melancholy situation, made them wish impatiently for day: but when the light came, it gave them little comfort; for they found themselves upon a barren uninhabited island or rock, about two leagues from the continent, and 250 east from the Cape of Good Hope. It is laid down in the India Pilot in lat. 33 deg. 30 min. and called Chios: but by a good observation with Hadley's quadrant, it lies in 34 deg. S. lat. and

Davis's

Davis's quadrant in 33 : 44. They were joined by some more persons who were cast on shore, many of them miserably bruised against the rocks. Here were now met Mr. Evan Jones, chief-mate ; Mr. John Collet, second ; Mr. William Webb, third ; and Mr. Samuel Powel, fifth mate ; Richard Topping, carpenter ; John Yeats, midshipman ; two quarter-masters ; eight seamen ; three captain's servants ; one servant belonging to the surgeon ; and three matrosses. These persons being twenty-three in number, were all that survived of 270 souls that were on board when the ship struck. They remained seven months on this miserable place, subsisting on fish, and eggs of sea-fowls, with what provisions they found ashore from the wreck.

THEIR first care was to search among the things which had been thrown upon the rocks from the ship, for something to cover them, in which they succeeded beyond their hopes. The next thing they felt the want of was fire, and this was not so easily supplied ; however, they soon found a box with two gun-flints and a broken file, some gun-powder, a box of wax-candles, a case of brandy, and a cask of fresh water ; all which were joyful acquisitions. Seven hogs came on shore alive ; and a scanty tent was made of some canvass that floated to the rock. The island was much frequented by a kind of water-fowl, something larger than a duck, called a gannet ; and the highest part of it was covered with their dung ; so that where they fixed their tent, they sunk a foot in the dung.

IN the morning of the 18th, those that were able went again about the rock, to see what could be saved from the wreck ; when they got one cask of beer, and another of flour. They afterwards picked up many things from the wreck, and made an attempt to get provisions from the main ; but the

the natives drove them away, and one man lost his life there.

THEY found on the island the remains of two wrecks; one seemed to be a Dutch ship, the other an English; the latter least decayed, and by the iron-work seemed to have been much less than the *Doddington*. It plainly appeared by pieces of glass, and other things, that some unfortunate people had lived here; and they could see the remains of a habitation, by the stones being laid regularly one on another.

THE sitting down, thus desolate and forlorn, to their meals, which they used to share in the convivial cheerfulness, that naturally arose from the consciousness of plenty, struck them with a pungent sense of their unhappy situation. In such tumult of mind, our thoughts hurry from one object to another, to fix, if possible, upon something that may afford comfort. One of the company recollected, that as the carpenter was among them, they might build a sloop. Instantly their whole attention was turned upon the carpenter, who declared, that he had no doubt but he should be able to build a sloop that would carry them all to some port of safety, if tools and materials could be found. Happily they were, with a sufficient quantity of provisions, that came continually floating in; and at last they found most of the packets of letters belonging to the king and company, which they carefully preserved.

On Sunday, the 20th of July, as they were searching about the beach, they found the body of a young gentlewoman, which they knew to be that of Mrs. Collet, the wife of their second-mate, who was then at a little distance from the spot. He lost his wife in the ship; for as soon as it struck, he went down, and brought her upon deck in his arms; but the ship falling down at that time on her

her broad-side, and the decks falling in, he was separated from her, and never saw her afterwards alive. The mutual affection of this couple was remarkably tender; and Mr. Jones, on seeing the body, immediately stepped aside to Mr. Collet, and found means to take him to the other side of the rock; while the other two mates, the carpenter, and some others, dug a grave, in which they deposited the remains of this unfortunate lady, and read the funeral service over it, from a French prayer-book, which had driven ashore with her from the wreck. Having thus paid the debt of humanity to the dead, and concealed from Mr. Collet a sight that would most sensibly, if not fatally, have affected him, they gradually disclosed to him what they had done, and gave him the wedding-ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion; and afterwards spent many days in raising a kind of monument over the grave, by piling up the squarest stones he could find; on the top of which he fixed an elm plank, and inscribed it with her name, her age*, the time of her death, and some account of the fatal accident by which it was occasioned.

THE carpenter had just finished a saw, but he had neither hammer nor nails. However, one of the seamen picked up an old pair of bellows, and told his companions, that he had been a smith,

* The person who presents this article to Mr. Grose, to be inserted in his voyage to the East-Indies, was well acquainted with Mrs. Collet, whose maiden name was Mary Everingham. She was born in the parish of St. Clement-Danes, Westminster, where her father was a reputable tradesman, who had also the misfortune to lose one of his sons with his favorite daughter. She was about 24 years of age; lovely in her person, chearful in her manners, and amiable in her disposition. Her husband so much regretted her loss, that it occasioned his death.

and that with these bellows and a forge, which he hoped to build, he could furnish the carpenter with all the tools he would want, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning the timber which had come on shore from the wreck. This account was received with a transport of joy; the smith immediately applied himself to mend the bellows; a tent was erected; and a forge built.

ON the 24th, the carpenter began to work upon the keel of the boat, which they had determined should be a sloop, 30 feet long, and 12 wide. The smith fortunately found the ring and nut of a bower-anchor, which served him for an anvil, supplied chissels, axes, hammers, nails, as they wanted, and the carpenter used them with great dispatch, till the 31st, when he fell sick: but he recovered, and returned to his work on the 2d of August.

IN the mean time, the stores which they had saved from the wreck were so near exhausted, that they came to an allowance of two ounces of bread a man per day, and had no salt-pork, except what they were determined to keep to victual the boat; and water also fell short. In this distress they had recourse to several expedients: they dug a well, in hopes to find a spring; but were disappointed. They took some of the gannets that settled on the top of the rock; but found the flesh very rank, of a fishy taste, and remarkably black. They also made a raft or float, like a Catamaran, on which they went out a fishing: they killed some seals, but all those who eat of them were sick: and when they were driven to great distress, they killed a hog. They made several attempts to cure both their fish and fowl, by smoaking it; but without success. They then attempted to make salt, which had like to have been fatal to them all. The smith had mended a copper-veffel for the experiment, and they began to work, without knowing that their process

cess in salt-making would dissolve the surface of their copper into verdigrease, and that this solution was poison. Salt was procured; but was too rank to be tasted; and those who ventured to palate it, were seized with violent cholics, cold sweats, and reachings, which sufficiently convinced them of the danger they had escaped.

THE carpenter and smith continued to work upon the boat, and the people were busy in getting in from time to time what was thrown up from the wreck, particularly cordage and canvas, to rig the boat, and some casks of fresh water, which they were very solicitous to keep for sea-stores, as their escape in the boat, scarce depended less upon fresh water than upon the sails themselves. On the 6th of October, they found a fowling-piece, which was a joyful acquisition; and though the barrel was much bent, it was soon made serviceable by the carpenter, and used with great success in shooting the birds; which before they had no way of taking, but by knocking them down with a stick. On the 11th, they perceived the gannets, which had of late forsaken them, hovering again about the rock in great numbers, and were in hopes they would settle to lay their eggs, in which they were not disappointed; for after this time, they were constantly supplied with eggs in great plenty, till the beginning of January, when the season of laying was past.

THEY had some rainy weather, on the 20th, which proved very acceptable, as they continued to save some of the water for sea stores: but they were still in great want of bread, having lived many days on short allowance. As a last resource, having some barrels of flour, they thought of building an oven; in which they succeeded, and were able to convert their flour into tolerable biscuit. This biscuit, however, was at length so near exhausted; that they were obliged to live upon a few ounces a day, without

brandy, of which only a small quantity remained : they were likewise so short of water, that of this they were allowed but half a pint a day.

THEY were very healthy while they were on the island, notwithstanding the great hardships and fatigue they suffered by hunger and labor. On the 16th of February 1756, they launched their boat, and called her *The happy Deliverance*. On the 17th, they got their little pittance on board ; and, on the 18th, they set sail from the rock ; on which they had lived just seven months, and to which, at parting, they gave the name of BIRD ISLAND.

THEY sailed for Delagoa ; but were so long on their passage, by currents setting to the southward, that it was two months before they arrived there. A chest of treasure had been drove ashore from the wreck, which the officers wanted to preserve for the proprietors, and the people to divide : this occasioned great disputes, and was at last divided in spite of the officers.

It may be thought strange, that people in this situation, who had for some time accustomed themselves to the duties of religion, should at the same time be guilty of theft. But the men considered, that when the ship was lost, they lost their pay ; that every distinction and subordination on ship-board was at an end ; and that whatever was cast on shore from the wreck, was to be common property.

ON their arrival at Delagoa, they found there the *Rose-Galley*, captain Chandler, belonging to Bombay, who gave them a passage to Madagascar, where they found the *Carnarvon*, captain Hutchinson, bound to Madras, who took them all on board. They sold the sloop to captain Chandler for 500 rupees ; but she was seized for the proprietors at Bombay, where Mr. Powel came in her ; but all the rest went to Madras, except Mr. Collet
and

and three others, who died of fevers on board the Rose-Galley. Mr. Jones took all the money and effects from the people, when he got on board that vessel, and secured them for the proprietors.

C H A P. III.

The expedition against ANGRIA: his territories; origin, and power: his captures from the Europeans; and their expeditions against him, till his final reduction at Geriah by ADMIRAL WATSON and COLONEL CLIVE in 1756.

THE dominions of Angria consisted of several islands near Bombay, and an extent of land along the neighbouring continent, of about 180 miles in length, and from 30 to 60 in breadth; with several forts that were taken from the Europeans by his ancestors, who were very bold and troublesome enemies to all that traded along the coast, which is intersected by many rivers, that disembogue into the sea, from Cape Comorin to Surat.

It appears that from the earliest antiquity, the inhabitants had a strong propensity to piracy; and at this day all the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruize upon those of all other nations which they can overpower. The Mogul empire, when it first extended its dominion to the sea in the northern parts of this coast, appointed an admiral called the Siddee, with a fleet to protect the vessels of their Mahometan subjects trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, from the Malabar pirates, as well as from the Portugueze. The Morattoes were at that time in possession of several forts between Goa and Bombay; and finding themselves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul's admiral,

they made war against him by sea and land. In this war, one Conagee Angria raised himself to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was intrusted with the government of Severndroog, one of their strongest forts, built upon a small rocky island, which lies about eight miles to the north of Dabul, and within cannon-shot of the continent. Here Conagee revolted against the Saha Rajah, or king of the Morattoes; and having seduced part of the fleet, he with them took and destroyed the rest. The Saha Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the main land, within point blank shot of Severndroog; but Conagee also took those forts, and in a few years got possession of all the sea-coast, from Tamanah to Bancoote.

VERY different accounts are given of this family, which we are told is derived from Samboo Angria, by extraction a Caffree, born in an island of the gulph of Ormus, and by religion a Mahometan, who was shipwrecked on the coast near Choul, in an Arabian vessel, in 1643. It is said, he assisted the Saha Rajah in his wars against the Mogul, married the daughter of the Rajah's first minister, and had a son by her named Purah Angria, the father of Conagee, who took Geriah from the Portuguese in 1712. He secured his conquests by building little forts, upon such eminences, as commanded the narrow passes and defiles. He stiled himself a Rajah, which is the highest title of the Gentoo princes; and was succeeded by his son Sambajee, who died in 1745, and left his dominions to his son Tulagree.

ALL the successors of Conagee bore the name of Angria, and strengthened themselves so much, that the Morattoes had no hopes of reducing them, and agreed to a peace on condition, that Angria should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Saha Rajah, by paying

*Ex maso Viri cognoscitur hasta
Ex ore puellae cognoscitur Antropon*

paying him a small annual tribute: but they retained a strong animosity against him, and determined to avail themselves of any favorable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.

THE land and sea breezes on this coast, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, as the land-winds do not reach more than forty miles out to sea. The piracies which Angria exercised upon ships of all nations, rendered him more powerful every day. There was not a creek, bay, harbor, or mouth of a river, along the coast of his dominions, in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles, to serve both as a station of discovery, and as a place of refuge to his vessels: hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them, as to take them.

His fleet consisted of grabs and gallivats, a kind of vessels peculiar to that coast. The grabs have generally two masts; though some have three. Those of three masts are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150. They are built to draw little water, being very broad in proportion to their length; but narrowing from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which it is separated by a bulk-head that terminates the fore-castle. As this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head-sea, the deck of the prow is not inclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel, but remains bare, that the water which passes on it may pass off without interruption. On the main-deck, under the fore-castle, are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounds, which point forwards through port-holes cut in the

bulk head, and fire over the prow: but the cannon of the broad-side are from six to nine-pounders.

THE gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the biggest seldom exceeding 70 tons. They have two masts, of which the mizen is slightly made: the main-mast bears only one sail, which is large and triangular. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made of split bamboes, carrying only petteraroes fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel: but those of a large size have a fixed deck, on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders. They have forty or fifty stout oars, and can be rowed four miles an hour.

EIGHT or ten grabs, and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, generally composed Angria's principal fleet destined to attack ships of force or burthen. When the vessel came in sight of the port or bay where the fleet was lying, they slipped their cables, and put out to sea. If the wind blew, their construction enabled them to sail swiftly; if it was calm, the gallivats rowed and towed the grabs. As soon as they came within gun-shot of the chace, they generally assembled in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow-guns, firing first only at the masts, and taking aim when the three masts of the vessel just opened all together at their view. If the chace was dismasted, they came nearer, and battered her on all sides till she struck: but if the defence was obstinate, they sent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded from all quarters sword in hand.

It was now more than fifty years that this piratical state had rendered itself formidable to the trading ships of all the Europeans nations in India; and the English

English company had kept up a marine force, at the annual expence of 50,000*l.* to protect their own ships, as well as those belonging to the merchants established in their colonies: but as this force consisted only of four grabs, two of which mounted twenty guns; and six gallivats, it was scarce capable to protect the trade: while Angria took several ships that ventured to sail without company along his coast.

In 1717, an unsuccessful attempt was made from Bombay, both against Geriah and Kennery, by a very considerable naval force, with a numerous body of land forces on board, commanded by governor Boone. Another attempt was made against Angria, in 1722, by the late gallant admiral Matthews, then commodore upon the station, who with his squadron, and a small Portuguese army, joined the Bombay land and sea forces in an expedition against a fort called Coilabley, near Choul, about fifteen leagues south of Bombay: but this was defeated by the treachery and cowardice of the Portuguese. In 1735, the Dutch sent a strong force from Batavia, to attack Geriah, in which they were defeated; though they had an armament of seven armed ships, and two bomb-vessels, with a numerous body of land forces. But in 1736, Angria's people took the Derby Indiaman, richly laden from England, with 150 men; as also the Restoration armed ship, of twenty guns, and 200 men, fitted out purposely to cruize against them; and several other vessels of less note, from the English company. From the French they took the Jupiter of forty guns, with 400 slaves on board; and also made several captures from the Dutch. They had even the presumption to attack commodore Lisle in the Vigilant of 64 guns, the Ruby of 50, and several other ships in company.

IN 1751, the governor of Bombay proposed the reduction of Geriah to commodore Lisle; and the Nanna of the Morattoes engaged to attack it by land: but this was prevented by a rupture between the Morattoes and the Moors at Aurengabad. However, a treaty was concluded between the Nanna and the governor of Bombay, for the reduction of Angria, whenever there was a proper opportunity. The necessity of this treaty was soon perceived; for, in February 1754, Angria's fleet attacked three Dutch ships of 50, 36, and 18 guns; burnt the two large ones, and took the other. Angria grew insolent on this success: he built several vessels, set two large ships on the stocks, and boasted he should soon be master of the Indian seas.

THE Morattoes desired the assistance of governor Bouchier to humble this common enemy of the Malabar coast; and he sent commodore William James, who commanded the company's marine force in India, upon that expedition. He sailed from Bombay, on the 22d of March 1755, in the Protector of 44 guns, and the Swallow of 16; with the Viper and Triumph bomb vessels: but such was the exaggerated opinion of Angria's strength, that the presidency instructed him not to expose the company's vessels to any risk by attacking them; and only to blockade the harbors, while the Morattoe army carried on their operations by land. The next day, his squadron fell in with seven sail of Angria's grabs, and eleven gallivats, off Rajapore, and chased them to the southward. On the second day, still continuing the chase, the commodore was joined off Choule by seven Morattoe grabs and sixty gallivats, with 10,000 troops on board. The united fleet proceeded to Comara bay, where they anchored, that the Morattoes might get their meal on shore, as they are prohibited by their religion from eating or washing at sea. Departing
from

from hence, they anchored again about fifteen miles north of Severndroog, when Ramajee Punt, the Morattoe general, disembarked his troops to proceed the rest of the way by land. Commodore James received intelligence, that Angria's fleet lay at anchor in the harbor of Severndroog, about twenty-five miles east of Bombay; and he represented to the Morattoe admiral, that by proceeding immediately thither they might come upon them in the night, and so effectually blockade them in the harbor, that few or none would be able to escape. The Morattoe seemed highly to approve the proposal; but had not authority enough over his officers to make any of them stir before the morning, when the enemy discovered them under sail, and immediately slipped their cables and put to sea. The commodore then flung out the signal for a general chase; but that was disregarded by the Morattoes, who all kept behind, and suffered the Protector to proceed alone almost out of their sight. While the Morattoes were so timid and dilatory, the enemy exerted themselves with uncommon industry, their gallivats towing the grabs: they flung overboard all their lumber to lighten their vessels; not only crowding all the sails they could bend, but also hanging up their garments, quilts, and even their turbands, extended on the flag-staves, to catch every breath of air. However, the Protector came within gun-shot of the sternmost; but evening approached, so that commodore James gave over the chase, and returned to Severndroog, which he had passed several miles.

SEVERNDROOG was a fortress upon an island, within musket-shot of the continent, having no more than two fathom and a half in the firth. It was strongly, but not regularly fortified; the greatest part of the works being cut out of the solid rock, and the rest built with stones ten or twelve feet

feet square; having fifty-four guns mounted on the bastions. On the main land there were three forts; the largest of which was called Fort Goa, built in the same manner, with large square stones, and mounted forty guns. The other two were built with stones of an irregular shape, and each of them mounted twenty guns.

COMMODORE James found Ramajee Punt with the army besieging the three forts on the main land according to their way: but they fired only from one gun, a four-pounder, at the distance of two miles, where the troops did not think themselves safe without digging pits, in which they sheltered themselves covered up to the chin from the enemy's fire. The commodore judged from these operations, that they would never take the forts; he therefore determined to exceed the instructions which he had received from the presidency, rather than expose the British arms to the disgrace they would suffer, if an expedition should miscarry, in which they were believed by Angria to have taken so great a share.

THE commodore began to cannonade and bombard the Island Fort on the 2d of April; but not being able to penetrate the walls, which were fifty feet high, and eighteen thick, mostly cut out of the rock on the side where he made his first attack; he moved his station so as to reach Fort Goa with his lower decks, while he plied Severndroog with his upper tier. By this prudent disposition, and a vigorous fire within a hundred yards, the north-east bastion of Severndroog and part of the parapet were laid in ruins, about noon; when a shell from one of the bomb-vessels set fire to a thatched house; and the English, with an incessant fire from the round-tops, prevented the garrison from extinguishing it. The blaze spreading fiercely at that dry season of the year, all the buildings of the fort were soon

soon in flames, and among them a magazine of powder blew up. On this disaster, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, with the greatest part of the garrison, in all about 1000 persons, ran out of the fort, embarked in eight large boats, and attempted to make their escape to Fort Goa: but they were prevented by the English ketches, who took them all. This enabled the commodore to turn all his fire upon Fort Goa, which was so severely cannonaded, that the enemy soon hung out a flag as a signal to surrender: but the governor, without waiting the event of a capitulation in his necessitous circumstances, got into a boat with some of his most trusty men, and crossed over to the island, where he seemed resolved to maintain his ground, until he should receive succors from Dabul, which was in sight of it; trusting in the natural strength of the place, notwithstanding the ruin it had sustained by the bombardment in its walls and magazines. Upon this the Protector renewed her fire upon Severndroog, and the commodore, under cover of the fire from the ships, landed half his seamen, who with great intrepidity ran up to the gate, and with axes opened to themselves an entrance through the sally-port, without much loss; on which the garrison surrendered. About the same time, the other two forts on the main land had hung out flags of truce, and the Morattoes took possession of them. This was all the work of one day, in which the spirited resolution of commodore James destroyed the timorous prejudices, which had for twenty years been entertained of the impracticability of reducing any of Angria's fortified harbors.

THIS conquest was followed by the surrender of Bancote, a fortified island which commands a harbor about six miles north of Severndroog, by whose fate it was terrified, and surrendered on the first summons

summons on the 8th of April. It has a good harbor, and a great trade for salt: but, what is more essential, the adjacent country is inhabited by Mahomedans, and abounds with cattle, which are much wanted for the use of the garrison and squadron at Bombay, who find it difficult to procure beeves in other parts of the coast, as they are under the jurisdiction of princes of the strictest casts of the Gentoo religion, who worship the cow, and regard the killing of that animal as the greatest of crimes. The Morattoes consented that the English company should keep Bancoote, which is now called Fort Victoria, and the circumjacent country is subject to the Siddee: but the other forts were delivered up by the English to the Morattoes.

RAMAJEE PUNT was so much elated by these successes, that he offered commodore James 200,000 rupees, or 25,000*l.* sterling, if he would immediately proceed against Dabul, and some other of Angria's forts southward of that place. This was certainly the time to attack them, during the consternation into which the enemy were thrown by the losses they had sustained: but the stormy monsoon was approaching, and the presidency ordered the commodore to bring back the fleet into harbor without delay. The English fleet accordingly returned to Bombay on the 15th; and the Morattoe fleet returned at the same time to Choule.

In this situation affairs stood in November, when rear admiral Watson arrived with his squadron at Bombay; and the fair season being returned, he consented to assist the presidency and the Morattoes in their farther operations against Angria. It was determined to strike at once at the root of his power, by attacking Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and the principal harbor and arsenal of his marine force: but it was so long since any Englishmen had seen this place, that, trusting to the report of the natives,

natives, they believed it to be as strong as Gibraltar, and like that situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea. For this reason it was resolved to send vessels to reconnoitre it, while the king's ships were cleaned and repaired.

COMMODORE James in the Protector, with the Revenge and Bombay frigates, was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, accompanied by Sir James Hewet, the admiral's first lieutenant. They found Angria's fleet at anchor in the harbour; notwithstanding which, they approached within cannon-shot of the fort, which they attentively considered, and returned to Bombay on the 31st of December. They described the place such as it really was; very strong indeed, but far from being inaccessible or impregnable: upon which representation, it was resolved to prosecute the expedition with vigor and spirit.

THE admiral held the proper consultations with the presidency in the beginning of the year 1756; and sent the Bridgewater and King-fisher sloop, with some of the company's armed ships, to cruize off that port: they were joined, on the 27th of January, by commodore James in the Protector, with the Guardian frigate; and remained on this station till the admiral arrived there. All things being ready on the 6th of February, the admiral assembled a council of the principal sea and land officers belonging to his majesty and the company, when the shares of prize-money to every class were settled, to prevent all disputes in case of success. The Morattoo army, under the command of Ramajee Punt, marched from Choule, from whence their fleet sailed at the same time; and, on the 11th, admiral Watson arrived with his squadron.

THE whole fleet consisted of four ships of the line, of 70, 64, 60, and 50 guns; a frigate, and a sloop, all belonging to the king: with four frigates, and four bombs belonging to the company. On board these
ships

ships were the king's train, and the company's military; being about 800 Europeans, and 1000 fe-poys, command by the heroic colonel Clive. The Morattoe fleet consisted of four grabs and forty gallivats, commanded by Naripunt; and the Morattoes had also an army of 3000 horse, and 10,000 foot, under Ramajee Punt.

THE famous fortress of Geriah was situated on a promontory of rocky land, about a mile long, and a quarter broad, near a mile from the entrance of a large harbor, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagat mountains. The promontory projects to the south-west, on the right of the harbor; and on the sides is contiguous to the water, inclosed by a continued rock about fifty feet high, on which the fortifications were built. These were a double wall with round towers; the inward wall rising several feet above the outward. The neck of land, by which the promontory joins to the continent, was a narrow sand; beyond which, where the ground expands, was a large open town, or pettah, for the habitation of such persons whose attendance was not constantly required in the fort. The river, directing its course to the south-west, washed the north-sides of the town, the neck of land, and the promontory. On the neck of land were the docks in which the grabs were built and repaired, from whence they were launched into the river; and ten of them, among which was that taken from the company, were now lying in the river, all tied together, almost opposite the docks.

SUCH a formidable fleet, so far beyond the apprehensions of Angria, struck him with terror. He abandoned his fort, left the town to be defended by his brother, and threw himself entirely upon the mercy of the Morattoes, with whom he saw it was necessary to purchase a peace at any rate.

There

There were about 2000 people in the fort, 300 of whom bore arms. One ship, eight grabs, and many gallivats were in the harbor. There were upwards of 200 guns in the place, six brafs mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition of all kinds.

THE Morattoes had crossed the river at some distance from the sea, and encamped to the eastward of the Pettah. Here Angria endeavoured to prevail on Ramajee Punt to accept of a ransom for his fort, and offered a large sum of money, if he would divert the storm that was going to break on him: but the Morattoes considered him as a prisoner, and insisted he should send an order to put him in possession of the fort.

ADMIRAL Watson was informed of these clandestine proceedings; and, on the 12th in the morning, sent a summons to have the fort and town surrendered to him: but receiving no answer in the time he proposed; and finding the Morattoes, from whom he had received no assistance, were trifling with him, he weighed in the afternoon, and stood into the harbor in two divisions, parallel to each other, the largest covering the bomb-ketches and smaller vessels from the fire of the fort, in the following order.

His majesty's division.	Company's Division.	
King-fisher sloop.	Revenge.	} frigates.
Bridgewater, 24 guns.	Bombay grab.	
Tyger, - 60	Guardian.	} bombs.
Kent, - 70	Drake.	
Cumberland, 60	Warren.	
Salisbury, 50	Triumph.	
Protector, } 40	Viper.	
Com. ship. }		

As soon as they had passed the point of the promontory they stood into the river, and anchoring along

along the north side of the fortifications at the distance of fifty yards, began to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon; while the bomb-ketches plied their mortars, and struck the enemy with terror and astonishment. At four o'clock, a shell was thrown into the Restoration, an armed ship, which Angria had taken from the company; that shell set her on fire; and as the whole fleet were fastened together with her, they shared the same fate; so that in less than an hour this fleet, which had been the terror of the Malabar coast for fifty years, was utterly destroyed.

ADMIRAL Watson suspected the enemy would endeavour to let in the Morattoes; which supposition was verified by a deserter, who gave information, that Angria had sent orders to his brother, not to suffer the English to enter upon any account. At half past seven, the admiral landed all the troops under the command of colonel Clive, who landed in less than an hour to the eastward of the fort; and to prevent the Morattoes from carrying their scheme into execution, took up his ground between them and the fort.

AT day-light, on the 13th, the admiral ordered the line of battle-ships to warp close in, ready to batter in breach, when the signal should be made, and for that purpose only to fire their lower tier. He sent Sir William Hewet up the river, with some barges and pinnaces, in search of some vessels; and this lieutenant took possession of a snow and a grab. At one, the ships warped within about a cable's length of the foot of the walls, in three one-fourth fathoms, and fired. The enemy returned a few shot, and threw four shells: but at fifty-five minutes past one, a magazine in the fort blew up; and, at four minutes past four, they threw out a signal to capitulate: on which the ships ceased firing; and lieutenant King was sent to the fort with terms.

THE admiral insisted that his troops should be let in, and the enemy's colors hauled down; which they refused; but consented to hoist the British colors, admit six persons to remain for the night, and deliver up the place in the morning.

THE ships renewed their attack at five; and fifteen minutes after the enemy hung out their flag again; when colonel Clive came on board the Kent, attended by a person from the fort, with proper proposals, which were agreed to, and an officer sent on shore to take possession of the fort, where the British colors were then hoisted; and the captains Forbes and Buchanan took possession of it with sixty men.

COLONEL Clive had blockaded the fort with his troops on shore; and by his position prevented the Morattoes from getting possession of the place in a clandestine manner. This was proved to be their design, by an offer they made to the captains Buchanan and Forbes of 50,000 rupees, if they would suffer them to pass their guard: but they rejected the offer with indignation, and disclosed it to colonel Clive; after which the Morattoes found it as impossible to elude the vigilance of the commander, as to corrupt the integrity of his officers.

THE next morning all the British troops entered the fort, and it was found, that notwithstanding the cannonade had destroyed most of the artificial works upon which they fired, the rock remained a strong and almost impregnable bulwark; so that if the enemy had been endowed with courage sufficient to have maintained the place to extremity, it could only have been taken by regular approaches on the land side.

THE loss on both sides was inconsiderable; for this conquest did not cost the squadron more than nineteen men killed and wounded, and most of them were by an unlucky shot on board the Cumberland; yet every ship received at least

twenty or thirty shot in her hull, masts, or rigging. However, the admiral said, he should have been able to proceed to sea again in twenty-four hours, had there been a necessity for so doing. The English found their safety in their own bravery and spirit, and by driving the enemy from their works with the briskness of their fire. The garrison having once abandoned their batteries, were safe in the extraordinary height and thickness of their walls; for all their ramparts, not hewn out of the solid rock, were built of massy stone, at least ten feet in length, laid edgeways; so that the greatest weight of metal made no impression, and would never have effected a breach: therefore, it is evident that the garrison was subdued by the terror of so unusual a fire.

THERE were found in the place 200 pieces of cannon, and six brass mortars; with a great quantity of ammunition, military and naval stores of all kinds; besides money and effects to the value of 125,000*l.* which were divided among the captors, without any reserve either for the nation or the company. Angria's fleet was entirely destroyed: these were eight grabs and one ship, with a great number of gallivats; as also two large ships upon the stocks, one of which was to carry forty guns.

ABOUT 2000 people were made prisoners, among whom were Angria's wife and two children; his mother, brother, and admiral, whom Mr. Watson treated with the utmost clemency. When he entered Angria's palace, the family appeared, making a grand salam, or reverential bending of their bodies, touching the floor with their faces, and streaming tears from their eyes; which was a moving scene to all the spectators. The admiral comforted the prisoners by many marks of tenderness, and told them they were under his protection. They made another salam, and Angria's mother addressed his conqueror in these terms: "The people

people have no prince ; I have no son ; my daughter has no husband ; nor these children any father." The admiral answered, he would be their father : upon which, the youngest boy, about six years of age, seized the admiral's hand, and sobbing said, " Then you shall be my father." It overpowered the heart of that gallant man, who shed tears on this occasion, and took the children with him to bombay : but Angria, who was then thirty-five years of age, remained with the Morattoes, and the rest of his family continued under the protection of the English at Geriah.

THERE were six Englishmen, two Scotchmen, and three Dutchmen, found prisoners in the fort, who were happily released from slavery. While the fleet were employed in taking the plunder on board, the Morattoes sent detachments to summon several other forts, which surrendered without making any resistance : thus, in less than a month, they got possession of all the territories wrested from them by Angria's predecessors, and of which they had for seventy years despaired of ever being able to recover.

ADMIRAL Watson left 300 of the company's European troops, and as many sepoy, in garrison at Geriah ; he also stationed four of the company's armed vessels in the harbor, for the defence of the place, as it was judged to be very tenable, and extremely well situated for the advantage of the company. In the beginning of April, the fleet returned to Bombay, where the admiral repaired his squadron : He sailed from thence on the 28th of April, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of May ; after having totally annihilated the power of Angria on the coast of Malabar.

THE success of the English on this coast, was greatly checkered with their losses in other parts of India. Fresh troubles arose in Arcot between the

Nabob and the subordinate governors; as also between the viceroy of the Deckan and the French; while the English company were deprived of all their settlements on the coast of Bengal.

C H A P. IV.

M. Bussy is dismissed the service of SALABATZING; he retires with the FRENCH troops from GOLCONDA; and fortifies himself at HYDRABAD. Salabatzing applies to the presidency of MADRASS for assistance; which is granted; but prevented by the unhappy situation of the ENGLISH affairs in BENGAL.— The state of affairs on the coast of COROMANDEL, in 1756.

SINCE the proclamation of the truce, M. Bussy had been constantly employed near the person of Salabatzing; sometimes accompanying him in expeditions in the field, at others residing with him at Golconda, where he entirely influenced his councils. In the expedition which they made to Maiffore, they collected a large sum of money, without committing any hostilities; for the Maifforeans agreed to pay 5,200,000 rupees, or 650,000 sterling; besides considerable presents to the principal officers, among whom M. Bussy had the greatest share.

AFTER his return from this expedition, Salabatzing remained several months at Golconda; and as the French influence over him was never so great in a time of tranquility, as when he had occasion for their service in the field, some of the discontented lords of the court, who were attached to the deposed minister Seid Lesker Cawn, renewed their intrigues to diminish the viceroy's affection for the French; and even the Duan Shanavas Cawn, wearied by the perpetual reproaches of his countrymen

men for supporting the interest of those foreigners, turned again and joined that party, by betraying of which he had obtained his post.

THEIR scheme was deeply laid; and to secure the success of it, they communicated it to Balazerow, the chief of the Morattoes, whom the frequent defeats which he had received from M. Buffy, rendered as desirous as themselves of removing the French troops from the service of Salabatzing.

M. Buffy was every day enlarging the valuable and extensive possessions which the French held in the north; and it was apparent that the use he had been endeavouring to make of his influence over the viceroy, was to acquire the dominion of all the Deckan. The French made exorbitant demands of possessions from Salabatzing, and even required to garrison the fort of Golconda. Ballazerow remonstrated to Salabatzing, the danger and shame which the influence of a small body of Europeans, thus arrogantly giving law to a great prince, must bring on his character and government. He then proposed, to march with their united forces against the city of Savanore, the capital of one of the Patan Nabobs, by whose treachery Nazirzing and Muzapherzing lost their lives. The successor of that Nabob had refused allegiance to Salabatzing, and entered into a defensive alliance with Morarow, whom Balazerow had regarded as a rebel ever since he affected to be independent of the Saha Rajah's authority.

SALABATZING consented to this proposal of Balazerow; and both their armies appeared in the month of March before Savanore. This place is situated about 200 miles south of Golconda, and thirty north-west of Bijnagar: it was strongly fortified, and the garrison was reinforced by Morarow with a great body of Morattoes. However, the operations of M. Buffy soon reduced the Nabob and Morarow to enter into a negotiation, and both of

them made their submission; Morarow not only to Salabatzing, but also to Balazerow.

IMMEDIATELY after this success, the discontented lords demanded of Salabatzing to dismiss the French troops, and oblige them to retire to Masulipatnam. M. Buffy saw the impossibility of resisting the combination formed against him; and making a merit of necessity, pretended to be as desirous as his enemies could wish him of quitting a service so full of discontent: but his design was to secure the provinces which Salabatzing had given the French. He therefore took his leave of the Soubahdar, without any marks of disgust, and marched away with the troops under his command, which were 600 Europeans, with 5000 sepoy, and a fine train of artillery. However, his enemies suspected his design, and determined to cut off his troops on their march. Orders were sent to all the Polygars to oppose their passage, and Balazerow detached 6000 Morattoes to harass them; but they marched with little loss to Hydrabad, where they arrived on the 14th of June.

M. Buffy took possession of a garden which had formerly belonged to the kings of Golconda, determining to keep his post until he should receive some succors from Pondicherry and Masulipatnam, from which places he was to be joined by 500 men, who were to be landed at Masulipatnam, from whence they could march to Hydrabad in fifteen days.

SALABATZING prepared to march and attack the French in Hydrabad; and as a surer means of reducing them, dispatched expresses to the presidency of Madras, desiring they would immediately send a body of troops, to assist him in a service in which their own interest was so nearly concerned. Nothing could be more acceptable to the presidency than this invitation; as they despaired of striking at the French influence in the northern parts of the
Deccan,

Deccan, on which the very existence of the English on the coast of Coromandel seemed to depend. They therefore with great alacrity assured Salabat-zing of their intentions to comply with his request, and were on the point of ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans and 1500 sepoy to take the field: but in the middle of July, they received letters from Bengal, informing them of the greatest danger that had ever threatened the company's settlements in Indostan; to retrieve which from utter perdition required nothing less than the exertion of the utmost force that could be spared from the coast of Coromandel: but during the expedition against Angria, no material alterations happened in the English and French affairs on that coast.

THE detachment sent under the command of major Kilpatrick, to assist the Nabob in collecting his revenues from the Polygars to the north of Arcot, kept the field until the end of the year, without committing hostilities; for the Polygars submitted and paid their tribute to the Nabob, who was anxious to draw the troops out of the countries of those insignificant chiefs, to employ them against one of much greater consequence. This was Mortiz Allee the Phousdar of Velore, whose great riches, extensive territory, and the vicinity of his capital to Arcot, rendered him almost as considerable in the province as the Nabob himself, who prevailed on the presidency of Madras to assist him in the reduction of Velore. Accordingly the detachment on its return to Arcot, from the expedition against the Polygars, was reinforced with 200 Europeans, several companies of sepoy, and two eighteen-pounders: the whole now amounting to 500 men in battalion, and 1500 sepoy, who encamped on the 30th of January 1756, within cannon-shot to the south of Velore.

THE Phousdar had early intelligence of their approach, and applied for assistance to M. de Leyrit,

the governor of Pondicherry, who wrote to the presidency of Madras, that he regarded their proceedings against Velore, as a breach of the truce, and should commence hostilities if the English troops were not withdrawn; and, as a proof of his intention, he ordered 700 Europeans, with 2000 sepoy to take the field.

AT the same time that Major Kilpatrick was alarmed by the approach of such an enemy in the rear, he found that Velore was too strong to be reduced by the force under his command. Mortiz Allee had also his anxieties; for next to the dread of being vigorously attacked, nothing was so terrible to him as the necessity of admitting a body of French troops into his fort; although, to amuse the English, he publicly declared that he should not hesitate to take this step if they commenced hostilities: both sides having cogent reasons to avoid them, a negotiation was opened, and Mahomed Issouf was sent into the town to settle the terms. The Phouldar agreed to pay 200,000 rupees, or 25,000*l.* sterling, on condition that he should never be molested either by the Nabob or the company: but his proposal was rejected, though the French troops were advanced as far as Arni: upon which the English returned to Arcot, and the French marched back to Pondicherry.

WHEN the account came to Madras of the loss of Calcutta, and all the subordinate factories in Bengal, the necessity of re-establishing the settlements there superseded every other consideration. As the English were thus prevented from supporting Salabatzing in his measures, he was obliged to alter his resolutions; and finding that M. Buffy was joined by 500 Europeans, under M. Law, he soon admitted the French into his service again. The consequence was, that the French, in 1757, took from the English the factories of Vizagapatnam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram.

B O O K VIII.

*The State of Affairs in the Kingdom of BENGAL,
in the Years 1756 and 1757.*

C H A P. I.

A description of BENGAL; with an account of CALCUTTA and FORT WILLIAM, the ENGLISH presidency in that kingdom. The viceroy SURAJAD DOWLA takes the field against the English, and reduces their fort at COSSIMBUZAR: he besieges and takes Calcutta. His cruelty to the English in Fort William; and the sufferings of the unhappy persons confined in the black-hole, where only twenty-three survived out of 146.

I Have before observed, that the Mogul empire consists of three grand divisions, of the Indostan, the Deckan, and Bengal: as also that the first is governed by the emperor himself, and the other two by his viceroys, who apparently profess an allegiance to him, but really act as independent sovereigns. The Suba*, or viceroy of Bengal, had also the provinces of Bahar and Orixia annexed to his government, and acted in every respect as an absolute prince.

BENGAL is the most eastern province of the Mogul's dominions, and is annually overflowed by the Ganges, as Egypt is by the Nile. It lies upon

* Or Soubah.

the mouth of the Ganges, and is bounded by the Provinces of Patna and Jesnat on the north; the kingdom of Aracan on the east; the bay of Bengal and the province of Orixá on the south; and by the provinces of Narvar and Malva on the west; extending about 400 miles in length from east to west, and 300 in breadth from north to south.

THE bay of Bengal is the largest and deepest in the known world, extending from the south part of Coromandel to the river Huegley*; in which space it receives the great rivers Ganges and Guena from the west side; as also the Arakan and Menamkiori or Avat river from the east side. But Bengal, as a coast, is supposed to extend only from Cape Palmiras on the north coast of Golconda, to the entrance into the Ganges. That river rises in the mountains of Nigracut, part of Great Tartary, receives many other rivers, and after a course of 3000 miles, falls into the Gulph of Bengal by so many mouths, that travellers are not agreed in the number of them: however, the common passage for European shipping is up the river Huegley, one of the most western branches.

THE foreign and domestic trade of Bengal are very considerable; as may appear from the great number of Persians, Abyssinians, Arabs, Chinese, Guzarats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and merchants from all parts of Asia, who resort there. All the Christian nations established in the East-Indies also send their shipping to Bengal; and it is with the merchandizes of this country that they partly make their returns to Europe, besides what they export for their India trade. The principal merchandizes at Bengal are silks, cotton-cloths, pepper, rice, salt-petre, wood

* Or Huguley.

for dying, terra merita, lacca, yellow and white wax, indigo, camphor, aloes, and gum gutta.

THE places of the greatest commerce, and where the English, French, and Dutch have their best establishments are, Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, Huegley, Pipley, and Balifore. The capital of the viceroy is Muxadabad, which is large and populous: and Fort William, or Calcutta, is the principal place belonging to the English company in Bengal; of which I have given a particular account in the first volume.

THE capital city of the kingdom of Bahar is Patna, which lies in 85 degrees of east longitude, and 26 of north latitude, upwards of 400 miles from Calcutta. It extends seven miles in length upon the banks of the Ganges, and is half a mile broad; so that it contains many thousands of inhabitants, and is a place of great trade for salt-petre and opium. Mr. Robert Eyre was the English chief here; but the company withdrew their factory in this city in 1750. It consisted of a chief, three council, and two assistants; with a lieutenant and forty soldiers under his command. It was thought very strange that the company should relinquish this factory, while they were able to transport the commodities of Bahar safely down the Ganges, since the destruction of the Morattoes on the banks of that river; and more especially as the company had great influence with the Nabob, who had then no other European factory in his government. If frauds were committed in that factory, they ought to have been detected; not the factory to be lost by us, to give the French an opportunity of succeeding in the settlement. Mr. Cole obtained a pension; and Mr. Robert Eyre was dismissed the service; though it appears by Mr. Eyre's address to the company in 1753, that he had shewn they suffered a loss amounting to upwards of 100,000 l. by embezzlements,

bezzlements, false entries, and bad conduct at Patna.

ORIXA has such bad ports, that little trade is carried on there.

THE richness and fertility of Bengal, with the safe and extensive navigation of the Ganges, shew the importance of the settlements within these limits; and have engaged the trading companies of the maritime nations in Europe to establish factories upon the banks of the Ganges; which will be better seen by the following account of the villages on each shore, so far as they serve to convey an idea of the interest of the English company.

THE first town on the river Huegley is Culculla, a good market for coarse cloth; as also for corn, oil, and other produce of the country. A little higher is the Dutch Bankshall, or place where their ships ride, when the currents prevent their getting up the river. From Culculla and Juanpardo, two large deep rivers run to the east; and on the west side there is another that runs by the back of Huegley Island to Radnagor, famous for manufacturing cotton, cloth, and silk romaals or handkerchiefs: and on the same river is grown the greatest quantity of sugar in Bengal. Ponjelly, a little market town for corn, stands somewhat higher on the east bank of Huegley river, and exports great quantities of rice: and about a league above Ponjelly, was a pyramid, which served for a landmark or boundary of the English East-India company's settlement of Calcutta, that is about a league higher up.

AT this time Calcutta was a very flourishing place, and the presidency of the English company in Bengal. It was situated on the most westerly branch of the Lesser Ganges, in 87 degrees of east longitude, and 22° 45' of north latitude; 130 miles north-east of Balisore, and 40 south of Huegley.

The

The governor resided in Fort-William; having six council, and other officers, as at Madras and Bombay; to whom all the other English factories at Huegley, Pibley, Dacca, and Balisore were subordinate. The town was large, fair, and populous; being inhabited by many private English merchants, and several rich Indian traders, who supplied the company with the commodities of the country. The fort was strong, and had a garrison of Europeans and sepoy. The plan of it was an irregular tetragon, built with brick, and mortar called puckah, made of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, which becomes as hard and durable as stone. The governor's house was within the fort; and was a handsome, regular structure. There were also convenient lodgings for the factors, storehouses for the company's goods, and magazines for their ammunition. The company had also good gardens and fish-ponds; with an hospital for the sick. On the other side of the river there were docks for repairing and careening the ships; near which the Armenians had a good garden. All religions were tolerated here: the Pagans carried their idols in procession; the Mahommedans were not discountenanced; and the Roman Catholics had a church. About fifty yards from the fort was the English church, built by the contributions of the merchants and seamen who came to trade there. The English had the Mogul's permission to settle at Calcutta in 1690; and Mr. Job Channock, the company's agent in Bengal, pitched upon that spot, for the sake of a large shady grove which grew there: but it was the worst place he could have marked out; for three miles to the north-east there is a salt-lake, which overflows in September; and when the flood retires in December, there is such a prodigious quantity of fish left behind, that they putrify and infect the air. Besides the Gentoos worship the Ganges,
and

and bring their sick people to its banks, to die near it: they entirely burn the bodies of the rich; but only disfigure those of the poor with the flames, and throw them into the river, where they float in great numbers, and are preyed on by the crows.

CALCUTTA was generally garrisoned by 300 Europeans, who were frequently employed in conveying the company's vessels from Patna, loaded with salt-petre, piece goods, opium, and raw silk: for as the company held the settlement immediately of the Mogul, they were under no apprehensions of being dispossessed. Indeed, the Raja's, whose governments extend along the Ganges, between Cossimbuzar and Patna, had sometimes interrupted that navigation, and endeavored by force of arms to exact the payment of certain duties for all merchandize that passed on the coast: but their force had been suppressed, and no farther danger was dreaded from them.

THE trade of Bengal supplied rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly; besides what was carried in smaller vessels to the adjacent countries; and the article of salt-petre only was become of such great consequence to the European powers, that every thing was attempted by the French and Dutch to deprive the English of that advantage. For this reason it was greatly to be suspected that these rivals in trade had spirited up the new viceroy to extirpate the English factories within his dominions, under various slight pretences, of being treated with disrespect by governor Drake; of a right to certain duties, which were refused by the company; and for giving protection to the Moors.

THE viceroy Alvedeikam died on the 4th of May 1756, and was succeeded by his nephew Surajad Dowla*, who behaved in a very tyrannical

* The French call him Saradjot Dollah.

manner to all persons, and particularly to those of distinction, whose effects were seized, and the European nations forbid to afford them any protection or retreat; with which orders the French and Dutch strictly complied: but the English incurred the resentment of the viceroy, by imprisoning a rich Indian at Calcutta, who had been of great service to their company. His name was Omychund, an eminent Gentoo merchant, who had lived several years in the district of Calcutta, under the protection of the English company, and was now imprisoned by governor Drake. In 1747, the English were in such a bad situation here, that they had no money, and had stretched the company's credit as far as it would then bear: they had also a large provision of goods to make; and that part of the investment alone, to be provided at Calcutta, exclusive of the subordinates, amounted to 2,400,000 rupees. The whole body of merchants declared, they were incapable of furnishing the English with any goods, unless the ready money was to be advanced: but what most perplexed the factory was, their orders from England, expressly forbidding them to employ Omychund as a Dadney merchant. These orders arrived just at this time, when he was not only one of the company's principal creditors, but was the only man that could be of any service at that juncture, by his interest and influence abroad. However, Omychund was prevailed on to go to the council, and tell them, that, though the company was angry with him, he was always ready to serve them, and was then willing to contract for one-third of the whole investment; for which he would be paid on delivery of the goods, or receive bonds bearing interest, if they had no money in the treasury; which proposal created such an envy and emulation among the other merchants, that the English happily accomplished the cargoes
of

of four ships. However, this wealthy Indian was imprisoned at Calcutta, which gave the viceroy a pretence of marching his army towards that place.

THE viceroy took the field, on the 30th of May 1756, with an army of 30,000 horse; 40,000 foot; and 400 elephants. On the 2d of June, he detached 20,000 men to invest the English fort at Cassimbuzar*, a large and mercantile town, situated upon an island formed by the west branch of the Ganges, two miles below Muxadabad, 60 west from Dacca, and 70 miles north of Huegley, which stands about 100 miles up the mouth of the river. The English, French, and Dutch had factories here. The country about it was very fertile, and the inhabitants remarkably industrious, being employed in many useful manufactures. They generally furnish 22,000 bales of silk a year, each bale weighing 100lb. They have also taffeties, and the most beautiful cotton-cloths of the country.

THE English fort was small, but regularly built; had 60 cannon mounted, and was garrisoned by 300 men, principally sepoy. The viceroy pretended he had received many insults from governor Drake: but he deferred attacking the fort, until he had proposed a treaty of accommodation with Mr. Watts, the chief of this factory, whom he summoned to a conference in his pavilion, about a mile and half from the town; under a solemn assurance, that he should be no ways molested. Mr. Watts imprudently consented, and set out with his surgeon, attended by four Peons: but when they were about musket-shot from the fort, Mr. Watts was seized by a party of the viceroy's troops, who manacled him with the folds of a turban, and conducted him in that manner before the viceroy. That imperious

* Or Cassimbuzzar.

prince would hardly deign to look on him; but compelled him to sign a paper, acknowledging a large debt to the viceroy; after which, he ordered the prisoner to send for Mr. Collet and Mr. Jackson, two of the council. As soon as those gentlemen entered the tent of the viceroy, he secured Mr. Batson, and sent Mr. Collet back, that he might prevail on the English to surrender the factory at discretion; the viceroy threatening death to his two prisoners, whom he treated with the utmost indignity, and sent prisoners to Muxadabad. He also terrified the garrison by vowing destruction to them all, if he took the fort by assault.

THE surrender of the fort was warmly opposed by some of the gentlemen in the company's service: but the majority of the people prevailed, and the fort was surrendered on the 4th, without opposition; whereby the chief, three of the council, and four writers; with lieutenant Elliot, and 50 European soldiers, were made prisoners. When the Moors entered the fort, they seized on every thing, ill-treated the people, stript them almost naked, and sent them prisoners to Huegley, where they were closely confined, till they were removed to Muxadabad.

THE reduction of this fort greatly surprized all the Europeans settled in India: but the country people were in hopes that the English would punish the viceroy, and deliver them from his tyranny. The viceroy was encouraged by this success, and marched with all his force against Calcutta, which was invested on the 15th. He peremptorily threatened to drive all the English out of his dominions; yet wrote to governor Drake to accommodate matters with him; if the governor would pay him his duty upon the trade for fifteen years past, defray the expence of his army, and

deliver up the Indian merchants who were then in the fort; which the governor refused.

THE viceroy attacked one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town; but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his troops. The English had two passes, with three guns mounted on each, and guarded by fifty men. On the 16th, the viceroy attacked the other advanced post, which kept a constant fire, and killed many of his troops. Notwithstanding this opposition, a third attempt was made on the 18th, when the English troops abandoned those posts, and retreated to the fort. The viceroy entered the town, and suffered his troops to plunder it for twenty-four hours. He then ordered the fort to be attacked; for which purpose, he threw up a small breast work, and mounted two twelve-pounders on it; from whence they fired two or three times in an hour; but never could have made a breach.

THE governor assembled a council of war, to consider of the state of affairs, when the captain of the train informed them, there was not ammunition in the fort for three days: in consequence of which report, the principal ladies were sent on board the ships lying before the fort. There were eight ships then at anchor in the river; and the ladies were followed by the governor, who declared himself a Quaker, and left the place to be defended by Mr. Holwell, the second in council, who was determined to defend the place to the last extremity.

BESIDES the governor, there were four of the council, and eight gentlemen in the company's service; four officers, and 100 soldiers; with 52 free merchants, captains of ships, and other gentlemen, who escaped on board the ships at Fulta, where were also 59 of their ladies, and 33 of their children. The whole number left in the fort were about 250 effective men, with Mr. Holwell, four captains,
five

five lieutenants, six ensigns, and five serjeants; as also fourteen sea captains, and 29 gentlemen of the factory.

MR. Holwell held a council of war; divided three chests of treasure among the discontented soldiers, to whom he made large promises for their courage and fidelity; secured the keys of the gates himself; and gallantly stood the next morning to the defence of the place. The attack was as brisk as could be made by the Moors, who got possession of the houses round the fort, from whence they galled the English much, and drove them from the bastions: but the Moors were several times dislodged by the fire from the fort, which killed upwards of 12,000 men, with the loss of only five English soldiers, the first day. The attack was continued until the 20th in the afternoon, when many of the garrison were killed or wounded, and their ammunition was almost exhausted; upon which a flag of truce was hung out from the fort. Mr. Holwell intended to make an honorable and safe retreat on board the ships, while he demanded a capitulation to amuse the enemy: but the ships had fell down several miles from the fort, without leaving even a boat to facilitate Mr. Holwell's escape. During the parly from the walls, the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard; the Moors entered the fort in a body, killed all those who first presented themselves, and made the rest prisoners.

THE viceroy and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. Mr. Holwell had three audiences of him, and the last was in durbar, or council, before seven; when the viceroy repeated his assurances to him, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to the English: but the most unparalleled acts of inhumanity were inflicted upon the unhappy prisoners, who were threatened with momentary destruction.

It is believed, the viceroy's orders were only general, that the English should be secured for that night: but what followed might be the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower class of jemmidaars, or officers of the rank of serjeants, who had many of their order killed during the siege. However, the viceroy was enraged not to find the treasure he expected in the fort, which had been secured on board the ships.

As soon as it was dark, the English prisoners, to the number of 146, were directed by the jemmidaars who guarded them, to collect themselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched veranda, or piazza, to the westward of the black-hole prison. Besides the guard over them, another was placed at the south-end of this veranda, to prevent the escape of any of them. About 500 gunmen, with lighted matches, were drawn up on the parade; and soon after the factory was in flames to the right and left of the prisoners, who had various conjectures on this appearance. The fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion of the English, that they were to be suffocated between the two fires. On this they soon came to a resolution of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death: but Mr. Holwell advanced, and found the Moors were only searching for a place to confine them in. At that time, Mr. Holwell might have made his escape, by the assistance of Mr. Leech, the company's smith, who made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell Mr. Holwell, he had provided a boat, and would insure his escape, if he would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he then entered. This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard
took

took little notice of it: but Mr. Holwell told Mr. Leech, he was resolved to share the fate of the gentlemen and the garrison; to which Mr. Leech gallantly replied, that "then he was resolved to share Mr. Holwell's fate, and would not leave him."

THE guard on the parade advanced, and ordered them all to rise and go into the barracks. Then, with their muskets presented, they ordered them to go into the black-hole prison; while others, with clubs and scymitars, pressed upon them so strong, that there was no resisting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, they were obliged to give way and enter; the rest following like a torrent. Few among them, the soldiers excepted, had the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place they had never seen; for if they had, they should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been cut to pieces by their own choice, as the lesser evil.

IT was about eight o'clock, when these 146 unhappy persons, exhausted by continual action and fatigue, were thus crammed together into a dungeon about eighteen feet square, in a close sultry night in Bengal; shut up to the east and south, the only quarters from whence air could reach them, by dead walls; and by a wall and door to the north; open only to the west by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which they could receive scarce any circulation of fresh air.

WHAT must ensue, appeared to them in very dreadful colors, the instant they saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having only their hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavors were vain and fruitless. They plainly perceived, that death, attended with the most horrid train of circumstances, must prove their inevitable destiny.

Mr. HOLWELL advised them to preserve a calm mind, and quiet resignation to their fate; which produced a short interval of peace: but that pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded. Mr. Holwell offered a Jem-midaar two thousand rupees, to get them separated half in one place, and half in another. The Moor attempted it twice; but said it could not be done without the Soubah's order, who was asleep, and no one dared awake him.

THEY had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, that no idea can be formed of it. This brought on a raging thirst, which increased in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture. Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. Every man was stripped, and every hat put in motion: they several times sat down on their hams; but at each time several of the poor creatures fell, and were instantly suffocated or trod to death.

BEFORE nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Efforts were again made to force the door; but still in vain. Many insults were used to the guards, to provoke them to fire in upon the prisoners, who grew outrageous, and many delirious. "Water, water", became the general cry. Some water was brought; but these supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to raise and feed the flames. The confusion became general, and horrid from the cries and ravings for water; and some were trampled to death. This scene of misery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without, who supplied them with water, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing them fight for it, as they phrased it; and held up lights to the bars, that they might lose no part of the inhuman diversion.

BEFORE

BEFORE eleven o'clock, most of the gentlemen were dead, and one third of the whole. Thirst grew intolerable: but Mr. Holwell kept his mouth moist by sucking the perspiration out of his shirt-sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain from his head and face. By half an hour after eleven, most of the living were in an outrageous delirium. They found that water heightened their uneasiness; and "Air, air," was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard; all the opprobrious names that the viceroy and his officers could be loaded with, were repeated, to provoke the guard to fire upon them. Every man had eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to Heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of them, and put a period to their misery. Some expired on others; while a steam arose as well from the living as the dead, which was very offensive.

About two in the morning, they crowded so much to the windows, that many died standing, unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round. When the day broke, the stench arising from the dead bodies was unsufferable. At that juncture, the Soubah, who had received an account of the havoc death had made among them, sent one of his officers to enquire if the chief survived. Mr. Holwell was shewn to him; and near six an order came for their release.

THUS they had remained in this infernal prison from eight at night until six in the morning, when the poor remains of 146 souls, being only twenty three, came out alive; but most of them in a high putrid fever. The dead bodies were dragged out of the hole by the soldiers, and thrown promiscuously into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin, which was afterwards filled with earth.

THOSE who survived were Messieurs Holwell, Court, Cooke, Lushington, Moran, and Burdet; the captains Mills and Dickson, and ensign Walcott; Mrs. Carey, whose husband was a captain of one of the ships, whom she accompanied into the prison, where he died; John Meadows, and twelve military and militia blacks and whites. Among the dead were Edward Eyre and William Baillie, Esqs; both of the council; the reverend Jervas Bellamy, and 21 gentlemen in the service; three military captains, five lieutenants, five ensigns, five serjeants, and 12 sea-captains; in all 54 gentlemen, and 69 common men. Mr. Eyre was brother to the dean of Wells, and to Mr. Robert Eyre the chief of Patna. Mr. Baillie was the son of doctor Baillie; a Scotch gentleman, and late judge of the vice-admiralty court in Ireland.

HISTORY has never furnished a fact so full of horror; and no tyrant ever devised a more torturing scene of barbarity, not even Phalaris.

MESSIEURS Holwell, Court, Burdet, and Walcott, were ordered into the custody of an officer, and the rest were immediately set at liberty, except Mrs. Carey, whose youth and beauty caused her to be detained for the tyrant. The voluntary opposition of Mr. Holwell incensed the viceroy against him; and supposing that he would not have undertaken a work of supererogation, attended with such fatigues and danger, upon disinterested principles, he made no doubt that there were very great treasures in the fort, in which he was concerned as a proprietor. It happened unfortunately, that Mr. Holwell in the hurry and confusion of the siege, after the fort had been deserted by the governor, forgot to set Omychund at liberty. It never once occurred to him, or he had certainly done it, because he thought his imprisonment unjust: but Omychund resented this neglect as an act of injustice;

ffice; and Mr. Holwell thought that the hard treatment he met with, might be attributed to Omychund's insinuations; in which opinion he was confirmed by the confinement of the three gentlemen selected to be his companions, who were all of them persons against whom Omychund had conceived a particular resentment.

Mr. HOLWELL was in a high fever, and unable to stand; yet in that condition he was conducted before the viceroy, who told him, he was well informed of great treasures being buried or secreted in the fort; that Mr. Holwell was privy to it; and must discover it, if he expected favor. Mr. Holwell urged every thing he could to convince the viceroy there was no truth in the information: but he was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops; and, as such, was conducted, together with Messieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet to the camp, within the outward ditch, near Omychund's garden, which was above three miles from the fort. Mr. Holwell was threatened to be shot off from the mouth of a cannon; and among the guard that carried him from the viceroy, one bore a large Morattoe battle-ax, which occasioned a report that he was beheaded. They were all loaded with fetters, though in a fever; in which condition they were conveyed to Muxadabad, to wait the return of the viceroy.

THEY embarked in a Wollack, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. Their provision was only rice and water; and they had bamboos to lie on; but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any cloaths, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

Mr.

Mr. HOLWELL, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lack of rupees, or 50,000*l.* sterling.

THEY arrived at the French factory, on the 7th of July in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law the French chief, who generously supplied them with cloaths, linen, provisions, liquors, and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace. This march drew tears of disdain and anguish of heart from them: thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentoos on the other. The immense croud of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry.

HERE they experienced every act of humanity and friendship from Messieurs Law and Vernet, the French and Dutch chiefs at Cossimbuzar, who left no means untried to procure their release. Mess. Ross and Elkstone, the Dutch chief and second at Muxadabad, regularly sent them provisions, and daily visited them. The whole body of Armenian merchants were most kind and friendly to them. Messieurs Hastings and Chambers had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch chiefs becoming bail for their appearance: and this security was offered for Mr. Holwell, but without effect.

AFTER the taking of Calcutta, the Soubah called it Allynagore, and left Rajah Monickchund, a Gentoo, governor there, who expelled most of the Indian inhabitants, and obliged them to seek for protection from the French and Dutch factories at Chandernagore, and Chinsura. Mr. Boddam, the
English

English chief at Ballasore, with two other gentlemen, and twenty-five military, quitted that factory by order of governor Drake, and went on board the ships at Fulta. The same was done by Mr. Amyatt, the chief at Jugdea, who came on board with five other gentlemen, and twenty military. But Mr. Beecher, the chief at Dacca, four of the council, three gentlemen, and three ladies, with twenty-four military, were made prisoners; though they were afterwards permitted to live in the French factory, by whose intercession they were set at liberty.

THE Soubah arrived at Muxadabad on the 11th of July; and in his way called at Huegley, where he released Mr. Watts and the other gentlemen confined there. On the 15th, he ordered Mr. Holwell and his three companions to be conducted to the Kella, or Soubah's palace, to have an audience, and know their fate. They had no admittance that day to the Soubah; but they saw several of his ministers, who had entered his court in the utmost pomp and magnificence, brought out disgraced, in the custody of the guards. Mr. Holwell and his companions obtained their release at the intercession of Allyverdy Cawn Begum, the dowager princess, grandmother of the Soubah, who solicited their liberty at a feast the preceding night; and he promised to release them on the next day, when he called on them, as he went by to his palace of Mooteejeel. They made him the usual salam; and Mr. Holwell addressed him in a short speech, setting forth their sufferings, and petitioned for their liberty. He gave no answer; but ordered the guard immediately to cut their irons off, and to conduct them wherever they chose to go, as also to take care they received no trouble or insult. As soon as their legs were free, they took boat, and proceeded to the Dutch mint near the city, where they

they were received and entertained with real joy and humanity. Mr. Holwell soon after embarked for England; and the Soubah was soon after punished for his cruelty.

C H A P. II.

Admiral WATSON and colonel CLIVE sail with the Squadron and troops from MADRASS to BENGAL. They take the forts of BUSBUDGIA, TANNA, and HUEGLEY; and retake CALCUTTA and FORT WILLIAM from the SOUBAH in 1757. Colonel Clive defeats the Soubah near Calcutta, and compels him to sign a peace. Colonel Clive takes FORT D'ORLEAN at CHANDENAGORE from the FRENCH. The ENGLISH agree with JAFFEIR ALLEE CAWN to depose the Soubah, who is defeated and taken prisoner by colonel Clive at PLASSEY; after which he is beheaded by Jaffeir Allee Cawn, who is placed on the throne at MUXADABAD. His indemnification to the English for their loss, and his rewards for their assistance.—The French take VIZAGAPATNAM from the English.—Admiral Watson dies at Calcutta, and is succeeded in the command by vice-admiral POCOCKE. Remarks.

IT was reported, that the English company had lost two millions sterling by the viceroy's reduction of Calcutta; which made it necessary for the presidency of Madras to relinquish the agreement with Salabatzing the Soubah of the Deccan, and to send all their force to oppose Surajad Dowla the Soubah of Bengal. Colonel Clive was accordingly dispatched with 400 Europeans, and 1000 sepoy's from Coromandel to Bengal.

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL Watson sailed from Madras on the 16th of October 1756, with all his squadron and the troops on board; accompanied by the Walpole and Marlborough Indiamen. They had a tedious passage; and arrived at Ballasore road on the 5th of December. The admiral crossed the braces on the 8th, proceeded up the river Huegley, and arrived at Fulta on the 15th, where he found governor Drake, and the gentlemen of the council, on board the company's ships. As the pilots would not take charge of the ships until the springs were over, the admiral could not proceed higher till the 28th, when he sailed with the Kent, Tyger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King's-fisher-sloop: and the next afternoon, the company's troops were landed under the command of colonel Clive.

THE troops were to march and attack Busbudgia fort by land, while the squadron was to attack it by water. This fort belonged to the Soubah, and was extremely well situated for defence; having a wet ditch round it; but badly provided with cannon. The squadron anchored before the fort, and began to cannonade about eight in the morning on the 30th; and half an hour after the king's troops were landed to support colonel Clive. The ships soon silenced the fort, which was set on fire, and abandoned. The garrison and people escaped; leaving eighteen guns, from twenty-four pounders and downwards, and forty-two barrels of powder, with ball in proportion. One of the company's captains was killed, and four soldiers wounded.

ON the 1st of January 1757, the Kent and Tyger anchored between Tanna fort and a battery opposite to it; both of which the enemy abandoned, as the ships approached. About forty guns, some of which were twenty-four pounders, and all mounted on good carriages, with some powder and ball were found in this fort and battery; and the admiral

left

left the Salisbury as a guard-ship, to prevent the enemy from regaining them. In the night, he sent the boats, manned and armed, up the river, to burn a ship and some vessels, said to be filled with combustibles; which was executed without opposition. Thus the English had opened a passage to the fort of Calcutta, the late scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many of their unfortunate countrymen.

EARLY the next morning, the company's troops were landed, and marched to Calcutta; while the ships proceeded up the river, and drove the enemy from some batteries below the town. The Kent and Tyger still sailed on, together with the twenty gun ship and sloop. The English were animated with revenge at the affecting sight of Fort William; and, at ten minutes past ten, the Tyger and Kent made so warm a fire, that the enemy were soon drove from their guns, and ran out of the fort, which captain Coote, with the king's troops, and an officer from the Kent, entered a little before eleven. They found 91 guns of different sizes, four mortars, and a considerable quantity of all kinds of ammunition. The ships suffered very little in their masts, yards, and rigging: there were only nine seamen and three soldiers killed; with twenty-six seamen and five soldiers wounded.

AN expedition was then proposed against Huegley, which was situated on the other side of the river, about sixty miles above Calcutta. It was a large town, subject to the Soubah, and chiefly inhabited by Indians and Portugueze: but this was also the place of rendezvous for all nations who traded to Bengal; its warehouses and shops being always filled with the richest merchandize of the country; and the Dutch had a factory there which was large and magnificent. This expedition was undertaken by the twenty gun ship and sloop; the boats of the Squadron

dron manned and armed; assisted by all the king's troops, amounting to 170, the company's grenadiers, and 200 sepoy, commanded by major Kilpatrick. They sailed on the 5th, under the command of captain Smith, of the Bridgewater; and, on the 11th, the place was taken and destroyed. The English took twenty guns, and a great quantity of ammunition. As the city was destroyed, together with the granaries and storehouses of salt situated on the banks of each side the river, it was of great prejudice to the viceroy, as they contained a store for the subsistence of his army, while in that part of the country.

THUS the English became masters of the strongest places of trade in Bengal; and their successes inflamed the Soubah more than ever, who found that Indian forts could not resist English valor. He therefore marched with an army of 10,000 horse, and 15,000 foot; with which he intended nothing less than the total expulsion of the English out of Bengal. His army was seen marching by the English camp, on the 2d of February, about a mile distance towards Calcutta, where they encamped.

COLONEL Clive had only 400 Europeans, and 1600 sepoy: but, on the 15th, he was reinforced by a detachment of sailors; 180 from the Kent, 173 from the Tyger, 120 from the Salisbury, 29 from the Bridgewater, 37 from the Sloop, and 30 from the Indiamen; in all 569, commanded by captain Warwick. The whole body was to force and drive the viceroy out of his camp; and began to march at three in the morning, with the sailors attending the train, which consisted of six field pieces, and one haubitzer. The king's troops and company's grenadiers were in the front, the battalion next, then the train, and the sepoy in the rear. About five, the troops in the van entered the Soubah's camp, when they were charged by the Moorish

Moorish horse; and by the time the rear-guard were entered, the engagement became general from hedges and bushes. The English played their artillery, defending the right and left of their army all the way through the camp, and driving the enemy before them with great rapidity, till they lodged themselves in a tope, behind some hedges. From thence the Soubah detached a large body of horse, with two cannon, to the cross road of the Bunglo; but colonel Clive soon dislodged them, and marched into the fort. In this action the viceroy had 1300 men killed and wounded, and 21 of the former were officers: he had 500 horses killed, as also 300 draught bullocks, and four elephants. The English had two captains of the company's troops, 17 private soldiers, 12 seamen, and 10 sepoy killed; with 15 seamen, and 50 soldiers and sepoy wounded; but lieutenant Lutwidge of the Salisbury, was mortally wounded.

THIS attack was not attended with the desired success: yet it was sufficient to make the Soubah very solicitous to accelerate a peace, which was concluded on the 9th of February, and consisted of the seven following articles:

- I. THAT whatever rights and privileges the king had granted the company, should not be disputed; and the immunities therein mentioned should be confirmed.
- II. THAT all goods passing and repassing through the country, by land or water, with English orders, should be exempt from any tax, fee, or imposition.
- III. THAT all the company's factories seized by the Soubah should be returned: and all monies, goods, and effects be restored, or accounted for.

IV. THAT

- IV. That the English should have permission to fortify Calcutta, as they thought proper.
- V. THAT they should have liberty to coin their own imports of bullion and gold.
- VI. THAT the viceroy, and his principal officers and ministers, should ratify this treaty by signing and sealing, and swearing to abide by the articles therein contained.
- VII. That admiral Charles Watson and colonel Robert Clive, on the part and behalf of the English nation and of the company, agreed to live in a good understanding with the Soubah, to put an end to these troubles, and be in friendship with him while he observed and performed these articles.

BUT the Soubah required, that the governor and council should also sign them with the company's seal, and swear to the performance on their part. The articles were equally honorable and advantageous to the company, with respect to their possessions and privileges granted by the Mogul, the freedom of trade, and the indemnification of all losses sustained. The treaty was ratified on oath; but no confidence could be placed in the Soubah, even under that solemnity, after the perfidy he had lately shewn. He soon disregarded the treaty, and renewed his preparations for war; while the British commanders were convinced of the insincerity of the French, who had instigated the Soubah to oppress the English; and therefore they undertook the reduction of the French factory at Chandernagore*, which is about a league below Huegley,

* Or Chandernagore.

and where the French had their presidency of Fort d'Orlean.

COLONEL Clive was joined by 300 troops from Bombay, which increased his army to 700 Europeans and 1600 sepoy. He marched with this force, on the 12th of March, from Calcutta to Chandénagore, which he invested, and took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt, situated between the river side and the fort walls, wherein were mounted eight cannon of twenty-four pounders, four of which pointed down the river. Admiral Watson ordered the twenty gun ship and sloop up the river, to cover the boats attending on the camp; and followed them, on the 15th, with the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury; which anchored on the 18th, about two miles below Chandénagore, where they met with some delay until the 24th.

THE French had done every thing in their power to obstruct the passage of the British ships, by sinking two ships, a ketch, hulk, and snow, as also a vessel without masts, within gun-shot of the fort; and laying two bombs, moored with chains, across the river: but the bombs were cut adrift by the English, whose pilots found out a proper channel to pass through, without weighing any of the vessels. Before this was sufficiently known, admiral Pococke came up in his boat, and hoisted his flag on board the Tyger.

THE ships weighed on the 24th, and sailed up at six in the morning: the Tyger led, the Kent was in the center, and the Salisbury in the rear. The French began to fire from the redoubt, which was abandoned as soon as the leading ship got a-breast of it. The ships were placed at three quarters after six, when the signal was made for engaging, which continued very brisk on both sides until a quarter past nine. The land forces also kept a good and constant fire the whole time, from two batteries of
four

four and two guns, they had raised near the fort. The French then waved a flag of truce over their walls, and desired to capitulate.

THE articles of capitulation were soon settled, and were nine in all; whereby it was agreed;

“THAT the deserters were to be absolutely given up:

THAT all the officers of the garrison were to be prisoners on their parole of honor; with liberty to carry their effects where they pleased, on promising they would not serve against his Britannic majesty during the present war:

THAT the soldiers of the garrison should be prisoners of war, so long as the war continued; and when peace was made, they should be sent to Madras or to England:

THAT the sepoy were not to be prisoners, and should have leave to return on the coast in their country:

THAT no Europeans should reside at Chandernagore; but the French jesuits might go wherever they pleased, with all the ornaments of their church:

THAT the admiral would do justice to the inhabitants, concerning their houses and estates; but as to the French factories of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Patna, Jeuda, and Ballasore, they were to be settled between the Soubah and the admiral:

THAT the directors, councillors, and those employed under them, had leave to go where they pleased, with their cloaths and linen.

THESE articles were signed by Messieurs Laportiere, Nicolas, Sugues, Renault, Fournier, and Caillot; after which admiral Watson sent captain Latham ashore, to receive the keys, and take possession of the fort, into which colonel Clive marched with the king's troops about five in the afternoon. This was a great loss to the French, who had in the fort 183 pieces of cannon, from twenty-four pounds

ders downwards; three small mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition. Besides the ships and vessels sunk below, to stop up the channel, they sunk and run ashore five large ships above the fort; and the English took four sloops and a snow. The French had 500 Europeans, and 700 sepoy, in the fort; of which 40 were killed, and 74 wounded. The English had 32 men killed, and 99 wounded: among the former were Mr. Samuel Perreau and Mr. Rawlins Hay, first and third lieutenants of the Kent; and the master of the Tyger: among the wounded were admiral Pococke, slightly hurt; and captain Speke and his son, by the same ball; the latter had his leg shot off, and died soon after: the greatest part of the wounded suffered much, being hurt chiefly by cannon-shot, and many of them died.

Thus the English forces reduced four forts, and established the military character of their country in Asia. All their operations were concerted with judgment, and executed with spirit. The viceroy was humbled, and the French were dismayed: but though the power of the French company was broke, great danger was still to be apprehended from the perfidy and resentment of the Soubah, who was averse to comply with the stipulations he had made. His violent and tyrannic spirit had discontented his own courtiers, particularly Jaffier Allee Cawn, who was one of his principal generals, and held several other considerable employments. The great reluctance which the viceroy shewed to comply with the articles of the peace, occasioned many letters to pass between him and admiral Watson. In most of them, the former never failed to be very liberal in his promises; but this was all that could be obtained from him. These delays, after the final execution of the peace, were in effect the same to the commerce of the kingdom, as if none had

had been concluded: and the leading men at the court of Muxadabad, knowing the faithless disposition of their prince, and perceiving no probability of an established peace in their country, began to murmur, and entered into a conspiracy to divest him of the government.

THIS conspiracy was headed by Jaffier Allee Cawn, who communicated it to Mr. Watts, the second in council at Calcutta; and intreated their assistance. The committee debated on this important affair with due attention and circumspection; when it appeared, that the Soubah was so far from complying with the articles of the peace he had solemnly sworn to observe, that he would not permit the English to put a garrison into Cossimbuzar; and had given strict orders not to suffer even a pound of powder and ball to pass up the river. It farther appeared, that the Soubah had given the strongest invitations to M. Buffy, while he commanded in Golconda, to join him with all the troops he could bring. These measures of the Soubah gave the English council very little reason to believe he had any intention to continue even on peaceable terms with them longer than he thought himself unable to engage in a war against them: it was therefore judged most adviseable to join Jaffier Allee Cawn with their troops; as such a step seemed the most effectual way of establishing a peace in the country, and settling the English on a good and permanent foundation.

FOR this purpose a treaty was entered into with Jaffier Allee Cawn, who therein styled himself, "Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahadar, the slave of Allum Geer, Mogul," and admiral Watson, colonel Clive, governor Drake, Mr. Watts and the committee. It consisted of twelve articles, and was dated, "the 15th of the moon Ramazan, in the 4th year of the present reign."

By this treaty, "Jaffier Allee Cawn agreed to, and admitted of, the agreement and treaty made with the Soubah Surajah Dowla: that the enemies of the English should be his enemies, whether Europeans or others; that whatever goods and factories belonged to the French in Bengal, Bahar, and Orixah, should be delivered to the English; and the French never permitted to have factories or settlements any more in these provinces:

"THAT to indemnify the company for their losses, by the capture of Calcutta, and the charges they had been at to repofsess their factories, he would give one hundred Crore * of rupees, or 1,250,000 l. sterling: that to indemnify the English inhabitants, who suffered by the capture of Calcutta, he would give fifty lack of rupees, or 625,000 l. sterling: that to indemnify the losses suffered by Gentoos, Moormen and others, he would give twenty lack of rupees, or 250,000 l. sterling: and that to the inhabitants, the Armenian Peots of Calcutta, who suffered by the capture, he would give seven lack of rupees, or 87,500 l. sterling: the division of all these donations were to be left to the admiral, the colonel, and committee.

"THAT he would give up entirely to the company the Morattoe ditch all round Calcutta, and 600 yards all round about the ditch:

"THAT the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpee, should be under the government of the English company; but the rents should be paid into the Mogul's treasury:

"THAT whenever Allee Cawn sent for the assistance of the English troops, their pay and charges should be disbursed by him:

"THAT from Huegley downwards he would build no new forts near the river.

"And that, as soon as he was established Sou-

* One Crore is 100 lack, and one lack is about 12,500 l. sterling.

bah of the three provinces, he would immediately perform these articles;

“ To which he subscribed a note, in his own hand-writing, to the following purpose;

“ IN the presence of God and his prophet, I swear to abide by the terms of this argeement, while I have life.”

SOME other principal men were united in this confederacy, who agreed, that Jaffier Allee Cawn should succeed to the Soubahship, as he was a man of the first quality, and held in great esteem by all ranks of people.

THE English troops took the field under the command of colonel Clive, who marched, on the 13th of June, from Chandernagore towards Cossimbuzar; while the admiral took care to garrison the former place with his seamen. He also ordered the 20 gun ship to anchor above Huegley, and keep the communication open with the colonel; whom he farther assisted with a lieutenant, seven midshipmen, and 50 seamen, to serve as gunners in the expedition.

ON the 19th colonel Clive took the fort and town of Cutwa, situated on the west side the river, that forms the island of Cossimbuzar, on which Muxadabad is seated. The army remained there, for intelligence from Jaffier Allee Cawn, until the 22d, when they crossed the river, and were met the next day by the Soubah, at the head of a numerous army, near Plaffey, where colonel Clive obtained a complete victory.

THE Soubah had 20,000 men in the field, exclusive of those who favoured the conspirators: he was also joined by 50 French troops who worked his artillery: but too considerable bodies commanded by Jaffier Allee Cawn, and Roy Dulub, were drawn too far from the line to act against the English. The Soubah marched out of his encamp-

ment at eight in the morning, to surround the English, who were drawn up near a grove by the river, where his own hunting-house secured their ammunition: but colonel Clive put his army to flight, and took possession of his camp, with upwards of fifty cannon and all his baggage. The number killed among the Soubah's troops were few, as they only stood a cannonading. The English had 19 Europeans and 30 sepoy's killed and wounded. The Soubah fled with the few who continued faithful to him, among whom were Montol, his prime minister; and Monickchund, his late governor of Calcutta.

THE victorious colonel Clive entered Muxadabad in a triumphal manner, and placed Jaffier Allee Cawn upon the throne, who had the usual homage paid him by all ranks of people, as Soubah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. He entered his capital on the 26th, and was inaugurated on the 30th: but the same day as this dignity was conferred on him, his rival Surajah Dowla was taken prisoner, and privately put to death, in the 25th year of his age, by the new Soubah's son and his party.

MR. LAW, the French chief at Cossimbuzar, had collected near 200 European troops, and was coming to the assistance of Surajah Dowla, a little time before he was taken prisoner: but Mr. Law advanced no farther when he heard what was done. The tyranny which the late Soubah exercised upon his own subjects made his life odious; and the barbarity which he committed on the English at Calcutta made his death as much unpitied, as that act was execrated.

THUS, in about a fortnight, an entire revolution was accomplished in a great and populous state, whereby the French were entirely driven out of Bengal and all its dependencies; and more solid profit was reaped by the English East-India company,

pany, with few men, and a short campaign, than has been done by crowned heads, and powerful armies, in those bloody wars which have almost drained the veins of Europe to the last ebb. It is amazing, that the government of a vast kingdom, as extensive as most in Europe, equal to any in the fertility of its soil, superior to many in the richness of its commerce, and inferior to few in the number of its inhabitants, should be so suddenly transferred by such a handful of troops, who in Europe are undeserving the name of an army: but the victors were Englishmen, and their leader was Clive, who seems to have been born a general! If a Justin or a Curtius had been living in our times, what would they have said, to find the glory of Alexander the Great outrivalled by a British subject? Alexander invaded India with an army of 120,000 horse and foot: but the places he took, and the conquests he made, were attended with no difficulty. Porus fell into his hands, and he restored him to his kingdom. A private subject of Great Britain has done an act equally as brave and great: his few soldiers would have followed him to the utmost limits of the globe; yet Alexander could not prevail upon his numerous army to pass the Ganges, and attack Agamenes.

THE new Soubah, among other acts of gratitude shewn to his brave allies, made a noble present to the English troops and sailors, by whose valor he had acquired his dignity. He gave them sixty lack of rupees, or 750,000 l. sterling; and the sums stipulated by the treaty for other services amounted to 1,875,000 l. sterling for the English company and inhabitants of Calcutta: besides 337,500 l. for the other inhabitants of Calcutta: so that the amount of the whole was 2,962,500 l.

THE treasury of the deposed Soubah was found very short of expectation: however, colonel Clive
sent

sent down to Calcutta one third of the sum stipulated in the agreement, which was 737,500 l. and as much more was soon to follow as would make it up half. The other half was to be paid in three years, at three annual and equal payments.

THE joy among the British forces for these successes in Bengal, was somewhat damped on the arrival of the Marlborough Indiaman at Calcutta from Vizagapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, with an account of the French successes in those parts.

WHEN Salabatzing found he could procure no assistance from the English, he found it necessary to accommodate his differences with the French, and re-admit them into his service. M. Bussy was reinforced by 500 Europeans under Mr. Law, and undertook to reduce the English factories of Ingeram, Bandermalanka, and Vizagapatnam. This having been foreseen, the greatest part of the company's effects were shipped off from the two former places, upon the first alarm of hostilities: but it was expected that the last would make some defence, as it was garrisoned by 140 Europeans, and 420 sepoy.

M. Bussy invested Vizagapatnam with 850 Europeans, 6000 sepoy, and 4000 pikemen, with 30 pieces of cannon; which soon obliged the place to surrender by capitulation, whereby it was agreed;

“ THAT the place, with its fortifications, artillery, marine and military stores, arms, and other stores, should be delivered up to the French company; as also all that should be found in the different magazines belonging to the English company:

“ THAT the chief, the council, and all those employed in the English company's service, the officers and all others both civil and military, should be prisoners of war on their parole:

“ THAT all the soldiers, sailors, and other Europeans, should be prisoners as long as the war should continue between the king of France and the king
of

of England, or until they should be exchanged." Besides, the capture of this place gave the French the entire possession of the coast from Ganjam to Maffulipatnam.

AFFAIRS were not more successful in the southern provinces, where the rebel Polygars had united their troops against Mauphus Cawn, who obtained a complete victory over them near Tinevelly, killed 2000 colleries, and took 300 horse, with some elephants; besides all their baggage and artillery. After this victory, Mauphus Cawn prevailed upon the English sepoy to quit Madura, and then seized upon that part of his brother's dominions as an usurper.

BUT all the English in those eastern parts were greatly more concerned for the sudden and unexpected death of admiral Watson, who lost his life by a fever in that country where he had established an immortal reputation. He died on the 16th of August 1757, and was buried the next day in the church of Calcutta. His corpse was attended to the grave, by all the principal inhabitants of the place, who intended to erect a handsome monument to his memory. He was created vice-admiral of the red before an account of his death arrived in England; and a very elegant monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-Abbey.

COLONEL Clive happily escaped the dangers of war, and the intemperance of the climate, to enjoy in his native country the honor he had achieved, and the fortune he had acquired, by his heroic and unparalleled acts. He commanded in Bengal in 1758, when he sent two-thirds of his force for the security of Madras; from thence he returned to England, where he was created a peer of Ireland, and made a knight of the bath.

VICE admiral Pococke succeeded admiral Watson in the command: he was joined in October

1757 by commodore Stevens; and was several times victorious over the French in those seas; after which he returned full of glory to England, where he received those honors due to his distinguished merit.

BUT we shall find, that the new Soubah was deposed, in November 1760, for his bad administration of government; and that his son-in-law Mir Mahmud Cossim Allee Cawn succeeded to the throne of Bengal. This great event was principally brought about by the address of Mr. Vansittart, the president at Calcutta; and as the principal inhabitants of the country concurred therein, no blood was shed. The new Soubah confirmed all the company's privileges, and granted many valuable new ones, with the addition of a considerable sum of money: but even this Soubah was afterwards deposed by those who placed him on the throne, and Jaffier Allee Cawn was restored.

ALL this shews, that the British power is now more regarded than ever in the East-Indies, where many sensible people think we ought to have a military government; for the natives would pay no regard to the company if the governors were not looked on as appointed by the king. Our company always make use of his majesty's name, which is attended with good effects: but if the governor was called his excellency, it would strike a terror in the natives, among whom every thing goes by external figure. Our company are at great expence in supporting the dignity of their governors: but though the French company nominate their governors, they must be approved of by the king. The people of India despise merchants, and honor soldiers: if a soldier bows to the Soubah, he returns it; but never to a merchant. Even a naked soldier is looked on as a gentleman in India, therefore our king's soldiers appear great among them. It has been

been thought, that if Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and St. Helena, were each of them, with their dependencies, created into a separate colony, with a governor appointed by the king, to be assisted by a council and assembly, chosen by the people, as in America, they would make as rich and flourishing colonies as Virginia or Jamaica, since their trade and commodities are of more value: and if the free merchants there were incorporated with the black merchants, who are excessive rich, and with the Indian artizans, who are sober and industrious, these colonies would soon grow up to such a height as can hardly be conceived. They would be so far from a monopolizing company, that they would not only be able to defray their own charges, but give assistance towards paying off the national debt.

BOOK

B O O K IX.

The Military and Naval Operations in INDIA, between the ENGLISH, FRENCH, and DUTCH, in the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760, until the Departure of Admiral POCOCKE and Colonel CLIVE from BENGAL to ENGLAND.

C H A P. I.

Reinforcements sent from ENGLAND and FRANCE to INDIA, in 1757; and their arrival there in 1758, under commodore STEVENS, and general LALLY.—The FRENCH, under M. D'AUTEUIL besiege TRICHINOPOLI, in 1757: but the place is relieved by captain CAILLAUD, who gets possession of MADURA. Colonel FORD attacks NELLORE without success. Colonel ALDERCRON destroys OUTREMALOUR. The French plunder CONJEVERAM, and take CHETTAPUT; which ends the campaign of 1757.—Three ships belonging to the English East-India company defeat two French men of war off the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, in JUNE 1757.

WAR had been declared between Great Britain and France upwards of two months, before any ship was sent from England to give notice of it in the East-Indies: but, in 1757, a squadron of five ships was sent there under the command of commodore Stevens, who joined vice-admiral Pococke in Madrafs-Road, on the 24th of March

March 1758. The French also sent five men of war and two frigates to India, with a large body of troops under the command of general Lally, who arrived at Pondicherry on the 22d of April following: but before the arrival of these reinforcements on the coast, the French made an attempt to surprize Trichinopoli in April.

M. D'AUTEUIL was charged with this service, who invested the place with 900 men in battalion, and 4000 sepoy, with 100 huffars, and a great body of country horse. Trichinopoli was not then in a condition of defence against such a force; because the greatest part of the garrison had marched, under the command of captain Caillaud, to besiege Madura. However, captain Caillaud received advice of what the French had undertaken, and by forced marches with all his Europeans, and 1000 of the best sepoy, with four days provisions in their knapsacks, he marched to save Trichinopoli at all events; while the French were as resolute to prevent his entrance into the town.

M. D'AUTEUIL drew up his troops in four divisions, which formed a chain quite across the plain, where it was expected the English would be obliged to attempt a passage. The French cavalry was advanced in the front, and divided into small parties, to possess the roads and posts all around; except the plantation grounds, which extended about nine miles to the westward of the town, and was so damp, by the overflowing of the waters for the rice harvest, that it was impossible to march over it without being knee deep in mud at every step therefore it was left unguarded, as it was deemed impassable for an army.

CAPTAIN Caillaud was informed by his spies of this disposition made by the enemy, and resolved to take his route by this neglected and difficult way; but with such precaution as to give no suspicion of
without

his intentions. He proceeded forward in the high road, without the least appearance of his design, until the close of the evening, when he wheeled off his troops towards the rice fields. They arrived at the plantations about ten that night; and after a most fatiguing march of seven hours, unnoticed by the enemy, advanced within cannon-shot of the fort, and were admitted undiscovered. The enemy's attention had been drawn from that quarter, not only by its difficult access, but by a detachment of two companies of sepoy, whom the captain had ordered to march in the common road, and alarm the enemy on the other side; which service they effectually performed, and made their own retreat good through the woods, from whence they found an opportunity to get into the town the following night. M. d'Auteuil was alarmed at this unexpected attempt, and returned with his army to Pondicherry.

CAPTAIN Caillaud having thus delivered Trichinopoly from the French, returned with a reinforcement to Madura, which he had left blocked up by the troops under the command of lieutenant Rumbold. A battery was erected, which began to play on the 9th of July; a breach was made before noon; the attack was formed, and the troops advanced to the breach by two o'clock of the same day. The besieged gave them a warm reception, killed 34 Europeans, and 120 sepoy, besides many others wounded. The rest retreated, and were too much dispirited to venture upon a second attack. Captain Caillaud found it was impossible to persist in the assault, and made the proper dispositions to reduce the place by famine. But as this method might take up so much time, as to prolong his stay until the arrival of the French fleet: and as all the strength that could be collected was necessary for the defence of the English garrisons against that event, he

he had orders to break up the blockade and return to his command at Trichinopoli: therefore he tried what could be done by negociation; and at length prevailed on Mauphus Cawn to give Madura up to the company for the sum of 170,000 rupees; and it was accordingly delivered into his power just at the time the French fleet arrived. Captain Caillaud left a large garrison of sepoy, under the command of Isouf Cawn, and returned to Trichinipoli.

COLONEL Ford was ordered by the presidency of Madras to reduce the fort of Nellore*, which it was apprehended the Phoufdar would make over to the French. The colonel marched with 100 Europeans and 600 sepoy and Caffres, who invested the place on the 1st of May. They battered the fort three days, and made a practicable breach on the 5th, when the assault began at the break of day. Fifty Caffres, under ensign Elliot, marched boldly to the foot of the breach. They were closely followed by 300 sepoy, until these latter came within 60 yards of the breach, where they sheltered themselves in a ditch, and could not be prevailed upon to advance a step farther; so that the Europeans were obliged to march over them to the breach. This was executed with great intrepidity, and they advanced with the Caffres to the top of the breach, where they were vigorously opposed by the Moors, armed with fire-locks, pikes, clubs, and stones. The troops maintained the assault above half an hour, when the colonel ordered a retreat; which was conducted with such good order, that not a man was hurt after they had left the attack: but in the action there were 36 Europeans killed, with about 20 Caffres. Those that were wounded were

* This is a large town, surrounded by a thick mud-wall, with a dry ditch on all sides, but one, where is the bed of a river, always dry but in the rainy season.

rendered unfit for present service; and there was scarce a man in the breach who escaped unhurt.

SEVERAL other actions happened, with various success. The presidency of Madras sent a body of troops, under the command of captain Polier, to reduce the French fort at Outremalour; which he entered without opposition, as the garrison consisted only of sepoy, who abandoned the place as he approached. Captain Polier left forty sepoy in garrison there; but they were soon after obliged to submit to a French detachment of 100 Europeans and 300 sepoy, which marched against this fort from Allamparva.

THE situation of Outremalour gave the government of Madras such uneasiness, that colonel Aldercron was sent with his regiment to attempt its final reduction, and destroy its fortifications, which he faithfully performed. From thence the colonel marched to invest Wandewash; but was deterred from making any attempt upon the place, by advice, that the French army employed against Trichinopoli was marching to its relief.

THE French followed colonel Aldercron to Conjeveram, which they plundered: but were repulsed in their attack of the pagoda, with the loss of an officer and six Europeans killed, and twelve wounded; though the garrison consisted of no more than an English serjeant and two companies of sepoy.

COLONEL Aldercron was then advanced within six miles of Madras, and was ordered to return with the army towards the French, which he did with as much dispatch as possible, and encamped within four miles of them on the 10th of July. His design was to attack them the next day, though they were much superior to him in numbers, especially Europeans, of whom they had about 2000: but he found them intrenched in a strong camp about a mile from Wandewash. The colonel tried every method

method to draw them out of their intrenchments, but without effect; so that it was thought proper to withdraw an army, that was obliged to remain inactive, and at an useless expence.

THE French continued in their camp until the 20th of September, when they marched against Chettaput with 1800 Europeans. The place was not very strong; yet Nizar Mahomed Cawn, the governor, assisted by a serjeant and sixteen men from Madras, gallantly defended it to the last extremity, in hopes that the English army would come to its relief. A great number of the assailants were killed by the Moors in garrison, who seldom shew much courage in the field, but generally make a most obstinate resistance in defence of their towns. When the governor was drove out of the fort, he renewed the fight in the streets, and disputed every inch of ground, until he was shot dead by a musket-ball. On the report of his death, his family immediately destroyed themselves, and a great slaughter was made among his troops.

THE French left a garrison at Chettaput, and returned to Pondicherry, which finished the campaign on this side. Colonel Aldercron's regiment was ordered home; so that the English had only 1718 men at Madras, of whom 1300 were company's troops, 334 enlisted from Aldercron's regiment, and 84 recruits sent this year from England in the China ships. But the French had 3400 Europeans, of whom 1000 were sent this year from France to Pondicherry. This superiority of strength increased their power, and intimidated the natives from assisting their English allies.

THREE of the English company's ships were attacked in their homeward-bound passage by two French men of war, sent from Pondicherry to cruize to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to intercept any English ships, as they

seldom had any convoy in that part of their voyage. The French ships were one of 64 guns, and a frigate of 36, who fell in with the three English ships about 100 leagues east of the Cape, in the middle of June. Those ships were the Houghton, captain Walpole, from Bombay and China; the Suffolk, captain Wilson, and the Godolphin, captain Hutchinson, both from Fort St. George and China. The French ships attacked them, with an assurance of victory over trading vessels heavily laden: but the three English captains formed their ships into a line, and sustained a furious engagement for upwards of three hours, in which the French made repeated attempts to board, but were always repulsed, and at last sheered off, with the loss of 146 men killed and wounded. On board the English ships, not so much as one man was killed, and only one wounded; which may seem very surprizing to every one that does not know the difference between the English and French manner of fighting a ship. The French ships returned to Pondicherry, and the three English ships arrived in the port of London on the 29th of August. The East-India company, on the 27th of September, ordered a gratuity of 2000*l.* to each company belonging to those ships, as a reward for their courage and fidelity.

C H A P. II.

The BRITISH parliament grant 20,000l. to the EAST-INDIA company in 1758: and the viceroy of BENGAL makes them a large grant. The nature of colonel CLIVE's jaghire; and the disputes thereon.—Transactions on the coast of COROMANDEL in 1758. The first engagement between admiral POCOCK and M. D'ACHE. The FRENCH take CUDALORE and FORT ST. DAVID. The second action between the English and French squadrons—M. LALLY takes the fort of DEVI-COTTAH; and invades the kingdom of TANJORE, where he is repulsed, and returns to PONDICHERRY. He invests MADRASS.—Affairs in GOLCONDA.

THE British parliament, in the supplies for the service of the year 1758, granted the sum of 20,000l. to be paid to the East-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements.

WHILE colonel Clive was commander in chief in Bengal, the English company acquired great power and influence in that country, where they obtained large districts, which produced near 600,000l. a year to them. The viceroy Jaffier Allee Cawn also compensated the services of colonel Clive with a grant of about 27,000l. sterling a year; and honored him with the dignity of an omrah: but after his return to England, those grants were contested by the company; which makes it necessary to state that matter in its genuine light.

It should be observed, that, upon the original foundation of the Mogul empire, all the lands, like those in England, were in the crown, who granted

granted the rents, in the nature of the fee-farm rents in England. These lands were, and now are, called *Calsa* lands, or lands belonging to the crown; the rents whereof, for several years, were received by officers appointed within the provinces by the emperor for that purpose; and the Nabobs, who were then viceroys to the Mogul, had pensions assigned them to maintain their courts, and support their governments: but that method has been changed for a great number of years past; and the emperors, instead of pensions, allotted to the Nabobs large quantities of land within the provinces, to be disposed of and managed for their own benefit. These lands were, and still are, called *jaghire* lands, for which no taxes are paid. As to the rest of the lands within the provinces the Nabobs farmed the same of the Mogul at a certain yearly sum. This alteration being received into the Mogul government, it became immaterial to the Mogul what the Nabobs did with the rents: the yearly sum stipulated was all that he expected, and that they were obliged to pay; so that all the rents, and also the lands that produced them, were under the power of the Nabobs, who disposed of them as they thought fit, and out of them conferred favors on whom they pleased.

THE Nabobs granted zemindaries, or leases, of all the lands from time to time at their pleasure, or as occasion required; in which state the usage and constitution of the Mogul empire stood at the death of Aurengzebe: but after the death of that monarch, the Nabobs began to assume sovereign authority, and the invasion of Kouli Khan rendered that sovereignty absolute: so that the Nabobs have for many years exercised all those sovereign rights, regarding the lands and revenues of the provinces, which the Mogul emperors ever had.

THE above account is extracted from lord Clive's own papers; which may be farther confirmed by the account given by the East-India directors, under their hands to his Britannic majesty in 1762, in a memorial presented by them relative to the transactions of the Dutch; which account is in the following words: "By the ancient constitution of the Mogul empire, of which the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, are a part, the Nabob or Soubah of those provinces was nothing more than the Mogul's viceroy; yet, for many years past, as the strength of that constitution has been gradually declining, the Soubahs of these and other provinces have been in like gradation assuming an independence of the court of Delhi; and the shock which the empire received, or rather the subversion of it, for it has never recovered, nor probably ever will, from the irruption of the Persians under Nadir Shah, has so far confirmed that independence, that the relation between the Nabob and the Mogul is at present little more than nominal. The Nabob makes war or peace without the privity of the Mogul; and though there appear still some remains of the old constitution in the succession to the Nabobship; yet, in fact, that succession is never regulated by the Mogul's appointment, though the person in possession is generally desirous of fortifying a disputed title by the Mogul's confirmation; which the court of Delhi, conscious of its inability to interpose more substantially, and desirous of maintaining an appearance of superiority, readily grants. The Nabob of Bengal is therefore *de facto*, whatever he may be *de jure*, a sovereign prince; or, at worst, not a viceroy, but a tributary to the Mogul; there being some kind of tribute still continued as due from these provinces to the Mogul; though it rarely, if ever, finds its way to Delhi."

It appears by the director's letters, that the Dutch, as well as the English, considered the Nabob in that light. However, the Dutch, to give some color for their complaints against the English company, made use of the following allegation: "The Mogul is sovereign of the country, and we derive from him, under repeated phirmaunds, a right to a free navigation from thence to other places; and this right we cannot be deprived of, without infringing the phirmaunds of the Great Mogul; which the Nabob, who is only governor of a province, is not authorized to do."

It was in answer to this allegation the declaration above-mentioned was made by the English directors, who found themselves under the fatal necessity, on behalf of the company, to make use of the same reasons for justifying their conduct towards colonel Clive, as the Dutch made use of to justify theirs towards the company. There are many jaghires in the province of Bengal, granted by former Nabobs, that have subsisted for several generations; yet, as to the jaghire granted by Meer Jaffier to colonel Clive, the English company at once alledged, it was an illegal act in the Nabob's; and at the same time admitted that the company were in the enjoyment of all the lands afterwards granted to them by his successor, without paying or being subject to any rent at all.

COLONEL Clive's jaghire was regularly paid to him in India until the year 1760, and was afterwards remitted to him in England until 1763, when it was stopped on the following pretences. 1. That the Mogul was sovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixia, and proprietor of all the lands within those provinces; and that the rents granted to the colonel were the ancient imperial rents reserved and payable to the emperor; and that, therefore, the Nabob could not grant or alienate

nate the same from the imperial crown; and that the company might be called to an account by the emperor for what they had paid to him: nor was that all the company seemed to expect, but that the colonel was accountable to them for what he had received. II. That suppose the Nabob had a right to alienate those rents, such alienation could exist no longer than the Nabob who granted the same continued in his government, and that such alienation was not binding on his successor; so that when Meer Jaffier became deposed, the grant became of no effect. III. That colonel Clive's acceptance of the dignity of an omrah, or title of honor, was contrary to his duty to the company; as he might be obliged, by such acceptance, to assist the Mogul and the Nabob in war, even against the company. IV. That if the colonel had a right, even then he had no remedy in England; but must resort to the court of the mayor of Calcutta, or to the courts of the emperor at Delhi, or the court of the Nabob.

THE first reason has been already refuted above; and the second appears to be as badly founded. As to the third reason, it should be observed, that the titles of honor used in Europe, are unknown to the Indians, whose titles are distinguished only by a number of azaras, or 1000 horse, from two to 10,000, which is the highest, and was the title of the son of the Great Mogul. The number of 6000 expresses the dignity of an omrah, but not any less number; and the equipage of the person on whom such honors are bestowed, are proportioned by the usage of the country to his rank. Hence, it is apparent, no person can be ennobled in India, unless the rank and number he is appointed to be expressed in the patent; which is a mere compliment, that does not lay an obligation on the part of the person receiving such honor, to render the Mogul any services whatever. But the true tenor of the honor,

was

was no more than a personal favor to colonel Clive, and to give him rank among the princes and great men of that country; which might have been of service to the company in his negotiations and transactions with them. M. Dupleix obtained a title of honor inferior to that conferred on colonel Clive, and had several jaghires granted him by the Nabob of the Deckan in lands, ceded to the French company, which he enjoyed many years after he returned to Europe, and until those lands were taken from the French. But as to the fourth reason, it is well known, if colonel Clive had been obliged to pursue his remedy in the mayor's court, that the judges there were dependant on the company: if he resorted to the courts of the emperor or the Nabob, no mandate or process from any such could be enforced against the company.

HOWEVER, affairs were at last amicably settled in England; and colonel Clive, ennobled with an Irish peerage, and honored with the order of the Bath, in 1764, set sail again for India, with full power to settle the company's affairs; of which I shall take farther notice at a proper time; and shall now resume the military part of my undertaking, to wind off the thread to its bottom.

THE Hardwicke, captain Samson, arrived at Bengal from England, on the 23d of June 1758; by which ship advice was brought that the directors* had

* The directors for 1758, were the following gentlemen.

William Barwell,	} Esquires.	Laur. Sullivan,	} Esquires.
Christ. Burrow,		Roger Drake,	
John Brown,		H. Crab Boulton,	
John Boyd,		Giles Rook,	
John Dorrien,		Thomas Rous,	
J. Raymond,		Charles Cutts,	
Geo. Stevens,		Thomas Phipps,	
Fred. Pigou,		Henry Savage,	

Henry

had appointed colonel Clive governor of their settlements in that kingdom, where every thing wore an aspect of tranquility, and admiral Pocock returned to the coast of Coromandel, where the French were making great preparations to distress the English settlements, and even to besiege Madras.

ON the 27th of January 1758, the French squadron sailed from the Isle of France, and appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the middle of April. This squadron was commanded by the count d'Ache, and consisted of nine ships and two frigates*; with general Lally and his troops on board.

ADMIRAL Pocock was joined by commodore Stevens in Madras-road on the 24th of March, with the reinforcements from England; upon which he put the squadron in the best condition possible for the sea, and sailed on the 17th of April with

Henry Plant,	} Esquires.	John Harrison, Esq;
Henry Hadley,		And
Timothy Tullie,		Sir James Creed, Knt.
George Dudley,		Mr. Sullivan was elected chair-
John Manship,		man; and
Nat. Newnham,		Mr. Drake deputy-chairman.

See this volume, page 201.

* Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Le Zodiaque	74	700	M. d'Ache.
Le Bien Aime	74	680	M. Bauvet Garboye.
Le Comte de Provence	74	650	M. de la Chaize.
Le Vengeur	74	500	M. Palliere.
Le St. Louis	64	500	M. Joannes.
Le Duc d'Orleans	64	450	M. Surv. Cadet.
Le Duc de Bourgogne	60	450	M. Bovet.
Le Conde	50	350	M. de Rosbau.
Le Moras	50	350	M. Bec de Lievre.
La Sylphide	36	200	
Le Diligent	24	150	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Total	640	4980	

seven ships of the line, one frigate, and a store-ship*, with a view to get to windward of St. David's to intercept the French squadron, which, by his intelligence, he had reason to expect.

THE French squadron appeared off Fort St. David on the 28th of April at nine in the morning, and blocked up his majesty's ships the Bridgewater and Tryton of 20 guns, and 150 men each, commanded by captain William Martin and captain Edmund Townley, who found there was no possibility of escaping, and therefore run their ships on shore, burnt them, and retired to the fort with all their men and stores. Though the squadron wanted refreshments and water, it was resolved to take advantage of the consternation at Cuddalore †, to block it up by sea; while M. Lally should march from Pondicherry to invest it by land. Accordingly, the Comte de Provence and the Diligent were sent to land him and some of the troops at Pondicherry, with orders to rejoin the squadron immediately after that was done.

M. LALLY appeared early the next morning within the district of Fort St. David: but the debarkation of the troops on board the ships, and

* Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Yarmouth	64	540	Adm. Pocock, capt. Harrison.
Elizabeth	64	495	Com. Stevens, capt. Kempenfelt
Cumberland	66	520	Capt. Wm. Brereton.
Weymouth	60	420	Capt. Nich. Vincent.
Tyger	60	400	Capt. Tho. Latham.
Newcastle	50	350	Capt. Geo. Legge.
Salisbury	50	300	Capt. John Stuck Somerset.
Queenborough	24	150	
Protector	40	100	
Total	478	3275	

See this volume, p. 162. 223.

† Or Goudelour.

their

their junction with the troops on shore, were prevented by the sudden and unexpected appearance of the British squadron to the southward, as the French were preparing to land.

ADMIRAL Pocock made the height of Negapatnam on the 28th at noon; and running down the next morning, he saw seven ships in Fort St. David's road getting under sail*, and two cruising in the offing. The admiral judged them to be the enemy, and immediately gave chase, at half past ten; but they were obliged to shorten sail before noon, when the French formed the line of battle a-head, with the star-board tacks on board, and stood off shore to the eastward, with the wind about south.

THIS obliged admiral Pocock to make the signal for his ships to form the line a-head; which was repeated by the Queenborough; and every ship got into its station, as fast as possible, within random-shot of the enemy, a little before three o'clock; though some of them were more than a league at that time. The admiral, by signal, called the Queenborough within hail to him, and ordered that all her marines should be sent on board the Cumberland, and twenty seamen on board the Tyger. He then bore down upon the Zodiaque, on board which ship M. d'Ache wore a cornette at the mizen-top-mast-head: but observing the Newcastle and Weymouth did not bear away at the same time, he made their signals.

THE French fired upon the English, as they were going down: but admiral Pocock did not make the signal to engage until he was within half musket-

* According to the French account the Sylphide frigate made the signal of seeing a squadron of nine ships; and M. D'Ache drew up in line of battle.

shot of the Zodiaque; which was about three o'clock: a few minutes after, perceiving the ships were not all got close enough to the enemy, he made the signal for a closer engagement, which was immediately complied with by the ships in the van. At half past four, observing the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty close to the Zodiaque, the admiral made signals for the Cumberland, Newcastle, and Weymouth, to make sail up, and engage close.

Soon after M. d'Ache broke the line, and put before the wind. His second a-stern, who kept on the Yarmouth's quarter most part of the action, then came up along-side, gave his fire, and bore away. The other two ships in the rear came up in like manner, and then bore away. Admiral Pocock then hauled down the signal for the line; and made the signal for a general chace.

ABOUT half past five, the enemy were joined by the two ships from Pondicherry about four miles to leeward; upon which they hauled their wind, and stood to the westward, with their larboard tacks on board.

THE English squadron was greatly delayed in their chace, by the damage of the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger, and Salisbury, in their masts, yards, sails, and rigging, which prevented their keeping up with the rest, that had not suffered in the rear. This inability, and the approach of the night, made it adviseable for the admiral to haul close upon a-wind, and make a signal to leave off chace: he therefore stood to the south-west, to keep to windward of the enemy, in hopes of being able to engage them next morning: but as they shewed no lights, nor made any night-signals that could be observed by the Queenborough, who was ordered a-head to watch their motions, the admiral concluded they had weathered him in the night, by being able

able to carry more sail. However, he continued his endeavors to work up after them, until six in the morning on the 1st of May, when finding he lost ground considerably, he came to an anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and sent an officer to the chief of that settlement for intelligence, who informed him, that the *Bien Aime* of 74 guns had received so much damage in the action, that they were obliged to run her on shore a little to the southward of Alemparvey*, where the French squadron was at anchor; but all the crew were saved.

THIS action was about seven leagues west by north from Alemparvey: the admiral had not any certain account of the enemy's loss; but from the reports of the Dutch, and several French officers, they had 600 men killed in the action, and many wounded: whereas the English had only 29 men killed, and 89 wounded. The French squadron retreated to Pondicherry, where they landed their money, stores, and troops: while the English squadron sailed to Madras to refit.

ADMIRAL Pocock observed, that commodore Stevens, captain Kempenfelt, captain Latham, and captain Somerset, who were in the van, behaved as became gallant officers; and that captain Harrison's behavior, as well as all the officers and men belonging to the Yarmouth, gave him sensible satisfaction. Had the captains in the rear done their duty as well, the admiral would have had great pleasure in commending them: but their manner of acting in the engagement appeared so faulty to him; that, on his return to Madras, he ordered a court martial to assemble, and enquire into their conduct. In consequence of which, captain Vincent

* Alamparva, Lampraavey, or Alinaparaghe.

was sentenced to be dismissed from the command of the Weymouth; captain Legge to be cashiered from his Majesty's service; and captain Breton to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

ADMIRAL Pocock repaired the most material damages of his ships, took on board 120 recovered men from the hospital, and 84 lascars; after which, he put to sea on the 10th of May, with an intent to get up to Fort St. David's; but was not able to effect it. He got sight of Pondicherry on the 30th; and the next morning the French squadron, which had been there ever since the 5th, stood out of the road, and got away, notwithstanding the admiral's utmost endeavours to come up with them. On the 6th of June, he received an account, that Fort St. David's had surrendered to the French; upon which, he returned to Madras to refresh his squadron.

THE French squadron sailed off the Island of Ceylon, and before Negapatnam and Carical, from the 9th to the 17th of June; in which cruise it took the Experiment brigantine, captain Whitehead, and sent her to Pondicherry: and from the 17th of June to the 26th of July the squadron remained before Pondicherry, to repair the damage it had received, and take in fresh provisions.

* Count d'Ache sent the Marquis de Montmorency-Laval, colonel of foot, to the French ministry, with an account; "that the English fleet, on the 1st of June, after being repaired at Madras, was seen coming to the relief of Fort St. David; whereupon count d'Ache got under sail; but the English, rather than venture a second engagement, retired again to the coast of Madras. That, on the 2d of June, M. d'Ache's squadron went before Fort St. David, which was obliged to capitulate for want of relief. That the fleet appeared, on the 4th, off Devi Cottah, which surrendered without resistance."

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL Pocock failed again, on the 25th of July, in quest of the enemy; and, on the 27th in the evening, got within three leagues of Pondicherry road, where he perceived their squadron at anchor, consisting of eight sail of the line and a frigate, which got under sail the next morning, and stood to the southward*. The English admiral made the signal to chase, and endeavoured to weather the French, as the likeliest means of bringing them to action; which, however, he was not able to accomplish until the 3d of August, when he took the advantage of the sea breeze, got the weather-gage, and brought on the engagement about one o'clock †.

VOL. II.

U

M. D'ACHE

* According to the French account, "when the English fleet again appeared, count d'Ache got under sail, with the same number of ships he had in the first engagement; the comte de Provence supplying the place of the Bien Aime, which was lost; and the Diligente that of the Sylphide, which had been disarmed. The two squadrons kept cruizing from the 27th of July to the 3d of August, when a fresh engagement began at one in the afternoon, which continued with the utmost fury for above two hours."

† The English squadron, in this second engagement, consisted of the following Ships:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Yarmouth, —	66	540	V. Admiral Pocock.
Elizabeth, —	64	495	Commodore Stevens.
Tyger, —	60	420	Captain Latham.
Weymouth, —	60	420	Capt. Somersfet.
Cumberland, —	66	520	Capt. Martin.
Salisbury, —	50	350	Capt. Brereton.
Newcastle, —	50	350	Hon. Cap. James Colville.
Queenborough, —	20	150	
Protector store-ship.			

The French squadron was now composed of the following ships:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Le Zodiaque, —	74	700	M. D'Ache.
Le Comte de Provence, —	74	650	M. de la Chaize.
Le St. Louis, —	64	500	M. Joannes.
			Le Vengeur,

M. D'ACHE set his foresail, and bore away in about ten minutes, his squadron following his example, and continuing a running fight, in a very irregular line, until three o'clock. The English admiral then made the signal for a general chase; upon which the French cut away their boats, and made all the sail they could: he pursued them till it was dark, when they escaped by out-failing him, and got into Pondicherry road. Admiral Pocock anchored the same evening off Carrical, a French settlement.

THE English had only 31 men killed, and 116 wounded: but among the latter were commodore Stevens, by a musket-ball in his shoulder; and captain Martin, by a splinter in his leg. The French had 251 men killed and 602 wounded; and among the latter were M. D'Ache and his captain*. The behaviour of the English officers and men in general, on this occasion, was entirely to the admiral's satisfaction.

Two days after this action, the Ruby, a French snow of 120 tons, laden with shot and medicines, from the islands to Pondicherry, was taken by the

Le Vengeur, —	64	500	M. Palliere.
Le Duc d'Orleans, --	60	450	M. Surville Cadet.
Le Duc de Bourgogne,	60	450	M. Bovet.
Le Conde, —	50	350	M. de Rosbau.
Le Moras, —	50	350	M. Bec de Lievre.
Le Diligent, — —	24	200	

* However, the French boasted "that the English squadron suffered greatly in this second action; and that count D'Ache would have had the whole advantage, had it not been for the accident that happened on board his ship and the comte de Provence, by the combustibles which the English threw on board. That the comte de Provence had all her sails and mizen-mast on fire, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the flames were extinguished: and that the same thing happened to the Zodiaque, with this difference, that the fire having gained the powder-room, she was on the point of blowing up, but was saved by the diligence of the officers.

Queenborough.

Queenborough. Another ship, called the Restitution, bound to Pondicherry from Carrical, was run on shore near Porto Novo by admiral Pocock, who sent his boats to set her on fire.

THE French squadron continued in Pondicherry road until the 3d of September, when they failed for the islands to clean and refit; two of their ships being in a very bad condition, and the others considerably damaged. The Queenborough was sent off Ceylon to watch their motions: but the French ships arrived on the 13th of November at the Isle of France, where they were joined by three men of war*.

The reduction of FORT ST. DAVID, by the French army, under the command of general LALLY, in 1758.

THE English were greatly deficient in regard to land forces, and the re-establishing of Bengal had greatly exhausted them of men on the coast of Coromandel, where all their military force consisted of no more than 700 effective troops; while M. Lally was at the head of 5000 men well disciplined and officered; so that it is no wonder Fort St. David fell a sacrifice.

GENERAL Lally marched from Pondicherry to Fort St. David, with an army of 3500 Europeans, and a large body of sepoy. Their vanguard composed of the French horse, a battalion of the regiment of Lorraine, 200 of the company's troops, and 100 artillery-men, with eight pieces of cannon,

* These were as follow:

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Le Minotaure,	74	650	M. L'Aguille.
Actif,	64	600	M. Beauchaine.
L'illustre,	64	600	M. de Ruis.
U 2			accompanied

accompanied by 4000 sepoy, entered the district of Fort St. David on the 29th of April. They plundered the villages, and destroyed the out-posts, until they came to Cuddalore, which they invested, and obliged to surrender on the 3d of May, with permission for the garrison to retreat to Fort St. David, with their arms*.

THE French then began the siege of Fort St. David, and fired upon it from Cuddalore on the 16th with two guns; as also with five mortars from the new town on the 17th: but, on the 26th, a battery was opened at the distance of between eight and nine hundred yards west; another of nine guns and three mortars between seven and eight hundred yards north; and another of four guns at about the same distance to the north-east.

THE country troops and artificers deserted the place, which was badly fortified, and poorly defended. No breach was made; but thirty guns and carriages were dismounted and disabled; besides many of the parapets, platforms, and other works, were destroyed by the shot and shells. Water was difficult to be got, as the reservoirs had suffered by the bombardment, and the best well was destroyed. Ammunition grew also scarce, as it had been inconsiderately fired away before the besiegers had erected their batteries.

MAJOR Polier commanded in the fort, and finding it untenable, he desired Alexander Wynch, Esquire, who acted as deputy-governor, to hold a council of war; which was accordingly done, when it was unanimously agreed, by Mr. Wynch, and the gentlemen of the council, to surrender the place

* For an account of the siege of Fort St. David, by the French, under the command of M. Bury, in 1746, when they were repulsed by governor Hynd, see the INTRODUCTION to this Volume, p. xxxv.—xxxix.

upon terms of capitulation. The principal articles granted by general Lally were, "That the garrison should be allowed the honors of war; be exchanged; and allowed to carry with them their baggage and effects: that care should be taken of the sick and wounded; and deserters should be pardoned, upon condition of returning to their colors: but that two commissaries should be appointed and remain to deliver up the magazines and military stores; as also to shew the French engineers all the mines and subterraneous works." These articles were signed, on the 2d of June, by "Ar. Wynch; P. Polier de Bottens; and Rich. Fairfield;" on the part of the English: and by "Lally," on the French part.

THE garrison consisted only of 200 Europeans, 82 invalids, and 35 of the artillery, with 200 seamen; who, together with their officers, the deputy governor, and council, were carried prisoners to Pondicherry. The French afterwards destroyed the fortifications of Fort St. David, and reduced the whole to an heap of ruins; as they had done at Madras, in 1746*. M. Lally extended his power to the wanton destruction of villas, and the neat buildings in the adjacent country: but he afterwards paid dearly for this barbarity. The country people had it in their power to cut off supplies from his army; and they carried their resentment so high, that the French were great sufferers by famine at the siege of Tanjore.

THE presidency of Madras were much alarmed at the loss of St. David, and ordered an enquiry to be made into the whole affair by lieutenant-colonel Draper, assisted by the majors Brereton and Cailaud, whose opinion was, that the articles of capi-

* See the Introduction to this Volume, p. xxix.

tulation were shameful, because the enemy were not masters of the covered way, had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass before the place could be attempted by a regular assault. Major Polier had served the company with much reputation; but was defeated on this occasion.

AFTER the surrender of Fort St. David, M. Lally marched against Devi-Cotah *, which was evacuated by the garrison, who were ordered to retreat to Madras; as also were the garrisons of Arcot, Chinglapet, and Carangoly, that the presidency might be guarded against an attack.

AFTER the surrender of Fort St. David, M. Lally marched with 2500 men into the king of Tanjore's country, to try, either by treaty or threats, to procure a sum of money from him; and, upon being refused seventy two lack of rupees, or 900,000 l. sterling, which he had demanded, by virtue of a note extorted from that prince, by the French army and Chunda Saib in 1749, † he plundered Nagore, a trading town on the sea-coast, and then marched to the capital, which he besieged. The Tanjoreans defended themselves under the command of Monackjee, and were assisted by 1200 sepoys and 400 colleries, with some European gunners sent from Trichinopoli, who made several sallies, and though a breach was made in the wall of the city, they at last obliged M. Lally to make a precipitate retreat, leaving his heavy cannon behind, and 300 Europeans who were killed before the place. He arrived at Carrical about the middle of August, in a distressed situation, and continued there until the 23d of September, when he proceeded to Pondicherry, from whence he sent the following account to Masulipatnam on the 29th.

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xlviiii.

† See this volume, p. 57.

“ SHALL I mention to you our unfortunate expedition to Tanjore? Bad news is interesting, but painful to the writer. We laid siege to Tanjore, and made a breach, but were obliged to retire for want of provisions and ammunition, leaving behind us nine pieces of cannon, eight of which were 24 pounders. The army has suffered greatly from hunger, thirst, watching, and fatigue. We have lost near 200 men, as well by desertion as by death. This check is very detrimental to us, as well with regard to our reputation, as the real loss we suffered. Add to this, the departure of our fleet, which is sailed to the islands to refit, having been roughly handled in a second engagement, on the 3d of August, in which we lost 350 men. Poor French! what a situation are we in? what projects we thought ourselves capable of executing, and how greatly are we disappointed in the hopes we conceived of taking Fort St. David! what will become of us? I am not apprehensive for myself, but am sorry to see we do not shine. The troops are discontented, and their officers disgusted with the service; above twenty of the latter have gone on board the fleet, and few would have remained here if they had been permitted to have embarked. The bad season is approaching, which will oblige us to subsist at our own expence, being unable to form any enterprize for procuring us other funds. They say M. Buffy is coming; let him make haste; let him bring men, and especially money, without which he will increase our misery. The country, being ruined, scarce affords us any provisions. The quantities consumed by the fleet and army, and the desertion of the inhabitants, have greatly raised the price of all kinds of commodities.”

THE French were so much straitened for want of money, that, on the 7th of August, they seized and carried into Pondicherry a large Dutch ship

from Batavia, bound to Negapatnam, and took out of her in specie, to the amount of eight lack of rupees, or 5000l. sterling.

THE company's ship the Pitt arrived at Madras on the 14th of September, with colonel Draper on board, and a detachment of his regiment, which was sent to replace that of colonel Aldercron's: upon which M. Lally cantoned his troops in the Arcot province, and marched into the city of Arcot without opposition on the 4th of October.

WHEN the French retreated from the country of Tanjore, they also abandoned Seringham, which captain Caillaud took possession of before he left Trichinopoli, from whence he marched with 250 men, and embarked on board the fleet at Negapatnam. They landed at Madras on the 25th of September, when admiral Pocock returned to Bombay, after leaving a captain and a lieutenant, with 103 marines, to reinforce the garrison.

MANY other measures were taken for the security of Madras; particularly several bodies of auxiliaries were solicited from Morarow, the king of Tanjore, Tondeman, and other Polygars: but the French did not make any declared dispositions for the attack of this settlement until the latter end of the year. However, they took Tripassore*, and continued some time at Conjeveram, where they collected ammunition and stores, until they were joined by M. Buffy, with 300 horse and 400 foot, from Golconda. They were defeated in their designs upon the important post of Chinglapet †, against which they advanced with an army of 400 Europeans, and 700 sepoy, with five pieces of cannon: but they desisted from their attempt, on finding that the place was garrisoned by 70 Europeans,

* Or Tirupassur.

† See this Volume, p. 124.

12 gunners,

12 gunners, and 1000 sepoy, who would have given them much trouble to take it, and have hurt their grand object, the siege of Madras, which was undertaken in the middle of December 1758.

ISSOUF CAWN marched from Trichinopoli with 2000 sepoy, who took Elavafanore, and joined captain Preston at Chinglapet: but, on the 12th of December, the French army began to invest Madras; of which I shall give a particular account in the next chapter; and, in the mean time, shall take notice of some transactions in Golconda.

M. LALLY ordered M. Buffy and M. Moracin to join him with part of their forces from Golconda to invest Fort St. George; and to leave the other part of the army, under the command of the marquis de Conflans, at Massulipatnam. When M. Buffy was withdrawn, the Raja of Visanapore marched with 3000 men to Vizagapatnam, imprisoned the French chief, hoisted English colors, and plundered the factory. This incited M. de Conflans to march against the capital of Visanapore, whose Raja solicited assistance from Calcutta, which was refused by the council, who looked upon it to be too hazardous an enterprize: but colonel Clive was of a very different opinion, as he considered the plan in a more general view. He had often seen an army of French flying before a small body of English troops on the coast of Coromandel, and he rightly judged, that such an attempt would greatly contribute to the preservation of Madras. Possessed with these hopes, and animated by experience, he brought the council into his measures; in consequence of which, colonel Forde embarked with 500 Europeans, a considerable body of sepoy, and a proper train of artillery, on the 12th of October, and arrived at Vizagapatnam on the 20th. He joined the Raja's army, of 4000 men, on the 3d of November, and marched against the enemy, who consisted

sisted of 500 Europeans, 8000 sepoys, and a great number of country troops, with a large train of artillery, strongly encamped near the village of Tallapool, about forty miles from Raja-Mundry.

COLONEL Forde attacked the French, on the 7th of December, and obtained a complete victory. The English had 42 Europeans killed and wounded: the French had 158 killed and wounded: but great numbers of the country forces fell on both sides. The English troops took possession of the French camp, in which they found all their baggage, ordnance, ammunition, tents, and equipage. The French retreated to Raja-Mundry, from whence they were dispossessed by captain Knox. The military stores were kept for the company: but colonel Forde sold every thing else by auction, and divided their produce among the soldiers for their good behavior.

C H A P. III.

The siege of MADRASS, began by the FRENCH on the 12th of December 1758, and ended on the 17th of February 1759.

M. LALLY received a large reinforcement, and encamped on St. Thomas's mount, about nine miles from the town, on the 10th of December 1758, with 3500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and 2000 horse; while the English troops under colonel Lawrence, retreated to Choultryplain. The French advanced guard took post at Marmelan *, from whence their whole army moved on the 12th; and the English troops cannonaded

* Or Mamalon.

them for about an hour as they crossed Choultry-plain. The English killed about forty men, without any loss on their side, as the French had little artillery, and ill served.

THE French marched in three divisions; the first towards the English troops, the second towards Egmore, and the third down the road of St. Thomas. Colonels Lawrence and Draper were afraid that this last might get possession of the island bridge, and therefore retired to the island: the same morning part of their troops came into the garrison, and part took possession of the forts in the Black Town. The same morning the French hoisted their flag at Egmore and St. Thomas. The 13th every thing was quiet; not a gun fired on either side: but on the 14th, in the morning, the French marched their whole force to attack the Black Town. The English small parties retreated into garrison; and, about an hour after, a grand sally was made by colonel Draper.

THE Black Town was too large to be defended: but the hasty retreat of the piquets to the fort struck such a panic into the inhabitants, that men, women and children thronged into the fort for protection. As this required some immediate relief to keep up the spirits of the garrison; colonel Draper proposed to make a sally upon the French while they were intent only upon plundering, and offered himself to command a party for that service. This proposal was approved of by governor Pigot and colonel Lawrence; who furnished colonel Draper with 500 Europeans, and two field-pieces; and ordered major Brereton, with 150 men, to cover their right flank from Lally's brigade, so as to prevent their coming upon them from the north part, where colonel Draper proposed to make his attack.

THE men marched out full of spirits by the west, entered by the south side of the Black Town, and penetrated quite through, almost to the end of the street,

street, before the colonel perceived any corps of the enemy, who then gave him a scattering fire. Here he left two platoons to check them, and marched on with the rest to the square, at the extremity of that street, where the streets intersected, and gave a fair view of the Lorrain regiment and Indian battalions in the flank, waiting for him at the head of another street, more to the west, where they had pointed four guns. The French mistook the English troops for Lally's brigade, and suffered them to form on their left Flank unmolested; nor were they apprized of their mistake, until convinced by the fire of the field-pieces, loaded with grape-shot. This first charge threw the left flank of the enemy into great confusion; so that they abandoned their cannon and prepared for flight. Colonel Draper would have seized the opportunity to push the broken remains of the French; and he actually made such a push as would astonish all that did not know him. If he had been briskly followed by his two platoons of grenadiers, he would have brought in eleven officers, fifty men, and four guns more: but the grenadiers did not do justice to their leader, who commanded his men to cease firing, and to charge with bayonets fixed. He even set the example and advanced; but was followed only by four brave fellows, two of whom were killed, and the other two dangerously wounded. The colonel had several balls through his coat, but was not wounded. He advanced, and exchanged a pistol with the French officer of artillery, who immediately surrendered; but the colonel had the mortification to find that he had no men to carry off the guns. The English troops, as well as the French, had thrown themselves under the cover of some houses and old walls; which gave the French time to rally, and created such a disorder among the English, that the colonel thought it most prudent to retreat, especially as
Lally's

Lally's brigade of fresh men advanced to support the regiment of Lorrain.

COLONEL Draper made his retreat down the street to the eastward from the square: but had the misfortune to lose eighty men, who were intercepted and taken prisoners. However, the colonel was seasonably joined by major Brereton, and made a safe retreat to the fort, with little loss; though Lally's regiment planted themselves at the little bridge, and fired briskly with two field pieces and grape, as the troops marched to the entrance of the town at the north ravelin.

BOTH armies were greatly weakened by this attack, in which the English had 103 men taken prisoners, of whom 19 were wounded, 12 came in wounded, and 49 were left dead on the spot; among these were major Polier, captain Hume, and ensign Chase, mortally wounded; captain-lieutenant Bilhock killed; lieutenants Smith and Blair wounded and taken; and captain Pascal and lieutenant Elliot shot through the body; so that the English lost eight officers, and 194 men. The French sustained a greater loss; for, on their side, they had major Soubinet, M. Rabout, and five other officers killed, besides 24 wounded; with 363 private men killed and wounded: but they were sensibly affected by the loss of the count d'Estaing, who was taken prisoner in the beginning; for he acted as brigadier general, and was reputed an excellent officer.

DURING the sally, the French fired several shot from some field pieces into the fort; but did no damage. Neither did the artillery in the fort attempt any farther than to disturb the besiegers where it was thought they might be at work; Mr. Call, the chief engineer, being employed in several necessary works to secure their water, to remove obstructions on the ramparts, and to set up a pallisadoe in an opening under the south flank of the royal bastion.

The

The besiegers continued their fire all the next day, and lost several men by desertion, who came into the fort with their arms.

THE reports of a disagreement among the officers, and the disgust shewn by the men in the French camp, encouraged the besieged to try the issue of another sally. A party of forty volunteers, and as many sepoy, were ordered for this service on the 16th. They marched out secretly at eleven at night for the Black Town, to give the French an alert, and to nail up some pieces of cannon that were planted in the streets: but they had not proceeded much beyond the glacis, before the French advanced centinels fired, and alarmed their whole force; which obliged the English party to return back to the fort. The next night, the French returned the compliment by a pretended attack, which ended with a few men only, who advanced with a bravado near the glacis, and gave their fire.

STILL there was no appearance of works carried on for a siege, and deserters continued to come in every evening, who informed the governor, that the enemy were waiting for mortars and stores at St. Thomas; which supply the governor had made an ineffectual attempt to intercept by sea.

ON the 18th, the governor gave out publicly, to the garrison, for their encouragement, that he would distribute fifty thousand rupees among them, five days after the siege was raised, or the French beat off: but their spirits were kept up chiefly by the flying camp, that was formed by captain Preston, who commanded at Chinglapet; which hovered about the French army, and harrassed them with great success. This flying camp was composed of 300 horse, and as many well disciplined sepoy, whom major Caillaud had procured from the king of Tanjore, and marched with them to Chinglapet, being 250 miles, in eleven days. Here the
major

major left his men to follow him, and proceeded to the mount of St. Thomas, where he met with 2000 horse, and 1500 sepoy, under Iffouf Cawn; which were joined by captain Preston, with part of the garrison of Chinglapet, consisting of 60 Europeans, and 500 sepoy, with three cannon; and by captain Vasserot with ten of his troop. Captain Preston from his advantageous situation at the mount greatly annoyed the besiegers, from whom he took several convoys, and particularly one with a large quantity of arms, ammunition, bullocks, and tents for 3000 men. He also repulsed several detachments from the enemy's main army; and in one action treated the black forces so severely, that they were obliged to move off towards Arcot to recruit.

Major Caillaud joined the Tanjorean troops to those at the mount, where he took the command, and was attacked by the French. M. Lally was sensible of the check this flying camp could always give to his operations, and was convinced that nothing less would do, than a sufficient force to crush them effectually. He detached 600 Europeans, and 1500 sepoy, with 300 European dragoons, 100 hussars, and 1000 morattas, with ten pieces of cannon, to attack the English camp on the mount. Day-light discovered the French, and a severe cannonade began.

THE French cavalry pushed to the right, and made a stand when they came within 300 paces of the English front; while their sepoy endeavoured to occupy all the banks and places on the left, where they could be under cover. When the French horse advanced to charge, the English horse gave way and fled: the French pursued till they were stopped by a party of foot, whose fire obliged them to retreat. However, the village was well defended: it was twice taken and retaken; but, after a dispute

dispute of three hours, it was lost by the rashness of the officer who commanded that post. He saw the French retreat in some confusion, and imprudently pursued, without observing a party ready to support them: that party stopped him, and drove him out of the village, which he could not recover. It was now about ten in the morning, when the French grew tired of attacking, and contented themselves with cannonading until four in the afternoon, when they renewed their attack; but in vain. Major Caillaud had so judiciously lined the garden walls, that the French found it impossible to advance through their fire, and thought seriously of a retreat, which they effected without farther loss. At the close of the evening they moved off their artillery, and soon after their whole body followed; which was a happy circumstance for the English troops, who had exhausted all their ammunition for the artillery, and had little left for the musketry. Major Caillaud remained two hours on the field of battle, and then marched to Chinglapet, the only place where he could be supplied*. The French loss on this occasion was 176 Europeans killed and wounded, and about 300 sepoy: but the English loss was not half so much.

M. LALLY relied much on the success of this detachment, so that his operations went slowly on against the fort until their return. He had seized upon the town of Sadras, from whence he expelled the Dutch garrison, and put some French troops in the place, which he resolved to make a magazine, as it was equally distant from Pondicherry and Madras. Major Caillaud made an attempt to dispossess the French from Sadras, which is twenty miles from Chinglapet, and disposed his march so as to

* See this volume, p. 126.

arrive there before day-light: but he was misled by his guides, which disappointed his scheme, as he had not a sufficient force to make a regular attack.

THE garrison at Fort St. George took every precaution for defence, and tried every art to annoy the besiegers, who, on the 17th of December, opened their trenches, and threw up a breast-work from the houses on the beach near the old town, to the sea-side. The next day they threw up another breast-work, about sixty feet in length, and 100 yards advanced before the other. Both these retrenchments terminated on the surf; the latter at the distance of about 500 yards from the north-east saliant angle of the covered way. It was therefore resolved by the besieged, that platforms should be raised in the covered way, sufficiently high for field-pieces, on covered way carriages, to fire over the parapet: to raise a parapet of the demi-bastion, near the saliant angle, two or three feet higher than the rest; and to erect a traverse on the east wing, to prevent an enfilade: to raise the blind before the north-east bastion, so high as would just admit the guns to fire over it at the enemy's works: to close the passage between the upper and lower flank of the demi-bastion in the securest manner: and to put the north ravelin in the best condition of defence.

On the 19th at night, a subaltern on duty in the north-east angle of the covered way, with 21 men and some sepoy, was ordered to sally on the retrenchment and works supposed to be carrying on by the besiegers: but as the sally was made before it was dark, they were discovered, and retired, with the loss of one European killed and two wounded, besides some sepoy who were killed in their flight.

FIVE Chelingas had been observed in the morning going out of St. Thomas's bar, and failed to the southward, as was apprehended, for stores. Jammaul Saib, who commanded the company's se-

poys, was desirous of attacking St. Thomas at night, and was sent out with 1000 of his men; but he mistook his way, and was fired upon by a party of French sepoys, who were stationed in Mr. Powney's house; which so much intimidated his men, that most of them threw down their arms, and he was obliged to return.

ON the 20th the besiegers threw up an imperfect communication from the first to the second breast-work; while the besieged fired shot or shells, every eight or ten minutes, on the place where they suspected the enemy would work, which retarded their operations.

ADVICE was brought in, that the besiegers had two guns at Trivelcane, and few troops at St. Thomas: upon which, about ten in the morning of the 21st, town-major Bannatyne and ensign Crawley were sent out with 1000 sepoys, and 20 Europeans, who went along the beach to the southward, crossed the bar, and marched through the village beyond the governor's garden, where they surprized three posts of sepoys, intercepted some letters, and took some prisoners: but were obliged to return, on seeing a superior force drawn up near Mr. Turing's house.

M. LALLY, by a letter to count d'Estaing, who was prisoner in the fort, complained that Issouf Cawn was committing great devastations to the southward, near Pondicherry; and that he should make reprisals round Madras: but, in fact, he could not well depopulate the country more than he had.

THE Nabob and his family were sent on board a snow in the road, and sailed for Negapatnam, where he was to land, and proceed to Trichinopoli, from whence he might disturb the French, who, on the 22d, had deepened and lengthened their parallel a few feet. They had also been at work on their line

of communication between Mutal Pettah and Pet-
tah Naigues; but had not finished it.

ABOUT nine in the morning, a sail appeared; which was the Thames from Vizagapatnam, in four days; who brought advice of colonel Forde's victory over the marquis de Conflans. The garrison were drawn up in the covered way, and gave the French a feu de joye from their musketry, and three rounds of artillery from seven 24 pounders with shot into the Black Town. The black artificers and Cooleys were employed on the north lunette, raising the parapets, lining the embrasures with Palmeira trees, and closing the communication with the covered way by a traverse on each side.

On the 24th, the besiegers were employed in deepening and thickening their parallel: but, on the 25th, the governor, colonel Lawrence, and the principal officers assembled in the evening, when it was agreed, that the most necessary work was to finish the traverses on the royal bastion; and then to close the opening between the north-west curtain and the blind before the mint sally-port; as also to erect a traverse in the covered way, before the north face of the royal bastion.

On the 28th, the besiegers formed a strong parapet to the westward: and, on the 30th, M. Lally sent a flag of truce into the fort, with a letter, complaining of the English firing at his head-quarters, and threatening to burn the Black Town in return: but that complaint was imprudent; because he ought not to have fixed his head-quarters so near the fort.

EARLY the same morning, the first company of grenadiers, with the troop of horse, and a large body of sepoy, went over the bar to the southward, and into Trivelcane village, where they surprized a guard of sepoy, and returned to the fort with some intercepted letters, which discovered, that a frigate was arrived from the islands to Pondicherry, and

had brought about 200,000 dollars; but no mention was made of any forces. About the same time, a French detachment of 300 Europeans and 1000 sepoy, commanded by colonel Keneddy, advanced near the mount, with four guns, and cannonaded the troops under the command of captain Preston, who took two of their guns, killed 15 Europeans, and wounded many others, among whom was the colonel.

ON the 31st about ten at night, two deserters came in, with information that M. Lally proposed to usher in the new year by bombarding the fort: but it proved otherwise, for the besiegers were silent, while the besieged bestowed some fire upon them.

HOWEVER, as soon as day-light appeared, on the 2d of January 1759, the French began to fire from five pieces of cannon upon their western battery, and one mortar; they also threw twelve-inch shells from four large mortars near the west end of their battery to the northward. The garrison were surprized by this early salute; but having twelve heavy cannon, which bore on the enemy's battery to the west, they soon dismounted two of their guns. The besiegers threw shells until past seven at night, and commonly four in a flight, which were chiefly aimed at the fort-house; and so well thrown, that two fell on the top and pierced the first and second roof; some fell within the square, and ruined some of the rooms: other houses were also much damaged; but no people were hurt.

CAPTAIN Preston left the mount, which the French seized with a large body of troops, commanded by M. Soupire, a major general, who marched to attack captain Preston, near Trevambore; but the French were defeated with the loss of 54 Europeans killed, and 96 wounded.

THE working party in the fort were employed in finishing the work across the gut to the northward,
in

in making traverses before the doors of the Nabob's bastion, and across the streets leading to the south curtain, where the guards were ordered to parade.

ON the 3d at night, the besieged made a brisk fire on the enemy's batteries: but neither shell or shot was returned from them; however, they opened the epaulment of their northern battery, and let in fascines to face the embrasures.

ON the 4th, the besieged fired smartly on the batteries of the besiegers, who never returned it; though they were not idle in completing their northern battery.

ON the 5th, the besieged began to erect a battery of five guns behind the covered way in the salient place of arms before the demi-bastion. This battery would be a direct grazing fire, and could neither be enfiladed nor beaten down, because the glacis was the parapet, and the embrasures were to be cut through it.

ON the 6th, at break of day, the besiegers opened their batteries against the fort. They first threw five shells into the town, as a signal for their other batteries to begin; and then began to fire from six guns and as many mortars from their north battery; and from their west battery, with three guns, pointed on Pigot's bastion; while four others with an howitz fired on the flank of the demi-bastion, and enfiladed the covered way before the north face of the royal bastion. They continued to fire from these batteries until about five in the afternoon, and threw about 150 shells, besides shot, chiefly into and over the town. Little hurt was done to the works; but the houses were much damaged. The fire of the besieged was superior to that of the besiegers, who had several men killed in the north battery, and one of their mortars dismounted: but little was done on either side during the night.

ON the 7th, about four in the morning, the garrison were surprized with the arrival of three boats, which proved to be those that were sent with the English ladies to Sadras, where they were seized by the French; who loaded them with 150 shot of 24 pounds, 1000 empty cartridges, 50 steel caps, 50 barrels of gun-powder, and 1500 sand-bags, with a soldier in each boat: but the English boatmen seized the arms of the sleeping soldiers, and brought them in at the sea-gate of Madras. The besiegers fired briskly this day, damaged some houses, and killed three Europeans: they also opened a new battery near the burying ground.

ON the 8th, governor Pigot and colonel Lawrence appointed a pioneer company, composed of volunteers drawn from the several corps. They were to do no other duty but repair the works, and consisted of six serjeants, six corporals, and 88 private men, under the command of lieutenant Meyers and ensign West. Two companies of sepoy, under proper officers, were also formed on the same plan.

ON the 9th, the besiegers made a brisk fire from their cannon; but few shells were thrown. In the night, they carried on part of a zig-zag about 100 feet long to the west of their north battery; and, taking a turn, carried another 200 feet in length back towards the beach.

ON the 11th, they drew a trench from the little house in the Pettah towards the bridge, and opened a battery of two guns from the kitchen of the new hospital, which fired on the north west curtain and the blind before the mint sally-port; but were intended to plunge into the royal bastion, and batter the east flank in reverse. They also brought two guns near the bar, and fired on the people who had sheltered themselves to the southward of the fort: therefore it was determined to attack that post early the next morning.

ACCORDINGLY, the grenadiers of the third battalion under captain Campbell, with 100 more Europeans, and 300 sepoy, the whole commanded by major Brereton, marched by the beach to the bar, defeated the French party, took their guns, killed and wounded 18 men, and took seven prisoners. The English had only one man killed, and nine wounded; but among the latter was lieutenant Robson, of the grenadiers, whose wound was mortal. This little affair animated the besieged, and intimidated the besiegers.

On the 13th, it was perceived that the French directed most of their fire against the demi-bastion and the old north-east bastion; which were therefore repaired; while the French, in the night, covered their zig-zag near the sea, by a small return beginning near the beach, and stretching parallel to the north front. They were greatly annoyed by the garrison; however, they ran on their return about 20 yards.

On the 14th, the garrison repaired the damaged parapets: but the besiegers continued their approaches in the night, when they lengthened their return, and opened it in the middle, from whence they placed some gabions in an oblique direction towards the beach.

On the 15th, the besiegers had increased their north battery to ten pieces of cannon, with which they made a brisk fire in the day, and advanced their work in the same direction about 20 yards at night.

On the 16th, they threw many shells into the town, and killed or wounded several men in the day; and at night they carried on their zig-zag, which they covered; while the besieged kept an incessant fire upon them, and vigilantly repaired their own works, which the besiegers greatly damaged the

next day, and at night advanced by a third zig-zag across the saliant angle of the glacis.

ON the 19th, the French brought two heavy guns to the south of the bar, and threw some shot into the town. Their shells set the town on fire in three places at once; but the flames were soon extinguished.

ON the 20th and 21st little was done by the French, whose method of proceeding, by simple sap, in their confined manner, encouraged the besieged to send out thirty soldiers and forty pioneers to drive them from their work, in which they succeeded, with little loss.

ON the 22d, the besiegers advanced some gabions on the glacis, almost parallel to the east face of the covered way; and also opened a battery of four guns to fire on the right face of the north ravelin.

ON the 23d, at night, they attempted to push their gabions close to the covered way; in which they were smartly opposed, with loss on both sides.

THE besiegers, during the night of the 24th pushed on their approaches in a line parallel to the east face of the covered way, as far as the Palmeira palisadoe, which ran quite into the sea, from whence they made a return.

ON the 25th, the besieged made a sally with 40 men, who destroyed some of the enemy's gabions; in which attempt some men were killed and wounded on both sides. The same night, the French continued their approaches in a line almost parallel to the north face of the covered way, before the demi-bastion, and made a return at the end of it to cover their flank; whereby they entirely embraced the saliant angle of the covered way, which made it too hazardous to keep troops therein.

ON the 26th the besiegers fired most of their shot from all their batteries into the town; but threw

threw their shells generally towards the works on the north front.

THE fire of the besiegers, from the 6th to the 26th, had disabled 26 pieces of cannon, and three mortars; but had not the effect of destroying the defences; nevertheless they advanced their trenches close to the works.

ON the 27th, in the afternoon, captain Preston's signal of a great smoke, was seen west of Egmore; and an Hircar came in, with a report that the English troops had defeated the French.

ON the 28th, the besieged attempted to push a mine from the counterscarp: and, on the 29th, they discovered the besiegers throwing up earth through a small hole just within the banquet in the covered way opposite the stockadoe on the eastern glacis: but some grenadiers threw grenades into the hole, and prevented the work.

ON the 30th the Shaftsbury came into the road from Bombay, and landed the sick troops. The next morning, the besiegers opened four embrasures on the north face of the covered way before the demi-bastion, and began to fire with three guns, which had no effect.

ON the 1st of February little was done by the French, who opened five embrasures on the 2d, and fired two guns on the angle of the demi-bastion, which seldom struck the top of the parapet.

ON the 3d, about day-break, they sprung a mine behind the counterscarp of the ditch, opposite the east end of the cuvette, and opened the wall about 23 feet; but did little damage. The fire from the flank of the royal bastion oblique, and three guns in the north-east direct, made it impossible for the French to withstand it above an hour or two every morning; which obliged them to abandon their advanced works, where they had several guns disabled, and had lost many men.

ON

ON the 5th and 6th nothing material happened: but early in the morning of the 7th, the besiegers fired with four guns and one mortar from their old grand battery; so that they were in the same condition as when they began to fire on the 6th of January.

ON the 8th and 9th little was done: but, on the 10th the besiegers fired smartly from their grand battery into the town, and destroyed many houses. They slackened their fire the two following days; and, on the 13th, sent 30 Europeans and 50 Caffres to nail up the guns at the fascine battery; in which attempt they were repulsed with the loss of several men.

ON the 14th, about day-light, the garrison made a sally upon the besiegers, and drove them from the stockadoe near the sea.

THE same day M. Lally sent a letter to M. de Leyrit at Pondicherry, whereby he informed him, "That a good blow might be struck at Madras, where was a ship in the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the treasure of the place, and which it was said would remain there until the 20th. That they remained still in the same position: the breach made these 15 days; all the time within 15 toises* of the wall of the place, and never holding up their heads to look at it. That he reckoned, on their arrival at Pondicherry, they should endeavor to learn some other trade; for that of war required too much patience. That of 1500 sepoy's which attended his army, he computed near 800 were employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coolies, they were all employed for the same purpose, from the first day they came there. That he

* Ninety feet.

was taking his measures from that day to set fire to the Black Town, and blow up the powder-mills. That it could never be imagined, that 50 French deserters and 100 Swiss, were actually stopping the progress of 2000 men of the king's and company's troops, which were still existing there; notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one made, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter which had been made of them: and he would still be more surprized, if he told him, that if it were not for the two combats and four battles they sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or were unskilfully made, they should not have lost 50 men from the beginning of the siege. That he had wrote to M. de Larche, if he persisted in not coming there, let who would raise money upon the Polygars for him; he would not do it: and he renounced, as he informed him a month before, directly or indirectly, meddling with any thing whatever that might have relation to their administration, whether civil or military: for he had rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in that Sodom; which it was impossible but the fire of the English must destroy, sooner or latter, even though that from heaven should not. He added, as follows: "I think it necessary to apprise you, that, as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back, either to Arcot or Sadras. Send therefore your orders, or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it on my arrival there."

THIS letter was intercepted by major Caillaud's patrols when he marched from Chinglapet to surprize

prize Sadrafs. The major immediately sent the letter to the governor of Madrafs, and marched back again to be near the fort, and to be ready for what service might be required of him.

THIS letter plainly intimated that M. Lally was resolved to burn the Black Town, and raise the siege. By the account of deserters, their loss of officers and men in their advanced battery was very considerable, and they had several pieces of cannon disabled. After they were obliged to quit it, their fire continually decreased from 23 pieces of cannon, which they had at one time, to only six pieces.

ON the 15th, in the morning, the besiegers kept up a brisk fire from six guns on their grand battery, three at the burying ground, and two at the old hospital: but in the afternoon they only fired from three at the grand battery, and two at the burying ground, which played smartly until moon-light.

ON the 16th, the fire of the besiegers was very brisk from their artillery; but few shells were thrown. About noon, a small sloop anchored in the road, and acquainted the governor, that the English ships were seen by her a few days before in the latitude of fourteen north: and about five in the afternoon the garrison perceived six sail to the northward, which they concluded to be those ships, and the whole garrison was ordered to lie on their arms all night to prevent any sudden attack. They kept up a smart fire of musketry against the enemy's works until ten o'clock, when the six ships anchored in the road, and were known to be those expected from Bombay.

ABOUT two in the morning of the 17th, the besiegers made a smart fire from their musketry; but their shot flew too high. At the same time, several lights and fires appeared in their trenches, which were evacuated before morning, when they quitted the

the Black Town, having nailed up all the guns they could fire from, and destroyed the carriages which they thought serviceable. They had not time to set the Black Town on fire, as they were afraid of the flying camp which major Caillaud had again assembled on the mount, and of the united force of the garrison and the troops from England, if they should take the retreating army between two fires.

THE same morning, his majesty's ship the Queenborough, commanded by captain Kempenfelt, and the company's ship Revenge, disembarked the troops; which were the other detachment of colonel Draper's regiment*, consisting of 600 men, under the command of major Monson and captain Moore.

THUS was raised the siege of Fort St. George, after the garrison had been shut up 67 days, and the enemy's batteries had been open 46. General Lally retreated in the utmost transports of rage and despair, which a man of honor and ability in his profession can feel, who is ill seconded by his troops, neglected by those who ought to support him, and cheated by the villainy of contractors, and of all those who turn war into a low traffic. His letter is a strong and striking picture of those agitations. He left behind him a large quantity of military stores, and all his heavy cannon, which were 44 pieces; but most of them were rendered unserviceable. Though the Black Town escaped the destruction intended by him, he vented his resentment by the devastation he made in his route by Egmore, where he destroyed the powder-mills; and, among other

* This was the 79th regiment of foot, which was raised in 1757, and most of the men were Scotch. William Draper, Esq; was the colonel commandant, and Cholmondeley Brereton, and George Monson, Esquires, were the two majors, who were appointed such when the regiment was raised.

things unworthy of a soldier, he ordered a country-house on the mount, belonging to colonel Lawrence, to be blown up with three barrels of gunpowder. From thence he marched to Conjeveram, where he arrived the next morning, and began to fortify himself against a sudden attack, in case of a pursuit: but the English forces were not able to take the field immediately for want of cooleys, bullocks, and other necessaries.

THE French made an easy conquest of Madras* in 1746; and also of Fort St. David † in 1758; but now they were shamefully repulsed. The garrison in general distinguished themselves for their sobriety, and emulated each other in their military duty. So brave a defence and deliverance did great honor to all concerned, and particularly to colonel Lawrence, who had the satisfaction to see all his services in the country crowned by a most honorable defence of the capital settlement, in which he was nobly supported by the indefatigable vigilance and bravery of colonel Draper and major Brereton within the walls, and by major Caillaud and captain Preston without. Governor Pigot also greatly contributed to their success, by his prudence, resolution, and generosity, in the management of the stores and provisions, frequently visiting the works, and liberally rewarding all those who signalized themselves. Besides, he faithfully discharged his promise of 50,000 rupees, which was immediately issued and distributed after the enemy disappeared, two thirds to the Europeans, and one third to the sepoy and lascars.

MR. CALL observes, at the end of his journal of this remarkable siege, that as nothing very different from what is met with in all sieges, or laid down as general maxims, was practised in the defence of the

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xxv. xxvii.

† See this volume, p. 289. 291.

place, it would be unnecessary to enter into a particular recapitulation. However, he remarks, that the artillery was so well served, that two twelve-pounders from the north ravelin dismounted four twenty-four pounders opposed to them; and that of 32 pieces of cannon found on the enemy's batteries, 31 were disabled by the shot from the fort, which were many more than the besieged had hurt, notwithstanding their works were enfiladed, plunged into, and taken in reverse. The works were kept in extraordinary good repair; and three guns, with a strong parapet, were maintained in the north-east bastion by a few men. An addition was also made of a battery by the sea-side; and two pieces more were fired on the 16th of February, than on the 14th of December. It should also be observed, that a few raw men taken from the pioneer company, greatly exceeded all the boasted miners of the French, who threatened to blow whole bastions into the air.

THE French began to renounce all those sanguine hopes which they had entertained from their forces in this part of the world. The English, on the contrary, went on from success to success; and while they defeated the French on the eastern coast of the great peninsula of India; on the western they took the great and opulent city of Surat, from the powers of the country, with very little loss.

C H A P. IV.

The reduction of SURAT by the English presidency of BOMBAY: and the taking the English factory at GOMBROON by the French; in 1759.

I. SURAT.

I HAVE already given a particular account of the city of Surat in my former volume; and here shall beg leave to make the following addition thereto, as necessary to shew why the presidency of Bombay undertook this expedition against a place subject to the Mogul government.

THE city is situated in 72 deg. 20 min. of east longitude, and 52 deg. 38 min. of north latitude, on the south-east side of the river Tappee *, about 16 miles from the sea, 160 miles north of Bombay, and as many south of Cambaia; being about three miles in circumference, but very populous, and vastly rich: but Swalley †, seven or eight leagues north from the mouth of the Tappee, is properly the fort of Surat, as the river is not navigable up to the town for ships of burden; which obliges merchants to unload at this place, and to send their merchandize to Surat, either in small vessels up the river, or by land in waggons drawn by oxen.

THE Portugeze took and ruined Surat in 1520; but as it was already famous enough for its trade, it became more considerable by its ruin. All the Indian nations, who were accustomed to trade there, united to re-establish it: but it was not until near a century after that it became a general staple for European and eastern merchandize; being enriched

* Tapte, or Tapta.

† Or Souali.

by a kind of compensation for the damage done to it by the Portugueze, when the Dutch appearing in the Indian ocean, had deprived them of almost all their places, and entirely ruined their trade.

THE English established a factory there in 1609, the Dutch in 1616, and the French in 1665. The English had their presidency here, before it was removed to Bombay; after which they maintained a factory at Surat, and were allowed great privileges by the court of Delli.

SURAT is remarkable for the trade carried on there by the Europeans, and for that carried on by the merchants of the country with Java and Sumatra, in the Indian ocean; as also with Aden, Mocha, and Mecca, upon the Red-sea; and Bander Abassi, or Gombroon, in the Persian gulph. Two ships depart every year from Surat for the conveniency of the Mahometans, who go upon a pilgrimage to Mecca: but usually they are as much laden with merchandize upon account of the Mogul, as upon that of the pilgrims; and their returns are so rich, that they make a part of the European trade for the merchandize of Arabia Felix.

I HAVE before remarked, that the governor of the town was unconnected with the governor of the castle: but as the Indian seas were greatly infested by pirates, the Mogul appointed a naval officer to keep them in awe. This man was called Siddee Muffoot*, who had been chief of an Ethiopian colony settled at Rajapore, where he collected several vessels of considerable force, and carried on some trade, until he was dispossessed by the Morattoes; upon which he repaired to Bombay, and afterwards to Surat, where he was appointed admiral on that

* Or Scydee Massaoud. When the Abyssinian slaves are promoted to any post of consequence, under the Mogul government, they are called Siddees.

station to the Mogul, with a revenue called the Tanka, amounting yearly to about three lack of rupees, or 36,000 l. sterling; but he had no power independent of the marine. However, under a pretence of arrears in his appointed revenues, he seized on the castle, encroached on the town, and seized one third of its revenues. Another third was paid to the Morattoes, to prevent their depredations upon the trade in the open country: but they were not satisfied with this stipulation, and were intent upon some opportunity to plunder the city, which was kept in subjection by Siddee Muffoot until his death in 1756, when he was succeeded by his son, who rendered himself very obnoxious to the inhabitants.

NOVAS ALLEE CAWN was governor of the city, in which office he was supplanted by Meah Atchund, who was protected by the Siddee; and Pharras Cawn was appointed his Naib, or deputy, in which station he acted as chief magistrate, and conducted himself with great honor and integrity.

MR. ELLIS was the English chief in 1758, when their factory was grievously insulted and oppressed by the Siddee and his officers. The principal merchants and inhabitants were treated worse, and desired Mr. Ellis to recommend it to the presidency of Bombay to extricate them from those difficulties, by fitting out a force to take possession of the castle and Tanka, and make Pharras Cawn governor. Mr. Ellis was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, who communicated the state of affairs at Surat to the presidency of Bombay, in the beginning of the year 1759, when it appeared, that Meah Atchund had all his power controuled by the Siddee, who had 2000 men in pay, composed of Moors, Gentoos, Arabs, Pattans, and others; who were a better corps than Atchund's sepoy, which were 4000.

THE presidency of Bombay were apprehensive that the Siddee would open the gates to the Morattos, and therefore determined to prevent it, by assisting the inhabitants of Surat. Admiral Pocock was then with his squadron at Bombay, and readily concurred with the presidency in supporting the expedition; for which purpose, he ordered the Sunderland and Newcastle to convoy and support the company's armament.

CAPTAIN Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, was ordered to embark on board the company's armed vessels with his command, consisting of 850 artillery and infantry, with 1500 sepoy. This armament sailed, on the 9th of February, under the command of captain Watson, who landed the troops, on the 15th, at Dentilowry, distant from Surat about nine miles, where they encamped three days for refreshment.

IN the first day's march from that encampment, captain John Northall*, the second in command died of an apoplectic fit, and was succeeded in the command by captain Joseph Winter. When captain Maitland approached the city, he found that the Siddee had lodged some of his troops in the French garden, where he made his first attack, and drove them out, after a very smart firing on both sides for about four hours; in which the English had twenty men killed, and as many wounded: but the Siddee's loss was much greater.

AFTER captain Maitland had got possession of the French garden, he thought it necessary to order

* This gentleman had the command of a company at Minorca in 1752, and was remarkable for his fine taste in the polite arts. He made the tour of Italy, and wrote a very curious account of the best sculptures, paintings, and other remarkable curiosities in the principal churches and palaces of Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, and other places which he visited. I have seen the manuscript, which will be soon printed for the use of the public.

the engineer to pitch upon a proper place to erect a battery, which he did, and completed it in two days; while the enemy took possession of the English garden, and the Siddee's bundar or custom-house. On the English battery were mounted two 24 pounders, and a 13 inch mortar, which fired briskly for three days against the walls, without effect. Captain Maitland having thought of a more expedient method of getting into the outer town than by the breach of the wall, he called a council of war, composed of military and marine officers, before whom he laid a plan for a general attack, which they approved, and it was resolved to be put into execution at half an hour past four the next morning.

THE plan was, that the Company's grab of 20 guns, and four bomb-ketches, should warp up the river in the night, and anchor in a line of battle opposite the Siddee's bundar, one of the strongest fortified places they had got: this they did, and a general attack began from the vessels and battery at the appointed time, on the 1st of March. The captain's intentions in this were, to drive the enemy from their batteries, and to facilitate the landing of the infantry at the bundar, whom he had embarked in boats for their transportation. The bomb-ketches made a continual fire until half past eight, when a signal was made for the boats to put off, and land under cover of the vessels. This proved very successful, by the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain Watson, who landed the troops with the loss of only one man. They attacked the Siddee's bundar, and soon put his troops to flight, with the loss of captain Robert English mortally wounded, lieutenant Pepperel wounded in the shoulder, and some common men killed and wounded. Having gained this point, and getting possession of the outer town, with its fortifications,
the

the next thing to be done was to attack the inner town and castle, for which purpose the thirteen and two ten inch mortars were planted on the Siddee's bundar, and began firing as soon as possible, at the distance of 700 yards from the castle, and 500 from the inner town.

ABOUT six in the evening, the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued their fire until half past two the next morning; which unusual attack put the castle and town into such a consternation, that they never returned a gun.

THIS was the critical time for settling affairs with the inhabitants: but the friends of Pharras Cawn now seemed most inclined to continue Meah Atchund governor of the town, on condition that Pharras Cawn should be Naib or deputy, and that the English should be established in possession of the castle and tanka.

Mr. Spencer acted for the Company, and communicated this resolution to Atchund, who readily agreed to and executed the following treaty:

“AGREEABLE to your desire, I send a person to you, by whom you advised me verbally of your demands; and with sincerity of heart, I write the particulars I now can agree to, which are as follow:

ATCHUND'S Seal.

COOTBODEEN'S Seal.

ART. I. THAT Pharras Cawn shall be appointed to the office of Naib, in its greatest extent, as in the time of Suffdair Cawn; and none but himself shall interfere in that post.

II. THAT whatever articles Pharras Cawn has

ARTICLE I. AGREEABLE to this article, I fully consent to the appointment of Pharras Cawn.

II. WHATEVER Pharras Cawn has wrote or promised

given in writing, or promised to the honorable Company, shall be fully complied with, without the least diminution.

III. THAT the Mecca gate shall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we shall join our forces to drive the enemy out of the town.

IV. THE above articles a person on your behalf demanded: all which I agree to, and will comply with; and the government shall be continued to me in full authority: and to the above I have set my own seal, and Meert Cootbodeen will sign and seal the same. After which, you must send a counter-part of this writing, with the honorable Company's seal affixed."

THE counter-part of this treaty was delivered to Atchund, on the 4th of March, under the Company's seal. Atchund then opened the gates of the inner town, and invited captain Maitland to march in; which was immediately done, with drums beating, and colors flying.

THE Siddee still kept possession of the castle, and seemed determined to defend it, until he was informed

formed that Atchund had joined his troops with the English to drive him out. He then found that resistance would be vain, and sent repeated messages to captain Maitland, with many proposals to give him up the castle, upon condition that he would allow his people to march out with their arms and effects. All this was granted to him in an ample sense, even to the furniture of the houses. Captain Maitland saw this executed with the greatest regularity; after which, he took possession of the castle and tanka in the name and for the use of the Company, who were confirmed in the government by grants from the Mogul, so that the guns, vessels, and stores belonged to them of course as part of the tanka.

Captain Maitland's return was as following:

“Royal artillery killed two, wounded four.
In the Company's infantry: captains killed two,
subaltern one.
Killed in all 150. Wounded about 60.”

A GRATUITY of 200,000 rupees was divided among the captors, whose expedition commenced the 9th of February; some troops were left in garrison at Surat, and the others returned to Bombay on the 15th of April.

THIS revolution restored tranquility and good government to the city, and established the English in a most valuable and useful settlement, to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants.

RICHARD BOURCHIER, Esq; who was then governor of Bombay, honored me with a letter, dated “Bombay-castle, May the 2d, 1759;” in which were the following words: “What with the French, and the contentions of the natives, all India is in great confusion. We have had a small share in setting matters to rights at Surat, which will in

the end turn out greatly to the Company's advantage."

II. GOMBRON.

As M. Lally was disappointed in his attempt upon Fort St. George, he concerted an expedition against the little English settlement at Gombroon, which is a considerable sea-port town of Asia, in Persia, and in the province of Farsistan, in lon. 75. lat. 27. It is called by the natives Bander Abassi, and is seated on a bay, about 12 miles northward of the east end of the island of Kismilh, falsely called Quessimo in some maps. It is nine miles from the famous island of Ormus, in the Persian gulph, where the Portugueze had a settlement. The English and Dutch have factories here, which is a great advantage to the trade of the place. The weather is so exceeding hot in June, July, and August, that this town is very unhealthy; and therefore the English factory retire to Assen during those months. It is frequented by people of several nations, as well Europeans as others; and the Banyans are so numerous, that they bribe the governor not to permit any cows to be killed in the town. The English were settled here by Shah Abbas, after the destruction of Ormus: he granted them great privileges in commerce, and a proportion of the customs of that port, which amounted to near 4000l. sterling a year: but the English have lost these advantages, by the confusion and anarchy that have ruined Persia of late years. This made it unnecessary for the English Company to have any warehouses or fortifications: therefore, they had only a secure house for their chief and his clerks, with a small party of soldiers to defend them against robbers.

It was against this distant, defenceless factory, as a place totally neglected, that M. Lally equipped
four

four ships, under Dutch colors, one of which carried 64 guns, and another 22, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and 200 Caffres, two mortars, and four pieces of battering cannon, to besiege so small and unfortified a factory.

THIS service was committed to the command and direction of the count d'Estaing, who was made prisoner of war by colonel Draper, in his sally on the 14th of March into the Black-town, and was at this time on his parole; therefore M. des Essars, and M. Charny were the nominal commanders.

THE French arrived at Gombroon on the 15th of October 1759, and began to batter the English factory, in which there were no more than sixteen Europeans and some seapoys, who did what they could to defend themselves, under the direction of Mr. Douglass the Chief. The French burnt the Speedwell sloop, and, at high water, hauled in their frigate of 22 guns, within a quarter of a mile of the factory, and began to fire; while their troops and guns were landed, and played warmly from the westward for two hours. About three in the afternoon, the French summoned the place to surrender; and the English capitulated on the following terms.

“ Articles of Capitulation for the East India Company's factory of Gombroon, between Alexander Douglass, Esq; Chief of the said settlement and council; and Monsieur des Essars, captain of his most Christian Majesty's ship Conde, and commander in chief of the present expedition, and Monsieur Charnyau, captain, commander of the land forces.

- I. THAT as soon as the capitulation was signed, a detachment of French troops should take possession of the factory: the keys to be delivered to the

the commanding officer; and no person to come in or go out without his permission, as he would take care to prevent disorders and thefts.

II. THAT all effects in the factory should belong to the besiegers, and be delivered to the French commissary, with all books and papers in possession of the besieged: the besiegers to be shewn the warehouses, that they might place the necessary centinels over them: the artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, money, merchandize and slaves, in general every thing contained within the factory, should be comprehended in this article.

III. THAT the chief, the garrison-factors, writers, and all Europeans in the service of the English East India Company, in general all the subjects of his Britannic Majesty in the factory should be prisoners of war, under the following clauses only:

IV. THAT whereas M. d'Estaing, brigadier of foot, and formerly a prisoner of his Britannic Majesty, was on board the ship Conde, in his way to Europe, by the way of Bufforah, and being desirous of rendering more secure the intelligence of an exchange having been made in his behalf, between Mr. Pigot, governor of Madras, and Monf. Lally, lieutenant general; it was agreed between the besiegers and besieged, that Alexander Douglas, Esq; chief of the English East India Company's factory at Gombroon, with William Nash, ensign Johnston, Dymoke Lyster, Lieutenant George Bembow, Lieutenant Richard Evans, and Richard Mainwaring, were lawfully exchanged for Monsieur d'Estaing; and they were at full liberty to go where and to what places they pleased; in consequence of which,
Mon-

Monfieur d'Estaing was under no other clause than what was specified in the sixth article.

V. THAT though the present exchange of prisoners was an unnecessary precaution in behalf of Monfieur d'Estaing, yet all persons mentioned in the preceding article were absolutely free: but should Monfieur d'Estaing have been already exchanged, as he undoubtedly was, in that case, for the seven persons already mentioned, who enjoyed their liberty, a like number, and of equal station, of his most Christian Majesty's subjects, were to be released whenever a cartel was made.

VI. THAT Monfieur d'Estaing, to fulfil with the greatest exactitude the promise he made governor Pigot, that he would not take up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months, reckoning from the 1st of May, 1759; desired it might be inserted in the capitulation, that notwithstanding he was exchanged, yet he would keep the promise he made governor Pigot, of not taking up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months; but he was at free liberty in all other places to take arms.

VII. THAT if it was possible to agree about the purchasing of Gombroon factory, it would be looked on as part of the present capitulation; the besiegers reserving to themselves the liberty nevertheless to do therewith as they might think fit, should no agreement be concluded with the besieged.

VIII. THAT in consideration of the exchange of Monfieur d'Estaing, and at his particular request to Monfieur des Effars, Alexander Douglass, Esq; and all others mentioned in the fourth article, had
liberty

liberty to carry away all their effects of what kind soever, excepting ammunition, provisions, marine, military or warlike stores." *

THUS the French reduced this indefensible factory with all the parade of a siege, and the pompous form of a capitulation, which surprized all the military gentlemen in India. Their terms were calculated to cover the Count d'Estaing from the guilt of breaking his parole; for it is certain he was not exchanged; and the parole he gave was in the usual form, not to serve directly or indirectly against the English during the war, or until he should be regularly exchanged.

THE French received some assistance from Moolah Allee Shah, the Moorish governor, with whom they entered into articles of alliance, and left him great quantities of copper, with other valuable things, after they evacuated the factory, which they set on fire, and set sail on the 30th.

CHAP. V.

NAVAL OPERATIONS in 1759. *Admiral Pocock defeats M. D'ACHE on the 10th of September off the Coast of COROMANDEL; and returns to EUROPE, in 1760.*

M. D'ACHE, who had run away from Admiral Pocock in August 1758, was now strongly reinforced at the islands of Mauritius

* This Capitulation was dated at Combroon, the 14th of October, at six in the morning, in the year 1759; and was signed,

Des Essars.
Charnyau.

Alexander Douglafs,
William Nash,
Richard Johnston.

and

and Bourbon; of which admiral Pocock had intelligence while he was refitting his Squadron at Bombay, from whence he sailed, on the 17th of April 1759, for the coast of Coromandel. With a diligence and dexterity apparent in every undertaking where that gallant commander had the chief direction, the Squadron got round the island of Ceylon before the French had taken their departure from the islands; and the admiral stationed his ships in such a manner, as to protect the trade and intercept the enemy. He kept this station until the 3d of August, when he proceeded to cruize off Pondicherry: but the want of water and provisions obliged him to proceed to Trincomalay on the 1st of September, as it was very difficult to water the ships at Negapatnam.

ADMIRAL Pocock dispatched the *Revenge* frigate, to look out for the enemy off Ceylon; and they were descried from the mast-head at ten the next morning; being fifteen sail in the south-east quarter, standing to the north-east. Soon after, the admiral perceived the *Revenge* chased by one of the French frigates, which fired several shot at her. He immediately made the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could make, though he was much inferior in the number of ships. This obliged the French frigate to give over chase, and rejoin her own Squadron, which endeavored to steal away under favor of the night; and falling little wind, prevented the English getting near them when the day closed. At seven in the evening, admiral Pocock ordered the *Revenge* to make sail to the south-east, and keep sight of the enemy, if possible; which had the desired effect. About eleven, the English discovered them, and bore down: but about one in the morning of the third, a heavy squall came on,
which

which continued until three, and obliged the English to bring to, and clew up their top-sails.

AT day-light, the English saw the French fleet bearing north-east by north, about five or six leagues distant; and admiral Pocock made the signal for a general chace to the north-east; Point Pedro, on the island of Ceylon, bearing west, distant six or seven leagues. He continued to gain upon the French; who, about nine, finding it was in vain to trust entirely to the swiftness of their sailing, bore north-east by east four leagues, and formed in line of battle a-head on the star-board tack, with the wind about west north-west: therefore admiral Pocock made the signal for the line of battle a-breast, and stood for the center of their fleet, which kept under way, and appeared to go from the wind. By this means their bearings were greatly altered; for by noon they bore south-east by east, distant six or seven miles. The wind decreasing as the day advanced, the English were not able to form their line until near sun-set; two of their Squadron, the Tyger and Newcastle, sailing very ill, tho' they made all the sail they could crowd.

IN this position it was hoped the French might have been fixed and brought to an engagement: but M. d'Ache had no such intention; for his scheme was to avoid the danger of a close chace, by forming the line, to flatter the English with an expectation of battle. Thus, about a quarter after five, the English Squadron being nearly a-breast of the French, they wore, and came to the wind on the other tack: upon which admiral Pocock made the signal for his ships to tack, the rear first, and steered with the French.

BOTH squadrons were then about four miles distant, with very little wind, had scarcely steerage way, and continued so until near ten, when a fresh breeze sprung up from the south south-west:

on which the English hauled close to the wind, under their top-sails, and formed the line a-head. This shift of wind brought the French a-stern, and a little upon the weather quarter of the English line: but it proving hazy soon after, the English lost sight of the enemy; who made no signals, in this or the preceding night, either with guns or lights. Admiral Pocock immediately sent the Revenge to look out a-stern, in expectation of her seeing them: but not being able to discover them a-stern, sent her directly a-head, and stood after her, the ships still continuing in the line with their heads to the northward.

On the 4th, at a quarter past eight in the morning, the Revenge made the signal for seeing four sail to the north-east; on which admiral Pocock made the signal for a general chase. At half past eleven, the Revenge bore more away to the eastward, and was followed by the Squadron: but after continuing the chase until near two in the afternoon, and discovering only two ships, with whom he could not come up, the admiral made the signal for the Revenge to come into the Squadron, then stood to the southward, and made all the sail he could to get off Pondicherry, as he concluded the French Squadron was bound there.

ADMIRAL Pocock arrived off Pondicherry on the 8th, early in the morning, and saw no ships in the road: but at one in the afternoon he discovered the enemy to the south-east, and by three counted thirteen sail. The English ships were then standing to the southward, with the sea-breeze; and kept a good look-out the following night, to intercept the French. At half past six in the morning of the 9th, the English saw part of the French Squadron to the south-west, and by nine counted sixteen sail. At two in the afternoon, the wind springing up, admiral Pocock made the signal for a general chase; and at four the French Squadron appeared to be formed in a line of battle a-breast, and steered right down upon

upon the English admiral, who ordered the *Revenge* to keep between the two squadrons, and observe their motions during the night.

ON the 10th, at six in the morning, the body of the French squadron bore south-east by south, distant eight or nine miles, and was formed in a line of battle a-head on the star-board tack. The English squadron continued bearing down on them in a line of battle a-breast, with the wind about north-west by west. At five minutes past ten, the French wore, and formed the line a-head upon the larboard tack: the English did the same an hour after, and kept edging down upon them. At ten minutes past two in the afternoon, admiral Pocock's ship was nearly a-breast of the French admiral's second in the rear, and within musket-shot; upon which M. d'Ache made the signal for battle, and the English admiral immediately did the same.

THE French had a great superiority in the number of ships, guns, and men; besides the great advantage in the size of their ships; for their squadron consisted of eleven ships of the line, with two frigates, and two storeships*: but the Eng-

* They were as following :

FRENCH LINE.			
The <i>Actif</i> led with the larboard tacks on board.			
Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
<i>Actif</i> ,	64	600	Beauchaine.
<i>Le Minotaur</i> ,	74	650	<i>L'Aiguille</i> , chef d'Escadre.
<i>Le Duc d'Orleans</i> ,	60	500	Surville, le Cadet.
<i>Le St. Louis</i> ,	60	50	Joannes.
<i>Le Vengeur</i> ,	64	500	Palliere.
<i>Le Zodiaque</i> ,	74	650	M. D'ACHE, Lt. Gen.
<i>Le Comte de Provence</i> ,	74	650	La Chaise.
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i> ,	60	500	Bouvet.
<i>L'Illustre</i> ,	64	600	De Ruis.
<i>La Fortune</i>	64	600	Lobry.
<i>Le Centaur</i>	70	650	Surville
	Total 728	6400	

lish had only nine ships of the line, with three frigates and a fireship*.

BOTH squadrons began to cannonade each other with great fury, and continued hotly engaged, about two hours, until ten minutes after four; when the French rear began to give way; as the Sunderland had got up some time before, and engaged their sternmost ship: their center soon after also gave way; while their van made sail, stood on, and with their whole squadron bore away, steering to the south-south-east with all the sail they could make.

THE English ships were in no condition to pursue; for the Tyger had her mizen-mast and main-top-mast shot away, and appeared to be greatly disabled: the Newcastle was much damaged in her masts, yards, and rigging; and her captain was killed: the Cumberland and Salisbury were not in a condition to make sail: the Yarmouth had her fore-top-sail-yard shot away in the slings: and the Grafton and Elizabeth were greatly disabled in their masts, yards, and rigging: so that the Weymouth and Sunderland were the only ships which had not

* BRITISH LINE.

The Elizabeth led with the larboard tacks on board.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Elizabeth —	64	480	Captain Tiddeman.
Newcastle —	50	350	Captain Michie.
Tyger —	60	420	Captain Brereton.
Grafton —	68	535	{ Rear admiral <i>Stevens</i> . { Captain <i>Kempenselt</i> . { Vice admiral <i>Pocock</i> . { Captain <i>Harrison</i> .
Yarmouth —	66	540	
Cumberland —	58	520	Captain <i>Somerset</i> .
Salisbury —	50	350	Captain <i>Dent</i> .
Sunderland —	60	420	Hon. Captain <i>Colville</i> .
Weymouth —	60	420	Sir <i>William Baird</i> , Bart.

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So that the French had two ships of the line, 192 guns, and 2365 men, more than the English.

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suffer-

suffered; because they could not get properly into action, as the French admiral began to engage before they could close. Thus only seven of the English ships sustained the whole fire of the enemy's fleet until near the conclusion, when the *Sunderland* got up and engaged.

THE French continued their retreat to the southward, until dark; at which time admiral Pocock ordered the *Revenge* to keep between him and the enemy, to observe their motions; while he lay to with the squadron on the larboard tack, that the disabled ships might repair their damages. At day-light in the morning, the English saw the French to the south-south-east, lying to on the larboard tack, as the English were, about four leagues distant, and the wind about west. Upon sight of the English squadron, the French immediately wore, and brought to on the other tack, which they continued until evening, when their distance was so much increased, that the English could scarcely discover them from the main-top: but the wind then coming to the eastward, admiral Pocock made the signal, wore, and stood under an easy sail to the north-west; the *Sunderland* having the *Newcastle* in tow, the *Weymouth* the *Tyger*, and *Elizabeth* the *Cumberland*.

ON the 12th, at day-light, admiral Pocock saw the ships in *Negapatnam* road; but as he perceived nothing of the enemy, he anchored with the squadron, at ten in the forenoon, about three leagues to the southward of that road; and in the evening dispatched the *Revenge* to *Madras*, with letters to the governor and council.

THE English squadron, on the 15th in the evening, weighed, and stood into the road, and anchored. Here they continued repairing their damages, and refitting the squadron until the 26th; when the admiral weighed at five in the morning, stood

to the northward, and at six was joined by the Revenge * from Madrafs, who brought sixty-three men belonging to the Bridgewater and Triton. They were taken in Fort St. David, and had been exchanged at Pondicherry: the admiral ordered them on board the Tyger and Newcastle, as those ships had suffered most in the late engagement.

In this condition the brave admiral Pocock proceeded again in quest of the enemy; whom he found, at day-light on the 27th, in Pondicherry road, lying at anchor in a line of battle. The English were not in a condition to attack both the ships and the fort: therefore the admiral made the signal for the squadron to draw into a line of battle a-head, upon the starboard tack. The wind being off shore, and about west-south-west, the ships lay with their main-topsails to the mast, just keeping a proper steerage way for the line to con-

* By this frigate, the governor and council sent a letter to the admiral, dated "fort St. George, Sept. 16, 1759," whereby they informed him, "*That* the Revenge anchored there on the 14th, and brought them his letters, containing advice of his discovering the enemy's fleet on the 2d; and after much fatigue bringing them to action on the 10th. *That* the warm fire he sustained for two hours with seven ships against eleven, and obliging them at last to make their retreat, would do immortal honor to him and Mr. Stevens, and all the brave officers who had the happiness to serve under them. *That* they looked upon this as the last effort of the enemy, who might well boast of their superiority; but the check they had met with would shew them they were disappointed of the mighty effects expected from their armament. *That* it was fortunate he found means to force them to an engagement before they reached Pondicherry, as the troops they might have brought for landing must have a share in the loss. *That* they had not heard of their arrival at Pondicherry; but supposed them there, as the winds had been strong southerly. *That* after they landed their troops and stores, no great advantage could be hoped by engaging them again; therefore they would rather take the liberty to recommend the waiting until joined by the reinforcements expected from England."

tinue well formed. Being in this situation, the French admiral made the signal at six o'clock to heave a peake; an hour after to weigh; and by the time all their squadron was under sail it was near ten; when the English were to leeward of them, expecting they would bear down directly and engage. But, instead of taking that step, M. d'Ache made the signal for his squadron to keep close to the wind, made sail, and stretched away to the southward in a line of battle a-head; by which method of acting they increased their distance from about a random shot at day-light, to near four leagues to windward at sun-set.

HAD the French cut or slipped their cables on first discovering the English, they must have come to action at seven o'clock: and after they got under sail, had they bore directly down, might have been close along side by eleven. Admiral Pocock finding by their manner of working, a great disinclination to come to a second action, he was desirous to have the opinion of the rear admiral and captains, who all agreed, "That as the present condition of the squadron would not permit them to follow the enemy to the southward, it would be most adviseable to proceed to Madras;" where they accordingly anchored on the 28th.

In this engagement both sides suffered considerably; but the French most. They had 1500 men killed and wounded, and some of their ships very much shattered. The English had 569 men killed and wounded, of whom 118 were slain in action, and 66 died of their wounds*. Among the

* An account of the number of men killed and wounded on board each of his majesty's ships:

Elizabeth 77. Newcastle 112. Tyger 168. Grafton 83. Yarmouth 39. Cumberland 52. Salisbury 36. Sunderland 2.
Total 569.

lain was captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle; captain Gore of the marines, and lieutenant Redshaw, both of the Newcastle; lieutenant Elliot of the Tyger; the master of the Yarmouth; the boatswain of the Elizabeth, and gunner of the Tyger: captain Somers set was wounded in his ankle; and captain Brereton received a contusion on his head.

ALL the English officers and seamen behaved with the greatest bravery and spirit during the action; and, by the vigor and constancy of their fire, obliged the enemy to retreat, notwithstanding their great superiority.

THE French squadron brought no European troops to Pondicherry; but landed there four hundred European seamen and volunteers; with two hundred caffres: they brought little money; but left the diamonds there which were taken in the Grantham Indiaman. M. d'Ache left Pondicherry on the 1st of October, having on board M. Supiere, brigadier Lally, and colonel Kennedy; from whence it was concluded, that either their whole squadron, or a part of it, was gone to the islands.

ADMIRAL Pocock so expeditiously refitted and re victualled his ships at Madras, that he sailed from thence on the 17th of October, and was joined the next day by rear admiral Cornish, who sailed from England in April, with four ships of the line *, and three Indiamen †, on board of which was colonel Coote with part of his regiment ‡.

* The Lenox, 74 guns; Duc d'Aquitaine, 64; York, 60; and Falmouth, 50.

† The Ajax, Stormont, and Houghton.

‡ Eyre Coote, Esquire, was made a lieutenant colonel on the 20th of January, 1759; and was appointed lieutenant colonel commandant of the 84th regiment: his majors were William Gordon and Robert Gordon, Esquires.

ADMIRAL Pocock dispatched the Queenborough with the Indiamen for Madras, where they landed the troops on the 27th; while the admiral returned with the whole fleet to the coast of Malabar, and arrived at Tellicherry, which was the general rendezvous, the last day of November. On the 26th, admiral Stevens sailed for Bombay with four ships, and was followed on the 29th by admiral Pocock, who ordered admiral Cornish to sail with the six ships * under his command to the coast of Coromandel on the 15th of December, if the season was favorable.

ADMIRAL Pocock had received orders to return to England: but he continued in India until the next year, when affairs were re-established in Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel left in a state of tranquility. The admiral received the strongest expressions of gratitude and esteem from the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, for his eminent services done to the Company: and he found, that at a general court of the East India Company, held on the 21st of June, 1759, a motion was made, and unanimously agreed to, "for the thanks of the Company to be given to admiral Pocock and commodore Stevens for their gallant behavior in the East-Indies."

ADMIRAL Pocock resigned the command to rear admiral Stevens, and sailed from Bombay in the Yarmouth, on the 7th of April, 1760, on his return to England. He anchored at Anjengo on the 17th, and arrived at St. Helena on the 18th of June, where he found the Colchester and Rippon waiting to convoy seventeen Indiamen † richly la-

* The Lenox, duke of Aquitain, York, Falmouth, Weymouth and Sunderland.

† Eleven were from China, three from Coast and Bay, two from Bombay, and one from Bencoolen.

den. The admiral took the whole under his command, set sail the 7th of July, and brought them safe to Portsmouth on the 20th of September; being the richest convoy that ever arrived together from India. The admiral found his services nobly and gratefully rewarded both by his king and country, who conferred additional honors upon him, until his glory was rendered immortal by his conquest of the Havanna.

C H A P. VI.

A continuation of the military transactions on the coast of COROMANDEL in 1759. Colonel DRAPER and Colonel LAWRENCE return to ENGLAND. Major BRERETON takes CONJEVERAM, and TRIVITORE: but his troops are defeated in their attack upon VANDEWASH. The FRENCH take TAGADA: they defeat a body of troops under the command of KISTNARAUZE, and lieutenant RAILLARD; and take SERINGHAM. The ENGLISH garrison at TRICHINOPOLI cut off a French convoy at UTATOOR.— Colonel COOTE arrives at MADRASS, and takes the command of the army at Conjeveram: he takes Vandewash and CARANGOLY. General LALLY assembles his army at ARCOT, and besieges Vandewash. The battle of Vandewash, where colonel Coote defeated generally Lally, on the 22d of January 1760. The French retreat to PONDICHERY, which the English invest.

WHEN general Lally retired from Madras*, he proceeded to Conjeveram, which he strongly fortified. The English retook Poonomal-

* See this Volume, p. 318.

lay and Trepaffore, before the army was ready to march from Madrafs, where it continued until the beginning of March, when colonel Lawrence took the field at the head of 1400 Europeans, and the black army of Iffouf Cawn. He marched towards Conjeveram, moved round it, and expofed his flank, to provoke the French to give him battle: but as M. Lally had no money to pay or clothe his troops, he could put no confidence in them, though they were fuperior in number to the Englifh, and therefore he kept within the fortification.

COLONEL Draper was in fuch a bad ftate of health, as made it neceffary for him to quit India, and return to England: he accordingly took his paffage in a China fhip from Madrafs, where his abfence was greatly regretted by the garrifon, who were thereby deprived of an excellent officer. He was foon followed by colonel Lawrence, whofe health was alfo greatly impaired; and as he found it impoffible to bring the French to an engagement, he refigned the command of the army to major Brereton, and returned to England.

MAJOR Brereton made a motion towards Vandewafh, and the French marched to relieve it. They advanced within nine miles of the Englifh army, which moved about four miles to meet them. Both armies remained two days within view of each other: but as M. Lally had poffeffed himfelf of a camp fo ftrong that major Brereton could not attack it, the latter made a forced march in the night of the 12th of April to furprize Conjeveram*, which was garrifoned by 500 fepoys, under the command of Muftapha Beg †. This partizan re-

* See this volume, p. 82. 96. 272. 294.

† He had been in the Englifh fervice, under the command of captain Prefton, during fome part of the time that Madrafs was befieged; but afterwards joined the French. See this vol. p. 300.

tired to the pagoda, where he bravely defended himself until he was killed with many of his people; upon which the rest submitted. The English had four officers and some men killed in the attack; as also several officers wounded, among whom were the majors Brereton, Monson, and Caillaud.

THE English by this acquisition deprived the French of their principal supplies of stores, baggage and necessaries; which increased their discontent into almost a real mutiny, for want of cloathing and pay. The desertion of the French infantry was very great, and fifty of their German hussars went over to the English camp, which was an addition of a new sort of corps to their army, and they were found so serviceable, that they were afterwards increased to two hundred and fifty men. But the English could not take any advantage of this excellent opportunity for attacking the French, as they were obliged to wait the recovery of their wounded officers. General Lally was also under the necessity of remaining inactive, until he could find a way to give his troops some satisfaction; so that both armies continued a whole month, without so much as an attempt to action; the English at Conjeveram, and the French at Vandewash. At last the French soldiers were cloathed and pacified; their general was informed that the Nabob's troops had quitted the English camp; and he marched to attack major Brereton, who, at the same time, advanced towards the French camp; by which means the two armies unexpectedly met, and a battle must have ensued, if the English had not retreated to their camp.

MAJOR Brereton marched with a resolution to attack the enemy: but it unfortunately happened, that in a march of eight miles no less than six of colonel Draper's soldiers dropped dead, and ninety two were taken ill, so as to be incapable of service,

by

by the inclement heat, which at this season was most intense: therefore the major found it advisable to make his retreat to Conjeveram, which he effected in good order, and without any interruption.

IN my first volume, I have mentioned in what manner the Bramins treat bloody fluxes; and here I must beg leave to observe, that the inflammation of the liver is a disease very common in the East Indies, and extremely fatal to Europeans: but the soldiers suffer most from it; probably either from the excessive heats to which they are often unavoidably exposed, or from an intemperate life; though indeed the most sober are not always free from the danger. This distemper made dreadful havoc among colonel Aldercron's men upon the coast, and generally cut them off in a few days after the attack. I have been informed, that upon dissecting those that died, the liver looked well at first sight, only something larger than common; but upon cutting into it, there was always found a collection of white pus. A disease so quick in its progress could not but be attended with much danger; and the surgeons tried every possible method to cure it; though their success was not very remarkable. However, they agreed in one practice at last; which was, upon the first attack of the disease, to take away some blood, according to the condition of the patient, and immediately begin to give small doses of calomel; and this they continued until a spitting came on, to carry off the disease. There was a necessity for some brisk medicine to be speedily used, to resolve an obstruction that so soon terminated in a suppuration; and, considering the slow circulation in that viscus, it could not be well effected by any other of slower operation.

THE retreat of major Brereton encouraged general Lally to advance within three miles of Conjeveram; but notwithstanding the disorder occasioned by

by the climate spread itself much, and the major himself was affected by it, the English troops were impatient to be shut up within walls, when an enemy was daring them to the field. It was therefore resolved, that the army should march out under the command of major Monson, and encamp near the enemy, which was immediately put into execution. The French made two unsuccessful attacks upon the English, who repulsed them with considerable loss, and obliged them to retreat twenty miles back to Trivitore.

As the heat of the climate was then become insufferable in the open fields, both armies retired into cantonments; the English at Conjeveram; and the French at Vandewash, Gingee, Arcot, and Chitraput, where they mostly continued until near the end of September; in which interval there happened an engagement at sea, as already mentioned*.

WHILE the French undertook some operations to the southward about Trichinopoli, major Gordon arrived at Madras with three hundred men, and marched with them to Conjeveram; whereupon major Brereton, with the consent of the governor and council, began to prepare for action; but was retarded by excessive rains until the 24th of September, when he marched towards Vandewash, at the head of four hundred Europeans, seven thousand sepoy, seventy European and three hundred black horse, with fourteen pieces of artillery. Their march was uninterrupted till their advanced guard came near a little fort called Trivitore†, where they surprized an advanced post of fifty hussars, who retreated with great precipitation, but were pursued by the English horse, who killed three

* See page 337.

† Or Trivetar; also called Anacap Tiravaoor, or Tiruwater.

men, and brought in five prisoners wounded. The fort was invested at the same time, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war; being a captain and twenty two men of the Lorrain regiment, with eight hussars.

MAJOR Brereton pursued his march towards Vandewash*; and his advanced guards pushed directly into a village commanded by the guns of a fort, close under which the French were strongly encamped, and were near equal in number to the English. The Raja to whom the fort belonged, had not trusted it to any Europeans, but only admitted a few of them, which he was able to manage with his own troops. The English could not draw the French from their intrenchments in the pettah, and therefore it was resolved to attack them, notwithstanding their advantageous situation. The attack was vigorously made, on the first of October, at three in the morning, by the majors Monson and Caillaud at one end of the pettah, and by major Gordon at the other end, who drove the French under the guns of the castle, and kept possession of the pettah until day-break, when the fort began a prodigious fire upon them, and the French sallied out in great numbers; so that after a contest of two hours, the English were obliged to retreat with the loss of two hundred and two men killed and wounded, among whom were eleven officers: but the French sustained an equal loss.

AFTER this affair, the English troops encamped four days in sight of the fort, and then returned to Conjeveram, where they remained until the 27th of October, when colonel Coote arrived at Madras with the rest of his regiment; and after concerting a plan of operations with the governor and council,

* See this volume, p. 125.

he took the command of the army at Conjeveram in November.

THOUGH the French continued the main body of their army in cantonments, they were not entirely idle. To the south of their quarters there was a little town, with a strong castle, called Tagada, almost impregnable by situation, but indefensible for want of ammunition. It was held by Kistnarauze, who was an ally to the Nabob; and therefore was assisted by captain Smith, who sent him three companies of sepoy, from Trichinopoli, under the command of serjeant-major Hunterman. These troops were afterwards followed by forty Europeans, six companies of sepoy, and some artillery, commanded by lieutenant Raillard, who was joined by one thousand of the Nabob's horse. The French attacked the town, which the English attempted to relieve: but the latter were defeated, with the loss of their commander and several men; after which the fort was surrendered to the French upon honorable terms.

THE French marched a considerable force towards Seringham; and a sally was made by the garrison of Trichinopoli, who took thirty Europeans and some sepoy prisoners: but the main body of the French took Seringham, and made two hundred sepoy prisoners, whom they cruelly treated, and put one half of them to the sword, though their gallant resistance entitled them to a better fate.

Soon after, captain Smith made an unsuccessful attack upon Seringham; while a detachment from Trichinopoli cut off the French convoy in Utatore, where they took two officers and forty grenadiers, disarmed three hundred sepoy, and destroyed all their ammunition and provisions. The English retook several posts, and so much interrupted the communication with Seringham, that general Lally reinforced it with a large body of troops.

As

As it was apprehended that the French would besiege Trichinopoli, the presidency of Madras recommended it to colonel Coote to take the field with the army, and endeavour to draw the enemy from the southward. He accordingly took the field, on the 25th of November, and invested Vandewash on the 27th. He erected batteries, and made a breach by the 30th, when the garrison surrendered prisoners of war; they consisted of five subaltern officers, sixty three private men, and eight hundred sepoy: there were in the garrison forty nine pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

COLONEL Coote invested Carangoly, on the 3d of December; and opened a two-gun battery on the 6th, another on the 7th, and began to carry on approaches. On the 10th, being near the glacis, and having dismounted all their guns but four, colonel O'Kennely, who commanded, sent out a flag of truce; and, on account of his good behavior, colonel Coote granted him the following terms: "That the Europeans should have leave to march out with their arms, two rounds per man, drums beating, and six days provisions; the sepoy to be disarmed, and turned about their business." The garrison consisted of one hundred Europeans, and five hundred sepoy, with nine guns.

COLONEL Coote had intelligence, that brigadier-general Buffly was arrived at Arcot from the northward, with three hundred Europeans, and a large black army; as also, that the army which lay at Chettaput was to join him, and that the forces from the southward were on their march towards Arcot. Therefore, the colonel thought it adviseable to cross the Palla, and encamp his army opposite to Arcot. At the same time a body of three thousand Morattoes, under the command of Innis Cawn, joined the French, and plundered all the country, which put the English to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

LIEUTENANT General Lally arrived at Arcot on the 27th, and took the command. On the 9th of January 1760, the French and their allies were all in motion; and the next day marched towards Vandewash; while colonel Coote moved with his army along the bank of the river, to observe their motions, and cover the country.

ON the 12th, colonel Coote received a letter from the commanding officer at Conjeveram, that five hundred French Europeans, and a large body of horse had entered the town, and that the rest of their army lay at Jangolam, three miles distance from it: he therefore put his army in motion, and endeavored, by a forced march, to save that place, which was very weak, but of consequence; and he arrived there on the 13th before day-light: upon which the enemy quitted the place, and moved towards Vandewash.

COLONEL Coote crossed the Palla with all his army on the 15th; and on the 17th arrived at Outremaloor, about fourteen miles from Vandewash, which general Lally had invested, and began to raise batteries. The garrison consisted of one hundred and fifty Europeans, and eight companies of sepoy, under the command of captain Sherlock, who made a gallant defence.

ON the 21st, colonel Coote received a letter from captain Sherlock, that a breach was made: he therefore went with all the cavalry to reconnoitre, being determined to engage the enemy the next morning. Accordingly, he sent orders back to the army to join him at Irimborough*, nine miles from Vandewash, where he had taken post with the cavalry.

ON the 22d, the English army marched, at six in the morning, agreeable to the orders given out

* Or Trinborough.

the day before for that purpose, which were as following:

“ THE army to march to-morrow at six o'clock by the left upon the taps beating, which is to be looked upon the same as the general's beating: it is to form and march off immediately afterwards. All the cavalry and five companies of sepoy's to form the van of the army, except two hundred black horse, who with three companies of sepoy's are to cover the baggage in the rear. The army to observe the orders given out the 27th of December, which were, that the first line consist of colonel Draper's regiment on the right, colonel Coote's on the left, and the company's in the center: the artillery to be divided as follows; four pieces on the right, four on the left, and two pieces between each interval, making in all twelve in the first line. The second line to consist of the grenadiers of colonel Draper's, colonel Coote's, and the company's, with one piece of cannon upon each flank, who are to form two hundred paces in the rear of the first line: an eight inch howitz to be between the two lines. Major Brereton to command the right of the first line, major William Gordon on the left, and major Robert Gordon the center. Major Monson to command the second line. The cavalry to be divided into five squadrons, the Europeans to make the centre squadron. The names of the Jemidars, who are appointed to command, to be given in to the commanders in chief to-night. When the line forms, the cavalry will have orders to form about fifty paces in the rear of the second line, having a proper interval between each squadron: at the same time the five companies of sepoy's who supported the cavalry are to form the right of colonel Draper's regiment; and the five companies of sepoy's, that were in the rear of the line of march, to form on the left of colonel Coote's regiment:

five

five companies who were on the left flank of the line of march, are to form in the following manner; two on the right of the second line, and two on the left, and one in the rear with the cavalry. The whole army, as well Europeans as blacks, are to have a green branch of tamarind-tree fixed on their hats and turbans, likewise on the tops of the colors, to distinguish them from the enemy. The commanding officers of corps are to take particular care, that their respective corps are properly told off, and that the men know their right and left hand men and file leaders. They are to be cautioned not to give their fire till they are ordered by their respective officers."

ABOUT seven o'clock, the English advanced guard of horse, and that of the enemy, began to fire at each other; upon which colonel Coote ordered captain baron de Vasserot, who commanded the cavalry, to form them in order of battle: he was supported by five companies of sepoy, and two pieces of cannon. Colonel Coote advanced himself with two companies of sepoy, and obliged the enemy to retire to their main body of horse, which consisted of two hundred Europeans, and the three thousand Morattoes on their left. Upon the whole body of English cavalry advancing, that of the enemy retired in tolerable order, until the English cannon began to play, which was extremely well served, and obliged them to make a precipitate retreat. Colonel Coote then ordered the major of brigade to the army, which was about three quarters of a mile in the rear, with orders for them to form the line of battle, but not to advance until he had joined them. Soon after, the colonel took possession of a tank, which the French cavalry occupied: he then returned to the line, which by that time was formed. After reviewing the whole, and finding the men in great spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the army to move forward.

THE English army amounted to one thousand seven hundred Europeans, including artillery and cavalry; three thousand black troops; fourteen pieces of cannon, and one howitz. The French army consisted of two thousand two hundred Europeans, including artillery and cavalry; three hundred caffres; and about ten thousand black troops; with twenty five pieces of cannon in the field, and five on their batteries against the fort.

ABOUT nine o'clock, the army arrived at the post from whence they had driven the enemy, which was about two miles from their camp, and halted in their view near half an hour; during which time colonel Coote went very near to them, and reconnoitred their situation. Upon finding they were strongly posted, and his flanks exposed to their cavalry, he ordered the army to march by the right, to gain the advantage of a hill three miles from them, and about two miles from Vandewash: the horse, which were then in the front, were ordered to wheel to the right and left, and form behind the second line, to make the rear-guard, and cover the baggage. By this motion, the colonel covered his right flank with the hill, and had some villages in his rear, where he ordered the baggage; which obliged the enemy to alter their disposition.

DURING all this time the two armies cannonaded each other, and skirmished with their advanced posts, until about eleven o'clock, when the Morattoes appeared. The French then made their second disposition, and advanced near three quarters of a mile under cover of a bank. The cannonading then began to be smart on both sides; and colonel Coote, upon seeing the enemy come briskly up, ordered his army to march forward. At noon, the French European cavalry pushed with great resolution to force the English on their left, and come round upon their rear. Colonel Coote immediately order-
ed

ed up some companies of sepoy, and two pieces of cannon, which were to sustain his cavalry, who had been ordered to oppose the French, who broke upon the cannon and sepoy, flanking them. The cavalry then had orders to charge, who drove the French above a mile to the left, upon the rear of their own army; while the main bodies continued advancing towards each other, the French flank being well covered by a tank. The regiment of Lorraine was on the right, the regiment of Lally on the left with the marines, and the Indian brigade in the center. It was one o'clock when the two armies arrived within reach of musketry, when a shot from the English striking one of the French tumbrils, it blew up. Colonel Coote immediately ordered major Brereton to wheel colonel Draper's regiment to the left, and charge the French on their left flank; which was executed with great order, and much honor to that corps: but the colonel perceiving that regiment likely to suffer from a body of black troops, together with the French marines, who were under cover, and fired briskly upon them; and also finding the enemy had reinforced their left with a piquet from Lally's regiment, he ordered the grenadier company of Draper's, which was on the right of the second line, to support their own regiment: he had likewise two pieces of cannon playing upon the enemy's flank, which completed the rout of that wing, who abandoned their cannon, and fell upon their centre, which was then, together with their right, closely engaged with the English left. Colonel Coote then ordered up major Monson, with the rest of the second line, and placed him so as to be able to support any part of the line, and to flank the enemy at the same time. About two o'clock, the whole French army gave way, and ran towards their own camp; but quitted it, on finding they were pursued by the English, whom they

left entire masters of the field, together with all their cannon, except three small pieces, which they carried off.

THE number of cannon taken was as follows: one 32, one 24, three 20, two 18, one 14, two 3, and two 2 pounders, iron; three 6, four 4, one 3, and two 2 pounders, brass; in all, 22 pieces: round shot, 3204; grape, 110: besides tumbrils, and all other implements belonging to the train. The French reckoned they had eight hundred killed and wounded, of whom the English buried two hundred in the field: they also took above two hundred wounded prisoners, besides forty not wounded. Among the prisoners were, brigadier-general Bussy; and le chevalier Godeville, quarter-master general: of Lally's regiment, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, two captains, and two lieutenants: of the Lorraine regiment, 1 captain, and 1 lieutenant: of the India battalion, two lieutenants, and two ensigns: of the marines, le chevalier de Poete, knight of Malta, who died of his wounds. The English loss was as follows: of colonel Draper's regiment, ensign Collins killed, and seventeen private; wounded major Breton, and lieutenant Brown, who died of their wounds; the former greatly regretted, and universally lamented; captain Knuttal, three ensigns, and sixty-six private: of colonel Coote's regiment, ensign Stuart killed, and thirteen private; wounded two lieutenants, one ensign, and thirty-six private: the company's troops, ensign Evans killed, and eighteen private; wounded one cornet, and twenty-nine private: and among the black troops, about seventy killed and wounded.

THE vanquished troops collected themselves under the walls of Chettaput, about eighteen miles from the field of battle, and the next day marched to Gingee: but the English cavalry were too much fatigued to pursue them with alacrity.

COLONEL

COLONEL Coote transmitted an account of this victory to the British ministry, on the 13th of February following, from Arcot village; and informed them, that during the whole engagement, and ever since he had the honor of commanding the army, the officers and men had shewn the greatest spirit; nor could he say too much for the behavior of the artillery. Upon the whole, the English loss was inconsiderable in obtaining so compleat a victory over an army so much superior in numbers, and commanded by such good officers: but the loss of major Brereton was a very fatal stroke, as he had eminently distinguished himself by his former services, had greatly contributed to the success of the day, and great expectations were formed from so gallant an officer.

THE next day colonel Coote sent out a detachment of cavalry to harass the enemy; and on finding that they retired to Pondicherry, he sent captain de Vasserot, with one thousand horse and three hundred sepoy towards Pondicherry, to destroy the French country; which was accordingly done up to the very gates of Pondicherry, by way of retaliation for what the French had done towards the environs of Madras*. In the mean time, the colonel marched the army to besiege Chettaput †; and, on the 28th at night, erected a two-gun battery, got in one 24 and one 20 pounder, and played upon them from an eight-inch howitz. The next day, after making a breach, le chevalier de Tilly, with his garrison, surrendered prisoners of war: the garrison consisted of four officers, fifty-four private, and three hundred sepoy, with seventy-three Europeans

* See this volume, p. 317, 318.
p. 273.

† See this volume,
wounded

wounded in the hospital: there were nine guns in the fort, and a good quantity of ammunition.

THE colonel had intelligence of a party of the enemy going from Arcot to Gingee, and he sent captain Smith with a detachment to intercept them; while the army marched to besiege Arcot. Captain Smith made the French party prisoners, consisting of ten Europeans, and fifty sepoy, with two brass eight-pounders; and soon after he took a captain of the Lorraine regiment, and three French commissaries, with whom he returned to the army. The fort of Timmery* surrendered to major Monson, who found in it six guns, one serjeant, twenty Europeans, and sixty sepoy.

COLONEL Coote, on the first of February, set out from the army for Arcot †, which was invested by captain Wood, who soon got possession of the pettah, routed Zulapherzing's forces, and took his whole camp, before the colonel arrived on the 2d, and encamped with his whole army within two miles of the place. On the 5th, he opened three batteries against the fort of Arcot; one of five 18 pounders, another of two 18 pounders, and one of 24 pounders. On the 6th, he began to carry on approaches to the south-west and west towers of the fort; and having by the 10th got within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. It consisted of three captains, eight subalterns, two hundred and thirty-six private, and between two and three hundred sepoy. There were in it four mortars, twenty two pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of all kinds of military stores. The English had, during the siege, seven non-commissioned and private killed; and ensign M^cMahon, who acted as engineer, and sixteen wounded.

* See this volume, p. 84.

† Ibid p. 83.

THIS conquest enabled the English to restore the Nabob to the capital of his dominions, of which he had been deprived by the French; and it greatly weakened both the French force and interest in India. General Lally, in this critical juncture, recalled his troops from Seringham; by which he augmented his army with five hundred Europeans, who were all doomed to be taken prisoners in Pondicherry.

In the midst of these successes, admiral Cornish arrived at Madras with six men of war; and as the French had no fleet upon the coast, the admiral readily engaged to co-operate with the land forces, as soon as it was practicable for his Majesty's ships. The consequence was, the reduction of Carical*, Chillambur, and Verdachellum, by a strong detachment under the command of major Monson: while colonel Coote reduced Permucoil, Alamperva, and Waldour, which enabled him to block up Pondicherry by land, while the fleet blocked it up by sea. The blockade was continued several months, which brought famine and mutiny among the besieged: the batteries of the besiegers were not opened till the beginning of December; and the place held out until the fifteenth of January 1761, when general Lally and his numerous garrison surrendered prisoners of war; whereby a final blow was given to the French power in India, and the English were left masters on the coast of Coromandel.

* See this Volume, p. III. 183.

C H A P. VII.

Colonel FORDE obtains advantages over the FRENCH in GOLCONDA; and takes MASSULIPATNAM. His treaty with SALABATZING. — The Mogul ALLUM GEER is murdered; and TIMUR placed on the imperial throne. — The French, under count d'ESTAING, plunder the ENGLISH settlements on the coast of SUMATRA, and take BENCOOLEN.

COLONEL Forde had obtained some signal advantages over the French in Golconda, and was resolved to make the most use of his success. He took the field about the middle of January 1759, left captain Bristol to command the garrison at Rajamundry, and marched with the English army for Massulipatnam. In his way, he surprized and took Narisipore: but was harrassed by the remains of the French army, under the command of the marquis de Conflans, which consisted of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand sepoy, with four pieces of cannon; who kept always in front to distress and retard his march. However, the colonel was joined by the Rajah's troops, and took the fort of Cancalle, which was defended by some Europeans, and two hundred sepoy, who refused quarter, and were put to the sword.

THE marquis de Conflans avoided the English, quitted his camp, and retired with his troops into Massulipatnam: but one of his detachments retook Rajamundry, where they seized the baggage and effects of the English officers, made twenty Europeans and forty sepoy prisoners.

COLONEL Forde invested Massulipatnam on the 7th of March, and carried on his approaches until the

the 6th of April, when the town was bombarded, and many houses were destroyed. Above four hundred barrels of powder were expended, with shot and shells in proportion, so that little remained; upon which the colonel resolved to storm the town in breach, rather than quit his attempt, in which he happily succeeded on the 7th. The English gained bastion after bastion, until they approached the gateway, and cut off the communication of the French from their detached ravelin. No quarter was given, and a terrible carnage ensued, until the French quitted their arms, and repaired to the arsenal. The whole garrison were made prisoners, consisting of four hundred Europeans, and two thousand castles, topasses, and sepoyes. The French had also one hundred and twenty-two Europeans killed during the siege: and they also lost above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition: but the loss of the English was inconsiderable.

THE governor of Pondicherry had embarked four hundred Europeans, under the command of M. Moracin, to relieve Maffulipatnam: but he arrived too late, and sailed for Ganjam, to wait the monsoon, until the beginning of November, for his return to Pondicherry. He was attacked by Narrainda, a Rajah of those parts, who cut off many of his men, about two hundred of whom escaped to Cockenara, from whence they sailed to Pondicherry, in which passage many of them were drowned.

SALABATZING, the Soubah of the Deckan, advanced at the head of a numerous army within forty miles of Maffulipatnam, to wait the event of the siege, with a kind of neutral indifference, according to the policy of these oriental princes: but when he understood the success of the English at this place, as well as at Madras, he solicited their friendship;
and

and signed a treaty * with them, on the 14th of May; whereby he gave to the English company, as an Enam, or free gift, "the Circar of Massulipatnam, with eight districts; the Circar of Nizam-patnam, with the districts of Codaver and Wacalmanner; and granted them saneds, as he had done to the French." He also agreed, "to oblige the French troops, then in the Deckan, to evacuate that country: never to permit them to settle there, to keep none of them in his service; and neither to protect them, or call them to his assistance." But the English agreed, not to protect the Soubah's enemies, or give them protection.

SHAH ABADIN CAWN, the son of Gauzedi Cawn, permitted his uncle Salabatzing to continue viceroy of the Deckan; rather than relinquish his own important post of grand vizir to the Great Mogul, which gave him an unlimited power over the imperial court: but he wanted more power, and was determined to deprive the emperor, Allum Geer, of his dignity and life; which he accomplished in a very base and treacherous manner, by having him assassinated in the royal gardens. He depended upon the Morattoes, who were defeated by the Patans, whose chief, Ahmed Abdalla, placed his son Timur on the throne.

COUNT d'Estaing was not content with plundering the English factory at Gombroon in 1759: but, in 1760, he traversed the ocean, and scoured the coast of Sumatra †, where the English had some settle-

* It was dated, "Moon Ramadan 16th, Hegira 1172;" which is the 14th of May 1759. He signed it in his own hand; and also swore by God and his prophet, upon the holy Alcoran, that he with pleasure agreed to the contents of the treaty, which he would inviolably preserve.

† This is one of the Sunda islands, situated in the Indian ocean, between 93 and 104 degrees of east longitude, and between

settlements, at a great distance from the seat of war. His first attack was upon the English fort at Nattal, with the Conde and expedition frigates, whose fire obliged the garrison to surrender at discretion, on the 7th of February. Tapparopoly shared the same fate; and Bencoolen*, or fort Marlborough, was attacked. The factory were astonished at such an unexpected visit, and immediately ordered the Denham Indiaman, then in the road, to be burnt: the crew retired into the fort, which they

tween 5 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, and 5 degrees 30 minutes of south latitude; extending from the north-west to the south-east 900 miles long, and from 100 to 150 broad. It is separated from the continent of the further India by the streights of Malacca on the north-east, and from the island of Java by the streights of Sunda on the south-east. The air of this island is generally very unwholesome, as it lies under the equinoctial; and from the hottest sultry weather, changing often suddenly to chilling cold.

* Bencoolen stands on the south-west part of the island, in 101 degrees of east longitude, and 4 degrees of south latitude: it is esteemed the most unhealthful of all the English settlements in India; but this was their principal settlement in Sumatra from the year 1685 to 1719, when there happened a general insurrection of the natives, who cut off part of the garrison, the rest escaping in their boats to sea. Bencoolen is known at sea by a high slender mountain, that rises twenty miles beyond it in the country, called the sugar-loaf: before the town, there lies an island, within which the shipping usually ride; and the point of Sillesbar makes a large bay. The natives soon after suffered the English to return, and build fort Marlborough on a healthier spot. The English had smaller factories at several other places on the island, and so had the Dutch, who assisted the French in expelling the English. The principal commerce of the island consists in gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, diamonds and other precious stones, pepper, wax, honey, camphor, bezoar, cassia, sandal, sulphur, rice, sugar, ginger, and benjoin. The island is governed by several petty princes, of whom the Sultan of Achen is the most considerable. The custom the English pay for the pepper is two foccas, or half a dollar, for each bahar, consisting of 500lb, great weight, or 560lb. and the instant the pepper is weighed and received by the company's factors, the owner receives his money for it, after the rate of ten molacos, or Spanish dollars, of 3s. 7d. each for every bahar.

bravely

bravely defended until the factory had secured their best effects, when the place was surrendered to the French, who committed all the ravages in their power, and carried off all the effects they could find to Batavia and the isle of France; so that when the company's ships arrived from England, they found the settlement reduced to the utmost distress; but they restored it the following year to its former state.

C H A P. VIII.

The Dutch invasion of BENGAL from BATAVIA in 1760. The conduct of governor CLIVE. The Dutch squadron defeated and taken by three ENGLISH Indiamen, under the command of captain WILSON. Colonel FORDE defeats a Dutch party at CHANDENAGORE; and afterwards defeats their whole army at BEDERRA. The Dutch director, and counsel of fort GUSTAVUS, desire a cessation of hostilities, and conclude articles of accommodation with the English president and council at fort WILLIAM. Governor Clive protests the Dutch from the resentment of the SOUBAH, who obliges them to sign a particular treaty.—The Dutch company complain to the STATES-GENERAL; and the BRITISH AMBASSADOR presents a memorial to them thereon.—The SHAW ZADDA invades BENGAL, and is kept back by governor Clive, who returns to EUROPE, and is succeeded in the presidency by Mr. HOLWELL.

WHILE the English were successful on the coast of Coromandel, they had like to have been ruined by the treachery of the Dutch in the province of Bengal. Either the Dutch were clandestinely engaged to divide the English forces in India, and withdraw them from Golconda: or else
the

the government of Batavia formed a scheme to send up the Ganges such a body of troops, as might extirpate the English, whereby the Dutch might engross the whole commerce of the country to themselves. For this purpose, they made the necessary military preparations at Batavia: but not with that secrecy such a design required.

ABOUT the beginning of August 1759, the president and council of Bengal received advice, that a powerful armament was equipping at Batavia, and an embarkation of troops making there; that its destination was not known, but that common fame gave out it was intended against Bengal. Colonel Forde was therefore recalled from Golconda; and a requisition was made for further assistance from the presidency of Madras, who promised to send a reinforcement of three hundred men, under the command of major Caillaud. Governor Clive also acquainted the Soubah Jaffir Allee Cawn* therewith, who immediately sent a purwanah†, and peremptory orders to Chinsura‡, forbidding the admission of any troops or vessels into the country. The Soubah caused a copy of this purwanah to be given to governor Clive; requiring him, in consequence of the treaty § subsisting with the English, to join his forces, in order to prevent any foreign troops from entering his country. But it afterwards appeared, that the Soubah wanted to shake off his dependence on the English, and to throw himself into the arms of the Dutch, with whom he had entered into a secret negotiation, so early as in 1758, when the Deckan expedition took

* Sometimes called the Nizam, Jaffier Aly Khan.—See this volume, p. 262.

† Or perwannah; an order, or command.

‡ Chincura, or Chincey: the chief settlement belonging to the Dutch.

§ See this vol. p. 260.

place under colonel Forde, and the English garrisons were much reduced.

IN the mean time, a Dutch vessel arrived in the river, with European troops and Buggoses * on board. Governor Clive acquainted the Soubah therewith, who seemed greatly perplexed: however, he dispatched a second purwanah to the Dutch, with orders to Uturbeg Khan, Fouzdaar † of Huegley, immediately to join the governor with a body of troops, and repeated his demand for assisting the English, to prevent the Dutch troops or vessels from proceeding up the river.

IN answer to the Soubah's first purwanah, the Dutch made a solemn promise of obeying his orders: and to the second, repeated the same solemn assurances; declaring that the vessel which was arrived, came in by accident for water and provisions, being by stress of weather driven aside the fort of Negapatnam, to which she was bound; and that both the vessel and troops on board would quit the river, as soon as they had taken in their refreshments.

HOWEVER, governor Clive judged it expedient, to send a detachment of troops, to join another from the Soubah, under the command of the officer of the Fouzdaar, to take possession of the fort of Tanna ‡, and the battery of Charnoe, which lay opposite to that fort; with orders to stop and visit all vessels that should pass; but without giving them any molestation. Parties were also sent out on both sides the river, to prevent any foreign troops from advancing by land.

IN consequence of those orders, all Dutch vessels were brought to, those being suffered to pass which had no troops on board. Among others, mynheer

* Malays. † A military officer, or governor. ‡ See this volume, p. 253.

Zuydland*, an officer of the Dutch company, refused for some time to bring to, and be visited: he even struck the officer who commanded at the battery of Charnoe; upon which he, and another gentleman who was with him, were detained prisoners for some hours, until an order from the governor discharged both them and the vessel; on board of which were found concealed eighteen Buggoes, who were reconducted under an escort by land, until in sight of their vessel at Fulta, and there dismissed.

ON occasion of these transactions, the English presidency received long remonstrances from the gentlemen of the factory at Chinsura; to which the former replied, that as principals, they were authorized by the custom and law of nations, to visit all vessels going up the river, without distinction, as they might serve to introduce French troops into the country: and that the English, in quality of auxiliaries to the Mogul †, were bound by solemn treaty to join his viceroy, to oppose the introducing any European, or other foreign troops whatever, into Bengal; that they would religiously fulfil their duty in both respects with all their forces, and to the utmost of their power.

IN

* Lucas Zuidland, ship-master of the Dutch factory.

† "The armament from Batavia arrived during his visit at Calcutta: his stay after that was short, his mind seemed much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch force was arrived at his invitation. That such were the sentiments of governor Clive and his council, appears from the narrative of our contest with the Dutch, November 1759, transmitted to the court of directors, and to our several admirals. A perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Subah's behavior on this occasion, was a most flagitious breach of the treaty of alliance; and that no terms whatever should have been preserved with him after such treachery and ingratitude: to which we may add, by way of illustration, the subsequent farces carried on between

IN the beginning of October, the Soubah Jaffir Alee Cawn came to Calcutta, to pay a visit to governor Clive; and during his stay advice came, that lower down the river, six or seven other large Dutch vessels were arrived, full of European soldiers and Buggoses. Some days after, there was certain intelligence of their coming up the river; and that the Dutch were enlisting men of all sorts at Chinsura, Cassimbuzar, and Patna.

GOVERNOR Clive, with indefatigable diligence, made the necessary dispositions to defeat the designs of the Dutch. The ships Calcutta, duke of Dorset, and Hardwick Indiamen, the only vessels the English had in the river, were ordered immediately to come before the town: the detachments at the fort of Tanna, and at the battery of Charnoe, were reinforced, and heavy artillery mounted there, as well as on the two faces of the new fort, which commanded the river: the detachment at Patna was called off, and the militia put under arms.

As soon as the Dutch imagined themselves in a condition to act, they sent the English a packet of remonstrances, wherein they recapitulated all their preceding ones, and threatened to avenge themselves and make reprisals, if the English persisted in visiting the Dutch vessels, and hindering their troops

between the Nabob and the Dutch, even until June 1760, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the resident at Moradbaag, on this subject; where it will appear most manifest, that the Subah's real intentions never were to oppose these people, though he was from time to time calling upon us, and demanding assistance, by virtue of the treaty of alliance subsisting between him and the English:—witness the private orders and instructions given to his son-in-law, Mahir Mahomet Cossim Aly Khan, so opposite to the public orders given to amuse and deceive us, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinsura; the apparent delay in which drew much censure upon that general, until the truth was known." Mr. Holwell's India tracts, p. 11.

from

from coming up the river. The English made answer once for all, that they offered no insult to the Dutch flag, neither seized on, or meddled with their property, nor infringed their privileges: that with regard to their introducing troops into Bengal, it was the Soubah's business to judge how far it concerned him to preserve the peace and tranquility of his own country: that it was by order of the viceroy, and under the flag of the emperor, his master, and by his troops, that the Dutch vessels were stopped and visited, and their troops prevented from coming up; and consequently he was the proper person to apply to: that the English were ready to interpose their good offices, to appease his resentment.

THINGS were in this state, when the Dutch commodore began to commit hostilities lower down the river, by firing with ball upon the English vessels, seizing seven of them, and making all on board prisoners. They also began hostilities on land, in the English purgannahs * of Fulta and Rajapore, where they took down the English flags, burnt the houses, and destroyed the effects of the company's tenants. The Leopard, captain Barclay, who was dispatched with letters to admiral Cornish, was one of the ships they seized.

GOVERNOR Clive acquainted the Soubah with those acts of violence committed by the Dutch lower down the river; adding, that as it was the English with whom they had commenced the war, the Soubah ought to consider the quarrel, as subsisting there only between them and the Dutch.

HITHERTO the English could not learn, whether the Dutch purposed to bring up their vessels, with the forces on board, above the batteries; or to de-

* Country districts.

bark them as high as possible, and then march them over land. However, governor Clive made the necessary dispositions against either event, as far as the smallness of his numbers would permit; his whole force consisting of no more than two hundred and forty Europeans of the battalion, about eighty of the corps of artillery, and twelve hundred sepoys. The choicest troops of the former, and the greater part of the latter, together with several volunteers of the militia, and part of the independent company, of which a body of cavalry was formed, were posted at Charnoe and Tanna, under captain Knox. Colonel Forde accepted the command of the troops that remained in garrison, which marched northwards on the sixteenth of November. The same day Mr. Holwell *, who had returned from England, had orders to take upon him the guard and defence of Fort William with the militia, which consisted of about two hundred and fifty Europeans, besides some inhabitants: the governor mean while dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions, that at Charnoe, and that in the field.

THE first blow struck against the Dutch, was the taking the possession of Barnagore †, whence colonel Forde passed with his troops, and four field pieces, to the other side of the river to Syrampore, a Danish factory, and marched thence to Chandanagore ‡: not only with the view of striking terror into Chinfura; but also to be at hand to intercept the Dutch troops, if they debarked, and attempted to get there by land.

ON the 18th, the Dutch director and council wrote to the English presidency as follows: "We have received, with the utmost surprize, the disagree-

* See this volume, p. 242—252.

† See this volume, p. 255.

‡ Or Bernagor,

able news, that some of your European dependants, accompanied by one hundred and fifty sepoy, came this morning to Barnagore, and demanded the keys of our company's house there, and afterwards hoisted thereon the English flag. Now as we neither can, nor must construe such an act any otherwise than as an open aggression and hostility, and an actual declaration of war; so we have just grounds, and find ourselves under the highest necessity, to demand the reasons of such hostilities, as far exceed all the bounds of equity and justice; and at the same time, in the name of our sovereigns, to complain and protest on that head: and moreover, to demand again reparation and satisfaction for such crying acts of violence, and to insist on sufficient security and assurance, that no such thing shall in future be done: or, at least, in case of refusal, a positive and categorical answer. In which last case, we require that we may be informed immediately, whether you are resolved to declare war against us; or, without previous declaration, commence it; and besides, in consequence of this, that you acquaint us, as soon as possible, whether the aforesaid troops were authorized by you to so hostile a conduct; and whether or no they are to proceed farther by your orders*."

* This letter was dated, "Hughly, 18 Nov. 1759:" it was signed,

A. Bisdon,
L. Zuydland,
J. Backerad,
J. C. Kist,
G. L. Vernet,

M. Ifinck,
S. de Hoog,
R. H. Armenhault,
J. L. V. Scherichaven,
M. Bastiane:."

And it was directed to "Robert Clive, Esq; colonel of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and governor, for the English East India company, in Bengal; and to the gentlemen of the council."

THIS was followed by another letter the next day, wherein the Dutch gentlemen declared themselves in the following manner: "Last night, on sending off our letter to you, gentlemen, we had the fresh mortification, not without the greatest surprize, to see ourselves insulted, in an hostile manner, by your dependants, supported by some sepoys: as, in coming down the river, they had the assurance, within sight and reach of our forts, to fire sharp shot on our vessels lying here at anchor. We cannot help thinking, and with reason, but that those reiterated acts of violence have been committed by your orders; a fresh indication that you appear plainly no longer to make any account of the most solemn treaties, subsisting between your crown and our state, since you thus venture to break through them. We could not, however, omit acquainting you therewith by these presents, and we doubt not you will readily and naturally judge that it cannot be taken amiss of us, or in the least misconstrued, if we now inform you, that we have been constrained to recede, in this case, from our wonted moderation, and with force to repel such disturbers of the peace; having found by experience there was no dealing with such persons without employing the like compulsory means. You therefore must and can lay the blame of the consequences, arising from such dangerous proceedings, on no body but yourselves. We therefore further exhort you, gentlemen, not to suffer yourselves to be betrayed into any pernicious resolution, through the false and ill-grounded reports of those sepoys, who may have brought you any account of this affair; but rather consider this our conduct as an effect of the justice of that self-defence which we have been compelled to use. On the other hand, you may be assured, that we are far from acting offensively, in any respect against any one, much less against you; but that in every step we
take,

take, we seek and aim at nothing else, as we have already mentioned in our former letter, than under the blessing of heaven, to defend ourselves against all hostile attacks and acts of violence whatever; and to do nothing in our present circumstances, but what may stand justified in the sight both of God and man; and what the interests of the settlements, rights, and privileges, entrusted to our care, by our lords and masters, may require at our hands *.”

DURING this period, the Dutch vessels continued to advance with their captures and prisoners. The three English vessels, which followed them, had peremptory orders to pass them, and post themselves above the batteries, where the fire-ships lay, and where every measure, thought necessary to destroy the Dutch vessels, should they venture to pass, were taken.

THE Dutch commodore twice ordered commodore Wilson not to pass the Dutch Vessels; threatening, if he did, to fire into him. On the 21st of November, the Dutch armament cast anchor in the offing of Sankeral, a point within cannon-shot of the English batteries: and the next day they debarked on the opposite shore seven hundred Europeans and eight hundred Buggoses; after which their vessels fell down, and cast anchor at Point Melancholy, below the English vessels.

COLONEL Forde was immediately informed of all this, with assurance of being reinforced with all possible speed by captain Knox, and the detachments which were at the batteries, and in consequence called off.

THE commodore of the English vessels was ordered, on the 23d, to demand the immediate restitution of the captured vessels, subjects, and effects;

* This was signed and directed as the other Letter.

and in case of refusal, on the part of the Dutch, to attack their vessels. On the day following the demand was made, and refused; so that an action ensued*.

THE Dutch had seven † vessels, four of which were of the line; but the English had only three ‡ in all, who were well equipped for war, and their quarters lined with bags of saltpetre to screen the men from the shot. The Dutch drew up in a line of battle to receive the English, who followed their example, and the duke of Dorset began the engagement: but the wind happening to die away, she could not be properly seconded for some time: however, when the two other ships came up, they maintained so smart a fire upon the Dutch, that two of their smaller ships were obliged to cut their cables and run, and the other was drove ashore. After about two hours fight, the Dutch commodore struck, and the others followed his example; except his second, who got clear off by fighting his way, and fell down to Culpee, where he was intercepted by the Oxford and Royal George, which had arrived two days before, and were ordered to join the other captains. The Dutch commodore had about thirty

* Captain Wilson, on the 22d, wrote to the Dutch commodore, "that he was surprized to hear their troops had debarked on the territory of the English company, without permission obtained from the governor and council at Fort William. He assured him, if he ventured to land a single man more, he should construe it as an act of hostility, and exert himself to the utmost to sink and disperse their ships." This letter was "dated on board the Calcutta, the 22d of November 1759;" and was signed "George Wilson." It was directed "to the captain of the ship Vlissingen, J. James Zuydland."

† The Vlissingen, Bleiswyk, Welgeleegen, and the princefs of Orange, of 36 guns each; Elizabeth Dorothea, and Waereld, of 26 guns each; and de Mossel of 16 guns.

‡ The Calcutta, captain Wilson; the duke of Dorset, captain Forrester; and the Hardwicke, captain Sampson.

men killed, and many wounded: he suffered most, as did the duke of Dorset on the English side, who was more immediately engaged with him. This ship was almost tore to pieces, and had about ninety shot in her hull; yet she had not a man killed; nor did the other ships lose a single man; though the Dutch had above one hundred killed and wounded. The rest were made prisoners, and carried up to Calcutta, and all their ships were seized.

ON the same day, the 24th, colonel Forde began his march from the French gardens northwards, proposing to encamp between Chandanagore and Chinsura: but in passing through the former place, he was attacked by the Dutch, with four pieces of cannon, and the garrison of Chinsura, which was marched out, and posted in the houses and ruins of Chandanagore*; under the command of lieutenant Van Stade, to meet the expected troops; at the same time that colonel Forde entered it with his troops on the south side. However, he succeeded in forcing them soon from their ambuscade; took their cannon, killed and made prisoners upwards of forty men, and pursued the rest as far as the barrier of Chinsura, which he prepared to attack, having been first joined by captain Knox, and the troops from the batteries of Charnoe and Tanna.

ON the day following, colonel Forde received certain advice of the approach of the Dutch troops, debarked from the vessels, which, in spite of his vigilance, were joined by a party of the garrison of Chinsura. He marched directly with two field-pieces, and met them in the plain of Bederra, at about two cofs † from Chinsura, where they soon

* See this volume, p. 255—258. The Dutch troops were 120 Europeans, and 300 sepoyes.
 † About four miles and a half.

after came to blows. The Dutch were commanded by colonel Rouffel, a Frenchman: their force was about seven hundred Europeans, and a like number of Buggoses, besides the troops of the country. The troops under colonel Forde consisted of two hundred and forty foot, eighty of the artillery, and fifty other European volunteers, who formed the independant company of cavalry, and of eight hundred sepoy. The action was short, bloody, and decisive: the Dutch, in less than half an hour, were entirely routed, having about one hundred and twenty Europeans, and two hundred Buggoses killed; three hundred and fifty Europeans, and two hundred Buggoses made prisoners, with M. Rouffel, and fourteen officers; and one hundred and fifty wounded: but the English loss was very moderate*.

* The Dutch India company have given the following account of this affair: "On the 25th, when the troops and other hands, which, on the 22d before, were gone on shore, were, in their projected march, come near Chandanagore, they were there met by the English; who, according to their own account, to the number of 1170, were posted very advantageously, and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were those troops come within cannon-shot, but they were fired on by the English: and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days; yet, with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English; and, though unprovided of any artillery, marched up, with a full and steady pace, to the enemy: but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch which they were constrained to pass, to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops, in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder: the English, taking advantage of this circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery and musquetry; and the disorder, already arisen, being thereby increased, caused the slaughter of a part of those troops; another part was made prisoners; and the rest were constrained to retire." See "an authentic account of the proceedings of their High Mightinesses the states of Holland and West-Friesland, on the complaint laid before them by his excellency Sir Joseph Yorke, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the Hague, concerning hostilities committed in the river of Bengal." p. 23.

AFTER this action, colonel Forde resumed his march back, encamped before Chinsura, and wrote for further orders. The Dutch wrote to colonel Forde, as also to the council at Calcutta, praying a cessation of hostilities, and proposing terms of accommodation. The English gentlemen imagined, they had sufficiently chastised and humbled the Dutch, without seizing on their settlement, which must have surrendered on the first summons. They agreed therefore to enter into treaty with them: deputies were nominated *, and matters brought to a speedy and amicable issue.

THUS

* Commissioners were named on both sides, to enter into negotiation, and farther hostilities were in the mean time suspended. The English commissioners, in the first conference, at Garetty, proposed two verbal articles; whereof the first contained a demand of satisfaction for the insult offered to the English flag: and the second required reparation for all the damages sustained on that occasion. The Dutch commissioners were filled with a spirit of recrimination; but at last submitted to the English demands, and the following treaty was concluded on the 19th of December.

“ Articles of accommodation, concluded between the commissioners from the president and council at Fort William, and those from the director and council of Fort Gustavus.

In the name of the Holy Trinity, Amen.

Be it known to all, and sundry, whom these presents shall or may concern.

THE honorable and respectable president and council at Fort William, and the honorable and respectable director and council at Fort Gustavus, in these parts, testifying an ardent desire of allaying all the contests arisen in Bengal, of obviating calamities so often experienced, putting an end to, ceasing, and removing out of the way, all difference arisen, and re-establishing their several possessions in perfect quiet, have for that end nominated, empowered and deputed to Garetty, the place appointed for conference, the following honorable gentlemen, viz.

THUS the Dutch gentlemen disowned the proceedings of their ships down the river, owned themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages*;

The honorable and respectable president and council at Fort William, Messrs. Richard Becher and John Cooke, counselors: the honorable and respectable director and council of Fort Gustavus, Messrs. John Bacheracht and John Charles Kist, members of the polity and judiciary council:

Who, after having previously certified each other mutually of their full powers, and given in the same in due form, and also having deliberated on the points, which their principals had judged necessary to be inserted therein, came at length, upon mature deliberation, to agree to a pacification, from which has arisen a full cessation of all hostilities, both by sea and land, to be concluded under the following conditions.

DEMANDS of the English.

I.

THE director and council at Chinfura, shall give a sufficient satisfaction to the president and council at Fort William, both on account of the dishonor done to the English flag, and of divers of our ships being stopt at the mouth of the river, by the commanders of the Dutch ships, contrary to all the treaties and alliances subsisting between the two nations; and also of many other hostilities committed by their ships.

II.

The director and council at Chinfura, shall make good all the

ANSWERS by the Dutch.

I.

THE director and council at Chinfura testify, That as they have always entertained pacific sentiments, in order to suppress the contests arisen, which have interrupted the good harmony that subsisted between the two nations; and produced, and are still capable of producing in them a most sincere regret; and that all that was done in the mouth of the river, with regard to the English flag, and dishonor put upon it, was done without their order, and to their great mortification, by the ships crews, just upon their arrival, and by mistaking their orders; with this representation, they hope the governor and council will be pleased to rest fully satisfied.

II.

As the Dutch ships have also suffered great loss and considerable

gages* ; upon which the English returned their vessels, and released their prisoners, many of whom volun-

the damage done by their ship-masters, whether with or without their orders, both to the honorable company, and to private persons, and shall instantly deliver up all our ships, military stores, and effects.

Done at Garetty, the 1st of December, 1759.

Signed

RICHARD BECHER,
and JOHN COOKE.

siderable damage, it seems hard to insist on an indemnification ; but what is still in being, shall be freely returned : we request the governor and council to take it into their just consideration, and in case their honors chuse not to depart therefrom, we shall endeavor to make satisfaction.

Done at Garetty the 1st of December, 1759.

Signed

JOHN BACHERACHT,
and J. C. KIST.

DEMANDS of the Dutch.

I.

THAT the English, as being at peace with the Nabob, shall prevail with him either to return back, or at least to keep quiet in his camp, without giving us any molestation ; and to accept the articles of our agreement, so far as they regard him, both for the present and the future.

II.

A reciprocal amnesty of all that has happened during the late contests ; moreover a full assurance, that friendship, good faith, and harmony, shall be kept up by the respective superiors of both nations, without permitting any acts of hostility, under what pretext soever, to be committed.

ANSWERS of the English.

I.

WE have already employed all our interest, with the Nazim, and shall continue endeavouring to persuade him to march back his army, as soon as the Dutch government shall have fulfilled his orders. The articles agreed on between the English and Dutch, must not be confounded with the treaty, which the government of Hugly is to conclude with the Nazim.

II.

Approved, in so far as it is not inconsistent with the treaty we have entered into with the Nazim of the country, and so long as the Friendship between our two Sovereigns holds good in Europe.

That

* To the amount of 100,000l. sterling,

voluntarily entered into the service of the English company.

THREE days after the battle of Bederra, the Soubah's son arrived with seven thousand horse, and encamped

DEMANDS of the Dutch.

That both shall mutually exert themselves to maintain a good harmony, and, as far as possible, lend a helping hand to promote whatever shall tend to the prosperity of each other, without directly or indirectly countenancing those, who may seem inclined to do any detriment to the one or the other.

III.

As the dispute hath been carried on, neither by virtue of any declaration of war, nor of any particular commission, our troops and seamen cannot be considered as prisoners of war, subject to a capitulation; so that they must be set at liberty, and suffered to march out with all the honors of war.

IV.

That we be left in the free, peaceable, and undiminished possession of our settlements, commerce, privileges, and prerogatives.

V.

That all the ships, vessels, servants, possessions, settlements, territories, houses, &c. appertaining as well to the honorable company, as to particular persons, and whatever is connected therewith, be declared free, and given up, in the presence of reciprocal commissioners, appointed for that purpose.

ANSWERS of the English.

III.

The Dutch officers and troops are not considered by us as our prisoners of war, but solely as those of the Nazim; and consequently we are clear to set them at liberty, as soon as the Dutch shall have concluded their treaty with the Nazim; excepting, however, those who are willing to enter into our service, or claim the protection of our flag.

IV.

We have in no manner disturbed the gentlemen of the Dutch company in their rights and privileges, nor ever had the intention of doing it.

V.

All the ships and vessels, which are in our possession, shall be restored, as soon as our demands shall be complied with; or that we obtain security from the director and council at Hughly, that they shall be complied with.

That

encamped a short cofs * from Chinsura. The Dutch were in the greatest consternation: they wrote to governor Clive in the most submissive terms,

VI.

That as soon as possible, the ratifications be, upon the approbation of the respective directors, exchanged on both sides.

VI.
GRANTED.

VII.

And lastly, the two nations mutually guarantee the foregoing articles.

VII.
We cannot apprehend the necessity of this article.

Signed underneath
Done at Garetty, the first day of December, 1759.

Signed underneath
Done at Garetty, the third day of December, 1759.

JOHN BACHERACHT,
and J. C. KIST.

RICHARD BECHER,
and JOHN COOKE.

ENDORSED on the Back.

Unanimously determined, That the use of the French language, in some copies of this agreement, and its future use in the execution of these presents, shall not be a precedent, which the principals, and respective masters of the contracting parties, shall be obliged to follow: but that in future it shall be optional to the principals of the two Parties, to grant and receive such treaties in a language different from the French.

This treaty, and the appendix, are of the same force and obligation, as if the same regulation were complied with therein; and the separate articles, which may be added thereto, shall in like manner have the same force, as if they were inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, we the undersigning deputies of the honorable and respectable president and council at Fort William, and of the honorable and respectable director and council at Fort Gustavus, members of their respective assemblies, have signed this appendix or endorsement, and ratified it with our seals.

Thus done in our place of conference, at Garetty, the third day of December, 1759.

Signed
(L. C.) JOHN BACHERACHT. (L. C.) F. C. KIST.
(L. C.) RICHARD BECHER. (L. C.) JOHN COOKE.

* Two miles.

terms, begging that he would intercede for them, and not suffer them to be given up to the violence of the Moors. The governor did so, and repaired directly to the French gardens, to be at hand to check the young Nabob, and prevent his coming to extremities with the Dutch. His good offices had their

RATIFICATION.

WE the undersigning by these presents accept the foregoing articles of mutual agreement, negotiated and determined, in order to a general pacification, between the settlements and servants of our respective masters and principals, by our deputies appointed for that purpose, viz. on the one side, Messrs. John Cooke and Richard Becher, counsellors at Fort William; and on the other side, Messrs. John Bacheracht and John Charles Kist, members of the polity and justiciary council, at Fort Gustavus; approving, confirming, and ratifying the same, in the name, and with the approbation, of our aforesaid masters and principals in Europe, promising, that we shall, as soon as may be, faithfully put in execution the reciprocal restitution, agreed on in the aforesaid articles, in order to put an end to all the contests and misunderstandings which have arisen to this present date; and moreover, make the contents of these presents, as far as is needful, known, by a solemn publication to our dependants, that the same may, in all the principal points, be religiously observed, avoiding every thing which, in process of time, might interrupt the friendship and peaceable neighbourhood, now so happily re-established between our respective possessions.

In token of which, we have subscribed these presents, and ratified them with the seals of the two honorable East India companies, established here.

On one side stood,
Given at Hughly, the 6th of
December, 1759; Under-
neath the Seal of the Dutch
company, in red wax.

Signed,
A. Bisdom,
G. L. Vernet,
R. H. Arménault,
M. Isinck,
J. L. Schevikhaven,
S. de Hoog, and
O. W. Valk.

On the other side stood,
Given at Calcutta, the 8th of
December, 1759; under-
neath the arms of the Eng-
lish company, in red wax.

Signed,
ROBERT CLIVE,
C. MANNINGHAM,
J. V. FRANKLAND,
THOMAS BODDAM,
J. V. B. SAMMER, and
J. V. M. Q. WIERE.

their desired effect: the young Nabob received their deputies; and, after some smart reproaches, granted them pardon, with a promise of ample protection in their commerce and privileges, on the following conditions*: “Never to think of making war in the country; never to introduce or enlist troops, or erect forts therein; to keep on foot one hundred and twenty five soldiers only, and no more, for the service of their several factories of Ballasore, Bengal, and Patna: immediately to send away their vessels and troops: and in case they ever contravene any one of those articles, to be punished by entire expulsion out of the country. These conditions were ratified by the council of Hughly; and the Nabob, having satisfaction made him for the trouble and expences of his march, decamped and returned to Muxadabad.

THE

* Copy of the Dutch proposals made to the Chuta Nabob, with his answers, ratified the 5th of November 1759.

Article I. That the purchases and sales of the Dutch company be again made in the same manner as in former times.

Answer. The purchases and sales of the Dutch company shall be carried on according to custom; excepting the salt-petre of Azimabad, which shall be purchased by the means of Raja Rammarain Bahadar; nor shall any one molest them.

Art. II. That no body cause any obstruction in the provision of cloth, &c. at the Aurungs, on account of the Dutch company.

Ans. No-body shall obstruct the provision of cloth, &c. according to the custom of the Aurungs, nor use any violence.

Art. III. That the goods and treasure of the Dutch company be allowed to pass and repass with the Dutch Duffuck; that no body obstruct them; nor any longer demand illicit customs.

Ans. The merchandize of the Dutch company shall pass and repass, by land or water, free from any unprecedented impositions; nor shall any one demand illicit customs.

Art. IV. That payment be made,

Ans. The officers of the mint of

THE Dutch director and council at Hughly pretended that the English were solely to blame in this affair, and were guilty of the most extraordinary hostilities, for which they ought to be punished*.

made, by the offices of the of Murshedabad shall be made mint of Murshedabad*, of the to pay whatever balance is balance due to the company. justly and truly due.

Articles agreed upon by the Dutch company with the Nabob, and ratified under the hands and seals of the Dutch director and council, and the seal of the company.

- I. We will immediately send away the Europeans and Buggoses, whom we brought hither on board of our ships; and discharge all the Europeans, telingas, musketeers, and foot-soldiers, lately taken here into our pay.
- II. We will never bring any troops into this country of Bengal, or carry on war therein, or make any preparations for that purpose.
- III. We will keep no more than 125 European soldiers in the factories of Bengal, Patna, or Ballasore.
- IV. We will peaceably continue to carry on our commerce in the same manner as formerly; and in case, which God forbid, any obstruction or dispute should fall in its way, cause the Soubah to be acquainted therewith, and solicit from him the necessary redress in regard thereto.

Given the 14th year of the month Rabbie Ussane, of the year 1172; or the 5th of December 1759.

Signed A. BIRDOM; G. L. VERNET; R. H. ARMENAUT; M. ISINCK; J. L. V. SCHREVIKHAVEN; JOHN BAUCHERACHT; S. DE HOOG; J. C. KIST; and O. W. VALK."

* They told their High Mightinesses, "it was unnecessary to enquire with what views, or by what persons, those extorted articles of accommodation were devised; that it was evident, they proceeded from the servants of the English company, who, resolving to domineer in Bengal, and solely to engross the whole of its commerce, had with that view employed every means, warrantable and unwarrantable, to deprive the Dutch company even of the ability of protecting their settlements and commerce there, against those violences and infringements, of which it had so many striking instances, and might still expect more: and that unjustifiable design of the English company's servants had also been the sole and genuine motive to the hostile conduct, they had all along held with respect to the servants of the Dutch company."

* Muxadabad.

BUT

BUT the president and council of Bengal fully informed the court of directors of the English East India company of this whole proceeding; in consequence of which, a memorial * was presented by the British minister at the Hague, to the States-general of the united provinces; containing "complaints of grievous hostilities, committed by the servants of the Dutch East India company, on the subjects of his Britannic Majesty in Bengal"; to the following purport:

"THAT common fame must already have informed their High Mightinesses of an event, as serious as extraordinary; an ample detail of which was thereto annexed.

"THAT their High Mightinesses would therein find a relation of a series of hostilities committed by the servants of the Dutch East-India company on the British subjects at Bengal; which, had they succeeded agreeably to the wishes and efforts of the authors, must have ended in nothing less than the total destruction of one of his Britannic Majesty's principal settlements in the East-Indies.

"THAT their High Mightinesses were doubtless astonished at this declaration; but would be much more so, on reading the piece annexed; as his Britannic Majesty was, who had given too many proofs of his constant friendship for their High Mightinesses, and deserved too well at their hands, to expect a procedure so injurious upon any occasion; much less at a time, when under the protection of an advantageous neutrality, the subjects of their High Mightinesses enjoyed all the benefits of an extensive commerce; even at a time when their High Mightinesses claimed exertions of the most rigorous justice at the hands of his Majesty in their favor.

* By Mr. Yorke, his Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary, on the 14th of August, 1760.

“ THAT their High Mightinesses would then judge what his Majesty's surprize must have been, when informed, that, without any previous complaint, without the least indication of a serious dispute subsisting between the two nations in the Indies, his subjects were attacked and threatened with the greatest calamities, had the fate of arms favored the aggressors. But the king was too great and too generous, to impute to their High Mightinesses the least knowledge of an act of violence, so contrary to good faith, and so much beneath the dignity of a sovereign power. His Majesty was therefore willing to flatter himself, that those acts of hostility proceeded not from any order issued from the directors of the Dutch East-India company; notwithstanding the most authentic proofs, that the armament, which attacked the English at Bengal, was equipped in Batavia.

“ THAT his Majesty scrupled not to lay the whole affair before their High Mightinesses, and to demand an ample satisfaction for such an outrage, by the exemplary punishment of the authors thereof: and that his Majesty expected the most peremptory and effectual orders should be issued, for preventing such excesses in future, and the faithful execution of the stipulations agreed on by the servants of the two companies in the Indies, as a reparation for so illegal and violent a proceeding.”

WHAT was the consequence? Their High Mightinesses took the hint in the memorial, and pleaded ignorance of the whole affair; which encouraged their East-India company to triumph in their artifices, and even so far as to request their High Mightinesses, “ to take their East-India company and their dependants into their particular protection; and procure proper satisfaction for the acts of violence and hostility committed on them; with
full

full reparation of the damages they had sustained *.”

To their defence, the Dutch company added their humble suit, “ for the particular protection of their High Mightinesses with the greater importunity and ardor; as on the redress of their grievances depended the fate of the settlements and commerce of the Dutch company at many places in India: for, if the English East-India company, supported by the king’s ships and troops, continued to have in their hands the power, which for some time past they had there: while this power in Bengal, and who could tell where else besides, was employed, in defiance, and in the avowed violation of the most solemn treaties and engagements, violently hindering the Dutch from protecting their settlements, and securing their commerce there: and, on the other hand, the servants of the said company, under favor of that superiority, were enabled, to the entire seclusion of the Dutch company, wholly to engross that and other capital branches of trade; and, with a view to farther branches of commerce, to traverse and obstruct the trade of the Dutch company, by every unwarrantable and oppressive means; then will, then must, to their bitter regret, the settlement of the Dutch company, and their commerce, very soon have a

* The Dutch company also desired of their High Mightinesses, that the English East-India company might be expressly charged, to observe punctually, as also to cause their servants and dependants in India to observe the treaties and alliances, subsisting between the two nations; and in consequence thereof, to abstain from all acts of violence and hostility against the settlements or servants of the Dutch company: not to injure them in the established privileges; not to cramp their commerce by any restraints, or other unreasonable means: but in all respects to keep up and preserve a sincere and friendly intercourse of neighbourhood, according to the tenor of treaties.

final period, not only in Bengal, but in other places besides."

IN short; their High Mightinesses were too much interested themselves in the concerns of their East-India company; so that what they promised, was never performed.

THE English at Bengal had the more reason to be jealous of the Dutch, as the Shaw Zadda, a son of the late Mogul, and undoubted heir of the Mogul empire, had set up pretensions to the Soubaship of Bengal, and invaded the provinces on the side of Patna, with a numerous army: but colonel Clive joined the Soubah, preserved Patna, and drove the prince beyond the river Kurrumnassa. The prince frequently wrote to the colonel, offering any terms for the company and himself; on condition the English would quit the Soubah, and join his arms: but the colonel gave the prince no encouragement.

IN the beginning of the year 1760, the Shaw Zadda invaded the provinces again, with a force more respectable than before, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Comgar Cawn, Gollam Shaw, Rheim Cawn, and others: while the Subah had made himself and family so universally hated, that most people in the province wished success to the prince.

COLONEL Clive resigned the government on the 8th of February 1760, and returned to England, where, on the 24th of December, at a general quarterly court of the directors and proprietors of the East India company, the thanks of the court were unanimously given to admiral Pocock, colonel Lawrence, and colonel Clive, for their great and glorious successes done the company in the East Indies.

MR. HOLWELL succeeded governor Clive by his rank to the government; and, at that time, the established committee entrusted with the conduct of
all

all political occurrences, with the country government, consisted of the president; Peter Amyatt, Esq; major Caillaud, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. M'Guire: the major and Mr. Amyatt absent; the one in the field; the other chief of Patna. Soon after which, Mr. Vanfittart succeeded to the government at Calcutta, and Mr. Holwell returned to England.

C c 3

BOOK

B O O K X.

Affairs in INDIA from 1760, until the GENERAL PEACE in EUROPE in 1763.

C H A P. I.

The siege and reduction of CARICAL, and other places by major MONSON; as also of PONDICHERRY, by colonel COOTE, with the assistance of the admirals CORNISH and STEVENS, in 1760, and 1761.

THE British parliament, on the 31st of March 1760, granted 20,000l. to the East India company * for carrying on the war in India, where I have already taken notice of the arrival of admiral Cornish, and summarily mentioned the blockade of Pondicherry; having reserved a more particular account of that important siege for this its proper place.

* The directors for 1760 were,

George Amyand,	}	Fred. Pigou,	}	Esqrs.
Henry-Crab Boulton,		John Raymond,		
John Boyd,	}	Giles Rooke,	}	Chairman.
John Browne,		Thomas Rouse, Dep.		
Chrif. Burrow,	}	Henry Savage,	}	Esqrs.
Charles Cutts,		Geo. Stevens,		
John Dorrien,	} Esqrs.	Richard Smith,	}	Chairman.
Geo. Dudley,		Lawrence Sullivan,		
Peter Godfrey,	}	Timothy Tullie,	}	Esqrs.
Charles Gough,		Richard Warner,		
Henry Hadley,	}	Thomas Waters,	}	
John Harrison,		Bouchier Walton,		

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL Cornish co-operated with colonel Coote, and the siege of Carical was the immediate object of their resolutions; for which purpose major Monson, the chief engineer, seven gunners and fifty pioneers, embarked on board the fleet; with the assistance of the marines, forty artillery, one hundred Europeans, and two thousand sepoy, which were ordered to join them from Trichinopoli. The fleet arrived before Carical on the 28th of March, and that evening major Monson landed with the pioneers and three hundred marines, about four miles northward of the town, of which he got possession with little loss, and the French garrison retired into the fort.

THIS fort was a small square, with ravelins before each curtain, a false-braye half round, a good ditch with some water, a covered way palisadoed, and a good glacis with bomb-proof places in the different works for five hundred men; and the garrison consisted of two hundred and six Europeans, with two hundred sepoy.

THE major being annoyed in his rear, by a redoubt called Fort Dauphin, he threw some shells into it on the 30th at night; on which the enemy abandoned it, whereby the besiegers had a communication opened with the country, which supplied them with provisions. The sailors were of great service in landing the stores, which they disembarked in the night close to the enemy without loss; and by the time a battery of four eighteen pounders was completed, the troops from Trichinopoli arrived in the camp; which enabled the besiegers to invest the place on all sides, on the third of April. On the fifth, some other batteries were erected, which breached one bastion, and dismounted several guns. At that time, major Monson received intelligence, that one hundred and fifty European horse, detached by general Lally, were arrived within twenty

miles of the place; and that four hundred European foot were advanced as far as Chillambrum, to the relief of the besieged. The major boldly summoned the governor, with a resolution to attack by storm, if he would not surrender: but after a little difficulty, the Frenchman gave up the place, and the garrison became prisoners of war.

THE major marched next to Chillambrum, where he made six officers, forty Europeans, and three hundred sepoy and topasses prisoners: after which, he took Verdachilum, where he made prisoners of twenty-five Europeans and two hundred sepoy.

MAJOR Monson, having thus deprived the French of many valuable possessions, rejoined colonel Coote in the beginning of May: the marines reembarked; and admiral Cornish was soon after joined by admiral Stevens, in the road of Fort St. David, with five ships from Bombay; and the arrival of the Norfolk and Panther, on the 14th of June, increased the squadron to thirteen sail.

THE attention of colonel Coote was fixed upon the reduction of Pondicherry, and all his operations were conducted towards that desirable event. Having subdued Waldour, and Vilenoor, he encamped in the front of the latter village, with his left on the descent of the Red-hill, about four miles from the town of Pondicherry, and not above a mile and half from Oullagary, near which the French were encamped. Both armies threw up redoubts in the several avenues, and the advanced parties were frequently within musket-shot of each other.

DURING this time, the French made three attempts upon Cuddalore: in the first they carried off seventy sick marines and sailors; but were repulsed with loss in the other two. General Lally also prevailed on Hydranaig, the Maissorean general, to send him supplies: but captain Smith was sent from Trichinopoli, with one thousand sepoy, to invade the

the king of Maiffore's country, and draw his troops from Pondicherry; which answered the end proposed: the Morattoes deprived Hydranaig of all authority, and the king of Maiffore entered into alliance with the English company.

WHEN the rainy season drew near, governor Pigot and colonel Coote solicited the admiral to land his marines, and assist in taking Ariancopang. They were landed agreeable to their request at Cuddalore, on the 29th of August; and the next day arrived at the camp. Colonel Coote immediately made a disposition to attack Ariancopang, by a detachment of eight hundred men, under major Monson: while the colonel marched with the main body against Oullagary. General Lally obtained intelligence of this design, and resolved to defeat it by an unexpected stroke. He accordingly attacked the four advanced redoubts of the besiegers, about four in the morning of the 3d of September: the French succeeded at one redoubt, which they set on fire, and made three gunners prisoners; but they were repulsed with loss at the other three.

AT this time, the company's ships arrived at Madras, with a battalion of Highlanders to augment the army, and a commission of colonel for major Monson, whereby he took rank of colonel Coote, who retired to Madras, with intent to proceed to Bengal.

ON the 9th of September at midnight, colonel Monson gave out orders for the whole army to attack the French posts of Oullagary church, and the redoubts in the bound-hedge. Major Smith marched with the company's troops directly to Oullagary, where the main body of the French were posted, whom he vigorously attacked before day-light, and drove from their ground; he took nine field-pieces, pursued them to a redoubt, where they made some
resistance,

resistance, but were forced from thence to take protection under the walls of the town.

COLONEL Monson had provided for intercepting them; his plan being to march himself with two regiments to attack the Waldour and Tamarind redoubts, and by forcing his way within the bound-hedge, to cut off the retreat of the main body of the French, which major Smith was to drive into his hands. This well-projected scheme was prevented by the darkness of the night, which occasioned one detachment to lose the way, and this incited the colonel to put himself at the head of the grenadiers, who took the redoubts, with fifteen pieces of cannon. The colonel had both bones of his leg broke by a shot in this attempt, which disabled him from proceeding: so that the most important advantage proposed by this success, was unfortunately lost; for the troops contented themselves with securing the advantage they had gained, and took post in the bound-hedge.

NEXT day, the whole army encamped at Oullagary; and the French abandoned Ariancopang, after blowing up one side of the fort, which the English soon repaired, and established a post there. As colonel Monson was unable to continue the command of the army, it was resumed by colonel Coote, who arrived at the camp on the twentieth of September. He soon after took another redoubt, and made it tenable against the enemy, who attacked it with three hundred Europeans, and seven hundred sepoy, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

THE rainy season and monsoons setting in, colonel Coote was obliged to provide against the natural accidents that happen in those regions from the inclemency of the weather, and removed his army to encamp on a hill about a mile and half to the left, where he continued until the season returned for action, and prosecuting the siege.

How-

HOWEVER, admiral Stevens continued cruising off Pondicherry, and sent in the boats of the fleet, under the command of captain Newson, and lieutenant Ourry, to cut out the *Balier* and *Hermione*, which were in the harbor. The boats carried them both away; after which the admiral sailed for Trincomaly; but left five ships of the line, under the command of captain Haldane, to block up the harbor of Pondicherry, as the town was then greatly distressed for want of provisions.

ON the 9th of November, colonel Coote ordered a ricochet battery for four pieces of cannon to be erected to the northward, at about fourteen hundred yards from the town; but more with a design to harass the besieged, than of doing any damage to the works at so great a distance: and, on the 10th, the besiegers began to land their stores, as also to prepare every thing for carrying on the siege with vigor.

THE rains being over by the 26th, colonel Coote imagined that the distresses of the French might be much augmented, and garrison-duty rendered very fatiguing, if some batteries were erected on different quarters of the town: he therefore gave directions to the engineers to pitch on proper places, at such distances, and in such situations, that the shot from them might enfilade the works of the garrison, and the besiegers not be exposed to any certain fire.

ACCORDINGLY, the following batteries were traced out; one for four guns, called the prince of Wales's, near the breach on the north side, to enfilade the great street, which ran north and south through the White Town: another, called the duke of Cumberland's, for four guns and two mortars, to the north-west quarter, at one thousand yards distance, to enfilade the north face of a large counter-guard, before the north-west bastion: a third,
called

called prince Edward's, for two guns, to the southward, at twelve hundred yards distance, to enfilade the streets from south to north, so as to cross the fire from the northern battery: and a fourth to the south-west, called prince William's, for two guns and one mortar, at one thousand yards distance, in order to destroy the guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the vessels and boats near it. On the 8th of December, at midnight, they were all opened together, and continued firing until day-light.

On the 9th, the besieged kept up a warm fire on the besiegers, without doing much damage to them; and little more was done until the 29th, when a battery, called the Hanover, was begun by the besiegers, for ten guns and three mortars, to the northward, at four hundred and fifty yards distance from the town, against the north-west counter-guard and curtain.

THESE approaches contributed so greatly to increase the miseries of the besieged, that the number of deserters daily increased: however, general Lally was still desirous of defending the place, in hopes of succors. He drove fourteen hundred poor helpless inhabitants out of the town, and had even the inhumanity to fire upon them; but colonel Coote generously permitted them to pass his guard, and seek for subsistence about the country.

ADMIRAL Stevens arrived off Pondicherry, on the 25th, with four ships of the line; having parted company with admiral Cornish and his division, on the 16th, in blowing weather. But, on the first of January 1761, a violent storm of wind and rain coming on, admiral Stevens found it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his majesty's ships, to cut their cables and put to sea, where he parted company with the other ships of his squadron. This storm began at eight in the evening, and lasted until almost four the next morning, whereby great damage

mage was done to the besiegers by land and sea. On the 4th, the admiral returned into Pondicherry road, and had the misfortune to find, that his majesty's ship, duke of Aquitain, had foundered about two leagues to the southward, and the Sunderland two leagues to the northward of that place, and that most of the crews perished. The ships Newcastle and Queenborough, with the Protector fireship, were drove ashore, and lost a little to the southward of Ariancopang; but the people were saved, as also the ordnance and most of the stores and provisions*. Several of the other ships suffered in the storm; but with the help of the masts, yards, and stores saved from the wrecked ships, and the assistance of the squadron, they were soon completely refitted, and put in a proper state of service; while admiral Cornish arrived, and colonel Coote repaired his batteries, which the storm had almost ruined; so that the blockade of Pondicherry was as complete as ever.

GENERAL Lally endeavored to make the most of this disaster; and when he saw the port open, he immediately dispatched advice of his supposed deliverance to M. Raymond, the French resident at Pullicat. This letter was dated the 2d of January, whereby he informed M. Raymond as follows:

“ THE English squadron is no more: out of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crews and all; the four others dismasted; and it appears, there is no more than one frigate that hath escaped: therefore do not lose an instant to send us Chelingsoes upon Chelingsoes loaded with rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now; besides, according to the rights of nations, they are only to send us no provisions themselves, and we are no

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xxx. and p. xlvi.
more

more blocked up by sea. The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already: if you miss the present opportunity, it will be entirely your fault. Do not forget also some small Chelingsoes: offer great rewards: I expect seventeen thousand Morattoes within these four days. In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time."

THIS letter was intercepted by the vigilance of admiral Stevens, who immediately dispatched circular letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements, to acquaint them, "That notwithstanding the representations of general Lally, he had eleven sail of his Britannic majesty's ships of the line, and two frigates, under his command, in condition for service, holding the blockade of Pondicherry: and as that place was closely invested and blockaded by land and sea; and as, in that case, it was contrary to the law of nations, for any neutral power to give them any succor or relief, he had determined to seize any vessel or boat that should attempt to throw any provisions into that place."

COLONEL Coote repaired his batteries, while the ships returned to their stations in the road, and the army continued their approaches without interruption. On the 5th, the colonel attacked a post of very great consequence to the besiegers, called St. Thomas's redoubt, in which were four twenty-eight pounders, and carried it without any loss. But at day-light, on the 6th, three hundred French grenadiers retook it; which was principally owing to the negligence of the sepoy.

THE Hanover battery was repaired on the 12th, and kept up a brisk fire, which greatly damaged the counter-guard and bastion, and made a breach in the curtain.

COLONEL Coote, on the 13th in the evening, ordered a working-party of seven hundred Europeans, and

and four hundred Lascars, with the pioneers company, under the command of a major, to the northward, where the engineers had traced out a battery for eleven guns and three mortars. At eight o'clock, they began a trench for introducing gabions of four feet high, which were to form the interior facing of the battery. At the same time, a parallel was begun, ninety yards in the rear, of two hundred and fifty yards long, and an approach of four hundred yards in length. Notwithstanding the moon shone very bright, and the battery within five hundred yards of the walls, every thing went on without the least disturbance from the besieged: and, by morning, six embrasures were in a condition to receive guns, and the rest far advanced: this was called the Royal battery.

ON the 14th, the Hanover battery maintained a constant fire the whole day, which entirely ruined the west face and flank of the north-west bastion.

ON the 15th, the Royal battery was opened, which, by eight in the morning, silenced the fire from the town, and gave the besiegers an opportunity of beginning a trench, to contain their royal mortars, and three guns, for the more speedy demolition of the demi-bastion and ravelin of Madras-gate.

GENERAL Lally then began to despair: he had boasted to destroy all the English settlements in India; but now he found it impossible to protect Pondicherry: therefore he became a supplicant, and that evening sent out colonel Durre, of the royal artillery, with the chief of the Jesuits, and two Civilians, with the following proposals to colonel Coote for delivering up the garrison.

“THE taking of Chandernagore, contrary to the faith of treaties, and of that neutrality which has always subsisted between all European nations, and namely between the two nations in this part of India,

dia; and that immediately after a signal service which the French nation had rendered the English, not only in taking no part against them with the Nabob of Bengal, but in receiving them in their settlements, to give them time to recover from their first losses (as appears by the letters of thanks from Mr. Pigot himself, and from the council of Madras to that of Pondicherry) added to the formal refusal of fulfilling the conditions of a cartel, agreed upon between our respective masters, though it was at first accepted by Mr. Pigot, and the commissaries were named on both sides to go to Sadras to settle amicably the difficulties which might occur in its execution, put it out of my power, with respect to my court, to make or propose to Mr. Coote any capitulation for the town of Pondicherry.

THE king's troops, and those of the company, surrender themselves, for want of provisions, prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty, upon the terms of the cartel, which I reclaim equally for all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, as well as for the exercise of the Roman religion, the religious houses, hospitals, chaplains, surgeons, servants, &c. referring myself to the decision of our two courts for reparation proportioned to the violation of so solemn a treaty.

ACCORDINGLY, Mr. Coote may take possession to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, of the gate of Villenour; and after to-morrow at the same hour of that of fort St Louis: and as he has the power in his own hands, he will dictate such ulterior dispositions to be made, as he shall judge proper.

I DEMAND, merely from a principle of justice and humanity, that the mother and sisters of Kaza * Saib

* Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib. See this volume, p. 50. 61. 63. 65. 76. 80. and p. 85. 89. 94. 111. 117. 132. 135.

be permitted to seek * Ally Cawn's hands, which are still red with the blood of the husband and father, that he has spilt, to the shame indeed of those who gave them up to him; but not less to the shame of the commander of the English army, who should not have allowed such a piece of barbarity to be committed in his camp.

As I am tied up by the cartel in the declaration which I make to Mr. Coote, I consent, that the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry may make their own representations to him, with regard to what may more immediately concern their own private interests, as well as the interest of the inhabitants of the colony.

Done at Fort Louis, off Pondicherry, the 15th of January 1761.

Signed LALLY.

To colonel Coote, commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces before Pondicherry,
A true copy. FRANCIS ROWLAND, sec."

Colonel Coote's answer to M. Lally's proposals.

"THE particulars of the capture of Chandernagore having been long since transmitted to his Britannic Majesty, by the officer to whom that place surrendered, Colonel Coote cannot take cognizance of what passed on that occasion; nor can he admit the same as any way relative to the surrender of Pondicherry.

THE disputes which have arisen concerning the cartel concluded between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, being as yet undecided, colonel Coote has it not in his power to admit, that the troops of his most Christian Majesty, and those of

* Seek an asylum where they please, or that they remain prisoners among the English, and be not delivered up into Mahomet Ally Cawn's hands.

the French East India company, shall be deemed prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, upon the terms of that cartel: but requires that they surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be used as he shall think consistent with the interests of his Britannic majesty: and colonel Coote will shew all such indulgences as are agreeable to humanity. Colonel Coote will send the grenadiers of his regiment, between the hours of eight and nine tomorrow morning, to take possession of the Villenour gate; and the next morning, between the same hours, he will also take possession of the gate of Fort St. Louis. The mother and sisters of Raza Saib shall be escorted to Madras, where proper care shall be taken for their safety; and they shall not, on any account, be delivered into the hands of Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn*."

THE articles proposed to colonel Coote by the chief of the jesuits were as follow: "The superior council of Pondicherry, authorized by the count de Lally, lieutenant-general of the armies of his most Christian majesty, and his commissary in India, to treat for the said town and its inhabitants, present the following articles to colonel Coote, commander of his Britannic majesty's troops on the coast of Coromandel.

ARTICLE I. Upon the reduction of the place, its inhabitants shall not in any wise be injured; their houses shall be preserved, and they shall retain all their effects and merchandize, with liberty of choice to convey them wherever they shall think proper, or to continue their dwelling in the said

* "Given at the head-quarters of the camp before Pondicherry, the fifteenth day of January 1761. Signed EYRE COOTE. To Arthur Lally, Esq; lieutenant-general and commander in chief of his most Christian majesty's forces in India, at Pondicherry."

town, as new subjects of his Britannic majesty; and they shall be treated as the old subjects have usually been treated; accordingly, those who have heretofore had possessions or advantages, shall not be deprived of them.

ART. II. They shall be maintained in the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, in the same manner as had been practised under the French government. The churches and houses of the ecclesiastics and religious persons shall be preserved, together with every thing thereunto belonging, whether they be situated without or within the town. The missionaries shall have the liberty of passing from place to place, and shall find, under the English flag, the same protection as under the French flag.

ART. III. Not only the buildings and houses belonging to private persons, whether laymen, ecclesiastics, or religious persons, shall be left in the condition they are; but also the buildings belonging to the company, as well as the fort, the warehouses, and walls of the town, with all the fortifications, until the fate of these last, that is to say, every thing of this kind belonging to the company, shall be decided by the two respective courts.

ART. IV. The papers of the Registry and Notary office, on which depend the fortunes of the inhabitants, shall be sent to France, without any obstacle, by such conveyances as they shall think fit, who are now charged with them, and in whose possession they shall, in the mean time, remain.

ART. V. The treatment, herein before stipulated by the first article, for the inhabitants of Pondicherry, shall be extended to all the members of the council, company's agents, officers settled in the said town, and all others, who have been, or now are, in the service of the company; and so in like manner to the merchants, whether Armenians, or of

any other nation, settled heretofore in Pondicherry for their trade.

ART. VI. The Creoles, or natives of Mauritius and of Bourbon, amounting in number to forty-one, including five officers, as well those who are in health, as those who have been wounded, or are invalids, having served as volunteers, and not being soldiers, should have their liberty of returning to their home, by the first good opportunity they may find.

ART. VII. Safe-guards shall be granted, to prevent disorder.

ART. VIII. All the foregoing articles shall be executed agreeable to good faith."

No answer was returned to these last articles by colonel Coote, who was fully sensible of the distresses of the besieged; and, as they had no more than provisions left for one day, he obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war. Accordingly, the place was delivered up to the English forces on the 16th of January, after a blockade and tedious siege of eight months.

THE English commissaries were immediately ordered to take an account of all the military stores found in the garrison, and returns to be given in of the number of officers, non-commissioned and private, of the different corps, at the time the place surrendered, as well of the number of inhabitants: all of which colonel Coote transmitted to the British ministry, from his head-quarters, at Oulgaret, on the 3d of February 1761; together with a plan of the garrison, and the works carried on against the place.

THE number of prisoners was great; and the place was a very important acquisition, as hereby evidently appears:

“ RETURN

“ RETURN of brass and iron ordnance, carriages, powder, shot, and small arms, found on the works of Pondicherry, town, citadel and artillery park.

BRASS ordnance 81 serviceable, 2 unserviceable; iron ordnance 436 serviceable, 48 unserviceable; brass howitzers 13 serviceable; iron howitzers 2 serviceable; brass mortars 82 serviceable; iron mortars 7 serviceable; carriages of different sorts 326 serviceable, 58 unserviceable; mortar beds 46 serviceable, wood; mortar beds 7 serviceable, iron; double-headed shot 182; lead shot of different nature 60264; shells and hand grenades 22599; grape shot 1095; 207 barrels of powder 200lb. each serviceable; 1488½ barrels of powder of 100lb. each serviceable; total of powder 230580lb; barrels of powder unserviceable 56; powder in cartridges of different nature 40330lb; exclusive of small arms ammunition; ammunition fixed for wall-pieces 2907, muskets 368640, carbines 98980, pistols 46830, gingalls 20700; muskets new with bayonets 1550; ditto new without bayonets 325; ditto with locks, mostly bad 2351; ditto unserviceable, between 7 and 8000; English wall-pieces, good 18; ditto bad 8; French wall-pieces, good 190; gingal pieces, old 73; carbines 35; fuzees long, new 120; ditto old 50; ditto short 30; pistols, new pairs 600; ditto old pairs 310; hangers, new 3200; sabres, new 1000; broad swords and sabres mixed 195; bayonets, new 3000; ditto, 500; pole axes 1200; cartouch boxes, new 3000; ditto old, 2000; flints, about 20 hogsheds; musket-balls, 6 barrels; ditto 80 kegs; iron ramrods about 12000; copper drums 15; wood ditto 17; espointons, old, 28; cartridge boxes of different sizes 20860; a small quantity of fixed ammunition; ladles of different sizes 265; sponges ditto, mostly old, 430; lead aprons of different sizes, 363; wad-hooks ditto 50; grates for heating

heating shot 2; with a large quantity of musket flings, buff belts, armourers, smiths, and carpenters tools, locks, and other lumber.

Pondicherry, January 27, 1761.

Signed Charles Milton, military commissary-general. E. Chandler, commissary of artillery."

"EXACT state of the troops of his most Christian majesty, under the command of lieutenant general Lally, in Pondicherry, which surrendered at discretion (to colonel Eyre Coote, commanding in chief his Britannic majesty's land forces, laying siege to that place) the 15th day of January 1761, prisoners of war.

KING'S troops. Artillery. Commissioned-officers. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 1 first lieutenant. Staff-officers. 1 surgeon-major, 2 secretaries, 3 artificers, 6 miners, 1 volunteer. Non-commissioned officers, 1 serjeant-major, 11 serjeants. Rank and file. 8 corporals, 4 lance-corporals, 42 gunners.—Lorrain regiment. Commissioned-officers. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 16 captains, 13 first lieutenants, 3 second lieutenants. Staff-officers. 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon-major, 2 secretaries. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 28 serjeants, 1 drum-major, 7 drummers. Rank and file. 43 corporals, 31 lance-corporals, 178 private.—Lally's regiment. Commissioned officers, 1 lieutenant-general, 13 captains, 14 first lieutenants. Staff-officers. 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon-major. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 20 serjeants, 1 drum-major, 10 drummers. Rank and file. 139 private, 29 invalids.—Marines. Commissioned officers. 7 captains, 6 first lieutenants, 2 second lieutenants. Staff-officers. 1 adjutant, 1 secretary. Non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, 278.—Company's troops. Artillery. Commissioned officers. 2 captains, 5 first lieutenants, 2 second lieutenants,

4 ensigns. Staff-officers. 1 adjutant, 1 commissary, 2 assistants, 9 volunteers. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 10 serjeants, 1 drum-major, 5 drummers. Rank and file. 6 corporals, 45 gunners.—Cavalry. Commissioned officers. 1 captain, 2 first lieutenants. Rank and file. 12 private.—Volunteers of Bourbon. Commissioned officers. 1 captain, 1 second lieutenant, 3 ensigns. Staff-officers. 1 adjutant. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer. Rank and file. 4 corporals, 2 lance corporals, 24 private.—Battalion of India. Commissioned officers. 1 major, 12 captains, 11 first lieutenants, 1 second lieutenant, 10 ensigns. Staff-officers. 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon-major, 2 secretaries. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 17 serjeants, 1 drum-major, 10 drummers. Rank and file. 15 corporals, 99 private.—Invalids. Commissioned officers. 1 major. Staff-officers. 1 adjutant, 1 captain of the ports, 3 secretaries. Non-commissioned officers. 1 serjeant-major, 22 serjeants, 1 drummer. Rank and file. 15 corporals, 79 private.

TOTAL of commissioned Officers, Staff-officers, Non-commissioned officers, rank and file.

KING's troops. Artillery 83, Lorrain regiment 327, Lally's regiment 230, marines 295.—Company's troops. Artillery 94, cavalry 15, volunteers of Bourbon 40, battalion of India 192, invalids 124. Total 1420.—Supernumerary commissioned and extraordinary staff 37. Total of the troops 1437.—Civil list, including governor, council, and inhabitants 381.—Grand total of those returns 1818.

Thus the French were deprived of their boasted * power in India, and little remained to expel them

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xl. xlv.

entirely out of the country. The English left Pondicherry in the same ruined state as the French formerly left Madras *, and Fort St. David † ; and colonel Coote remained an absolute conqueror on the coast of Coromandel.

C H A P. II.

The reduction of MIHIE, a FRENCH settlement, with its dependencies, on the coast of MALABAR, by major HECTOR MONRO, in 1761.—The conquest of MANILLA, from the SPANIARDS, by general DRAPER and admiral CORNISH, in 1762.

PONDICHERRY was the last place which the French possessed on the coast of Coromandel: but they still enjoyed one settlement on the coast of Malabar, which it was necessary for the English to reduce. This was the settlement of Mihie †, on the coast of Malabar, about fifty miles north from Calicut, thirty miles north from Tillicherry, and about four hundred south-west from Pondicherry: therefore, the reduction of this place was left to the care of the government of Bombay, as it was not doubted, but they would succeed more easily here than at Geriah §, or Surat ||.

SOME troops were accordingly sent from Bombay, under the command of major Hector Monro **, who was assisted by the English chief at Tillicherry; and, on the 10th of February 1761, the French governor surrendered the place on the following

* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xlvi. † Ibid. p. 291. ‡ Or Mahe; which was a small settlement; but remarkable for its trade in pepper. § See this volume, p. 211. || Ibid. 320. ** This gentleman was promoted to a majority on the 14th of October 1759.

conditions,

conditions, which sufficiently shews the lenity of the conquerors :

“ PROPOSALS of capitulation made by M. Louet, commander in chief of the French garrison at Mihie, for the surrender of that place and its dependencies, to Thomas Hodges, Esq; commander in chief of Tillicherry and its dependencies ; and Hector Monro, Esq; major and commander of the king's and company's troops encamped for the expedition against Mihie ; with the conditions on which they are accepted on the part of his Britannic majesty :

“ THE following are conditions which we consent to, in the name of his most Christian majesty, to surrender the fort of Mihie, and its dependencies, on the coast of Malabar.

I. “ THE exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall not be disturbed in any shape. All the churches and chapels, with their ornaments, are to be preserved from all insults ; and that the Padres shall have leave to exercise their function unmolested.

GRANTED.”

II. “ THE garrison to march out with the honors of war, drums beating, colors flying ; each man with a ball in his mouth ; four field pieces, with one mortar, and twelve rounds ; to march to Tillicherry, accompanied by a detachment of English, and there to be embarked on board of a ship for the island of Bourbon, at the expence of the English : but in case the dominion of that island should be changed *, the ship, after taking in water and refreshments, is to proceed with them to the

* It will appear that it was attempted.

Cape of Good Hope, where they are to be landed with their arms, cannon, mortar and appurtenances, and then to go where they please. But, if the English do not chuse to comply with that, they are to land us in France with our arms and baggage.

GRANTED; except that the colors, arms, cannon, mortar and ammunition, shall be delivered up in Tillicherry; also, in case it should be more convenient to transport them for Europe from Tillicherry, than from Bombay, or the Coromandel coast; provided, nevertheless, that should any European officer or soldier chuse to enter into the English service, they are to be at full liberty, that is, if the entertaining of such person be agreeable to the English."

III. "ALL deserters whatsoever shall have a general pardon, and not be molested in any shape.

GRANTED; except Thomas Palmer, of colonel Parflow's regiment, if he should be found in garrison."

IV. "ALL persons, civil and military, as well white as black, shall have their moveable effects and domestics preserved without molestation; and the English are to put safe-guards, for the security thereof, as they may desire.

GRANTED; understanding it to mean wearing apparel, and household furniture."

V. "ALL the inhabitants, of what nation or religion soever, shall remain in their possessions, rights and privileges, unmolested in any shape.

VI. ALL the private inhabitants, both whites and blacks, that shall be found to have possessions of lands and tenements, are to be suffered to enjoy them quietly, with liberty to each of them to remain or remove, as they think proper.

ARTICLES V. and VI. granted; subject at all times to such annual rents or taxes, as the English company may think proper to levy on them."

VII. "That

VII. "That proper commissaries shall be named to receive the effects, books, papers and accounts belonging to the French company.

GRANTED; understanding the word effects to include provisions and warlike stores of all kinds."

VIII. "We consent to surrender to the English, all our forts belonging to the French company to the northward, on the above conditions, should they be in our possession at this time.

GRANTED; provided it be clearly proved, that the French have neither any direct or indirect property in such of them as are at this precise time in their possession; otherwise they are to cause them to be delivered up in the same manner as those adjacent to Mihie."

IX. "THE French factory at Callicut, shall be suffered quietly to enjoy the privileges of neutrality observed there.

GRANTED."

X. "THAT coolies and boats shall be allowed them to transport the effects belonging to the gentlemen of the garrison, as well civil as military.

GRANTED."

XI. "ALL the sick and infirm shall be commodiously transported, with a surgeon, medicines, and servants belonging to the hospital, at the charge of the English.

GRANTED."

XII. "ON the foregoing conditions we agree to deliver up all the fortifications of Mihie, and its districts, on any day to be appointed."

THIS treaty, so made and settled, was signed*,

* By the following gentlemen;

" Thomas Hodges,	Picat de la Motte,
Hector Monro.	De Laulanhoiry,
	Houffe,
Lowet,	Macin,
Plowquelly,	Trorel,
De Palmas,	Fyitty."
Drowet,	

on the 10th of February 1761, in Tillichery and Mihie respectively.

THE number of guns at Mihie were, at Fort St. George, 52; at Mihie, 58; at Candi, 27; at Dauphin, 32; and 150 at five adjacent forts to the northward: in all 319.

THE president and council of Bombay expressed dispatches with this intelligence to the directors of the East-India company, who received them on the 3d of August 1761, at a time when they were very desirous of such intelligence, as well on account of what was transacting in Europe, as in Bengal.

ON the 25th of February 1761, the English East-India company * declared their bonds should bear five per cent. interest, to commence on the 31st of March. The British parliament had granted the company twenty thousand pounds for the service of this year: and they also passed "an act for extending the East-India mutiny act † of the 27th of king George II. to the company's settlement at Fort Marlborough, in the island of Sumatra, and to such other principal settlements wherein the East India company might be empowered to hold courts of judicature.

* The directors for this year were as following :

William Barwell, *	} Esqrs;	Giles Rooke,	} Esqrs;
Fitz Will. Barrington, *		Thomas Rouse,	
Christ. Baron, *		Henry Savage,	
H. Crabb Boulton,		Richard Steward, *	
John Boyd,		Richard Smith,	
Charles Butts,		Lawrence Sullivan,	
Sir James Creed, Knt.	} Esqrs;	William Thornton,	} Esqrs;
John Dorrien,		Timothy Tullie,	
Charles Gough,		Richard Warner,	
John Harrison,		Thomas Waters,	
Samson Harrison, *		Bourchier Walton,	
Frederic Pigou,			

Those mark'd thus * were new ones.

† See this volume, p. 186.

THIS year, the English presidency at Calcutta dethroned the Nabob of Bengal, and placed his son-in-law on the throne; of which I shall give an authentic account, after what relates to the other parts of India.

IN 1762, the British parliament not only granted the English East-India company twenty thousand pounds for that year; but also a farther sum out of another grant*.

ADMIRAL Stevens died at Bombay, and was succeeded in the command by admiral Cornish, who, according to his instructions, proceeded with his fleet to reduce the island of Bourbon, which was the last possession the French had left them in that part of the world. His orders were, to rendezvous at the island of Diego Rays, north-east of Mauritius, where he was to meet, or wait for, a squadron from England, under the command of commodore Keppel, with a proper land force on board. Admiral Cornish arrived upon his station at the appointed time, and continued there as long as the weather would permit, when he returned to Madras, without hearing any thing of commodore Keppel's squadron, or having received any countermand of his orders. However, as war was declared in England against Spain, in 1762, admiral Cornish prepared to attack the Spaniards at their principal settlement in the Philippine † islands.

THE

* This was 873,780 l. for his majesty's forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the East Indies.

† The Philippine or Manilla islands, called also the Luconia islands, are situated in the Chinesian sea, part of the Pacific ocean, between 114 and 131 degrees of east longitude, and between 5 and 19 degrees of north latitude; three hundred miles south-east of China, and twelve hundred west of the Ladrones or Marian islands. The Philippines are the most eastern part of Asia, and comprehend a great number of islands, the principal

THE troops allotted for the enterprize * against Manilla, were the 79th regiment †, and a company of the royal artillery; to which, the government of Madrafs added thirty of their artillery, six hundred sepoy, a company of caffres, another of topaffes, and one of pioneers; they also added, the precarious assistance of two companies of Frenchmen, enlisted in their service, and six hundred Lascars, for the use of the engineers and park of artillery, under the command of general Draper ‡: but, as a compensation for that feeble supply, they favored the general with some very good officers in every branch of the service.

REAR-admiral Cornish reinforced this little army with a fine battalion of five hundred and fifty seamen, and two hundred and seventy good marines, so that the whole force for the land operations amounted to two thousand three hundred men, who, with the necessary stores, were embarked on board of his majesty's Squadron, and two India ships employed as transports, with an activity and dispatch, that did great honor to all concerned, in those arrangements. The preparations were began, completed, and shipped in three weeks, through a raging and perpetual furr, in which some lives were lost.

cipal of which is Luconia or Manilla. These islands were first discovered by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521; but they were not possessed by the Europeans until 1564, when Don Lewis de Velasco, viceroy of Mexico, sent Michael Lopez Delagaspes there, with a fleet from Mexico, and a sufficient force to make a conquest of these islands, which he named the Philippines, in honor of Philip II. son of Charles V. who was then king of Spain; and they were ever since subject to that crown, except the large island of Mindanao.

* This expedition was originally planned by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who has related to me more particulars of it, than I can properly undertake to mention in this place.

† See this volume, p. 315. ‡ Ibid. p. 294. 298. 315. 316.

As major-general Lawrence was of opinion, that the settlements would be in danger, if more forces were drawn from the coast, the two battalions of the company's troops, all the cavalry, six thousand sepoy, with the part of colonel Monson's and the Highlanders, then at Madras, were left for their security.

THE Medway, York, and Chatham, that were hourly expected, had orders left for them to remain, for the protection of the trade; and the troops sailed from Madras, on the first of August, with the admiral's division*. They anchored in Manilla-bay on the 23d of September; when they soon found that their visit was unexpected, and the Spaniards unprepared.

THE island of Manilla, or Luconia, is the chief of the Philippine islands, situated between 117 and 123 degrees of east longitude, and between 12 and 19 degrees of north latitude. It is upwards of four hundred miles long, but of an unequal breadth, in some places two hundred miles, and in others not one hundred broad. The principal town is also called Manilla, which lies on a point of land made by a river issuing from the lake of Bahia, and falling into the sea a little lower at the town of Cavite,

* The sea-horse, captain Grant, was previously dispatched, through the freights of Malacca, to the entrance of the China-sea, to stop all vessels, that might be bound to Manilla, or sent from any of the neighboring settlements to give the Spaniards notice of the design.—Commodore Tiddeman, with the first division of the fleet and troops under colonel Monson, sailed two days before the admiral and general, that their watering might be more speedily completed at Malacca, where the admiral arrived on the 19th of August. There they bought up a large quantity of rattans to make gabions, many of which were finished on board the different ships.—On the 27th, they sailed for their second rendezvous, off the island of Timor. The necessary instructions and signals were then given for landing on the coast of Luconia.

where

where is a spacious harbor, but of difficult entrance, because of rocks and shoals at the mouth of the bay. The Spanish viceroy resides in the town of Manilla, and his government is one of the most profitable posts belonging to the Spanish monarchy.

MANILLA lying between the eastern and western continents, was once esteemed the best situation in the world for trade; where silver was brought from Mexico and Peru, as well as the produce of Europe: diamonds and precious stones from Golconda: cinnamon from Ceylon; pepper from Sumatra and Java; cloves and nutmegs from the Moluccas; camphire from Borneo; benjamin and ivory from Cambaia; silks, tea, and china-ware, from China; and formerly there came every year from Japan two or three ships freight with amber, silks, cabinets, and other varnished ware in exchange for the produce of the Philippines. Besides, two vessels sailed every year to Acapulco, in Mexico, loaded with the riches of the east; and returned, as they do now, freighted with silver, making four hundred per cent. profit.

A GREAT number of Junks, and other Chinese and Japanese ships, arrive continually at Manilla, laden with all the treasures of their empires; to exchange them for those of America, for which this town is the staple. These nations trade there usually from December to April, when thirty or forty of their largest shipping are seen in the road; and during the rest of the year, there are scarce less of all burdens than four or five hundred, belonging to the Spanish and Chinese inhabitants of the islands, with which they trade in all parts of the Archipelago. The Chinese are those who trade most to the Philippines, and about twenty thousand of them dwell in these islands, who are chiefly tradesmen; the Spaniards, through their natural pride, disdain such occupations. The Portuguese have also a pretty
good

good trade there. But of all nations, whether European or Indian, none are excluded the Philippines except the English and Dutch; though the former send some ships from Madras to the Manillas manned with Portuguese mariners.

No soil in the world produces greater plenty of all things necessary for life than the island of Manilla; nor can any country appear more beautiful, there being a perpetual verdure; for buds, blossoms, and fruits are found upon the trees all the year round, as well on the mountains as in cultivated places*.

To increase as much as possible the visible confusion and consternation of the Spaniards, the English officers determined to lose no time in the attack of the port of Cavite, that was at first intended, but proceed directly to the grand object; judging that their conquest there would of course occasion and draw after it the fall of Cavite.

ON the morning of the 24th, the English commanders sent an ineffectual summons to the town, and examined the coast, to fix upon a proper spot for landing the troops, artillery, and stores. They found a most convenient place about two miles to the south of Manilla: and, accordingly, all the boats were immediately prepared by the proper signals; when three frigates † were sent in very near the shore to cover the descent.

THE 79th regiment, the marines, a detachment of artillery, with three field-pieces, and one howitzer, fixed in the long boats, assembled in three divisions

* For a more particular account of the Philippines, see "A voyage round the world by lord Anson." p. 320—340. Also "The theory and practice of commerce and maritime affairs," by Don Geronymo de Uztariz, vol. 1. p. 191. 207. vol. 2. p. 106.

† The Argo, captain king: the Seahorse, captain Grant: and Seaford, captain Peighin.

under their sterns ; the left commanded by colonel Monson, quarter-master general ; the center by general Draper, with lieutenant colonel Scott, the adjutant-general ; the right by major Moore, the eldest field officer. As they had determined to land near a church and village called Malata, that was opposite their left, the other two divisions, which had been separated only to amuse and distract the attention of the enemy, were ordered to join that as soon as possible. About six in the evening, they pushed with an even front for the shore, under the prudent and skilful management of the captains, Parker, of the Grafton, Kempenfeldt, the admiral's captain, and Brereton of the Falmouth ; who had the direction of the boats. The frigates kept up a brisk fire to the right and left of them, to protect their flanks, and disperse the enemy, who were beginning to assemble in great numbers, both horse and foot, to oppose their descent. This cannonade had the desired effect. The Spaniards retired, and left the English a clear coast ; but a violent surf arose, many boats were dashed to pieces, their arms and ammunition much damaged ; providentially no lives were lost. They formed upon the beach, marched and took possession of the Malata, fixed their outposts, and passed the whole night under arms. The Spaniards were employed in burning part of their suburbs.

On the 25th, the English seized a fort which the Spaniards had abandoned, named the Polverista, that proved a most excellent place of arms for covering the landing of stores, and securing a communication with the squadron. Colonel Monson, who was detached with 200 men to view the roads and approaches to Manilla, occupied the Hermita church, large and commodious, about 900 yards from the city. The English general made the priest's house the head quarters ; sent orders to major Moore to march up with the 79th regiment to secure and
main-

maintain this post, which was of the utmost consequence, both from its strength, and the great cover it afforded from the rains that had deluged the country, and had made it impossible to encamp; for they too soon found, that the monsoon had broke upon them. The surf continued dangerous; the rains increased; the landing artillery and stores became very hazardous; the remaining troops were put on shore with much peril, and some loss; lieutenant Hardwick was drowned: but the courage and activity of the seamen surmounted all obstacles; they got on shore part of the sepoy's, some provisions, and such stores as were first wanted, and by signals demanded from the squadron; the officers of which were indefatigable in giving all possible assistance; and captain Jocelyn, who was entrusted with the care of the disembarkation, did every thing that could be wished or expected from a diligent good officer. The army left the marines at their first post, the Malata, to be near the Polverista, preserve their communication, and guard their stores and park of artillery. The men, from the good conduct and example of their officers, behaved very well, and were of very great use upon all occasions. As the rains had forced the English troops to seek the protection of the houses that were under the fire of the bastions; the Spaniards cannonaded their quarters, which were much nearer the walls than the usual rules of war prescribe. They attempted likewise to burn more of their suburbs, but were prevented by the great activity and good conduct of captain Fletcher, major of brigade; and captains Stevenson and Cotsfold, the engineers; who, having advanced under cover of the houses to St. Jago's church near the sea, and within 320 yards of the town, reported its importance so sensibly, that general Draper posted a body of men there, notwithstanding its contiguity to the bastions. The enemy

soon fired upon the besiegers; but not with perseverance or effect enough to dislodge them.

ON the 26th, the admiral sent on shore the battalion of seamen, under the command of the captains Collins of the Weymouth, Pitchford of the America, and George Ourry from the Panther. They were cantoned between the 79th regiment and the marines. The rest of the company's troops of all sorts were likewise landed, and put under cover. The Spaniards advanced out of the garrison, under the command of the chevalier Fayett, with 400 men, and two field pieces; and from a church, about 200 yards to the right of that the English had taken possession of, near the sea, begun a cannonade upon the right flank of their post. Some sepoy's under ensign Carty, who behaved very well, were first sent to skirmish with them, supported by three picquets of the 79th regiment, and 100 seamen, all under the command of colonel Monson, who soon drove the enemy back into the town. In their precipitate flight, one of the field pieces was left upon the glacis.

THE superior skill and bravery of the English were so evident from this affair, that it occasioned a second summons to the governor, but to no purpose; the answer was much more spirited than their conduct had been. Colonel Monson had orders to keep possession of this second church, (if he found it tenable) for as the English had not men enough, or dry ground to make regular approaches, they were forced into these measures, rash as they seem, and contrary to all rules of military profession, by their critical situation. From the top of this post, which the English called No. 2, they had a perfect view of the enemy's works. The front they were obliged to attack, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew, with orillons and retired flanks; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch,
covered

covered way, and glacis. The bastions were in excellent order, lined with a great number of fine brass cannon; but their ravelin was not armed, the covered way out of repair, the glacis by much too low, and the ditch was not produced round the capital of the bastion of St. Diego, which determined general Draper to attack it, and make his dispositions accordingly. The negligence and omission of the enemy to post centries in the covered way, gave him an opportunity of founding the ditch; which perilous enterprize was effected by a small party of the 79th regiment under captain Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake it: the Spaniards fired from their bastion, and killed or wounded three of the besiegers: the depth of the water was only five feet, the breadth about thirty yards.

As the great extent of this populous city made it utterly impossible to invest it with this handful of men, two sides were constantly open to the Spaniards to introduce supplies of men, and provisions, and carry out their effects. They availed themselves of the English weakness. Their own garrison of 800 men of the royal regiment, under the command of the marquis of Villa Medina, brigadier general, was augmented by a body of 10,000 Indians from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and barbarous people; these disadvantages were not to be remedied, as the English could not take possession of Minondo, Tondo, and la Vera Cruz, the posts which commanded the river, and communication with the country. The inundations had secured their Parian suburb; but no difficulties could check the ardor of the English troops, who laboured incessantly in making fascines and gabions, and preparing every thing for the construction and opening of their batteries. One for small shells was completed this night, and played upon the bastion of St. Diego; its position

being behind the church, nearest the sea. The officers of the artillery and engineers exerted themselves in a manner, that nothing but their zeal for the public service could have inspired.

ON the 27th, the governor sent out a flag of truce to apologize for some barbarities committed by the savages, who had murdered some straggling seamen; and to request that a nephew of his taken in the bay, might be sent on shore. This gentleman had been dispatched from the Phillipina galleon, just arrived on the coast from Acapulco, with the first advices of the war. Hostilities ceased till eleven at night, when the English recommenced their fire from the mortars, increased them to four, and placed a six pounder on their left flank, as a further security for their post at St. Jago's church.

As the capture of the galleon, and her treasure might be well esteemed a national object, Mr. Cornish proposed sending the Panther and Argo from the Squadron to intercept her, which was consented to; and the officers of the navy very generously agreed to the army sharing any prizes that might be taken in this cruize, as they had before consented to their sharing with them in any booty that might be taken at land; and the distribution to be made according to the rules his majesty had fixed for the sea service. The admiral likewise sent on shore eight 24 pounders ship guns, and two 18 pounders for the battering train; as, to save time, the troops brought only the land carriages and platforms from Madras.

ON the 28th, the governor's nephew was landed. Lieutenant Fryar, who was secretary to general Draper, was ordered to conduct him into the town with a flag of truce. In the mean time a large party of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out to attack the second post, by which lieutenant Fryar was advancing to the Ravelin gate. The bar-

barbarians, without respecting his character, inhumanly murdered him, mangling his body in a manner too shocking to mention. In their fury, they mortally wounded the other gentleman who had endeavoured to save Mr. Fryar. The English party received their onset with much firmness and bravery, and repulsed them with some loss on their side. As it was evident that the Indians alone were guilty of this horrid piece of barbarity, the English soldiers shewed them no mercy.

ON the 29th, the admiral ordered the Elizabeth, commodore Tiddeman, and the Falmouth, captain Brereton, to place themselves as near the town as the depth of water would permit, and second the land operations, by enfilading the front they intended to attack; but the shallows kept them at too great a distance to answer the purpose effectually, though their shot struck much confusion and terror into the inhabitants. The besiegers continued their bombardment day and night.

ON the 30th, the engineers traced out admiral Cornish's battery, for eight 24 pounders, on the left of St. Jago's church; but the violence of the rains retarded their progress; and the absence of two ships, that had on board a considerable quantity of fascines, and many working and intrenching tools, put them to some inconveniences. The admiral's goodness supplied these defects: all the smiths and carpenters in the fleet were employed in making those instruments; and, by their industry and dispatch, the troops were enabled to proceed. The Elizabeth and Falmouth persevered in their cannonade upon the town, which was returned from the enemy's sea-line without any effect.

ON the 1st and 2d of October, the weather grew so very tempestuous, that the whole squadron was in danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off. The violence of the storm forced the South-

Sea Castle storeship (which was lately arrived) from her anchors, and drove her on shore: even in this situation the ship was of great use. Captain Sherwood, enfiladed the whole sea beach to the southward, and kept in awe a large body of Indians who menaced the *Polverista*, and the magazines at the Malata. Notwithstanding the deluge of rain which accompanied the wind, by the perseverance of the troops and seamen, the besiegers completed the battery for the 24 pounders, raised a mortar battery for the heavy shells of 10 and 13 inches, made a good parallel and communication from the church to the gun battery, and established a spacious place of arms on the left of it, near the sea. The roaring of the waves prevented the enemy from hearing the noise of the workmen in the night. They gave no interruption, but seemed to trust entirely to the elements. While the governor (the archbishop) gave out, that an angel from the Lord was gone forth to destroy them like the host of Sennacherib. On the afternoon of the 2d, the seamen, with wonderful activity, brought up and mounted all the guns in the battery which they masked.

On the 3d, the weather became moderate. At day-light the battery was opened against the left face of the bastion of St. Diego, towards the salient angle. One hundred seamen were appointed to assist the corps of artillery in this service. The English cannon, by the most excellent skill and management of major Barker, and the officers under him, were served with such justness, quickness, and dexterity, that the 12 pieces on that face of the bastion were silenced in a few hours, and the Spaniards drove from them.

At night, the besiegers began a battery for three guns, on the left of their place of arms, to silence those that were in *Barbette* upon the orillon of the bastion of St. Andrew, which annoyed the flank.

The

The English maintained a brisk fire of grape and musketry all the night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embrasures and remounting the cannon. The mortars (now augmented to seven) were kept constantly playing upon the gorge of the bastion, and the contiguous defences.

On the 4th, about three hours before day, 1000 of the Indians attacked the cantonment of the seamen. They were encouraged to this attempt by the incessant rains, in which they flattered themselves the English fire-arms would be useless. Their approach was favored by a great number of thick bushes that grew upon the side of a rivulet, which they passed in the night, and, by keeping close, eluded the vigilance of the patrols. Upon the alarm, colonel Monson and captain Fletcher, with the picquets, were dispatched to the assistance of the seamen, who very sensibly kept firm in their posts, and were contented to repulse them, till day-break, when a fresh picquet of the 79th regiment appearing upon the Indians right flank, they fled, were pursued and dispersed, with the loss of 300 men. Had their skill or weapons been equal to their strength and ferocity, it might have cost the English dear. Although armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of the English pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets. This attack cost the besiegers some few men; but they lost a most excellent sea officer, captain Porter, lieutenant of the Norfolk, sincerely and justly lamented by all.

THEY had scarce finished this affair, when another body of them, with part of the Spanish garrison, again attacked the church, forced the sepoy from their post in it, nearest the town, took possession of the top, from whence they killed and wounded several of the English people, who were
entirely

entirely exposed to all their weapons. Notwithstanding this disadvantageous situation, the European soldiers maintained their post behind the church with great firmness and patience, and at last dislodged the enemy with the assistance of some field pieces, and the good conduct of major Fell, field officer of the day, captain Fletcher, and other brave officers sent to their relief. The Spaniards left 70 dead behind them, in and about the church. On the side of the besiegers, captain Strahan, of the 79th regiment, a very good officer, was mortally wounded, and 40 private men wounded and killed. This was the enemy's last effort: all their Indians, except 1800, discouraged by their losses, returned home. The English working parties, and the fire of their batteries, which had been a little interrupted by these attacks, recommenced with greater spirit than ever. They also found the good effects of giving the enemy no time to repair their embrasures, or carriages, in the night. They opened only an inconsiderable fire from three or four embrasures in the curtain, too oblique to have much effect: before night those defences were ruined.

On the 5th, major Barker's fire was so violent, that the breach appeared practicable. The English cannon from the three gun battery silenced those of the enemy on the orillon of St. Andrew. The besiegers were in hopes that the Spaniards would be sensible of their danger, and think of giving up the town. But they were obstinate without bravery, or any generous resolution of defending the breach. In the evening, the design of storming the place was communicated to the principal officers of each department only, and the necessary preparations made.

On the 6th, at four o'clock in the morning, the besiegers filed off from their quarters, in small bodies, to give the less suspicion; and by degrees, assembled at St. Jago's church, observing the utmost silence,

silence, and concealing themselves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery. Major Barker kept up a brisk fire upon the works, and those places where the enemy might be lodged or intrenched. The English mortars were well applied for the same purpose. At day break the English officers discerned a large body of the Spaniards formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, which gave them reason to imagine the besieged had got some information of their design, and intended to annoy them with their musquetry and grape from the retired flank of that bastion, where they had still two cannon placed; but upon the explosion of some shells that fell among them, they went off.

THE besiegers immediately took advantage of this, and by the signal of a general discharge of their artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of a thick smoke that blew directly upon the town. Sixty volunteers of different corps under lieutenant Ruffel of the 79th, led the way, supported by the grenadiers of that regiment. The engineers, with the pioneers, and other workmen, to clear and enlarge the breach, and make lodgments, in case the enemy should have been too strongly intrenched in the gorge of the bastion, followed: colonel Monson and major Moore were at the head of two grand divisions of the 79th; the battalion of seamen advanced next, sustained by the other two divisions of the 79th: the company's troops closed the rear. They all mounted the breach with amazing spirit and rapidity. The few Spaniards upon the bastion dispersed so suddenly, that it was thought they depended upon their mines. Captain Stevenson had orders to make a strict search to discover them; but precautions were needless. The English met with little resistance, except at the Royal Gate, and from the galleries of the lofty
houses

houses which surround the grand square. In the guard-house over the Royal Gate, 100 of the Spaniards and Indians, who would not surrender, were put the sword. Three hundred more, according to the enemy's account, were drowned in attempting to escape over the river; which was very deep and rapid. The governor and principal officers retired to the citadel, and were glad to surrender as prisoners at discretion, as that place was in no good posture of defence. Captain Dupont of the 79th, with 100 men, took possession of it. The marquis of Villa Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war on their parole of honor; and to conciliate the affections of the natives, all the Indians were dismissed in safety. The joy of the English troops, upon this fortunate event, was greatly clouded by the loss of major Moore, who was transfixed with an arrow near the Royal Gate, and died immediately, universally lamented for his good qualities. Captain Sleigh of the grenadiers, and some other good officers were wounded. The English had about thirty private men killed or wounded.

In consequence of the terms dictated to the Spaniards, the port of Cavite and citadel, with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores, were surrendered to the English. Captain Champion with 100 marines, and as many sepoyes, embarked on board the Seahorse to take possession of it. The Spanish garrison of 300 men, on the approach of the English, mutinied against their officers, plundered some houses, and went off into the country with their arms.

As a small acknowledgment of the great services which the whole army had received from captain Kempenfeldt, the admiral's captain, general Draper begged he would act at Cavite with a commission as governor for his majesty, being well assured, that

no one could discharge that trust with more conduct and abilities.

Spanish officers of note, prisoners of war.

Don Felix de Eguilux, lieutenant general of artillery. The marquis of Villa Medina, brigadier general and colonel of the king's regiment. Don Miguel Valdes, lieutenant colonel and commandant of the second battalion of ditto. Don Joseph de Riart, lieutenant colonel and governor of the Cavite. Don Francisco Rodriguez, serjeant major of ditto. Don Manuel Fernandes Toribio, commandant and serjeant major of the citadel of St. Jago. Don Christoval Ros, serjeant major of Manilla. Don Thomas de Castro, chief engineer and colonel of the king's regiment. 14 captains, 13 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 2 adjutants, 1 physician, 1 surgeon, 11 serjeants, 261 rank and file. Of the marine, 4 captains, 2 ensigns. Of the artillery, 1 captain commandant, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 adjutant, 1 commissary. Of the irregular pampanges, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign. 2 adjutants of the Cavite. 2 adjutants of the citadel of St. Jago. 4 adjutants of the city of Manilla. 1 captain and engineer of ditto. Of the cadet company, 5. The governor general's life-guard, 8.

Officers killed.

Of the 79th regiment, major Moore, captain Strahan, lieutenant Fryar. Of the battalion of seamen, captain Porter, lieutenant of the Norfolk; Mr. White, surgeon's mate of ditto. Of the company's troops, lieutenant Hardwick drowned.

Officers wounded.

Of the 79th regiment, captain Sleigh of the grenadiers, lieutenant Hazlewood, lieutenant Garnons, ensign Hog. Of the battalion of seamen, Mr. Neal,

Neal, midshipman of the Lenox. Of the marines, lieutenant Spearing. Artillery, 1 private killed, 1 serjeant, 3 private, wounded. 79th regiment, 6 private killed, 45 ditto wounded. Seamen, 7 private killed, 1 serjeant, 18 private wounded. Marines, 5 private killed. Company's troops, 1 serjeant, 2 private drowned, 1 serjeant, 5 private wounded. Sepoys, 8 killed, 31 wounded. Total 1 serjeant, 29 private killed, 3 serjeants, 1 hundred and 2 private wounded. William Draper.

RETURN of brass and iron ordnance, powder, shot, shells, &c. found in the town and citadel of Manilla.

BRASS ordnance—312 serviceable, 8 unserviceable. Iron ordnance—108 serviceable, 15 unserviceable. Brass mortars, 6 inch, and beds—2. Iron howitzer—7. Carriages—66 serviceable, 85 unserviceable. Of the above, 4 brass guns and 7 swivels were spiked, and 8 wounded. Shot, of all sizes, from 28 pounders to four ounces—18,073. Grape ditto—2411. Double-headed—118. Link—88. Spiked—39. Lead one pound and a half—1000. Shells, from 13 inch to 7 inch—44. Hand-grenadoes—848. Gunpowder boxes, 38—computed to contain 2280lb. Cartridges filled with different sizes, 194—498lb. Ditto matt baggs, 141—computed to contain 6355lb. Musquets, repairable 270, unserviceable 257. Ditto barrels, 360. Spontoons, 4—halberts, 13—bayonets, very old, 200—Sponges with rammer-heads, of little use, about 203—bamboo cartridges, of different sizes, 240.

RETURN of brass and iron ordnance, &c. found at Cavite.

BRASS ordnance—137 serviceable, 1 unserviceable. Iron ditto—68 serviceable, 24 unserviceable. Iron howitzers

howitzers and carriages—11 serviceable. Carriages—96 serviceable, 41 unserviceable. Shot, of all sizes, from 54 pounders to 3 pounders—13,620. Double-headed ditto—411. Link ditto—387. Grape ditto—987. Shells, 13 and 8 inch—8. Powder boxes, 122—containing 7680lb. Cartridges, 1221—containing 7904lb. Musquets—480 serviceable, 12 unserviceable, Bayonets, 108—Cutlasses, 28.

William Draper,

Dawson Drake,

R. Barker, major of artillery,

G. Coleman, assistant commissary.

Manilla, Nov. 7, 1762*.

AN

* Admiralty Office, April 19.

Copy of a letter from vice admiral Cornish, to Mr. Cleveland, dated in the bay of Manilla, the 31st of October, 1762.

IT is with the greatest pleasure I have the honor to acquaint their lordships with the success of his majesty's arms in the reduction of the city of Manilla, which was taken by storm on the morning of the 6th instant. In my letters of the 23d and 31st of July, I acquainted their lordships with my proceedings to that time; after which I used every possible means at Madras for dispatch, the declines of the S. W. monsoon making it of the utmost importance. To promote this end, I completed the Elizabeth, Grafton, Lenox, Weymouth, and Argo, with such of the troops and military stores, as they were to take on board, and on the 29th sent them away under the command of commodore Tiddeman, to proceed to Malacca, with a view that they might complete their water there, by the time I should arrive with the remainder of the squadron.

Having accomplished the embarkation of every thing designed for the expedition, with a dispatch much beyond my expectation, as we had from the whole time of my being there a violent surf to contend with, I sailed the first of August with the ships undermentioned, viz. Norfolk, Panther, America, Seaford, South Sea Castle store-ship, admiral Stevens's store-ship, Osterly company's ship, leaving the Falmouth, at the request of the president and council, to convoy the Essex India ship, which was not ready to sail, having the treasure to take on board for the China cargoes, and to bring to Manilla such of the company's servants, as were to be put in possession of that government, if the expedition succeeded.

The

AN account of the number of seamen and marines landed from his majesty's squadron under the command of rear admiral Cornish; as also of the number killed and wounded during the attack of Manilla.

NORFOLK, rear admiral Cornish, captain Richard Kempfenfelt. 2 commissioned officers, 12 petty ditto,

The 19th, I arrived at Malacca, and was disappointed in not finding Mr. Tiddeman there, who did not join me till the 21st, having met with long calms: The difficulty of watering the squadron at this place, made it the 27th before I could leave the road.

On the 2d of September I arrived off Pulo Timcen, and was joined by captain Grant, in the Seahorse, whom I had detached upon my first arrival at Madras, to cruize between this island and the streights of Sincapore, to stop any vessels he might suspect going to Manilla.

On the 19th I made the coast of Luconia, but was drove off again by a strong N. E. wind, which separated some of the squadron. The 22d the gale broke up, and the wind shifted to the S. W. the 23d we recovered the land again: the next day entered the bay of Manilla, and in the close of the evening anchored off the fort of Cavite, with the whole squadron except the South Sea Castle and admiral Stevens, the Falmouth and Essex having joined me off the coast. In the night I sent the masters to sound about the fortifications of Cavite, and, by their report found, that it might be attacked by ships.

The 25th in the morning, the wind not being favorable to attack the Cavite, I took two of the frigates, and, with general Draper, and some other officers, reconnoitred the shore about Manilla, and observed some churches and other buildings to stand near the works on the south side of the town, particularly towards the S. W. bastion. We had some design of attacking Cavite first, to have had the conveniency of that port for the shipping; but considered that tho' the attack should be attended with all the success we could hope, yet it would cause a delay at least of two days, before we could land at Manilla, which time would afford opportunity to the enemy to demolish those buildings near their works, and to prepare many obstacles to our landing, and perhaps recover from that consternation our unexpected arrival had thrown them in; and farther, Manilla being the capital, if that fell, Cavite would in consequence.

From

ditto, 96 seamen, landed. 2 seamen killed. 1 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 9 non-commissioned ditto, 34 private, landed. 1 private killed.

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F f

ELIZABETH,

From those considerations, I joined in opinion with the general, to take advantage of circumstances, so favorable for a descent, and land troops with all dispatch, and endeavor to get possession of some posts near their works, which, if effected, would greatly facilitate the reduction of the city.

In consequence of these resolutions, I immediately made the signal on board the Seahorse for the Squadron to join me, and for the troops to prepare to land. About seven in the evening the 79th regiment with the marines in the boats, under the direction of the captains Parker, Kempenfeldt, and Brereton, pushed for the shore; and under the fire of the three frigates effected the landing at a church called the Morratta, about a mile and half from the walls. We had no opposition from the enemy, but some difficulty from the surf, which ran high and bilged all the long boats, but happily lost no men.

The next morning the general took an advanced post, about 200 yards from the glacis, and there under cover of a blind, intended his battery against the face of the south-west bastion. The number of troops being small, I landed a battalion of seamen consisting of about 700 men, under the command of the captains Collins, Pitchford, and George Ourry.

The 25th, I dispatched 2 armed boats after a galley coming up the bay to Manilla; they came up with her, resolutely boarded her, and took her, notwithstanding she kept up a smart fire with pateraroes and muskets; she mounted two carriage and 17 brass swivel guns, and had 80 men. By letters found in her, we discovered she was dispatched from the galleon St. Phillipina from Acapulco, and whom she had left the 10th of September at Cajayagan, between the Embocadero and Cape Spiritu Santa. Upon this discovery, I came to a resolution to send the Panther and Argo in quest of her; but it was the 4th of October before the weather permitted their sailing.

The 28th of September the general acquainted me that he was beginning to work on the battery, and that if some ships could get near enough to throw shot on the works of the town opposed to it, it might take off some of the enemy's fire and attention, and thereby facilitate its construction. In consequence of this, I ordered commodore Tiddeman, with the Elizabeth and Falmouth, towards the town, as near as the depth of water would permit, and to place the ships in such a position,

ELIZABETH, commodore Tiddeman. Captain Isaac Ourry. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 76 seamen, landed. 1 seaman killed. 5 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 3 non-commissioned ditto, 21 private, landed.

GRAFTON,

tion, as would best answer the purpose intended; which was accordingly done the next day, and their fire had a very good effect.

On the 30th, the South-Sea Castle arrived with stores, which were much wanted, particularly the entrenching tools, for want of which the army had been so greatly distressed, that I was obliged to employ all the forges in making spades, pick-axes, &c. for them. The 1st of October it began to blow fresh, and in the night increased to a hard gale, which drove the South-Sea Castle ashore near the Polverista, a little to the southward of our camp. This accident, however, had some considerable advantages attending it, as the situation she lay in made her cannon a protection for the rear of our camp: it was likewise the means that all her military stores were got on shore with safety and dispatch, and the army supplied with the provisions she had on board, both of which were articles they stood in need of, and which could not have been supplied by boats, as it continued blowing weather for several days after, and the surf breaking very high on the beach.

This gale was from the W. S. W. directly on the shore, which gave me much concern for the safety of the Squadron, particularly for the Elizabeth and Falmouth, who were only in four fathom water, and, as I have since been informed, with the send of the sea struck; but the bottom being mud, and soft to a considerable depth, they received no damage.

On the 4th in the morning, the general opened the battery, which was so well managed and seconded by the ships before the town, that in four hours the defences were taken off, and the next day in the evening the breach was made practicable.

On the 6th, at day-light in the morning, the general's regiment, with the sea battalion, mounted the breach, made the attack, and soon got possession of all the bastions, which completed the conquest. I immediately went on shore, and, with the general, had a meeting with the Spanish governor, and some of his principal officers, when a capitulation was agreed on, that the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts dependant on Manilla, should be given up to his Britannic Majesty, and that they should pay four millions of dol-

lars

GRAFTON, captain Hyde Parker. 1 commissioned officer, 3 petty ditto, 100 seamen, landed. 2 seamen wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 6 non-commissioned ditto, 32 private, landed. 1 private wounded.

F f 2

LENOX,

lars for the preservation of the town and their effects, a copy of which capitulation I have enclosed.

On the 10th, I sent captain Kempenfelt in the Norfolk, with the Seaford and Seahorse, to take possession of Cavite, agreeable to the capitulation: by this acquisition we are in possession of a very large quantity of naval stores, besides the advantage of almost every convenience for refitting a squadron; the people are supplied with fresh meat and vegetables in great plenty.

The siege, though short, was attended with many difficulties and great fatigue, in which both the officers and men exerted themselves with the utmost cheerfulness. We had constantly fresh gales, a lee shore, and consequently a high surf to contend with, which always made it difficult, frequently hazardous, and sometimes impossible, to land with boats. The rains fell very heavy, and our little army were surrounded and harried by numerous bodies of Indians, who, though undisciplined and armed only with lances, bows and arrows, yet, by a daring resolution and contempt of death, they became not only troublesome but formidable.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting their lordships, that throughout the whole expedition, the most perfect harmony and unanimity has subsisted between his Majesty's land and sea forces.

You will receive with this an account of the number of officers and men, both seamen and marines, that were landed from the squadron, as likewise of the killed and wounded in each corps. It is with concern I acquaint their lordships with the loss of commodore Tiddeman, who in attempting to enter the river in his barge, the morning after the reduction of Manilla, was drowned with five of his people, by which unhappy accident his Majesty has lost a brave, and experienced officer.

Captain Kempenfelt, by whom I send this (and who will present to you for their lordships a plan of the town of Manilla, and the port of Cavite,) has been of the greatest assistance to me during the course of this enterprise; he is very capable of furnishing their lordships with many particulars necessary for their information; and his great merit makes it my duty to commend him as a very able good officer.

I am, &c.

S. CORNIS H.

LENOX, Captain Robert Jocelyn, 1 commissioned officer, 5 petty ditto, 119 seamen, landed. 4 seamen killed. 2 ditto wounded. Marines. 3 commissioned officers, 4 non-commissioned ditto, 38 private, landed. 1 private wounded.

Copy of a letter from vice admiral Cornish to Mr. Cleveland, dated in the bay of Manilla, the 10th of November, 1762.

IN my letter of the 31st of October, I acquainted you of my having sent captain Parker with the Panther and Argo, in quest of the galleon St. Philippina, from Acapulco, bound to Manilla.

The 7th instant, captain King in the Argo returned with a letter from captain Parker, acquainting me, that, in consequence of my orders, having the 30th of October got the length of the island Capul, near the entrance into the Embocadero, in pursuit of the Saint Philippina, where the Argo had come to an anchor (and which he intended to do for that night) just as the day closed he saw a sail, standing to the northward; at eight in the evening he got sight of the chace; but unluckily, by the rapidity of a counter current to what the chace was in, was obliged to anchor; the frigate having escaped the danger, got up with the chace, and engaged her near two hours, but was so roughly handled, that captain King was obliged to bring too to repair his damages. By this time the current slackened, which enabled captain Parker to get under sail with the chace in sight: about 9 the next morning he came up with her, and after battering her two hours, within half mulket shot, she struck. The enemy made but little resistance, trusting to the immense thickness of the sides of their ship, which the Panther's shot was not able to penetrate, excepting her upper works. Captain Parker was no less disappointed than surpris'd, when the general came on board, to find, that instead of the Saint Philippina, he had engaged and taken the Santissimo Trinidad, who departed from Manilla the first of August for Acapulco, and had got three hundred leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, was dismasted and put back to refit. She had eight hundred men on board, and pierced for sixty guns, but when captain King engaged her had only six mounted, and but thirteen when taken; she draws thirty-three feet water, and is a much larger ship than the Panther. I cannot ascertain the value of the cargo, but there is to the amount of one million and a half of dollars registered, and she is reputed to be worth three millions*.

Captain King left the Panther with her prize at an anchor about three leagues south of the Corrigedow, at the mouth of this bay; and as I have sent a reinforcement of men with launches and warps, I hope very soon to have them in safety.

I am, &c.

S. CORNISH.

* The Manilla galleon, called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, taken by lord Anson in 1743, had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver. See the voyage, p. 508.

FALMOUTH, Captain William Brereton. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 50 seamen, landed. 2 seamen killed. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 1 non-commissioned ditto, 11 private, landed.

WEYMOUTH, Captain Richard Collins. 3 commissioned officers, 7 petty ditto, 80 seamen, landed. 1 seaman killed. 1 ditto wounded. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 6 non-commissioned ditto, 26 private, landed. 2 private killed.

AMERICA, Captain Samuel Pitchford, 2 commissioned officers, 2 petty ditto, 61 seamen, landed. 1 seaman, killed. 4 ditto wounded. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 4 non-commissioned ditto, 22 private, landed. 1 private killed.

PANTHER, Captain George Ourry, acting captain. 1 commissioned officer, 2 petty ditto, 50 seamen, landed. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 5 non-commissioned ditto, 24 private, landed.

ARGO, Captain Richard King. Marines. 2 commissioned officers, 3 non-commissioned ditto, 22 private, landed.

SEAHORSE, Captain Charles Cathcart Grant. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 2 non-commissioned ditto, 26 private, landed.

SEAFORD, Captain John Peighin. Marines. 1 commissioned officer, 2 non-commissioned ditto, 18 private landed. 2 private killed.

Officers killed and wounded, &c. belonging to the

NORFOLK, Lieutenant Peter Porter, and Mr. White, surgeon's second mate, killed.

LENOX, Thomas Spearing, second lieutenant of Marines, wounded.

TOTAL officers, seamen, and marines: landed 1017. killed 17. Wounded 17.

N. B. The surgeons, armorers, and other artificers, are not included in the above account.

Norfolk, off Cavite,
October 31, 1762.

S. CORNISH."

GENERAL

GENERAL Draper sent lieutenant colonel Scott, with the following letter to the earl of Egremont, one of the principal secretaries of state :

“ Manilla, November 2, 1762.

My LORD,

I DO myself the honor of sending lieutenant colonel Scott, late adjutant general, to inform your lordship of the success of his majesty's arms in the conquest of Manilla, the surrender of the port of Cavite, and the cession of the Philippine islands.

ON the 6th of October we took the capital by storm, after 12 days operation, which are detailed in my journal. Our loss, upon this occasion, would have been trifling, but for the death of major Moore, a valiant good officer; and it is with particular satisfaction I can assure your lordship, that the firm bravery and perseverance of the troops, could only be equalled by their humanity after victory. Out of respect and deference to admiral Cornish, we waited till he came on shore, and, being desirous to save so fine a city from destruction, we jointly dictated the annexed conditions to the governor general (the archbishop) and the chief magistrates, who most readily embraced them.

CONSIDERING their critical situation, and vast opulence, the terms were as reasonable for them, as beneficial to us. We allow the India company a third part of the ransom, the whole of which amounts to a million sterling; and, according to my instructions, I have this day delivered up Manilla, one of the richest cities and islands in this part of the world, with the port of Cavite, to Dawson Drake, Esq; and the other gentlemen appointed to receive them on behalf of the company, with all the artillery, ammunition and warlike stores found therein, agreeable to the inclosed inventories.

I HAVE

I HAVE appointed major Fell of the 79th regiment to be commandant of the garrison, which must consist of all the troops brought from Madras, as the great extent of the place, its very numerous inhabitants, and unsettled country, with the importance of the Cavite, demand at least this force for an effectual security.

THE season of the year, and condition of the squadron, oblige us to defer the taking of possession of the subordinate places ceded to the crown, until the ships have had a sufficient repair; and I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the large quantity of naval stores taken in the royal magazines at Cavite, supply most excellent materials for this purpose, in which the admiral is indefatigable, whose zeal for his majesty's service, great cordiality, and constant attention to us during the whole course of the expedition, and fatiguing progress of the siege, are beyond all praise. The other officers of the fleet exerted themselves to the utmost upon every occasion. As a small acknowledgment of our many obligations to Mr. Kempenfelt, the admiral's captain, I begged his acceptance of the government of the citadel and port of Cavite, till it was given up to the company; his prudent and excellent regulations there were of infinite utility to the public service.

THE captains Collins, Pitchford and George Ourry, who commanded the battalion of seamen, behaved with great spirit and conduct; and captain Jocelyn, who was entrusted with the care of the disembarkations, gave us all the assistance that could be wished or expected from a diligent, good officer. The marine officers and corps were of great service, and the seamen astonished us with most extraordinary proofs of activity and valor, particularly those who assisted at our batteries.

THE reduction of Manilla has been so much owing to the consummate skill and bravery of colonel Monson, that I fear my faint representations cannot do justice to his merits, and I most humbly beg leave, through your lordship, to recommend him to his majesty, together with the following officers, viz. lieutenant-colonel Scott, major Barker, who commanded our artillery; captain Fletcher, major of brigade; the engineers, captains Stevenfon and Cotsford, and ensign Barnard; the captains Moore and Pemble aids de camp, who have all acted in their several departments with extraordinary merit, and greatly facilitated my good fortune. Both the royal and the company's artillery, with their other troops, behaved very well. In the last place, may I presume to point out the services of the 79th regiment, which from the good conduct of their former and present field officers, has the peculiar merit of having first stopped the progress of the French in India, and not a little contributed to the happy turn and decision of that war under colonel Cooté, and has since extended the glory of his majesty's arms to the utmost verge of Asia. Twenty-three officers, with upwards of 800 men, have fallen, in the cause of their country, since the regiment left England: numbers of the survivors are wounded. Your lordship's goodness encourages me to mention them as objects of compassion and protection. Captain Fletcher has nine colours to lay at his majesty's feet.

PROPOSALS made to their excellencies his Britannic Majesty's commanders in chief by sea and land, by his excellency the archbishop, captain-general of the Philippine islands, the royal audience, the city and commerce of Manilla.

ART. I. THAT their effects and possessions shall be secured to them, under the protection of his
 Britannic

Britannic majesty, with the same liberty they have heretofore enjoyed. Granted.

II. THAT the catholic, apostolic and Roman religion, be preserved and maintained in its free exercise and functions, by its pastors and faithful ministers. Granted.

III. THAT the families, which are retired into the country, may have free liberty to return unmolested. Granted.

IV. THAT the same indemnification and liberty may extend to persons of both sexes, inhabitants of this city, without any prejudice or molestation to their interior commerce.—They may carry on all sorts of commerce, as British subjects.

V. HAVING great confidence in the manners and politeness of their excellencies the British generals, hope they will use their best endeavors in preserving peace and quietness in the city and suburbs, chastising all people, who shall dare to oppose their superior orders. Granted.

VI. THAT the inhabitants of this city may enjoy the same liberty of commerce as they have had heretofore, and that they may have proper passports granted them for that end.—Answered by the fourth article.

VII. THAT the same liberty may be granted to the natives of the country, for bringing in all manner of provisions, according to their usual method, without the least opposition or extortion, paying for them, in the same manner as hath been heretofore practised.—Granted; but any person coming in with any fire arms, or offensive weapons, will be put to death.

VIII. THAT the ecclesiastical government may be tolerated, and have free liberty to instruct the faithful, especially the native inhabitants.—They must not attempt to convert any of our royal master's protestant subjects to the popish faith.

IX. THAT

IX. THAT the use and exercise of the oeconomical government of the city may remain in its same freedom and liberty.—Granted.

X. THAT the authority, as well political as civil, may still remain in the hands of the royal audience, to the end that, by their means, a stop may be put to all disorders, and the insolent and guilty be chastised.—To be subject to the superior controul of our government.

XI. THAT the said ministers and royal officers, their persons and goods, be in full security, be maintained in their honors with a stipend sufficient for their support, his catholic majesty being answerable for the same; upon these conditions the above mentioned ministers will be under the protection of his Britannic majesty, in the same manner as the rest of the inhabitants.—His catholic majesty must pay for their support.

XII. THAT the inhabitants may have free liberty to reside within, or out of the city, as shall be most convenient for them.—Still to be subject to the revocation of our government if they find it necessary.

CONDITIONS on which the city of Manilla shall be preserved from plunder; and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, goods, liberties, and properties, under the government and protection of his Britannic majesty.

I. THE Spanish officers of every rank shall be esteemed as prisoners of war, upon their parole of honor, but shall have the liberty of wearing their swords. The rest of the troops, of every degree and quality, must be disarmed, and disposed of as we shall think proper. They shall be treated with humanity.

II. ALL

II. ALL the military stores and magazines, of every kind, must be surrendered, faithfully, to our commissaries, and nothing secreted or damaged.

III. His excellency the governor must send immediate orders to the fort of Cavite, and the other forts under his command, and dependent upon Manilla, to surrender to his Britannic majesty.

IV. THE propositions, contained in the paper delivered on the part of his excellency the governor and his council, will be listened to and confirmed to them, upon their payment of four millions of dollars; the half to be paid immediately; the other half to be paid in a time to be agreed upon, and hostages and security given for that purpose.

ALL the islands (subordinate to Luconia and Manilla its capital, and which are at present under the dominion of his catholic majesty) must be ceded to his Britannic majesty, who must be acknowledged sovereign till the fate of these islands is decided by a peace between the two kings. Their religion, goods, liberties, properties, and commerce, shall be preserved to the inhabitants of those islands, who are subjects of Spain, in as ample a manner as they are confirmed to the inhabitants of Manilla, and the island of Luconia. All the governors and military shall be allowed the honors of war, but give their parole, as the officers have done at Manilla and Cavite, not to serve or take up arms against his Britannic majesty.

S. Cornish.

W. Draper.

Manl. Ant^o Arzp^o de Manilla,

Gov. y cap. gen. de las Philippinas.

Franco, Henriquez de Villacourta.

Manuel Galban y Ventura.

Frco. Leandro de Viana.

Dated at Manilla, October 30, 1762."

IN

IN 1739, the British ministry intended to fit out two squadrons for two secret expeditions, which would have some connection with each other. The late lord Anson was to command one of them, and the late gallant captain Cornwall the other. The former was to take on board three independant companies of one hundred men each, and Bland's regiment; to proceed directly to Java-head, and to take in water there, from whence he was to proceed to the city of Manilla: while the latter was to proceed round Cape Horn, and pass that way to the Philippines. If that plan had been carried into execution, Manilla would then have fallen an easy conquest: but the reduction of that important place, whose returns were not less than three millions of dollars per annum, was reserved for the brave general Draper, who began the expedition with uncommon spirit, and ended it with immortal honor. His clemency to the Spaniards deserved the utmost gratitude: but they most ungenerously evaded the ransom, and acted on the most dishonorable terms, as evidently appears, by the following extracts of "colonel Draper's answer to the Spanish arguments, claiming the galleon, and refusing payment of the ransom bills, for preserving Manilla from destruction."

The Spanish arguments for refusing payment.

"THE English generals, who made themselves masters of Manilla, proposed, on the fifth of October 1762, a capitulation to the archbishop, who acted as governor; by which they promised to preserve the city from pillage, if the governor and principal magistrates would consent to, and sign the articles of, the said capitulation; which they were forced to do, being threatened to be put to the sword, in case of refusal.

NOTWITHSTANDING this shameful capitulation, extorted and signed by the means of violence and rigor,

rigor, general Draper ordered or suffered the city to be sacked and pillaged, for forty hours, by four thousand English, who plundered it of more than a million of dollars.

THEREFORE the said capitulation ought to be void, because it was signed by force; and because general Draper first violated and broke the capitulation by permitting the city to be pillaged: consequently, that capitulation only, which was proposed by the governor, accepted of and signed by admiral Cornish, and general Draper, upon the seventh of October, ought to be considered and respected in this affair.

THE first article of which grants to the inhabitants of Manilla, the peaceable quiet possession of all their effects; the fourth and sixth grant them the liberty of commerce, under the protection of his Britannic majesty."

REFUTATION.

"IT is a known and universal rule of war amongst the most civilized nations, that places taken by storm, without any capitulation, are subject to all the miseries that the conquerors may chuse to inflict.

MANILLA was in this horrid situation; of consequence the lives of the inhabitants, with all belonging to them, were entirely at our mercy. But christianity, humanity, the dignity of our nation, and our own feelings as men, induced us not to exert the utmost rigor of the possession, against those wretched suppliants; although my own secretary, lieutenant Fryar, had been murdered, as he was carrying a flag of truce to the town. The admiral and I told the archbishop and principal magistrates, that we were desirous to save so fine a city from destruction, ordered them to withdraw, consult, and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the fleet and army, and exempt them from pillage, and its fatal consequences.

THE

THE proposals they gave in were the very same, which the Spaniards most artfully call a second capitulation; and were afterwards agreed to, and confirmed by us (with a few restrictions;) but at that time were so unsuitable to their desperate situation, that we rejected them as unsatisfactory and inadmissible. As conquerors, we took the pen, and dictated those terms of the ransom which the Spaniards thought proper to submit to: for they had the alternative, either to be passive under the horrors of a pillage, or compound for their preservation; they accepted the latter.

THE objection and pretence of force and violence may be made use of to evade any military agreements whatsoever, where the two parties do not treat upon an equality; for who, in war, will submit to an inconvenient and prejudicial compact, unless from force; but have the Spaniards forgot their own histories? Or will they not remember the just indignation expressed against Francis the First, who pleaded the like subterfuge of force and violence, to evade the treaty made after the battle of Pavia, and his captivity?

SHOULD such elusive doctrines prevail, it will be impossible, hereafter, for the vanquished to obtain any quarter or terms whatsoever: the war will be carried on *usque ad inter necionem*; and if a sovereign shall refuse to confirm the conditions stipulated by his subjects, who are in such critical situations, the consequences are too horrid to mention.

By the same fallacious sophistry, a state may object to the payment of the ransoms of ships taken at sea, and to contributions levied in a country which is the seat of war. But it is always allowed that in such cases, a part must be sacrificed to save the whole; and surely when by the laws of war we were entitled to the whole, it was a great degree of moderation to be contended with a part.

THE destruction that we could have occasioned, would have trebled the loss they suffer by the payment of the ransom. The rich churches and convents, the king of Spain's own palace, with its superb and costly furniture, the magnificent buildings of every sort, the fortifications, docks, magazines, founderies, cannon, and, in short, the whole might have been entirely ruined, the Spanish empire in Asia subverted, and the fruits of their religious mission lost for ever, together with the lives of many thousands of the inhabitants, who were spared by our humanity. As a suitable and grateful return for this lenity, the Spanish memorial affirms, that after the capitulation was signed, general Draper ordered, or permitted, the city to be sacked or pillaged for forty hours together, by four thousand English, who plundered it of more than a million of dollars.

As my own character, both as an officer and a man of honor, is so wickedly attacked by this unjust accusation, I must beg leave to state the whole affair in its true light; and do appeal for its veracity to the testimonies of every officer and soldier, who served in the expedition, and to all of the marine department.

WE entered Manilla by storm, on the 6th of October, 1762, with an handful of troops, whose total amounted to little more than two thousand; a motley composition of seamen, soldiers, sepoy, cafiles, lascars, topasees, French and German deserters.

MANY of the houses had been abandoned by the frighted inhabitants, and were burst open by the violence of shot, or explosion of shells. Some of these were entered and pillaged. But all military men know, how difficult it is to restrain the impetuosity of troops in the first fury of an assault, especially when composed of such a variety and confusion

sion of people, who differed as much in sentiments and language, as in dress and complexion.

SEVERAL hours elapsed, before the principal magistrates could be brought to a conference; during that interval, the inhabitants were undoubtedly great sufferers. But this violence was antecedent to our settling the terms of the capitulations, and by the laws of war, the place, with all its contents, became the unquestionable property of the captors, until a sufficient equivalent was given in lieu of it. That several robberies were committed, after the capitulation was signed, is not to be denied; for avarice, want, and rapacity, are ever insatiable: but that the place was pillaged for forty hours, and that pillage authorized and permitted by me, is a most false and infamous assertion. The people of Manilla have imposed upon their court by a representation of facts, which never existed; and to make such a groundless charge, the reason for setting aside and evading a solemn capitulation, is a proceeding unheard of till now, and as void of decency as common sense.

THE following extracts from the public orders given out the very day we entered the town, will sufficiently convince mankind, of my constant attention to the preservation of those ungrateful people; who have almost taught me to believe, that humanity and compassion are crimes.

E X T R A C T S.

October 6th, Manilla.

“THE utmost order and regularity to be observed.

ALL persons guilty of robberies, or plundering the churches and houses, will be hanged without mercy.

THE guards to send frequent patrols both day and night, to prevent all disorders.

THE

THE drummers to beat to arms, the officers to assemble with their men, and call the rolls.

THE adjutants to go round the town, and take an exact account of the safe-guards, posted for the protection of the convents, churches and houses.

October 7th.

ALL the inhabitants of Manilla are to be looked upon and treated as his Britannic majesty's subjects: they having agreed to pay four millions of dollars, for the ransom and preservation of their city and effects.

THE criminals executed for robbery and sacrilege, to be buried at sun-set."

C H A P. III.

*The second revolution * in BENGAL, in 1760. The SOUBAH and major CARNACK defeat the SHAH ZADDA and M. LAW, at GUYA. The MORATTOES defeated by major YORK. — The Soubah JAFFIER ALLEE CAWN is deposed by the ENGLISH presidency at CALCUTTA; and their particular reasons for it. The conduct of governor VANSITTART, Mr. HOLWELL, and colonel CAILLAUD on that occasion. They place COSSIM ALLEE CAWN on the throne; and grant protection to his father-in-law, the deposed Soubah at Calcutta.*

WHEN Chandernagore was reduced by the English in 1757, M. Law retired at the head of a party of French fugitives, which soon increased to upwards of two hundred. Their commander threw himself into the heart of the Mogul's dominions, and at last joined the Shah Zaddah †,

* See this volume, p. 252—262.
Allum Geer, the deposed Mogul.

† The eldest son of

who entered Bengal at the head of eighty thousand men; but was met by the Soubah's army of eighty thousand men, assisted by five hundred Europeans, commanded by major John Carnack, who left a garrison at Patna, and defeated the enemy at a place called Guya, in January 1761, killed eighty Frenchmen, and took seven of their officers prisoners, among whom was M. Law; after which, the Mogul prince retired out of the province, and solicited the interest of the English to place him on the throne of his deposed father.

THE Morattoes also invaded the northern provinces of Bengal; but they were met and defeated by a body of troops under the command of major York.

By these means, both the Nabob's affairs, and those of the English company, were in great distress, when Mr. Vansittart arrived to take upon him the government at Calcutta, to which he was appointed on the return of colonel Clive to England; after whose absence affairs took an unprosperous turn, which was imputed to the bad conduct of the Soubah, whom the English therefore deposed, and put his son-in-law on the throne. But as this important transaction has been variously related, I shall here undertake to give an impartial representation of the whole affair.

THE reasons alledged for dethroning the Soubah Jaffier Allee Cawn were in substance as follows:

1st, " THAT soon after his advancement, he resolved to reduce that power which raised him to dignity. 2d, That to effect this, he assassinated or banished every person of importance, whom he suspected in the English interest. 3d, That he negotiated with the Dutch to introduce an armament into the provinces to expel the English. 4th, That he was guilty of the deepest deceit and treachery towards the English, his benefactors and allies, in
repeated

repeated instances. 5th, That while the English officers and troops were suffering every distress, and hazarding their lives, in defence of him, his son, and country, the English commander in chief was basely and treacherously deserted, at three different periods by father and son. 6th, That he meditated a separate, secret treaty with the Shah Zaddah, and offered to sacrifice the English to that prince. 7th, That the whole term of his government was an uniform chain of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression. 8th, That he meditated, and was near carrying into execution, an infamous secret treaty with the Morattoes; which would have proved the total destruction of the country, if it had not been timely prevented. 9th, That he threw every possible interruption in the collection of the English tunkas, or assignments upon lands. 10th, That he encouraged the obstructions given to the free currency of the English Siccas; by which the company suffered heavy losses. 11th, That by his cruelties, he had rendered it scandalous for the English to support his tyrannic government any longer. 12th, And that by his misconduct, he had brought the affairs of the company, as well as his own, into the most imminent danger of being ruined."

It was alledged, that each of these charges was a violation of that treaty * which put Mhir Jaffier Allee Cawn in possession of a government of more value than many kingdoms of Europe, supported by the English at the expence of their blood, until it became a scandal and reproach to their name and nation; of which we have authentic proofs †.

* See this volume, p. 260. † See "An address to the proprietors of East-India stock; setting forth the unavoidable necessity and real motives for the revolution in Bengal in 1760." By John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq; p. 14, 15.

THE particular instances of cruelty are the violent deaths of Coja Haddu and Coffim Allee, two general officers; the brother of Surajah Dowla, and all that remained of his family; which has been attributed to the jealousy of the Soubah, who feared the English would restore that family to the throne.

IN August 1760, Henry Vansittart, Esq; arrived at Calcutta, and received the government from Mr. Holwell, who also delivered him a memorial of the abovementioned facts.

MAJOR Caillaud, on the 27th of February 1760, wrote a letter from the camp at Shahsabadpore to governor Holwell, as follows: "The more I see of the Nabob, the more I am convinced, that he must be ruined in spite of all our endeavors, if he doth not alter his present measures. He is neither loved nor feared by his troops or his people: he neglects securing the one by the badness of his payments, and he wants spirit and steadiness to command the other."

ON the 11th of March, governor Holwell wrote from Fort William to major Caillaud as follows: "The judgment you have formed of the Nabob is too just: weakness, irresolution, suspicion, and cruelty, form his disposition: what but the issue you predict, can result from these, when joined to a most ungracious and insolent demeanor, which has made him universally hated and despised? We must, however, support him and his government as long as we possibly can, without involving ourselves and employers in his ruin."

ON the 21st, the governor wrote to Mr. Warren Hastings, concerning the Nabob, "That his irresolution and supineness, he much feared, would prove his destruction at last." He farther said, that "he was from good authority informed, the Nabob had dispatched a trusty person with an abject petition to the prince, purporting, that on advices reach-

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ing him, that the Morattoes intended to enter the country by the way of Patna, he had sent his son and the major to oppose them: that it never was his intentions to oppose his majesty's arms, to whom he was an old professed slave; but, by the evil councils of Rajahram Narain, his son Mhiran and the major, had acted contrary to his intentions and orders; and that, if the prince desired it, he was ready to surrender himself to his pleasure."

IN another letter to captain Spears, dated Calcutta the 22d of March 1760, Mr. Holwell says, "You are not only ever to be on your guard against a surprise from the enemy, but also against treachery from the Nabob himself; for which precaution I have particular reasons."

IN a letter to Mr. Hugh Watts, dated Fort William the 29th of March, governor Holwell observes, that "The Nabob's inconsistencies and irresolution continued very uniform, and would in the end prove his ruin, unless he had better luck than he deserved."

MAJOR Caillaud, in a letter to the presidency, dated camp at Belgass, April 8th, says, "We have lost the only opportunity we had; nor indeed can we expect much to improve opportunities, while we have to do with men, who are as ignorant as obstinate, and whose troops are under no order or command."

ON the 15th, Mr. Holwell wrote to the major, that "He most heartily pitied the embarrassed situation he must necessarily be in, with people who manifested themselves unworthy that government they had usurped. That he must confess, the Nabob's whole conduct appeared to him much more mysterious than that of the prince; circumstanced as he was, he must plan various schemes, and from the nature of things, his councils must be attended with much confusion and irresolution. That the Nabob's backwardness to engage him appeared absolutely

unaccountable, unless it arose from some secret negotiations, which it was possible he might be carrying on with the prince to make his own peace at the expence of his friends." He adds, " I should not think myself justified in this conjecture, nor have given credit so readily to the petition sent by him to the prince, did I not know him capable of any thing ever so unworthy and treacherous.—The parts acted by both the old and young Nabob, in the recent contest with the Dutch, ought ever to awaken our apprehensions, and urge being on our guard against the politics of an Indostan Durbar; the more especially, as we see the party round the Nabob, who we know would cut our throats if they could, obtain every day more power and influence over his councils: men, who being raised as he himself was, from the dirt, can never vary the complexion of their groveling genius."

MAJOR Caillaud wrote to governor Holwell, from the camp at Dignagur on the same day, as follows: " It is a very unfortunate circumstance that we have to do with a weak man, who neither from principle nor merit deserves the dignity of the station in which we have put him, and in which he would not remain twenty-four hours, if we were to withdraw our protection from him, and on which he so much depends, that I am obliged to give him a guard of sepoy for the safety of his person; it doth not appear to me, however, in justice or in reason, that we ought to support him in the pursuit of unjustifiable measures; such as he follows in regard to not discharging the vast arrears due to his troops, who to a man have publicly declared, they will not draw their swords in his cause, and that only their fears of us prevent their using them against him. The consequence will be, as to his part, that while he is not afraid of his head, he never will satisfy them; and to us, that though we may protect him
from

they sunk.—These are the acts of the tyger we are supporting and fighting for.”

MR. HASTINGS, on the 21st, wrote from Ma-
raud-baag to governor Holwell, as follows: “The
relation transmitted to me in your letter of the 13th
of the murder of the two Begums, filled me with
horror and astonishment; but how were those sensa-
tions increased, when upon inquiry I was told, that
not only the two wretched sufferers abovementioned,
but the whole family, to the number of nine per-
sons, had undergone the same fate—I have hitherto
been generally an advocate for the Nabob, whose
extortions and oppressions I imputed to the necessity
of the times, and want of œconomy in his revenues;
but if this charge against him be true, no argument
can excuse or palliate so atrocious and complicated
a villainy, nor our supporting such a tyrant.”

SUBSEQUENT advices brought the true state of
these terrible murders, as follows: Gosseta Begum,
widow of Shaw Amet Jung; Emna Begum, mo-
ther to the Nabob Surajud Dowla, and widow to
Geynde Amet Khan; Morad Dowla, the son of
Patsha Kooly Khan, adopted by the Shaw Amet
Jung; Lutsen Nessâ Begum, widow of Surajud
Dowla*, and her infant daughters by that Nabob:
These unhappy sufferers perished all in one night at
Dacca, in the manner mentioned by Mr. Holwell,
with about twenty of their women of inferior note;
but it was said Alleverdy Khan's Begum by some
means escaped this massacre of her whole family.
A conceived though groundless jealousy of Morad
Dowla's making his escape from his confinement in
Dacca, was the cause of this infernal carnage; to
which may be added the murder of Abdel Ohab
Khan, and Yar Mahomet; the former was way-

* See this volume, p. 238. 262.

laid and murdered, by the Soubah's order, on the Ramna, on pretence of a conspiracy, in March 1760; and the latter, a favorite of Surajah Dowla, was assassinated in presence of Mhiran, in April following.

On the 24th of May, governor Holwell wrote to major Caillaud as follows: "Hitherto our conduct in supporting the Soubah's government can hardly be vindicated to our employers, the more especially since his flagrant and known breach of the treaty* last year, not only by his invitation of the Dutch forces from Batavia, but by his shameful and insincere conduct and dealing with us after their arrival, and to this hour respecting that people; the weakness and inconsistency of his whole politics during the course of this campaign, joined to the repeated cruelties, murders, and oppressions, daily committed by him or his son on individuals; the universal detestation of his government throughout the provinces; the obvious certainty of these troubles in the country continuing without interruption, whilst this family exists at the head of it: all these, with many other considerations, demonstrates we cannot longer, consistent with what we owe to the company, to natural justice, and propriety, and to the English name, support a system of usurpation and tyranny, which reflects dishonor on it, and must, if persisted in, involve our honorable employers and our colony in a speedy ruin.—The more we see of this government, the more is verified your own just observation at your first knowledge of it, that it is rotten to the core: what then can be expected from a system rotten to the very heart of it, in every sense? Ruin must attend the family, in spite of our efforts to save them; and we must as

* See this volume, p. 260.

affuredly

affuredly be partakers in a greater or less degree thereof, to say nothing of our drawing our sword in support of such a system, against the legal, though unfortunate prince of the country, from whom every advantage and emolument we can wish for the company, is tendered to us, without limitation."

MAJOR Caillaud wrote from the camp at Balkiffen's gardens, to governor Holwell at Calcutta, on the 29th of May, as follows: "No new revolution can take place without a certainty of troubles; and a revolution will certainly be the consequence, whenever we withdraw our protection from the Soubah: we cannot in prudence neither leave this revolution to chance; we must in some degree be instrumental to bringing it about. In such a case, it is very possible we may raise a man to the dignity just as unfit to govern, as little to be depended upon, and in short, as great a rogue as our Nabob; but perhaps not so great a coward, nor so great a fool, and of consequence much more difficult to manage. As to the injustice of supporting this man, on account of his cruelties, oppressions, and his being detested in his government, I see so little chance, in this blessed country, of finding a man endued with the opposite virtues, that I think, we may put up with these vices, with which we have no concern, if in other matters we find him fittest for our purpose.— You have, no doubt, received advice from Mr. Hastings, that Abdallah hath sent orders to the several powers, to acknowledge the prince as king of Indostan, by the name of Shaw Allum: rupees are struck by his order at Banarras and Lucknow, in that name: orders are also given to Sujah Dowlatt, to accept the post of vizier; and our Nabob hath got, it is said, instructions to acknowledge him, and pay him the obeisance due to the king of kings, as he is stiled." The major then adds, "You are well acquainted with the cause which
first

first gave rise to the present share of influence which we enjoy in this part of the Mogul's empire; a just resentment for injuries received, was the first motive that induced us to make a trial of our strength: the ease with which we succeeded enlarged our views, and made us chearfully embrace all opportunities of increasing that interest and influence, both on account of the advantages which accrued from it to the honorable company, as likewise the hopes that it might in time prove a source of benefit and riches to our country. Such were, I believe, the motives of colonel Clive's actions during his administration: such, I believe, were the views of the honorable company, when they solicited and obtained colonel Coote's regiment from the government; and such, I am certain, is the plan which the colonel proposes, on his return, to pursue and to support, in hopes to convince the ministry and the company, as he is convinced himself, that if they please to support his project, it will prove of the greatest advantage to the public."

GOVERNOR Holwell, on the 14th of June, wrote to major Caillaud, that "the country would never be in a settled, peaceful state, while the Nabob's family continued at the head of it:—but if matters should chance to come into treaty, a ratification of colonel Clive's jagier must not be forgot."

MR. HOLWELL also wrote to Mr. Amyatt, that "they could not be too much upon their guard against the government, at that very critical period; for he perfectly knew it capable of the most superlative baseness and treachery."

CAPTAIN KNOX obtained some advantage over Caudim Hossain Khan; after which major Caillaud crossed the river with the Nabob, and went in full pursuit of the same enemy for several days. Encumbered by his treasure, and a great quantity of baggage, Caudim Hossain was much impeded in
his

his retreat, and retired so slow, that the major, on the 26th of June, was in sight of his rear-guard, near Paunch-ruckee. Caudim Hoeffin then struck his camp, wherein he left twelve pieces of cannon, and continued on his way until he came to the extremity of a large plain, bordered by a thick grove, and some villages, which covered part of his troops; where he made a halt, and drew up his cannon. The English did the same upon the plain, and a mutual cannonading ensued. Previous to this, major Cailaud sent repeated messages to the Nabob, who remained a considerable distance in the rear, immediately to dispatch a body of cavalry, to stop the enemy and keep them in play, and not suffer so fair an occasion to be irretrievably lost; urging how impossible it was for men on foot, fatigued with a long march, to attempt to pursue horse. But the Nabob continued deaf to the major's remonstrances; and, instead of sending him the least assistance, formed his troops above a mile in the rear, and there waited looking on until the enemy quitted the field. From the commencement of the cannonading until the firing ceased, it was about four hours; but little execution was done on either side. The enemy appeared twice in a large body, coming down upon the English; but, on their advancing, immediately retreated. They were drove from the villages, and abandoned seven more pieces of cannon, and as many camels loaded with rockets. During the action, which probably was a feint, the enemy found means to unload all their hackeries of their treasure, Genanah, and other valuable effects, and to place them upon camels and elephants, with which they went off, having also left all their empty hackeries behind them. Nothing could induce the Nabob, even after all was over, to send a body of horse to intercept them in their retreat, which might have been effected with little hazard.

GOVERNOR Holwell, on the 1st of July, wrote to Mr. Amyatt as follows: "No money, no goods, no credit even with that government we are supporting; which on the contrary, in place of advancing, in this distressed state of our affairs, obstructs and embarrasses us on every occasion, in the collection of the tunckas which are our due, and is capable of refusing us a perwannah for a year or two's chinam to finish our new works. To form to you a compleat idea of Mahomet Jaffier Aly Khan, he is now, at this very juncture, whilst we are risking our own throats to save his, in secret negotiation with the Morattoes, to introduce a body of 25 or 30,000 of them into the provinces: and he has agreed to pay them twelve lack in three months."

THE young Nabob Mhiran was suddenly killed in his tent by a flash of lightning; which it was thought would occasion commotions in the provinces. Governor Holwell paid every customary compliment to the memory of that prince at Calcutta; such as minute guns, and colors of the fort and ships hoisted half mast. He also wrote a letter of condolance to the old Nabob, whom he advised "to throw himself into the arms of Mhir Cossim Aly Khan and Roy Doolub; and dismiss from his councils those two vipers, Aga Salah of Cuttock, and Rajah Bullob, as well as that infamous instrument of his cruelties, Chuccon."

SUCH was the situation of affairs when Mr. Vansittart arrived at Calcutta, and received the government from Mr. Holwell, who gave him a full knowledge of the situation of the provinces, and the state of the company's affairs. The result was, a declaration from governor Vansittart, that one or other of Mr. Holwell's plans must be pursued, without loss of time, to save the country and company from impending ruin. Colonel Caillaud was immediately ordered from Patna to join their councils:
and

and Mr. Holwell received frequent letters from Mhir Mahomet Cossim Aly Khan *, containing the strongest professions and assurances in favor of the company, if by their support, he was promoted to the succession of Dewannee, and other posts enjoyed by the late Chuta Nabob, his brother-in-law.

COSSIM ALY KHAN obtained permission from the Nabob to come to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 20th of September, and had a conference with Mr. Holwell on the 25th, when he discovered his views were more extensive than had been imagined. He urged the repeated treacherous conduct of the Soubah, and the late young Nabob to the English, who had been not only their creators, but their support and preservers; expatiated on their cruelties and murders, and the universal abhorrence of the people against the Soubah and his house; dwelt much on his personal ingratitude to himself, in two attempts which he had made on his life, at the instigation of the late young Nabob; exclaimed against the secret negotiation he had carried on with the Shah Zadda and the Dutch; communicated the private orders he had received from the Soubah, when he was sent down against the Dutch, to favor them, in contradiction to the public ones, transmitted by the Soubah at that time to Mr. Holwell: closing the introduction with saying, that the Soubah was incapable of government; that no faith or trust could be put in him; and that, if he was not taken off, it would never be in his power to render the company those services which he had so much at heart.

MR. HOLWELL expressed much astonishment and abhorrence at the overture, and replied, that however little the Soubah deserved consideration, yet the honor of the company, and the English name, forbid their hearkening to any attempts against his life

* Or Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn.

or dignity. Cossim Aly Khan acquiesced with evident dissatisfaction of countenance; and only added, that as he had no support but the English, he must submit to their measures: however, they at last agreed upon the following articles*.

I. "THAT Cossim Aly Khan shall be invested with the Dewannee, be declared Chuta Nabob, and successor in the Soubaship to Mhir Jaffier Aly Khan, and enjoy all the posts possessed by the late young Nabob.—II. That all acts of the government shall run under the seals of, and in the name of, Mhir Jaffier Aly Khan: but the executive power should rest in Cossim Aly Khan; the dignity of the Souba to remain inviolable in the person of the former, with an allowance of one lack of rupees a month, for the support of his household and expences.—III. That Cossim Aly Khan shall pay and make good the balance of the tunka's, as lately adjusted with Omid Roy, on the part of Jaffier Aly Khan.—IV. That the company shall keep up a standing force, for the defence of the government and provinces, consisting of eight thousand sepoy, two thousand European foot, two thousand country cavalry, and five hundred European horse.—V. That to enable the company to keep up the above standing force, the countries of Burdomaan, Midnapore, Chit-tygang, and half the annual produce of the Chinam at Sillet, shall be ceded to the company in perpetuity."

THE above five articles contained the full tenor and essentials of the treaty: but a sixth article, pressed by Mr. Holwell, "That Cossim Aly Khan should concur with the English in acknowledging the rights of the Shah Zaddah to the throne of Indof-

* There were none present but Cossim Aly Khan, his friend Coja Pertufe, his head Moonshe, or Persian secretary, and Mr. Holwell.

tan," was left dormant, and to be adjusted as future events should point out.

THESE articles were unanimously approved of by the committee, and the treaty was interchangeably signed, on the 27th of September, by them on the one part, and by Mahomet Cossim Aly Khan Bahader on the other. On the 28th, he made an entertainment for the governor and council, and the next day returned to the Nabob. The same morning, Mr. Holwell took his leave of the board, and resigned the service.

MAJOR York marched a few days after, at the head of two hundred Europeans, four cannon, and six hundred sepoy, that he might be near enough to protect Cossim Aly Khan, if there should be occasion. Governor Vansittart and colonel Caillaud followed soon after, and arrived at the city with the detachment, which took up their quarters at Moradbaag, on the opposite side of the river to Moorshedabad, where the Nabob, on the 18th of October, paid a visit to governor Vansittart, who represented to him, "the bad management of his ministers*, the miseries and universal disaffection of the country, and the desperate state of his, as well as the company's affairs."

THE Nabob seemed much affected; and, at last, confessed himself, through age and grief for the late loss of his son, incapable of struggling alone against so many difficulties. He desired time to consult with his friends, which was granted; but he made a bad use of it; which determined governor Vansittart immediately to act upon the Nabob's fears.

* These were Keenooram, Monilot, and Chuccon, all of low birth, and the two first menial servants of the Nabob, before he came to the Soubahship: these managed so, as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success.

THERE could not be a better opportunity, than that the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be fatigued with their ceremonies. Accordingly, governor Vanfittart agreed with major Caillaud, that he should cross the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning; and having joined Cossim Aly Khan and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day break, being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed.

THE governor wrote a letter to the Nabob, which the colonel was to send in to him at a time as he should think most expedient. Measures were also taken to seize the persons of the three unworthy ministers, and place Cossim Aly Khan in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob. The necessary preparations being accordingly made with all the care and secrecy possible, the colonel embarked with the troops; joined Cossim Aly Khan without any alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace just at the proper instant. The gates of the inner-court being shut, the colonel formed his men without, and sent governor Vanfittart's letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate.

COLONEL Caillaud forbore all acts of hostility, and several messages passed between him and the Nabob. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob sent a message to Cossim Aly Khan, informing him, "He was ready to send him the seals and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nobut to be struck up in his name; provided he would agree to take the whole charge of government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the king, to save his life and honor, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance."

ALL these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Aly Khan was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the colonel, declaring, he depended upon him for his life. The troops then took possession of all the gates; and notice being sent to governor Vanfittart, he immediately repaired to the palace, and was met in the gate-way by the old Nabob, who asked, "if his person was safe?" Which seemed then to be all his concern. Governor Vanfittart told him, "that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it was never intended to deprive him." The Nabob answered, "that he had no more business at the city; that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Aly Khan; and that if he was permitted to go and live at Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented."

THOUGH governor Vanfittart could not help lamenting this sudden fall of the Nabob, he was not sorry for this proposal, as he knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining the least share of authority could not fail to cause such perplexities as might prove of fatal consequence.

COSSIM ALY KHAN, or Allee Cawn, was accordingly seated on the Musnud, or throne, and governor Vanfittart congratulated him in the usual form. All the Jemmadars and persons of distinction at the city, came immediately to make their acknowledgments to the new Soubah; and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet, as if no change had happened. The people seemed much pleased with the revolution, which had this peculiar felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the least disturbance in town, or a drop of blood spilt.

THE old Nabob did not think himself safe for one night in the city; so that his successor supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away

as many of his women as he desired, which he did to the number of about sixty, with a reasonable quantity of jewels. Governor Vansittart furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and sepoy, and intended to lodge him at Heerajeel; but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats, which was granted. The next day, he was visited by governor Vansittart and colonel Caillaud, when he appeared easy, and reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son: in fact, the enjoyment of the remainder of his days in security, under the English protection, seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

ON the morning of the 22d, he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there on the 29th, when he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

C H A P. IV.

The conduct of the new Soubah COSSIM ALLEE CAWN: his ingratitude and cruelty to the ENGLISH, which occasions a war between them in 1763.—The English army, commanded by major ADAMS, take MUXADABAD, and reinstate JAFFIER ALLEE CAWN on the throne. Major Adams defeats the army of Cossim Allee Cawn at SOOTY: he takes RAJAMOUL and MONGHEER.—The horrid massacre of the English gentlemen at PATNA, and other places, by orders from Cossim Allee Cawn.—Major Adams takes Patna; and Cossim Allee joins the SHAH ZADDA, who is defeated by major MUNRO at BUXAR.—Lord CLIVE embarks again from ENGLAND to reassume the command in BENGAL.—The

articles of the general and definitive treaty of peace, concluded at PARIS the 10th of February 1763, so far as they concern the English EAST INDIA company, and the state of affairs in India. CONCLUSION.

THUS Jaffier Allee Cawn, whom the English had placed on the throne of Bengal in 1757*, was deposed by them in 1760, and his son-in-law Cossim Allee Cawn †, promoted to that dignity. The old Nabob was protected by the presidency at Calcutta; while they permitted his successor to reconcile himself to the Shah Zadda, who had been declared Mogul emperor, by the name of Shah Alum; soon after which, a perfect tranquility was restored throughout the three provinces of Bahar, Bengal, and Orixia.

THE new Soubah was a man of more sense, cunning, and courage than his father-in-law. He ceded a large tract of land to the English company, worth no less than the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds a year ‡; to which may be added seventy thousand pounds more for the Zemindaries of Calcutta and of the twenty-fourth Purgunnah. However, he knew from experience, what distress his predecessor had been thrown into, by the English privilege of carrying on the inland trade, without being subject to any duties, and by the extensive use they had made of that privilege: therefore, from the moment he was set on the Musnud, he resolved to put an end to it; but he foresaw that he could not do this without coming to an open breach with the English, for which reason he would not attempt it, until he had provided for his defence.

* See this volume, p. 252. 259. 262. † Or Mir Mahmud Cossim Khan Bahadre. ‡ See this volume, p. 260.

For this purpose, as soon as the peace of his country was established, he removed the seat of his government from Muxadabad to Mongheer, near two hundred miles up the river, that the English might not be perpetual eye-witnessees to his preparations. Here he began to fortify the town with the utmost expedition: he set many of his people to work in making fire-locks instead of match-locks, which they had always before made use of; and in preparing a field artillery, according to the English model. He also took as many of the English sepoyes into his service as he could meet with, and employed them in teaching his people the European military discipline for infantry, which experience among them, and his own good sense, had shewn him to be of much more service in war than cavalry. He completed the fortifications of Patna, on the side of the English factory: and lastly, on some pretence or other, he had cut off or imprisoned every grandee in his dominions, that had shewn any warm affection for the English.

As the Soubah met with no opposition, nor so much as a remonstrance, against his preparing for war in the time of profound peace, and as the English had disbanded most of their sepoyes before the end of 1762, he thought himself in a condition not to fear any thing the English could do against him: therefore he began to carry his design against their freedom of trade into execution, by stopping their people's goods at the barriers, and insisting upon their paying the customary duties.

GOVERNOR Vansittart and Mr. Hastings went to Mongheer, to have a conference with the Soubah, to obtain redress, and settle regulations of trade for the future. A temporary redress was agreed upon; and the English gentlemen returned to Calcutta: but, in January 1763, the Nabob began to exact duties at Dacca and other English factories, which

gave the English a great alarm, and obliged them to oppose the Nabob they had so lately made.

THUS another war was commenced between the English presidency of Calcutta and the new Nabob of Bengal; while a general and definitive treaty of peace was concluded in Europe, between the crowns of Great Britain and France, on the 10th of February 1763. The following is a brief and authentic recapitulation of the principal transactions between the company's officers and the new Soubah*.

How-

* By the ship Royal George, which arrived at Spithead from Bengal on the 1st of April 1764, the court of directors received letters from that presidency to the following purport. "The disputes between the company's servants there and the reigning Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn, had been productive of such animosities and jealousies on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly necessary to use every means to allay them; for this purpose Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the Nabob, with instructions to endeavour to adjust the differences in an amicable manner. They accordingly arrived at Mongheer, the place of his residence, on the 12th of May 1763, and had many conferences with him, in which he evidently shewed a great averfeness to an accommodation, upon the terms offered to him. About this time a supply of 500 stands of arms going to Patna was stopped by the Nabob's officers, and other acts of hostility were committed; and affairs being come to an extremity, a war with Cossim Aly was unavoidable. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were re-called, and measures were taken at the presidency to carry it on in the most effectual manner. — Mr. Amyatt having taken leave of the Nabob the 24th of June, and received the usual passports, he set out in boats for Calcutta, accompanied with Messrs. Amphlett, Wollaston and Hutchinson, lieutenants Jones, Gordon and Cooper, and doctor Croke, (Mr. Hay and Gulston remaining with the Nabob as hostages.) As the boats were passing the city of Moorsshedabad, they were attacked on the 3d of July, by a number of troops assembled for that purpose on both sides the river, and some of the gentlemen were killed in the boats. Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few sepoy's, whom he forbid to fire, and endeavoured to make the enemy's troops understand that he was furnished with the Nabob's passports, and had no design of committing any hostilities: but the enemy's

HOWEVER, Coffim Allee Cawn still continued the war, in which he was assisted by the Shah Zadda, and committed as horrid acts of cruelty on the English gentlemen as the Nabob Surajad Dowla had

H h 4

my's horse advancing, some of the sepoy's fired, notwithstanding Mr. Amyatt's orders, and a general confusion ensuing, that gentleman, and most of the small party who were with him, were cut to pieces.

Mr. Ellis and his council at Patna having, with the approbation of captain Carstairs, agreed to attack that city early in the morning of the 25th of June, it was accordingly executed and carried. They were in entire possession of the city for four hours, the Moorish governor and most of his people having fled as far as Tutwa. He there came to a resolution to return and attempt to regain the city, and having got in at the water-side gate of the fort, he succeeded in dispossessing our troops, owing to the sepoy's and Europeans being mostly dispersed in plundering. Upon their retiring into the factory, on account of this dispiritedness of the men, and a great desertion among the sepoy's, it was found impracticable to make any stand there, and a resolution was therefore taken to proceed to Sujah Dowla's country. They accordingly crossed the river, the 26th in the evening, and met with no obstruction until they passed Churpa. They were attacked on the 30th by the Phoufadar, with about 2000 men; whom they easily routed; but he being that evening joined from Budgepore with four or five hundred sepoy's, and five or six field-pieces, he attacked the party on the next evening, the 1st of July, and entirely routed them, the Europeans having quitted their ranks at the first onset. In the whole there were about 50 Europeans killed, and about eight or nine officers, among the last captain Carstairs, who was killed by a cannon ball in the morning of the 1st. On the 2d, Mr. Ellis, with the officers and private men were taken prisoners, and all of them conducted to Mongheer, excepting captain Wilson, ensigns Mackay and Armstrong, Mr. Anderson, surgeon, and Mr. Peter Campbell, who then remained prisoners at Patna.

This misfortune appears to have been owing to an unfortunate inattention in not restraining the troops from plunder, after they had possessed themselves of the city.

Upon these and other acts of hostility, against several of the company's settlements, committed by Coffim Aly, it was determined to declare war against him, and to restore the former Nabob, Meer Jaffier, to the Subahship, upon his entering into a new treaty with the company. War was accordingly declared

had done in 1756*: but as yet he has not been so justly and severely punished †.

THE

clared, and an advantageous treaty was concluded; the most material articles whereof were, a confirmation of his former treaty*, and also of the provinces of Burdivan, Midnapore and Chittagong, granted by the late Nabob Cossim Aly.—Engaging to give thirty lacks of rupees to defray the expences and loss accruing to the company from the war, and engaging also to reimburse the amount of private persons losses.

Meer Jaffier set out a few days after to join the army under major Adams, which was then on its march towards Moorshedabad. The first action which happened was on the 19th of July, opposite to Cutwa, on the Cossimbuzar side of the river. The major, having crossed the army the night before, in the morning came up with a large body of the enemy's troops, who were strongly posted to oppose his progress to the city, and having attacked them they were routed after a small resistance, and with an inconsiderable loss on our side. A detached party under the command of captain Long, at the same time, possessed themselves of the fort of Cutwa on the other side of the river, and all the artillery they had there, as well as what they had brought into the field fell into our hands. In this action Mahomed Tuckey-Cawn, who it is said commanded the attack on Mr. Amyatt's party, was mortally wounded, and died a few days after.

The good effects of this success, were displayed in the easy conquest that followed of the city of Moorshedabad, which the army entered with a trifling opposition the 24th at night. Here the major established and proclaimed the Nabob Meer Jaffier in due form, and halted some days to refresh the army.

On the 28th of July the major continued his march towards Mongheer; and, on the 2d of August, having arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Cossimbuzar river, a very obstinate engagement ensued, with a numerous army of the enemy's best troops and artillery, who thereby occupied a very strong and advantageous post. The stand they made was resolute and uncommon for troops of this country, having closely engaged our troops for no less than four hours; however, by the intrepidity and good conduct of major Adams, and the remarkable bravery of the officers and men, the enemy sustained a total defeat. The loss on our side was not so considerable, as might have been expected from so severe an action, consisting only of six officers and forty Europeans, and 292 sepoy's

* See this volume, p. 233, 244—252.

† Ibid. p. 252.

THE English captives at Patna were all inhumanly massacred, on the 6th of October 1763, by order of Cossim Allee Cawn; who employed one Somers, a German, commonly called Soomeroo, to

poys and black horse killed and wounded: on the side of the enemy a great number of men were killed and wounded, 23 pieces of cannon, and about 150 boats laden with military and other stores taken. Among these last were found all the artillery, and most of the stores of the Patna detachment: and within some days after the action, between sixty and seventy of the men, who were taken prisoners at Patna, and had been engaged by foul means and fair, to serve the enemy's guns, returned to their colors.

Immediately after this battle the major advanced with the army near to Rajamaul, about three or four miles from which place the enemy had thrown up a strong entrenchment from the hills to the river, and for the forcing of which it was judged most proper, for ensuring the safety of the troops, to carry on regular approaches. Every thing having been accordingly prepared, the works were begun upon the 29th of August, and continued till the 5th of September, when the major resolved upon an assault, which was executed with very little loss, and their whole works in our possession that morning.

This success it was thought would be decisive of the fate of the war, as the enemy seemed to repose their chief confidence in the strength of these works; and by the loss of them, were deprived of all supplies of provision from the province of Bengal, which was entirely secured to us.

Major Adams, in his letters, where he gave an account of his several engagements with the enemy, bestowed just praises to major Carnac, major Knox, and other officers, who distinguished themselves, as well as to the officers and troops in general, for their gallant behaviour.

Governor Vansittart, after the close of the foregoing advices, wrote, that as the friends of the gentlemen, prisoners with the late Nabob Cossim Aly, would be anxious to have a certain account of them, he transmitted the copy of a letter to major Adams, from Mess. Ellis and Hay, dated at Patna the 4th of October, mentioning, that the number of prisoners was 49, who were taking measures for the purchase of their deliverance. On the major's nearer approach towards Patna, that officer was also endeavouring to effect so desirable an event—Governor Vansittart afterwards advised the reduction of Mongheer,

to execute his infamous orders, which he undertook with a company of sepoy's trained up by himself. Forty-nine gentlemen, of whom twenty-five were in irons, were murdered in one house, with about fifty soldiers in irons: and nine gentlemen, with the remaining part of the Englishmen who were prisoners, were put to death in other parts of the country where they were confined, amounting in the whole to about two hundred.

DOCTOR Fullerton was the only person who escaped from Patna, having received a pardon from Cossim Allee Cawn a few days before the massacre of the English*. Tagulpat, the famous banker, and

heer, on the 11th of October, by the major, without the loss of one man before the town.

Governor Vansittart further acquainted the court of directors, in a letter dated the 8th of October 1763. That if the war should not be brought to a successful end, he would stay in Bengal till the following year at all risks, although it was the opinion of the physicians, he was very incapable of going through another hot season.

The court of directors having a due sense of the gallant behavior and great services of major Carnac, unanimously agreed to restore him to the command of the company's forces in Bengal †.

† The curious reader is referred to a fuller account, sent by major Adams to the secretary of state, and published in the London Gazette the 22d of April, and 16th of June 1764.

* This horrid massacre was perpetrated the very night that Cossim Allee Cawn received a letter from governor Vansittart, who was particularly informed of this bloody act of cruelty by major Adams, on the 18th and 23d, whereby it appears, that "Soomeroo having invited our gentlemen to sup with him, took that opportunity to borrow their knives and forks to entertain them in the English manner. At night, when he arrived, he stood at some distance in the cook-room to give his orders; and as soon as Messrs. Ellis and Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and pulling his head backward, another cut his throat: on which Mr. Lushington immediately knocked the murderer down with his fist, seized his sword, wounded one, and killed two more, before he was cut

and his brother, with Ramnarain, late Subah of Patna; Rajah Bullub, and twenty-seven others, most of them their relations or dependants, were put to death by the same executioner: Ramnarain was thrown into the river, and the bodies of the others were exposed to be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, and a guard of sepoy set over them to prevent their relations from burning them according to the custom of their religion.

MAJOR Adams, on the 6th of November, took the city of Patna by storm*: after which, Cossim Allee Cawn retreated to Lassarum, and from thence to the banks of the Carrainnassa, the confines of the province, where he waited, with all his treasure and effects, for admittance into the country of Sujah Dowla, who was vizier to the Mogul †.

THE fugitive Cossim Allee Cawn was protected by the Shah Zadda, who was defeated by the English troops, commanded by major Hector Monro, on the 23d of October 1764, at Buxar, where he obtained a complete victory over the king and vizier of Indostan, whose army consisted of fifty thousand men, of whom six thousand were killed, and all the rest dispersed.

cut down himself. After which, the gentlemen, being alarmed by Mr. Smith, stood on their defence, and repulsed the sepoy with plates and bottles. Soomeroo then ordered them to the top of the house, to fire down on the prisoners; which they obeyed with reluctance, alledging, they could not think of murdering them in that manner: but if he would give the prisoners arms, they would fight them; on which he knocked several of them down with bamboes." The consequence was, all the gentlemen had their throats cut, or were shot.

* Of which a particular account may be seen in the major's letter to the secretary of state, published in the London Gazette of the 16th of June 1764. † Major Adams died of a disorder in his bowels; and his death was soon followed by that of captain Knox.

SUCH

SUCH was the situation of affairs in India, when lord Clive embarked from England, on the 3d of June 1764, to reassume the command in Bengal, where it is not doubted, but his presence will settle every thing to the honor of the British nation, and the advantage of the English East-India company*.

As to what concerns the English East-India company by the general treaty of peace, I have only to make the following observations, for the conclusion of this work.

THE two grand objects of the company, even from the time of commencing the negotiation, under Mr. Pitt's administration, had constantly been; first, "A total exclusion of the French from Bengal, where the company enjoyed extensive and valuable possessions, and from whence they derived their most profitable and valuable trade." Second, "In the restitution of French territories, to fix such a period as would leave them nothing more than places of trade, without a single acquisition of territory by conquest or grant from the country powers; and it was thought, that the year 1744 or 1745 would effectually answer that purpose."

THIS was the first time the British government undertook to make a peace for the East-India company; and by the preliminary articles of peace, between the kings of Great Britain, France and Spain, signed at Fontainebleau, the 3d of November 1762, it was stipulated as follows:

ARTICLE X. "In the East-Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France the several comptoirs which that crown had, on the coast of Coromandel, as well as on that of Malabar, and also in Bengal,

* His lordship embarked on board the Kent, at Portsmouth; was at the Brazils in October, and at the Cape of Good Hope in January 1765, from whence it was expected he would arrive at Bengal in March following.

at the commencement of hostilities between the two companies in the year 1749, in the condition in which they now are; on condition, that his most Christian majesty renounces the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel, since the said commencement of hostilities between the two companies in the year 1749." — "His most Christian majesty, on his side shall restore all that he shall have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war: and he also engages not to erect any fortifications, or to keep any troops in Bengal *."

THIS article was objected to, and with great reason: but it was rectified in the definitive treaty of peace, between his Britannic majesty, the most Christian king, and the king of Spain, concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February 1763, whereby it was stipulated as follows:

ARTICLE XI. "In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories, which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His most Christian majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war, and will expressly cause

* By the xxi. article, it was also agreed, that "all the countries and territories, which might have been conquered, in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of their Britannic and most Faithful majesties, as well as those of their most Christian and Catholic majesties, which were not included in the present articles, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, should be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensations." And by the next article, it was farther agreed, that "the comptoirs in the East Indies should be restored six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner, if it could be done."

Nattal and Tapanouly, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored: he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Soubah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixia, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic; and Salabat Jing for lawful Soubah of the Deckan: and both parties should renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one side or the other, during the war."

THUS I am come to a conclusion of the war carried on by the English and French in the East Indies, first as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, and afterwards as declared enemies, for the space of eight years; wherein the English troops acquired immortal honor for their king and country, and great advantages for the English East India company; which I heartily wish may be happily maintained, honorably supported, and prudently increased.

The END.

 A P P E N D I X.

A Journal from Aleppo, over the Desert to Bafferah,
 October 21, 1771.

AT two this afternoon took my departure from Aleppo for Bafferah, in company with signior Andrea Johanna, when directing our course nearly S. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E, at sun-set arrived at Tilleran, a small Turkish village, where we joined the caravan, which was encamped near that place. The wind westerly, with dark cloudy weather; the night cold, with drizzling rain.

22d.

This morning at eight mounted my camel, for the first time, his magnitude seemed highly disgusted with my hat, and twice ran away with me from the caravan, but was soon satisfied with this sport.

From Tilleran, directing our course about S. E. by S. an hour and a half brought us to *Indabab* (*i. e.* Golden Water, a small village on the south side of the road; the houses are small, and resemble sugar-loaves: on the north side of the road is an artificial mount, which seems to have been raised for the defence of the water. The land hereabouts is a fine black soil, mostly arable.

Thence continuing a S. E. by S. course, 35 minutes, came to Sphera, a small village south of the road; on the north-side are two large fountains of good clear water, near the foot of an

A

artificial

artificial mount, on the top of which is a building resembling a tomb.

From this place travelling S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. in two hours and a half came to Geboul, which lies on the south-side of the road; it appears to have been a more considerable village than any of the former, but is now almost in ruins. At a small distance to the N. E. is seen the valley of Salt, which supplies all the country with that commodity. Continuing our march four hours and a half came to Hagla, and encamped, the camel's motion very disagreeable.

23d.

The caravan continued here all day, preparing for a regular march; the wind easterly and fresh, with dark cloudy weather; it rained hard all night, which made our lodging but uncomfortable.

24th.

The tents and baggage being made very heavy by the rain which fell in the night, we were forced to defer our departure till they were dry. I took this opportunity to visit a valley at the end of a range of hills to the northward, which terminate at Hagla, where I found several wells about twelve feet deep, built round with stone, the water very indifferent; notwithstanding which there seems, by the many remaining foundations, to have been formerly a large town here; there are also many squared stones standing perpendicularly, like those usually erected over graves, but I saw no inscriptions.

The Arabs report, that there are many black scorpions among these ruins; for which reason we encamped at a distance; the night dark, cold and rainy, with a fresh easterly gale.

Names

A P P E N D I X. 3

Names of the remarkable places in the rout of
the caravan.

	Courses.	Tim. Mar.	
		Hours	Min.
From Aleppo to Tilleran	S. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	4	
From Tilleran to Indahab	S. E. by S.	1	30
From Indahab to Sphera	S. E. by S.		35
From Sphera to Geboul	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	2	30
From Geboul to Hagla.	S. E.	2	
From Aleppo to Hagla		11	5

25th.

Mounted this morning at eight. Directing our way over hard stony ground, in two hours and a half came to a steep descent, where a camel breaking his leg, was immediately butchered for an Arab feast. Here the hills on the right-hand begin to decline, and tending more to the southward, at the distance of about two miles, terminate on the plain. On the north-side of the road are many foundations of buildings, and several heaps of stones collected together, by which it appears, that this country was formerly well peopled and cultivated.

Kept S. S. E. one hour over the south end of the valley of Salt, which is a hard sandy soil quite level; then turned E. S. E. two hours, and at half past one in the afternoon encamped on the plain. The extreams of the high land Lahauz bearing S. E. by S. and S. W. by W. These hills are very remarkable, being about three miles in length from N. W. to S. E. their appearance is as here represented.

The Arabs said, there was water in the ruins of two old castles in these hills; but as they did not mention it in time, I had no opportunity of vi-

siting them. Lahauz (*i. e.* Discovery) is a very proper name for these heights, being finely situated for the distant discovery of the march of an army, or caravan, either on the plain or desert.

Here it may be necessary (having before omitted it) to mention the strength and number of the caravan. It consisted of thirty-three Christians, merchants and passengers, seven Jews, and about twenty Turks, with Sheik Mahaufon, our conductor, and an escort of 240 Arab soldiers under his command. Fifty horses, thirty mules, and about twelve hundred camels, six hundred of which were laden with merchandize, chiefly belonging to the Christians and Jews; amounting in value to near three hundred thousand pounds sterling; the remainder were either ridden, or loaded with provisions.

26th.

Mounted this morning at sun-rise, directing our course S. E. by E. After a march of nine hours and a half arrived a little after four at Auro il Arauneb; *i. e.* the country of Hares, where we encamped. The surface of the earth all this day was covered with a white scurf; which reminded me of the manna gathered by the Israelites in the wilderness; at first I took it for salt, but on tasting, found it only a kind of alcali, drawn from the earth by the heat of the sun. I have already had reason to observe, that the Arabs were a little too ready to find things before they are lost; yesterday my handkerchief was conveyed away, and this evening they stole my blanket. A small breeze from N. W. all day, with pleasant weather; the night frosty.

27th.

This morning at sun-rise we mounted, our course was S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. to S. E. by E. or to take it on a mediuna

dium S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. for eight hours and $\frac{1}{2}$; at a little after three we encamped on the plain at Tilliam Lack (*i. e.* look out sharp.) Pleasant weather, with a breeze at N. W. The night cold, and inclining to frost. No water.

28th.

This morning by looking out sharp got coffee for breakfast, which with a little bread served me the whole day.

Having suffered much last night (which was very cold) from the want of my blanket, I thought of the following stratagem to recover it. I entered into conversation with the Arabs on the subject of my loss, and took occasion to mention how highly they were celebrated by travellers for their honesty; which made me conclude, that my blanket had been taken away by some mistake, and would be returned as soon as the error was discovered. This had the desired effect; the Arab who had it, fearful for the national honour, returned it, pretending he had found it on a camel. On the recovery of my property, I complimented the thief on his not deviating from the integrity of his countrymen. We set out early this morning, and marched S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. nine hours; at half past three in the afternoon encamped near the Jabian mountains; the weather fair, with a small breeze at east.

From Lahauz to this place the country is perfectly level, and the soil sandy. There are great plenty of hares, whose holes or burrows, of which the ground is as full as a warren, made it very troublesome to the camels; the mountains of Jabia run from the N. E. to S. W. and in a clear morning appear as in the view, No.

29th.

Set forwards at sun-rise; after travelling S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. thirty minutes, came to some rising ground, which to avoid we kept S. S. E. half an hour, when a steep descent made us decline S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. for another half hour; from thence through a valley S. E. one hour and a half, and then shifted our course to S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. in which direction we marched two hours, and about noon arrived at Ain il Kom, or the Fountain of War, where we encamped on a rising ground round a large spring of mineral water, from which issues near four tons an hour; it is blood warm, has a good taste, and is of an excellent quality. At about a hundred yards S. W. of this spring is an artificial mount, near two hundred feet high, raised for its defence. The mount bearing S. by E. at the distance of a quarter of a mile, it appears as in No. A is the place of the spring.

We saw a great quantity of cellery about this fountain or spring, and many large bushes on the desert, which were the first we met with since our departure from Hagla. From the mount, I could plainly perceive with my glass the ruins of Tibia, bearing south, distant about five miles. There still remains a large tower standing, surrounded with many ruins of great buildings. I also observed a hill, which appeared to have been fortified; from these circumstances, as well as its situation, believe Tibia was formerly very strong.

I offered an Arab a chequeen to accompany me thither, but he demanding three, I relinquished my intention.

There is a noble subterranean aquaduct cut thro' the rock, which conveys the water from this spring to Gufferah Sawye, a large old fort, at the entrance of this pass, ten miles to the southward,

ON

on the other side of the mountains. This was a prodigious undertaking, and testifies the former importance of this place.

30th.

There being plenty of proper food for our camels, and the water good, we halted here this day, in order to lay in a proper store of that element, as we could not expect to meet with much more on our proposed route, the rainy season being but just commenced.

I fancy Bear is only fifteen miles N. E. from hence, and imagine it to be the same place mentioned in Judges ix. 21.

A little to the southward of this place is a large cross road, running from E. N. E. to W. S. W. which seems to pass from Bear Urfa in Mesopotamia to Jerusalem Damascus, Tyre Tripoly, and other places of note on the sea coasts, and S. W. parts of Syria; and this being likewise the pass from Persia and Chaldea to the north of Syria and Lesser Asia, a constant garrison was kept at this fort; whence the necessity of this grand aquaduct is evident, more particularly as this was probably the way by which those numerous armies, mentioned both in sacred and prophane history, marched from Babylon and other places of the east.

About eight miles from Tibia is the ruins of Sachne (*i. e.* Hot Water) another antient city, so named from a spring of excessive hot water, which issues from a mountain there.

Forty miles S. W. of Tibia stands the magnificent ruins of the once great and famous city of Jadmor, which with great probability is thought to be the same spoken of in 1 Kings ix. 18. and 2 Chron. viii. 4. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as, except this and the two places whose ruins are already mentioned, I could not hear of

the least appearance of any other; besides, there seems no where in the desert, unless near these mountains, a sufficiency of water for a large city.

At a small distance from Jadmor is a village of salt, thought to be that mentioned 2 Sam. 8th and 13th verses; where David defeated the Syrians. If this be admitted, then Tibia and Sackne are probably the ancient cities of Tibhath and Chun, 1 Chron. xviii. 8. From whence David brought that great quantity of brass, with which Solomon made the Brazen sea, Pillar, and other works of the Temple. My reasons for these opinions are founded on the several passages in the Old Testament, as well as on the similarity in the sound of Tibia and Tibhath.

Places names in the carav. route.	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Hagla to Lahauz,	S. E. by S.	2	30
	S. S. E.	1	
	E. S. E.	1	
Lahang to Auro il Aruneb,	S. E. by E.	9	30
Auro il Aruneb to Tellemac,	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	8	30
Tillemlack to the Tiebran mountains,	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	9	
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	30
Tiebran mountains to Air il Kom.	S. S. E.		30
	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.		30
	S. E.	1	30
Hagla to Air il Kom.		37	30

By the aforefaid calculation for Air il Kom, and estimating the distance to Tibia S. by W. five miles, and that Tadmor is S. W. from hence twenty hours of a caravan. I then compute that Tiaba is situated in

Lat. by account and estimate 35 15 No.

Long. a merid. of { Aleppo 1 11 E.
London 38 45

Jadmor

Jadmor is situated in

Lat. by account and estimat.	38	52	N.
Long. a merid.	{ Aleppo	00	37 E.
	{ London	38	11

Having neither books, maps, or tables of latitude and longitude, I am consequently obliged to rely on my memory; from which I think Jerusalem is situate about $32^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude, nearly $35^{\circ} 00'$ east of London. This being admitted, Jerusalem is only 250 miles S. W. from Tibia, and 200 S. W. from Tadmor.

31st.

Mounted this morning at sun-rise, marching S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. one hour, we had a fair view of the ruins of Tibia, which are at present entirely deserted.

Thence moved S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. two hours and a half, and S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. one hour, through a fine and large valley, between the mountains, and came to Gufferah Swaye, *i. e.* the palace of Swaye, a large old fortress, on the south-side of the mountains, and at the entrance of the pass, which is here only about a mile wide, with steep hills on either side.

This valley is about fifteen miles long, and at Tibia eight or ten broad. The soil is good, and was formerly well watered by the aquaduct, which I before mentioned; and which I had now an opportunity of examining. It is arched over, and at proper distances had receivers with wells over them to draw water; many of which still are to be seen, but all defaced and ruined. At these places I observed great quantities of jesping, a kind of sparry matter, resembling the chrystals of nitre. It only appeared about the aquaduct where the water was stopped, or on the desert where mineral water had been spilt, on the hot sand. The A-
rabs

rabs say, there is an inscription in Gufferah Swaye-
agee to this purport, we filled this Gufferah (or
palace) with figs.

About an hour S. W. are the ruins of Sackne,
on the south side the mountains. I had not time
to visit the old fortress, being situated on the west-
side of the pass, and my cameler keeping on the
east.

The rocks on this side the pass are very white,
and seem to be a kind of alabaster.

Thence directing our course S. E. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.
two hours and a half, over a dry sandy soil quite
level, encamped at two on the plain at Geboul
Busheir, from whence the south-side of the Ti-
bean mountains appear; a clear evening as in
No. No water.

November 1.

Decamped this morning, travelling between
S. E. and E. S. E. I allow the medium S. E. by E.
nine hours; and about three in the afternoon en-
camped. We met with no water here, the coun-
try sandy, and quite level; a small breeze from
N. W. all day, with cloudy weather; the night
cold; the point of the black mountains at Sackne
N. W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. distance about nine leagues.

2d.

Marched at sun-rise, proceeding E. S. E. seven
hours, over a hard soil, full of small stones, and
quite level; came then to a small descent, from
whence kept E. by S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. three hours, till near
sun-set, when we encamped. A small breeze from
east all day, with pleasant weather; night cool.
No water.

3d.

3d.

Decamped at sun-rise, course E. by S. four hours and ten minutes; at eleven encamped at Jeul il Ganam (*i. e.* the Sheeps Pool) a low sandy bottom, where there are several wells, or rather holes in the sand, about ten feet deep, from whence they draw a kind of mineral water, but much inferior to that of Ain il Kom. Near these wells where water had been spilt is abundance of jepsing, which looks very pretty, glittering in the sun like glass; it has a rough pungent taste, and might probably produce allum, if the proper means were made use of.

Here we found a wounded man; he said he had remained eight days in that condition, without nourishment of any kind. Indeed he appeared almost spent. There were also several dead bodies thrown into the wells; after taking some refreshment, he gave us the following relation.

Two parties of Arabs who were enemies, chancing to meet eight days ago at Jeub il Ganam, they had an obstinate engagement, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides; at length they parted, as it were by consent. The one party standing to the northward, the other towards the south; they left this man, supposing him dead.

We had reason to suspect they both came with the intent of plundering the caravan, which we escaped by this unexpected meeting, when they vented their rage and disappointment on each other. On account of this lucky escape, the Arabs killed a camel for a festival of joy. There are a few bushes here, but no appearance of any antient or other buildings. I was told, that the city of Rackba is about nine hours E. N. E. from this place, wherefore shall calculate the situation of Jubil Ganam to guess at Rackba,

Names

12 A P P E N D I X.

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Ain il Kom to Gufferah Swaygee,	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	1	
	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	2	30
Gufferah Swaygee to Geboul Bufsheir,	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	1	
	S. E. by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	2	30
Geboul Bufsheir to Jabil Ganam,	N. E. by E	9	
	E. S. E.	7	
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	3	
	E. by S.	4	10
Ain il Kom to Jabil Ganam is		30	10
Aleppo to Ain il Kom was		48	55
Aleppo to Jabil Ganam is		78	45

Rackba is situated in { Lat. by acct. and estimat. 34 34 N. }
 { Long. a merid. of { Aleppo 2 29 } E.
 { London 40 03 }

Rackba is still a large place, but much inferior to its ancient condition.

Indeed this country affords a melancholy proof of the instability of human affairs, when it is remembered, that of the part adjacent to the river Euphrates, and within the compass of thirty miles there were formerly not less than three hundred and fifty cities, towns, and villages, of whose ruins scarce a single trace at this time remains.

4th.

Mounted this morning at forty minutes past seven, E. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. three hours and a half; came then to Batton Swab, *i. e.* Gathering of Water, which seems in the rainy season to be a large river; but it is now dry; from thence kept S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. four hours.

hours. At ten minutes after three encamped on a fine soil, where we found plenty of food for our camels.

Our march was delayed till the return of some spies sent to Jabil Ganam the next water, in order to reconnoitre.

A fresh breeze in the morning. The night cool and agreeable. The country in this day's march not so level as in some of our former, as we met with several risings and descents, but more difficult of passage; the soil is hard and good, but no water; tho', from the size and verdure of the shrubs it is probable, that on digging plenty would be found.

5th.

Decamped this morning at sun-rising. Marched S. E. by E. one hour and three quarters; thence S. E. three hours; E. by S. forty-five minutes, and E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. half an hour, when we came again to the track or course of Battan Swab, which was also dry here. Encamped about half an hour after noon. The spies being returned, said, they found some people at the river, but that they were friends; and reporting that they saw abundance of rain water, much nearer, and directly in our route, it was determined to go thither. A small northerly breeze all day, and pretty warm; but the night cool and pleasant. The soil hard and good. Land uneven, but no hills in sight, except one running from N. E. to S. W. about a league in length, bearing north from hence, and distant about a mile; on the other side of which is, in the rainy season, a river; but it is at present dry.

This evening the camp was alarmed by the appearance of nine strangers; who on their first approach

proach we suspected to be thieves, coming with an intention to steal our camels. Our horsemen, on seeing the smallness of their number, rode out toward them with much affected bravery, and firing their pieces all the way. It proved, however, that they were friends, and come from Jurfa, a small village on the river, to compliment the Sheik, and to invite the caravan thither to fill water. The merchants presented each of them with a vest of cloth.

By this evening's amplitude found the variation to be about three quarters of a point west.

6th.

Mounted this morning at a quarter past seven. Travelling E. S. E. five hours over hard stony and uneven ground, till a quarter past twelve; came then to Battan Farda, *i. e.* the Brook Farda, and encamped; there is now much rain-water here; and in the rainy season I believe it forms a pretty rivulet. A fine westerly breeze all day, and the weather very warm; but the night agreeably cool.

About four miles E. S. E. from hence is Irfa, a small Arab village, on the other side the river Euphrates; and about thirty miles thence N. E. is the city of Urfa, from which I calculate the situation of this place.

Places names in our route.	Courses.	H.	Min.
	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	3	30
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	4	
	S. E. by S.	1	45
	S. E.	3	
	E. by S.		45
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.		30
	E. S. E.	5	
From Jubil Ganam to Battan Farda, is		18	30
Aleppo to Jubil Ganam, was		78	45
Aleppo to Battan Farda, was		97	15

By

By the calculation for Battan Farda, and estimating the distance from hence to Urfa (four miles E. N. E.) and that the city of Urfa is thence N. E. thirty miles, I conclude that Urfa

o "

is situa- ted in	}	lat. by acct. and estimation	34 26 N.
		long. from the meridian	{ Aleppo 2 43 E. London 40 17

is situa- ted in	}	lat. by acct. and estimation	34 47 N.
		long. from the meridian	{ Aleppo 3 08 E. London 40 42

N. B. This calculation for Urfa is not to be relied on, as the Arabs do not seem to be clear in either their course or distance from Urfa hither.

The city of Urfa is the capital of the province of Dierback, and is with good reason thought to be the *Ur* of the Chaldeans, mentioned *Gen. xi. 31.* and is perhaps one of the most ancient cities in the world.

The Mahometans who highly venerate it, on account of its being the birth-place of Abraham, tell a great many marvellous stories about it, one of which is as follows.

“ They say Abraham’s father was a gross ido-
 “ later, and being a statuary by trade, used to
 “ carve idols for Nimrod. His son had frequent-
 “ ly, in vain, expostulated with him, on the ab-
 “ surdity of worshipping gods he had himself
 “ made. One day he took the opportunity of
 “ the old man’s absence, and broke and defaced
 “ his whole stock in trade. The father, on his
 “ return, finding his deities in this mutilated
 “ state, enquired into the cause; when Abraham
 “ answered him, he supposed they had quarrelled
 “ and treated each other in that rough manner.
 “ The father, enraged at this sarcasm, and right-
 “ ly

ly guessing at the author of the sacrifice, complained to Nimrod, who ordered Abraham to be seized, and thrown from a place raised on two high pillars, into a great fire; which was accordingly executed. When God immediately changed the fire into a pond of water, and the billets of wood into fishes; so that Abraham fell into the pond, without receiving the least injury." The pond is large and full of fish, which are very tame; no one daring to take them, they being held sacred to the memory of Abraham.

I asked some Jews of the caravan, whether they believed this story? They answered, they had a tradition to the same import.

At noon many people came from Urfa. As the camp was too far for any supply of provision, their numbers made us keep a good look out, as on all occasions, power and right are with them synonymous terms.

Here a great fat fellow, a Sheik (*i. e.* squire or gent.) came to our tent in search of a doctor. I felt his pulse, and finding it feverish, prescribed bleeding; but having no lancet amongst us, our barber, with a rusty razor, made a large orifice, or rather a hole, which with great difficulty was afterwards closed. After the operation he slept for about three hours, got up, broke wind, eat a large dish of pillaw, and found himself perfectly recovered. Had my friend Dr. Russel seen him eat, I am persuaded he would admit my knowledge in Therapeuticks.

7th.

Proceeded this morning at eight, and directed our course S. E. two hours and a quarter. Thence
S. E.

S. E. by S. half an hour to avoid some rising ground; then E. S. E. two hours, and E. by S. one hour; when we passed a valley between some hills E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ one hour; then turning in the direction of the valley two hours, encamped about three quarters after four in the afternoon, in a low valley, not quite a mile broad, between the *Hills Manelyal* (i. e. *Hills of Defence*.) A fine westerly breeze all day, with serene pleasant weather, the night agreeably cool. The country hilly, the soil hard and barren, and no water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at ten minutes after six; travelling E. by S. one hour and a quarter; the E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. two hours, and E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. three hours. At ten minutes past four encamped in a bottom, called *Jacabjamus*, or *Buffaloe's Hole*.

A small breeze at west all day, with cool cloudy weather. Soil, &c. as before. No water.

9th.

Decamped this morning at seven, our course was E. S. E. three hours; E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ one hour and a quarter; then E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; then went down a deep descent into a plain; from whence we kept E. S. E. two hours; S. E. by E. one hour; and S. E. by S. another hour. At four this afternoon encamped.

A small fresh breeze, southerly all day; with dark cloudy weather; the soil hard, the country level. No water.

10th.

Mounted this morning at seven; our course E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ one hour and a half; then going round some rising grounds, kept S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. two hours
C and

and a quarter; when we arrived at Oglet Haran, *i. e.* Kot of Haran. Encamped in a low bottom surrounded by hills.

This valley is about one mile broad, and two long; in the middle of it are several large bushes, and many wells of indifferent Spaw water. There are a number of graves, with cut stones on the hill, on the south-east side, which make it probable it was formerly inhabited. There are also several others of later date on the hill, on the north side of the valley, which I imagine were made for passengers belonging to the caravans, who died in their passage. Haran is the antient name of this place, and Oglet, a Knot or Knowl, was probably derived from a hillock, resembling a knot on the highland on the south side, which appears, as in No. 5. on the top are great heaps of stone, but no signs of any building.

The name of this valley reminds me of the Haran of Abraham and Laban; and there is reason from different parts of scripture (which I shall mention after I have found the situation of this place) to believe their dwelling was somewhere hereabout.

Names of the places in the rout of the caravan.

	Course.	H.	Min.
From Battan Forda to Mancayal,	S. E.	2	15
	S. E. by E.		30
	E. S. E.	2	
	E. by S.	3	
	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	1	
Mancayal to Jacobjamus,	E. by S.	1	15
	E. S. E.	3	45
	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	2	
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	3	
	E. S. E.	5	
Jacobjamus to Oglet Haran,	E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	1	
	E. by S.	1	
	S. E. by E.	1	
	S. E. by S.	1	
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	1	30
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	15
From Battan Forda to Oglet Haran, is		34	30
Aleppo to Batton Forda, was		97	15
Aleppo to Oglet Haran,		124	45

According to the estimation I made at Battan Forda, the city of Urfa should be only fifty-six miles N. N. W. from hence; and I imagine Abraham and his family came thence hither; which seems agreeable to the Mosaick account in Gen. xi. 31.

I formerly thought Haran was in Mesopotamia; but on farther enquiry, believe the contrary; for in Acts. vii. 3--4. St. Stephen says, "then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charan or Haran." By which it is evident Charan was not in Chaldea. But Hosea xii. 12. is

A P P E N D I X.

more particular, “ and Jacob fled into the country
“ of Syria; and Israel served for a wife, and for
“ a wife he kept sheep.”

Hence it is plain Haran was in Syria; and father Laban, who was born at Haran, is often called a Syrian; Gen. xxviii. 5, 30, 31. Now when Jacob fled from Laban, he was only ten days in reaching mount Gilead; and could hardly march more than twenty-five miles a day, for the reason given his brother Esau, Gen. xxxi. 13. At which rate the distance from where Jacob passed the river to mount Gilead cannot be supposed more than two hundred and fifty miles; and Laban came up with him in seven days. This agrees with the distance, at about the rate of thirty-five miles a day. This was a long march with camels. But I am at a loss to determine the situation of mount Gilead, tho’ by Deut. iii. 17. and Numb. xxxii. 40. it should be on the east side of the river Jordan, and about sixty miles E. N. E. from Jerusalem; and if Jerusalem be in lat. 32 : 30 N. and long. 35 : 00 E. from London. Then say

Mount Gilead is situated in	
lat. by account and estimation	32 : 07 N.
Long. from the meridian	{ Aleppo 1 : 28 } E. { London 36 : 06 }

By which calculation Mount Gilead bears from Haran S. W. by W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. distance two hundred and fifty-eight miles, which is near the distance supposed Jacob marched in ten days; and as any place farther to the S. E. or N. W. upon this river would much increase the distance. If I am right in my conjecture as to Mount Gilead and Oglet Haran, being on the way from Urfa to Canaan, near the river, and about the distance of Jacob’s march from Mount Gilead, I am inclined to think Oglet Haran is the Haran of that patriarch.

Mahomet

Mahomet pretended to affirm by inspiration, that the Haran where Abraham dwelt was that very spot where the temple of Mecca now stands, and which the Mahometans still call Haran. If this had been true, Jacob would have had no river to pass till he came to Jordan, and must then have marched near six hundred miles with his sheep, &c. in ten days, which is impossible; besides, we read Gen. xii. 9. after Abraham came from Haran to the land of Canaan, “and Abraham journeyed going on *still* towards the *south*,” by which it appears he come from the northward; and it must be remembered Mecca lies six hundred miles south from Canaan. Therefore, I may safely conclude, Mahomet very boldly asserted a falsehood, and was influenced by a different spirit from Moses; but as this impostor generally enforced his assertions by club eloquence, few cared to oppose such forcible arguments.

11th.

Mounted this morning at half past six, course S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. one hour and twenty minutes, then S. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. one hour, afterwards S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E three hours; then changing to E. by S. another hour, and E. one hour, through a narrow pass between high white rocky cliffs, at the farther end of which lies Ain il Arnab (*i. e.* Hares Pool) where we encamped at four: I allow ten minutes for stoppages and interruption the camels met with in going thro' this defile.

The country from Oglet Haran is hard and rugged; in many parts of the road are heaps of stones, about seven feet in length, and four in breadth, which I imagine are to cover graves. The water here is of the mineral kind, having a sulphureous and disagreeable taste. A small westerly breeze all day, with pleasant weather; the night cold.

12th.

Decamped this morning at fifty minutes past six, course S. E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. one hour; then east over hard stony ground two hours and a half. At twenty minutes after ten arrived at Cabassee, where we encamped on a rising ground.

The town bearing N. by E. about one mile distant, and a large mosque on the top of the hill on the N. E. at the distance of about three hundred yards.

Here is a deep aquaduct, cut in the rock thro' the hill, from which there is a run of water sufficient to work a mill, of a disagreeable sulphureous taste; but before it reaches the town, it is much meliorated by the earth and air.

The Arabs esteem Cabassee a very ancient town, and by its many ruins, it appears to have been once considerable. Its present inhabitants consists of only four hundred Arab families.

Here one-third of our caravan left us, being bound for Bagdat, and went about three hours journey further to the N. E. to Hit, where there is a bridge over the Euphrates, from which place Bagdat is about four days journey.

There are many date trees to the northward of this town, whose verdure formed a very agreeable prospect to us, who were just come from the desert, and reminded me of that beautiful simile in Psalm 1. verse 3.

Tho' here is great plenty of mutton, fowls, eggs and onions, yet they are not to be had without paying an exorbitant price; for if you employ the Arabs of the caravan to purchase them, they constantly impose on you, and it is not safe to go one's self, strangers here being very liable to insults. A small westerly breeze all day, with fair weather; the night cold, inclining to frost.

Places

Places names in the carav. route.	Courses.	H.	Min.	
From Oglet Haran to Ain il Arnab,	}	S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	1	20
		S. S. E.	1	
		S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	1	
		S. E.	1	
		S. E. by E.	3	
		E. by S.	1	
Ain il Arnab to Cabassee.	}	Eaft	1	
		S. E. by E $\frac{3}{4}$ E	1	
		Eaft	2	30
From Oglet Haran to Cabassee			12	50
Aleppo to Oglet Haran			124	45
Aleppo to Cabassee			141	35

By this calculation, and estimating the bridge to be N. E. three hours, hence then,

Lat. by account and estimation 33 49 N:
 Long. from the merid. { Aleppo 4 07 } East.
 { London 41 41 }

13th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. one hour and a half, to avoid some high land to the S. E. which runs east and west; then S. S. E. one hour and a half, which brought us on a plain; kept S. E. by S. two hours, encamped at Ardel Mahumedy, at half after one. The country rough and stony, till we got round the hills, and then a fine smooth soil, but no water. A small breeze at N. E. all day, with dark cloudy weather; at two a squall of rain, with thunder and lightning.

14th.

Proceeded this morning at seven, course S. E. by S. one hour and a half; then S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. seven hours,

C 4

hours, when arrived at Tammel, and encamped, at half an hour after three, near a large spring of mineral water, strongly impregnated with sulphur, defended by an artificial mount, forty feet high; within some walls, on the summit, are several graves; at some distance the ground seemed ploughed, or dug up for the purpose of sowing grain, but no houses or people were to be seen; the shrubs appeared more flourishing than we had before met with; there was much rain-water in several places. In this day's march the soil was generally good, and the country level, excepting some gullies, or broken channels, formed by the rain water, where the stones were very troublesome to the camels. At noon saw, at about a league to the N. E. of our rout, Ain il Gar (or the Fountain of Pitch) a bituminous spring, many large clods of which lay near the road. A fresh breeze from the S. E. with dark cloudy weather, and some showers of rain.

15th.

This morning mounted at half an hour past six, course from S. E. to S. E. by S. chiefly S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. ten hours and a half; encamped at five in the afternoon at Ermach (*i. e.* Launces) near and to the N. E. of five hillocks; the country mostly level, and the soil rich, but no water. A small northerly breeze all day, with cloudy weather.

16th.

Mounted at half an hour past six, course S. E. by E. one hour and a half, and E. S. E. two hours; saw about a mile to the eastward the ruins of Gufferah Muken (*i. e.* Palace of Muken) which, like most of the towns and buildings of this country, has little more than its foundations remaining.
Thence

Thence we proceeded S. E. by E. one hour, came then to Ain il Bassalin, or fountain of the eyes, a large spring of indifferent water. The soil hereabouts is hard and stoney; from thence S. E. by S. three hours, over a loose black spoil thick set with high shrubs. At two in the afternoon encamped at Miniaphen, where are several wells of pretty good water. About two miles N. N. E. of the camp is Rachele, a mean Arab village; and E. N. E. another called Stata, inhabited by professed robbers; from the latter they brought dates to sell to the caravan, of which I bought sixty pounds. A strong bleak northerly wind all day, with dark cloudy weather, the night cold.

17th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. E. by S. four hours, S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E. three hours, encamped at three.

At the distance of about four miles, bearing N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. of our camp, stands Alcander, a large and ancient fort, said by the Arabs to be built by a Christian queen, who, on account of the scarcity of stones had recourse to the following stratagem, to procure them. She caused publick proclamation to be made throughout the country, that she would give a load of gold for the like quantity of stone. On this publication a multitude of people flocked thither with their beasts of different kinds heavily laden. The first who arrived was a man with an ass, who depositing his load, received the stipulated reward.

Then the queen informed the others, that her promise extended only to one load, and that no more than that quantity was wanted. They, rather than return with their burdens, threw them down, by which she became possessed of more than sufficient for the completion of this fortress.

They

They likewise add, that this place which held out for many years, was at length taken by the following contrivance.

The Arabs having first privately lodged a number of men near the fort, ordered a small caravan slightly guarded to pass by, consisting of a number of camels, each carrying two armed men enclosed in baskets, disguised like bales of goods; the Christians sallied out, and seizing the supposed booty, carried it into the fort. At this instant the Arab party discovering themselves, seemed to prepare for an assault, when all the garrison running to the walls, gave the men hid in the baskets time to disengage themselves; which they instantly did, and seizing one of the gates, let in their comrades. Could it be supposed that the Arabs had ever read Virgil, I should have imagined they had formed the plan of this stratagem, from that of the Trojan horse.

I am confidently told, that a caravan may march from Alkander to the Euphrates in three hours; and after crossing that river, may reach Bagdat in five, so that estimating the march of a caravan at its usual rate of two miles per hour, the distance from Alkander to Bagdat is about sixteen miles.

Probably somewhere hereabouts stood the ancient city of Babylon. History informs us, Cyrus took it by turning the course of the Euphrates, and making himself an entrance into the city through the deserted bed of that river. It was likewise said to be near Bagdat, which city still stands on its original foundations: If therefore Babylon was as Doctor Prideaux describes it, "a square each side fifteen miles in length, it could not have fallen very far from Alkander."

The

The name and situation of Alcander gave me a desire to view it, but could not prevail on my cameller to go with me for less than a chequin, but my finances not being in the best order, night approaching, and being fearful of losing the caravan, I did not gratify my inclination.

The country here was quite level soil, sandy, and full of high shrubs. Plenty of water.

A fresh gale from the N. W. with dark hazy weather; at two it began to rain, and continued drizzling all night; the many gusserahs or palaces we met with in our march, persuades me there were formerly several petty princes in this country. Some of whom might possibly be those who were informed of the birth of Christ, by the appearance of the star, as mentioned in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Names

A P P E N D I X.

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Cabassee to Air il Mahumedy,	S. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	1	30
	S. S. E.	1	30
	S. E. by S.	2	
Ardil Mahumedy to Tamell	S. E. by S.	1	30
Tamel to Ermat	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	7	
	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	30	10
Ermat to Ain il Bafalem	S. E. by E.	1	30
	E. S. E.	2	
Ain il Bafalem to Maineaphen	S. E. by E.	1	
	S. E. by S.	3	
Maineaphen to Al Kander	S. E. by S.	4	
	S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	3	
		39	30
Aleppo to Cabassee		141	35
		181	5

Lat. by account and estimat. 32 42 N.

Long. a merid. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Aleppo} \quad 4 \quad 6 \\ \text{London} \quad 42 \quad 20 \end{array} \right\} \text{E.}$

By this account it is 360 miles to Jerusalem.

18th.

The caravan being obliged to halt here, in order to dry their tents, &c. furnished me with the wished-for opportunity of visiting Al Kander. Accordingly, by the persuasive argument of a dollar, I prevailed on a cameller to accompany me thither; when arming myself with a brace of pistols, I set out at eight o'clock, and arrived at the castle about thirty minutes after nine.

The magnificent appearance of these ruins, almost persuaded me they were part of the antient Babylon.

The Arab, my companion, declined entering for fear of serpents or wild beasts; so taking a pistol

pistol in each hand I ventured alone, creeping thro' a hole in the gate-way, which was nearly filled up with rubbish.

I crossed the building over heaps of stones, and went out at the north gate, after which, going round it as close as the ruins would permit, I counted my paces, in order to form some guess at its dimensions.

This fortress consists of a square castle, surrounded by an envelope, or exterior wall of the same shape, casmated and fortified with towers and turrets.

The envelope, or surrounding wall, is an exact square, whose sides face the cardinal points of the compass; each measuring seven hundred feet, being two hundred and fifty of my paces.

On each angle is a round tower, of about twenty feet diameter, and in the center of each side is another of the same size and figure; thro' these last are gates, on each side of which are disposed at equal distances five small turrets, of about ten feet diameter, and between every tower or turret are two arches, making in all twenty-four on each side of the square; these are filled up to within one foot of the surface of the wall, and give it a magnificent appearance.

Most of the walls are near fifty feet high, and thirty thick, with loop holes for four thousand men, exclusive of those on the top of the works. Having thus surveyed the outer part of the envelope, I entered at the south-gate to examine its internal construction.

This and the other gates are only ten feet wide at the entrance, but enlarge to fifteen, and are about twenty feet high; here I saw a door which seemed the entrance into the casmates, it was six feet high, and arched over, but being very dark, I could not observe the way which mounted to the
loop

loop holes, but imagine it was by stairs in the towers at the angles.

The arches over the gates are well turned, being segments of circles; at present the gates are almost entirely filled up with rubbish and loose stones. The walls on the inside are plain; next adjoining to the south-side, is a parade of six hundred and twenty feet long, and two hundred and sixty broad, affording sufficient room to draw up ten thousand men.

On the south-side of the parade stands the castle which is likewise a regular square, whose interior side is three hundred feet, fortified like the envelope with round towers at the angles, and on the center of the curtains; the interior diameters of these towers are only eight feet.

The only entrance into this building was from the north-gate, except at the north-west angle, where there has been a little door.

The inside is divided into four divisions or squares, the lower parts of which seems a cluster of arches; these were, I suppose, the magazines, and over them the rooms for the officers, but they are all now ruined; and by the great quantity of rubbish which has fallen down, it appears these buildings were formerly very high. In the N. W. square are three large arches, the middle one about twenty-five feet high; under it is a large hall, about seventy-two feet in length, and thirty-six broad. Over the entrance from the north-gate on the inside, are three niches in the wall, and one on each side, where there have been images; but for its situation, which is to the north, I should have thought it a Christian altar. Perhaps the primitive Christians might be wiser than to think, that directing their prayers to any particular point of the compass added to their efficacy: but be this as it may, it is either the work of Christians or Pagans,

Pagans, for the Mahometans admit of no images in their buildings; and as they conquered this country in the sixth century, this building must consequently be very antient, and was erected above eleven hundred years ago.

On the east and west sides of this castle are two oblong spaces or parades, each two hundred and seventy feet long and one hundred broad, and the north wall is prolonged from the N. E. and N. W. angles, till it joins the walls of the envelope.

Between the castle and the north side of the envelope is an intermural space, six hundred and twenty feet long and seventy-two broad. This may have been barracks for the troops.

At about twenty yards distant from this fortress, stood a building 360 feet long and one hundred and eighty broad, also divided into four squares; one of which is fortified with towers, the other three are vaulted stables for horses. The walls of the fortified part are of the same height as those of the fortress; the others are only twelve feet high. By the ruins I observed a communication from the stables to the other building.

The whole of these buildings are composed of hard brown squared stones, laid like bricks, and strongly cemented with black earth mortar, excepting the arches which are white, and seem to have been laid with lime.

Before the use of artillery, this must have been a very strong fortification, and was capable of containing a garrison of thirty thousand men. I was told by some of the caravan, that there were inscriptions in this castle, but I met with none.

About two hundred yards from the N. E. angle of the great gate, are the ruins of a strong house built with stone and lime; and at about the distance of a mile and a half to the N. E. are other remains;

remains; but noon approaching, and the weather being clear, I was fearful the caravan might proceed, so would not venture to be absent any longer, otherwise should have remained here till evening.

I should have been glad, with agreeable company, to have made a progress along the river, being persuaded we should have met with many magnificent remains.

The tomb of Ezekiel is said to be only twenty miles east from hence, and as he died in captivity, it is probable he was buried somewhere near Babylon; this is another reason justifying my opinion of this city, being situated hereabouts; not that I imagine Alcander to be any part of it, as I think it of much later date; perhaps the work of the Greek or Palmyrian states; for, after the destruction of Babylon, there still remained several large cities in this part of the country. The fort then might be erected for the protection of the commerce, carried on between them and Palmyra. Though the soil is good, and plenty of water, it is at present totally deserted by every living creature, except serpents and wild beasts; so thoroughly is accomplished the prophecies of Isaiah xiii. 19, 20, 21, 22, and Jeremiah li. 29, 53.

Indeed, when I consider the once magnificent state of Babylon, its stupendous walls and hanging gardens, so pompously described in antient history, it seems little less than miraculous, that it should be so totally eradicated, as not to leave sufficient traces to determine, with any exactness, its former situation. If I was to interpret literally the prediction of Jeremiah li. 63, 64, where he says, "And it shall be when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the middle of Euphrates, and thou shalt say, thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil I will bring upon her." I should

should be tempted to suppose it swallowed up by the river, which is the more possible, as the country hereabouts is a perfect bed of dry sand, and the river appears to have shifted greatly to the north-east of its antient channel.

About a mile to the south of the fort are two hillocks, seemingly artificial, and a ridge running strait to the N. E. These I take to be the foundations of buildings now covered with sand; but not having sufficient time to examine them, or tools to move the sand, could not verify my conjectures.

At noon set out for the caravan, which I joined by half an hour after one; I found them still encamped, and determined to remain there till the next morning. On this information I repented my returning so soon.

A fresh bleak N. W. wind all day; the night very cold.

19th.

Mounted this morning at seven, our course S. by E. one hour, S. S. E. one hour, S. E. by S. two hours, S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. one hour, S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. three hours, and E. S. E. one hour; encamped at four in the afternoon on a dry barren plain, no water near us, but found enough on the road. A small S. E. breeze, with dark cloudy weather; the country a barren level; our course this day has, in my opinion, been more southerly than was necessary, as no impediments appeared to the eastward, and a south-east course would have been much more direct.

20th.

Decamped this morning at seven, directing our course S. E. by E. two hours, came to a steep descent, where are some hills at a distance resembling buildings. On one of which to the right, called Tick de Gana, is said to be water. Pro-

D

ceeded

ceeded thro' a valley between sandy hills E. S. E. five hours, and at two in the afternoon encamped on the plain, from which it is only six hours S. E. by E. to Mechadali. A strong bleak north westerly wind all the morning, with dark hazy weather, and drizzling rain; the afternoon fair; the night cold and frosty. No water here, the country barren and the soil sandy. We met with several elevations on the road.

Some of our caravan told me they had seen the ruins of Babylon about eight hours journey east of hence; but I imagine they mistook the ruins of Cuffa for those of that city; Cuffa is below Bagdat, and Babylon is generally supposed above it.

A Persian merchant of our caravan informed me, some remains of the tower of Babel were still to be seen about twenty miles above Bagdat; that it was called Nimrod, from its founder; and on this occasion he amused me with the following traditional story.

“That Nimrod, in defiance of the Almighty, gathered together all the people for the purpose of erecting this tower, and under the direction of seventy-two Armenian architects, the most famous builders of their time; when having advanced the fabrick to a great height, God was pleased to make each of the builders speak a different tongue: this caused great confusion, and ever since there has been seventy-two different languages. Finding him so very particular, I asked him which were the languages then formed, but this exceeded his knowledge; however, it is not improbable that Babel was hard by Bagdat, or Bagsdeth, which, as well as Babel, signifies confusion.

21st.

This morning the water and sand being frozen, was obliged to wait till the sun had thawed them; however mounted at nine, our course S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. one hour and a quarter, then S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. one hour and a half, over a hard, stony, and hilly country; thence S. E. by E. three hours, over a plain, and came to Rackma, a rocky cliff, where were several pools of rain water; stopped here to let our camels drink, and afterwards proceeded round the cliff E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. three quarters of an hour, and came to another rocky craig, which joins the former, and in the rainy season makes a large rivulet of water. About forty minutes after three in the afternoon encamped in sight of Meched Ali, bearing E. by N. distant about eight miles.

Fair clear weather all day, with a bleak cold breeze from the N. W. The night frosty.

The country hard, hilly, and very barren, only in the valleys or cliffs where the water runs are many large bushes, bearing a berry of the size of a haw, called Zarour, having an agreeable acid taste.

At sun-set the cupels of Mechad Ali (*i. e.* a full view of Ali) appeared like a globe of fire on the side of the hill; that dome is said to contain the corps of Ali, the Persian prophet, and one of the four caliphs, who succeeded Mahomet; on which account this place is held in high veneration by all the musselmen of that sect bearing his name.

This mosque has been lately repaired and adorned, at a vast expence, by Nader Shaw, the sophy of Persia, so well known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli Kahn.

The whole doom is covered with gilt copper, and the doors, windows and galleries profusely decorated

corated with gilding, azure borders, freeze work, and every other ornament suited to the taste of the country.

But it is in the tomb of Ali that the eastern magnificence is more particularly manifested; which, according to an account I have seen written by a gentleman who visited it, is of exquisite workmanship, and set with jewels of immense value, altogether making a most dazzling appearance. I would fain have gone for the sake of personally examining the truth of his description, but was dissuaded, on account of the great risque I should have run of being murdered, or at least ill-treated, by the guardians of the prophet's tomb, who are reported to be the most abandoned miscreants on earth; and, like their master, declared inveterate enemies to the Christians, from whom this country was conquered, under the conduct of Ali and his sons.

Names of Places in the carav. rout.	course.	H.	Min.
	S. by E.	1	
	S. S. E.	1	
	S. E. by S.	2	
	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	1	
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	3	
From Alcanderto Tackde Gana	E. S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	2	
	E. S. E.	5	
	S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.	1	15
Tackde Gana to Rackam	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	1	30
	S. E. by E.	3	
Rackam to Gerseme	E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N.		45
Aleppo to Alkandar is		22	30
Aleppo to Gerseme is		182	35
		205	5

Lat. by account	32	08	N.
Mechad Ali is situate in	} Aleppo	5	} East.
Long. a merid.		} London	

22d.

Our bedding and other equipage being frozen, and the ground very slippery and dangerous for the camels, we were obliged to wait till the sun had thawed them; were forced to remain here till half an hour after nine, when we set out. Our course being S. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. five hours; at half an hour past two came to Pattan il Hafs, and encamped near a pool of rain water, the country uneven and stoney. A small breeze from the S. W. with fair pleasant weather, the night moderate.

23d.

This morning about four it rained hard for half an hour, but soon after clearing up, we set out at seven, directing our course S. S. E. one hour, S. E. three hours, and S. S. E. three more, came to Mugaroon (*i. e.* the square) an old ruined fort on the S. W. side of the road, I was a mile to the eastward when I first saw it; I immediately dismounted and went up to it, but the caravan being on their march, and night approaching, I had not time to make many remarks. This fort is a square, each side about sixty yards in length, and fortified with five round towers at equal distances; on the S. E. side is a large tank or reservoir for water, near five hundred yards in circumference, and about ten deep; the sides faced with stone, and at two or three places there are steps to descend into it. On each side are two mounts thrown up for its defence.

I also saw a tower with many other ruins about half a mile to the westward, from which I imagine here formerly stood a considerable town. The Arabs say the caliphs of Bagdat used to maintain a large garrison at this place for the protection of Pilgrims going to Mecca; also magazines of pro-

vision, in order to supply them for their journey. They likewise added, that there is hereabouts a well of a prodigious depth, covered with a stone, on which is an inscription in the Chaldean characters, and that there were others in the same language on the tower abovementioned: I could not examine them for reasons before assigned. Besides, the Arabs are so extremely jealous of any strangers who appear inquisitive in their researches into the antient buildings and ruins of this country, that it would be running a great risk to give a loose to ones curiosity; I therefore returned to the caravan, marching S. E. by E. two hours, at six encamped with them on a plain, where we found plenty of food for our camels but no water.

The night proved extremely cold, most of our bedding was frozen, so that our lodging was very disagreeable.

Names of places in the cara. rout.	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Gersume il Hash.	S. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	5	
Battan il Hash to Mugaroon.	S. S. E.	4	
	S. E.	3	
Gersume to Mugaroon,		12	
Aleppo to Gersume,		205	
Aleppo to Mugaroon,		217	5

Latitude by account,	31	45	N.
Mugaroon is situate	{	Aleppo	5 19
in long. from		London	42 53

24th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course variable; I judged it nearest S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. eight hours and a half. At half an hour after three in the afternoon came to Um il Hashem, and there encamped on the plain. A small breeze from the S. E.

S. E. the day clear and pleasant, the night cool: the country for the first five hours was mostly level, the soil good, full of small loose stones, but afterwards barren, with hard gravel. No water.

25th.

Mounted this morning at seven, course variable from south to south-east, nearly S. S. E. five hours, came to some rain water, when after letting the camels drink, proceeded E. S. E. three hours farther, and encamped at Abilmuris, on the plain; the country in general level; soil barren, hard and stony; the weather cold and raw. A fresh breeze from the S. S. E. with drizzling rain, which being directly in our faces, made the march very disagreeable.

26th.

A hard frost this morning, which detained us till the sun had dried and thawed, &c. At eleven mounted, our course S. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. five hours; at four in the afternoon encamped on the plain, near a pool of rain water; the country and soil mostly as yesterday, the weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from sun set to eight at night. Our conductor being informed that Sheik Gafme, with his tribe of Arabs, four thousand in number, lay encamped in the road near the rivers, we shifted our course more towards the desert, in order to avoid them.

27th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. E. by E. two hours, E. S. E. four hours, and E. by S. four more; some southerly turnings make me allow the compound course E. S. E. The country plain, soil hard and stony; a small S. W. breeze, and pleasant weather. No water.

D 4

28th

28th.

Decamped fifty minutes after six, course chiefly E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. seven hours; at two encamped on the plain, where was plenty of food for our camels. A great dew this morning, with a fog, which lasted till noon; a cold north west wind, weather fair, and the country as before. No water.

29th.

Proceeded at seven, course S. E. by E. and E. S. E. till eleven, then rounded a hill S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. half an hour, and came to Gurna, *i. e.* Corner, where we stopped near ten minutes, to water the cattle at a large pool, then re-assumed our march, course nearest E. S. E. three hours and a half, came to Batten Gufferah, *i. e.* the Palace rivulet, where we encamped near a large pool. A cold wind from the N. W. but the weather fine and clear; country hilly, the soil hard and stony.

The Arabs say Gufferah, an antient palace with many ruins, is to be seen about four miles N. E. from hence, but I had not time to visit them. The many Gufferahs, or palaces, whose ruins we meet with on our rout, shows the number of petty princes who formerly possessed this country, and who were mostly of Abraham's family; namely, the Dukes of Edom, Gen. xxxvi. and Ishmaelites, Gen. xxv. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, with the Moabites and Ammonites, descendants from Lot, who drove out the Emmims and Zamzumim, Deut. ii. 18 and 20. I take the Emmims, to be the present inhabitants of the southern parts of Arabia, the king of Muscat still retaining the title of Immim, or as they pronounce it Imaum.

Names

Places names in the carav. route.	Courses.	M	H.
From Mugaroon to Unil Hafhem	S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$	8	30
Unil Hafhem to Belmuris	{ S. S. E.	5	
	{ E. S. E.	3	
Abelmuris to Gurna	{ S. E. by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E	5	
	{ E. S. E.	10	
	{ E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	7	
Gurna to Gufferah	{ S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.		30
	{ E. S. E.	3	30
Mugaroon to Battan Gufferah		42	30
Aleppo to Mugaroon		217	5
Aleppo to Battan Gufferah		259	35

Lat. by account 30 49 N.
 Gufferah is situate in long. { Aleppo 6 35 } E.
 a merid. { London 44 9 } E.

30th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. six hours, came to Battan Amaba, where finding plenty of water, we halted to let our camels drink; then proceeded S. E. one hour, and S. S. E. another, which brought us to Battan Arah, *i. e.* Rivulet of Water, and encamped near a rocky cliff, where are many pools of rain water; the soil barren, hard and stony, the country mostly level, excepting these cliffs near the Battans. A small pleasant breeze N. W. with fine clear weather.

This being the Jewish sabbath, those belonging to our caravan remained behind, in obedience to the Mosaic law, which prohibits their travelling more than a stated distance on that day. This they had always observed, ever since we left Aleppo, commonly re-joining us in the night; they therefore, on their setting out, requested the Sheik

to allow them a guard, to stay with them till the expiration of the sabbath, and to escort them to the caravan, not without hopes he would have denied their request; on which occasion the fin would, as they believed, have been charged to his account; they were however disappointed, as it furnished him with a pretence for levying sixty or seventy dollars, every week, for guard money and camel hire; and he was too clear-sighted and attentive to his own interest, to let slip so favourable an opportunity.

December 1.

Mounted at seven, course E. S. E. four hours, came to Battan Naum, where were several good pools; thence E. by S. two hours, and reached Battan Canagan, which appears as if it was a large rivulet in the rainy season; there was at this time plenty of water; hence proceeded E. S. E. two hours, over a loose dry sand, covered with shrubs; at three encamped on the plain, the country level, with a hard barren gravelly soil; a small N. W. breeze, with fine warm weather.

2d.

Decamped at seven, course S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. two hours, and E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. four hours, came to Battan Shagare; where we encamped on the plain. Country and soil as yesterday; pleasant weather, with a gentle S. E. breeze. N. B. Several wells near the camp.

3d.

Marched off at seven, course E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. three hours, then S. E. by E. two hours. It began to rain at ten, which encreasing, obliged us to encamp at noon on a plain, where we were met by an express, with letters from Bufferah. Cloudy weather with rain till two.

4th.

4th.

Mounted at seven, course S. E. by E. six hours and a half, which brought us to Chapda, where we encamped on the plain; the soil sandy, and country level, excepting some eminences, which we met with the last hour's march. A light N. W. breeze, with pleasant weather. No water.

5th.

Decamped at seven, course E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. seven hours, came to Abuan, and encamped on the plain. Our people seem not to know exactly where they are, and to suspect we are to the southward of Bufferah. A hard barren gravelly soil, the country level. A fresh easterly gale. The weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from sun-set to nine o'clock.

6th.

Moved at seven, course variable, allowed E. N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. six hours, encamped at Indhollibee on a plain; country level and soil sandy. Squally weather, the wind various.

7th.

Remained here till the Sheik had seen the Muf-fulman of Bufferah, who he was informed lay at Iffabar. He (for private reasons) being afraid of him, was determined to adjust matters here before he proceeded to Bufferah, and discharged the caravan. A raw cold N. W. wind with clear weather; the night frosty. No water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at eight, course E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. six hours, came to Quibda at two, and at three encamped on the plain about a mile south of the town, in which there appears some ruins:
I was

I was told it is an antient place, but contained nothing worthy of notice; therefore not having much leisure did not visit it.

At three Mr. Brabazon Ellis, the English resident at Bufferah, accompanied by Mr. F. Hammer, surgeon, visited the caravan, and gave me an invitation to go with them to Issabier; therefore leaving my things in charge of a friend, mounted on horseback at four, course N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. two hours; which I compute equal to three hours march of a camel. Came to Issabier about six, where I met Mr. Hanger, another English gentleman.

9th.

This morning the caravan arrived and encamped about a mile S. S. E. of the town.

Issabier is a mean Arab town, consisting of many houses or rather huts, containing about six or seven hundred inhabitants, and appears a most dirty and wretched place.

10th.

Sent my things this morning on an ass to Bufferah, and after dinner, at about two o'clock, set out for that place, in company with the before-mentioned English gentlemen. Arrived at the English factory at five; our course being N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. three hours march of a caravan: the way was belly deep in water, the roads being overflowed. Here I had the pleasure of meeting captain John Dick, who gave me the news of Bombay, and a prospect of procuring a passage with him to India.

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courfes.	H.	Min.
	E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	6	
From Battan Gufferah to Battan Amaba	} S. E.	1	
Battan Amaba to Battan Arah	S. S. E.	1	
Battan Arah to Battan Naum	E. S. E.	4	
Battan Naum to Battan Canagah	{ E. by S.	2	
	{ E. S. E.	2	
Battan Canagal to Battan Shagerah	{ S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	
	{ S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	4	
Battan Shagera to Chapda	E. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	3	
		8	30
Chapda to Abuan	} S. E. by E.	7	
	{ E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	6	
Abuan to Indholibie	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	6	
Indholibie to Quibda	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	3	
Quibda to Iffabier	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	3	
Iffabier to Bufferah	N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	3	
		58	30
Battan Gufferah to Bufferah		259	35
Aleppo to Battan Gufferah			
		318	5

Lat. by obfervation 30 22 N.
 Bufferah is fituated in } Aleppo 8 6 } E.
 Long. a merid. } London 46 1 } E.

I find by the coafting pilot, for oriental navigation with which captain Dick favoured me, that Bufferah is there laid down more to the eaft than I made it; but am perfuaded it is not more from the meridian of Aleppo. And if the table of longitude in Patoun's navigation is right in the fituation of Alexandria, then this account of the longitude of Bufferah is perhaps nearer the truth than thofe draughts; which I prefume were formed from journals to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The fituation of Scandaroon, as laid down in the general draught of the coafting pilot, differs from that affigned in Patoun; but as my whole journal

journal was calculated from that table, the situation of Jerusalem should be computed by the same.

The motion of my camel would not admit of that exactness I could have wished, in estimating our course by the compass. I therefore used the more attention to correct it by different methods; neither am I certain that my allowance of seventy miles to a degree is right; as adjusting the log line to that length has never yet answered at sea.

It is a pity the gentlemen residing at Aleppo or Bufferah, have not endeavoured to come at this truth; no people on earth have a better opportunity, for near either of those places may be found several hundred miles almost as level as the sea, where, by means of a theodolite and chain, proper observations might be made for ascertaining this very essential proposition.

Though this passage proved long, it did not fatigue me so much as I expected, and was I to undertake it again in the winter, which I must here observe is the properest time, I would bring both horses and camels, particularly from Aleppo, where the former may be bought at such price, as to be sold to advantage at Bufferah. By which convenience, one may occasionally either ride before or stay behind the caravan, to view ruins or antient buildings; which cannot be done on a camel, and half freight for the latter, would carry water, provisions and corn for the horses. It is not amiss to caution travellers, that locks and keys are extremely necessary against the Arab camellers, who have not the greatest regard for the eighth article of the Decalogue.

On a returning passage from Bufferah, you may there buy camels at about forty rupees per head, and they commonly sell at Aleppo for as many dollars, which yields a profit of near cent per cent.

cent. The hire of a cameller to look after and drive eight or ten of them, is only eight or ten dollars for the journey.

The freight of a camel loaded with five hundred pounds weight of goods is seven pounds sterling, and the hire of one to ride upon about half that sum. I paid 3l. 5s. or twenty-six piafters, and had about two hundred weight of provifions and effects.

This journey greatly refembles a voyage at fea, where good falt and dried provifions are very convenient, as well as fome hampers of European liquors; firing is to be met with in great plenty, and with a little management one need not want water. If there were a few Europeans together with good dogs and guns, they might meet with plenty of hares, which would afford them excellent food, and make the journey very agreeable.

I found the weather not to be complained of, and water in plenty, for which reason, as I before observed, winter feems to me the beft time for croffing the defart. It certainly muft be much worfe in fummer, both on account of the fcarcity of water, and the exceffive heats, which at that time, and on thofe dry barren fands, muft be intolerable.

But any perfon, having money and leifure, may perform this journey much more agreeably; by the way of Mofol and Bagdat, where they will meet with refrefhments at every ftage, and if curious in the furvey of antient buildings, they may hire a burfie boat, about three days journey from Aleppo, and come down the Euphrates to Bufferah, in which track they muft undoubtedly find many noble ruins of antient cities on both fides the rivers.

The Arabs value themfelves highly on being a free and unconquered people; a circumftance to
be

be solely attributed to their poverty, and the sterility of their country. A better security against the rage of conquerors, than the greatest virtue or the most consummate valour.

They are certainly a bad people, though better than the commonality of Egypt and Turkey. There is no danger of being ill treated by them in the caravan, farther than a few insolent freedoms they think themselves justified in taking, on the strength of being Mahomet's countrymen, on which account they conclude themselves superior to the rest of mankind.

Busserah is situated on the south side of a creek, running W. S. W. from the Euphrates; the body of the city being about two miles from that river. It is a place of great trade, and the only sea-port for Assyria and great part of Arabia; it carries on besides a considerable commerce with Syria, by means of caravans, from Aleppo and Damascus.

The tide flowed here about N. E. by E. and S. W. by W. being high water at three quarters after three, and rises near five feet perpendicular in the creek, which is fresh water. And if in the hands of industrious people, might be made to convey goods to every house, by means of canals, this would render it both a commodious and agreeable place.

The country near the river is extremely fertile, capable of producing every necessary in great abundance, were the natives inclined to tillage and improvements. But their scandalous indolence render these advantages useless; their whole husbandry being confined to the planting of dates, which requiring but little trouble, they raise in great plenty, so that provisions in general are very dear; their wheat and rice being brought from India and Persia at a vast expence.

This

This city was formerly furrounded by a wall, which being only clay, is mostly broken down and ruined. The houses are very mean, being generally built of the same materials, as they have neither wood or stone, but what is transported from India.

It is at present governed by a Mussulman, appointed by the bashaw of Bagdat, who is subordinate to the Grand Seignior, but has now made himself almost independant. There is also a captain bashaw who commands the marine, consisting of galleys, kept here for the defence of the place; I saw one of them which was very large, in a dock at the captain bashaw's house, about two miles below the town, where the creek joins the Euphrates, which is there about a mile broad.

Since I have seen Bufferah, I am not so much surprized that the ruins of Babylon, and some other ancient cities are no where discovered; because it is highly probable, they never had a sufficiency of wood fit for building, or burning bricks, and in many places a scarcity of stone; therefore I imagine the antients did as the moderns now do, that is, generally build with clay. Should any vicissitude of fortune at this time depopulate Bufferah, its situation in a few ages would no where be traced; as its ruins would soon be levelled by the rain, and covered with sand from the desert, which possibly was the fate of those ancient cities before mentioned.

Bufferah I take to be the Buxrath mentioned in Isaiah xxxiv. verse 6. Jeremiah xlvi. and xxv. Isaiah lxiii. and iv. Genesis xxxvi. verse 33. Jeremiah xlix. 18 and 22. Amos i. 12. I do not mean the present city which is of later date, or the old one whose ruins are to be seen on an island

S. E. thirty miles hence, from whence the people removed for fear of the Portuguese, who were then formidable. But the province of Bufferah and cities already mentioned, which I apprehend stood hereabouts, whose total demolition accomplished the prediction of the Prophets.

F I N I S.

