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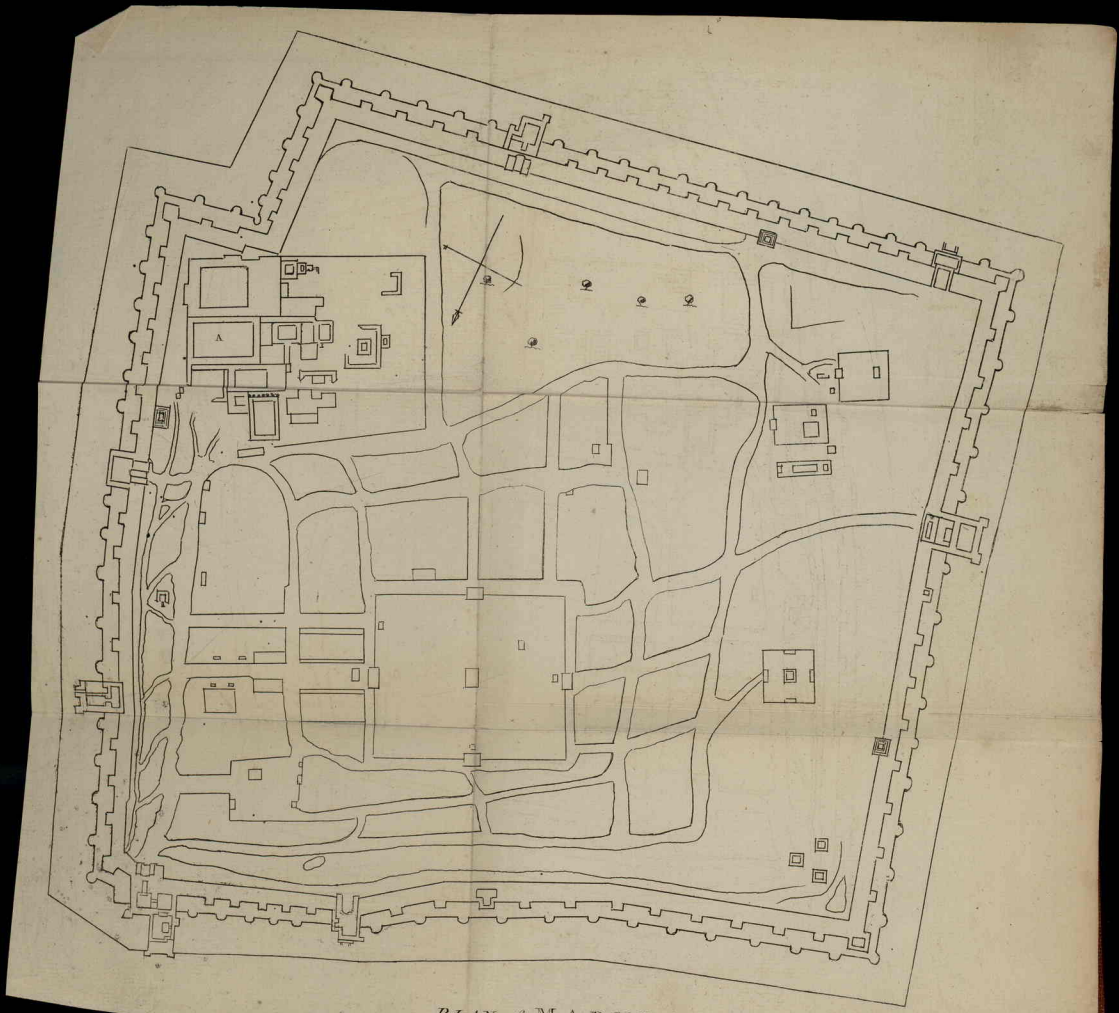

PLAN of MADURA.

Reference

A

VOYAGE

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.

OF

ANGRIA, the MORATTOES, and TANJOREANS.

OF THE

MAHOMETAN, GENTOO, and PARSEE RELIGIONS.

OF THEIR

CUSTOMS AND ANTIQUITIES,

With general Reflections on the

TRADE OF INDIA.

OF THE

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 Mr. GROSE.

VOL. II.

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

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.

the

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 Maiſſore*, 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.

adminiſter

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

of age, ſo that he was in the prime of life at the death of Aurengzebe. His eldeſt ſon, Gauzedy Cawn, was bucſhee, 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 precedeſſors 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

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, Madraſs 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 Maiſſore 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 Velore on the younger, who was named Boker Allee Cawn. He alſo directed that Gulam Haſſein, 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 Soubahdar, 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 Haſſein, who was incapable of adminiſtring 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

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

THE kingdoms of Trichinopoli, Tanjore, Madura, Maiſſore, 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 Madraſs, 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.

could

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-Assud 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 indispensible 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 Bousola † 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

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* Or Marattas; sometimes called Marattes, and Morattaes.
† Or Ragojee Bonsala.

account,

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.

officers

officers were ſlain; and Meer-Aſſud 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 fight 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 Velore, and Chunda Saib returned to Trichinopoli. The Morattoes wrote from Arcot to the governor of Madraſs, 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.

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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 Aſſud, who was impowered 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 Madraſs; 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 Madraſs; and theſe journies

* Or Morari-row.

were

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

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* Madraſs. 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* Madraſs *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* Madraſs. *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

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 Veloor, 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

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

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* 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

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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 compleated, 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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

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* 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
Phœnix,	54	400
St. Louis,	44	400
Lys,	40	300
Inſulaire,	20	250
	398	3250

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

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 Madraſs.

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 Madraſs, 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 Barnet had apprized the company, and particularly their ſecret committee, of the inſecurity of their ſettlement, by a letter, dated on board the Deptford in Madraſs 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass: 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 sepoys, 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 Madraſs 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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze, 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-

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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs; 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

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 73,000l. ſterling; in plate, furniture, mint neceſſaries, and other ſmall articles, 12,000l; 1600 bales of calicoes, 7000 bags of ſaltpetre, and 800 landies of red wood, valued at 72,800l. prime coſt; in all, 157,800l. 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 160,000l; 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, incapable of ſervice. The Duc d'Orleans, Phœnix, 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs. 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 Madraſs; 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 Madraſs

draſs 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 Madraſs 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. Dupleix had influence enough to get him confined to the Baſtile, 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.

SECTION

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 Madraſs-road: and the* French *governor of* Madraſs *takes the* Princeſs Amelia *Indiaman. The* French *improve the fortifications at* Pondicherry *and* Madraſs.——*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* Madraſs, *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.——Madraſs *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* Devi-Cotah, *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 Madraſs; 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 Madraſs, 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 aukward 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs, to which

it

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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs, 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 ſepoys 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

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 pannic, 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 the

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 ſepoys, from Bombay; with 400 ſepoys 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-

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* 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	Lacrime - -	50
	Mary - - -	56	St. Louis - -	44

terwards: he alſo burnt the Neptune man of war in Madraſs road, on the 23d of September. The French took the princeſs Amelia, one of the ſhips belonging to the company, who put in at Madraſs, 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 cruizing 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 Madraſs; 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. Madraſs 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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 Topaſſes, 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 ſepoys, 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 the

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

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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 aftewards.

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 ſepoys, 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 reimbarking 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 Arianco-pang, 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. Dupleix

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 Trinconomaly, 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 Madraſs, 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 Boſcawn 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 Trincanomaly, 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 Madraſs, 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 for ever: 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.

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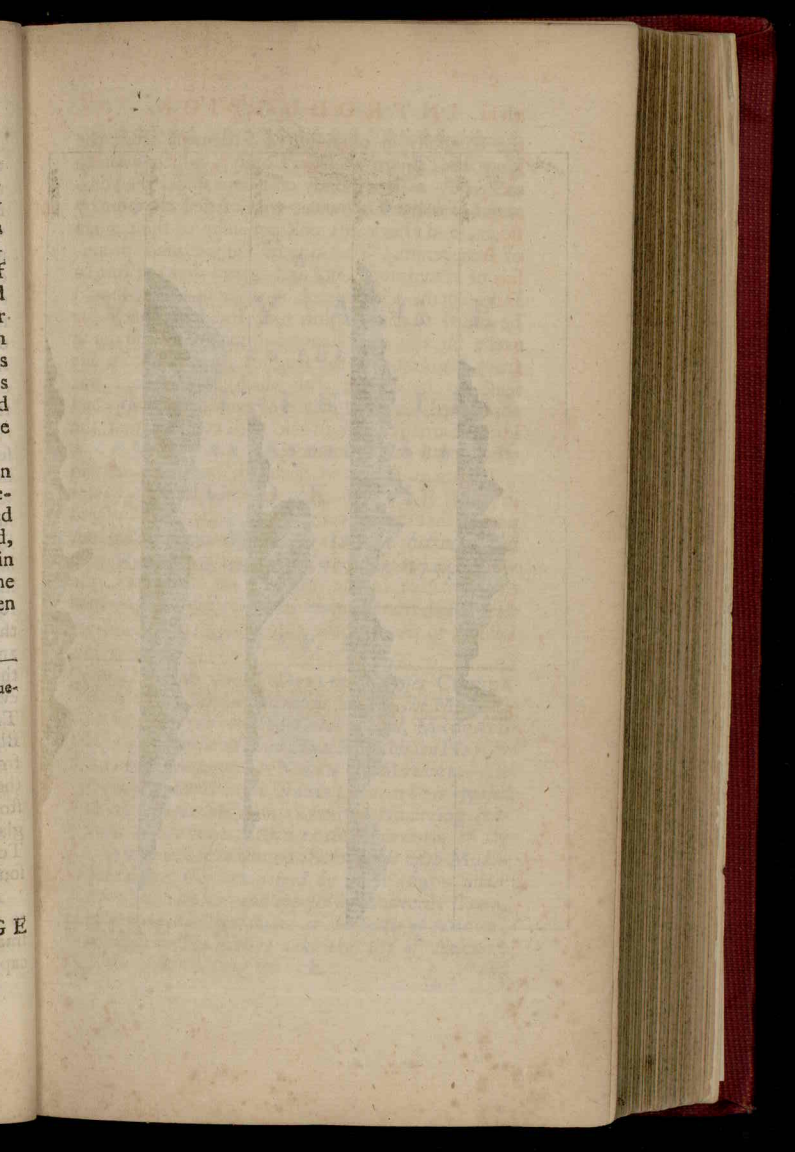
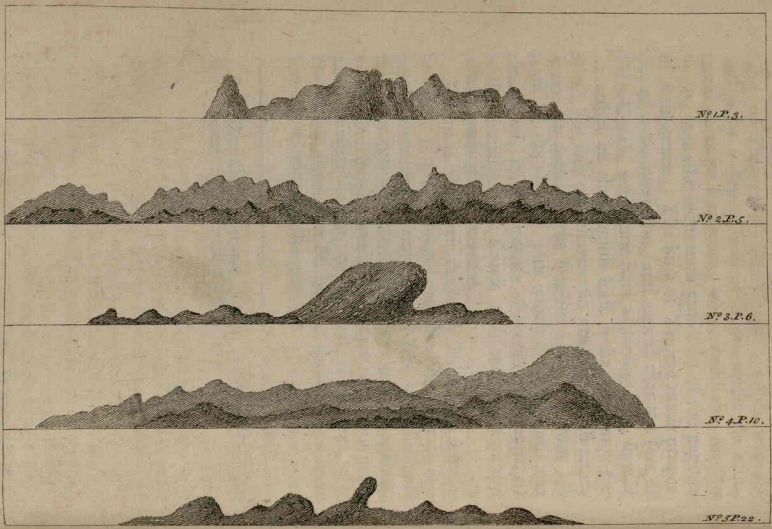
* Or Devi-Cottah, between Fort St. David and Tranquebar. In ſome maps it is called Tiru-kottey.

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VOYAGE

TO THE

EAST-INDIES.

BOOK VI.

The Rise *of the* War *in* India *between the* English *and* French *in* 1754.

CHAP. 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;

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 Orixa 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 glorioufly 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 diſſentions 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.

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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.

viceroy 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 ſepoys, 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-

* Vilencor, or Villanore.

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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 inliſted 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 ſepoys 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 the

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 ſollicited 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 harraſs 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. Dupleix 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 harraſs 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 Moratroes 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 Madraſs, and for the grants of ſome revenues to defray their expences in aſſiſting the circan, 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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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* SOUBAHDAR: *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 negociation with Nazirzing, and ſent two of the council of Pondicherry as ambaſſadors to the camp, one of whom underſtood the Indoſtan and Perſic 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 reinſpirited his troops by his own reſolution: but on the return of the deputies he permitted M. d'Auteil 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys.

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 ſepoys, to join him, under the command of captain Cope.

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* Trividi, or Trevedy.

Major

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 sepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 Velore, 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.

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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. Buſſy 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 Nazirzing could believe that his camp was attacked by the French; but when convinced of it, he rouzed 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 Maiſſore, 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 conceſſions, 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 publickly 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 caravanſerais, 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 Muzapherzing 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. Buſſy,

M. Buſſy, at the head of 600 French, 3000 ſepoys, 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. Buſſy 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. Buſſy 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.

CHAP. 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 ſepoys, 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 Veloor. 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 Vardaſhelam. † Or Vel-kondah.

deavoured

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

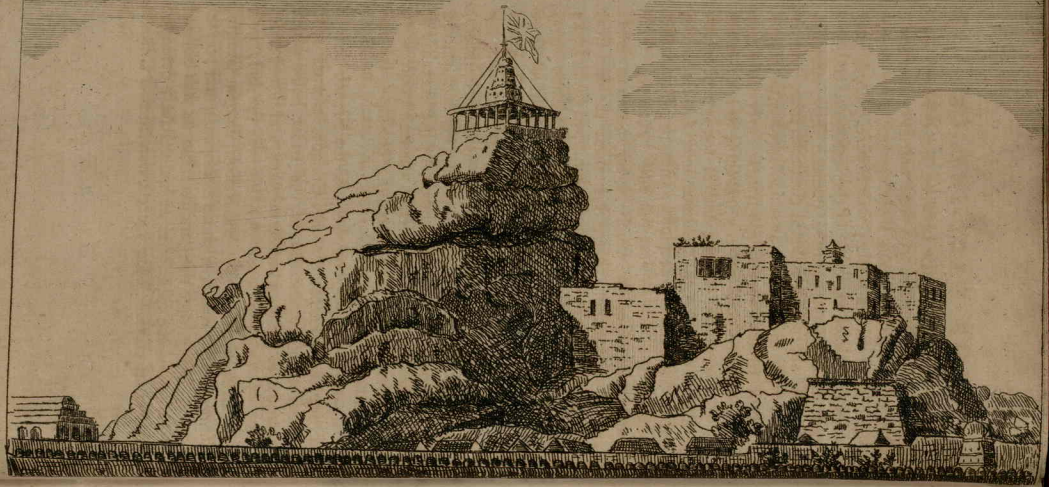
wide and twelve deep, unequally ſupplied with water at different ſeaſons, but never quite dry. A moſt extraordinary rock, about 250 feet high, ſtands in the middle of the old town to the north, from which the adjacent country is diſcovered for many miles round: and on the top of this rock was a pagoda, 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



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 Wiſtchnu, 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 Truſler, with 20 Europeans and 100 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 sepoys, and some servants, who were surrounded by the Polygar's troops, which killed seven of the sepoys: 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 sepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 ſepoys: but, on his arrival at Madraſs, he was reinforced by 80 Europeans, and 300 ſepoys; ſo that he found himſelf at the head of 210 Europeans, and 500 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs on the 26th, and arrived on the 29th at Conjeveram, a large city,

* Kandur.

with

with a fortified pagoda, about forty-five miles from Madraſs. 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 50,000l. 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

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 Madraſs, eſcorted by a few ſepoys, 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 viligance 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 Glaſs 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 Glaſs, whoſe march was retarded by 400 ſepoys, 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 Veloor; and at night ſome of their ſepoys fired upon the ramparts from the adjacent houſes. At midnight, enſign Glaſs 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 Madraſs; while the troops fit for duty were diminiſhed to 120 Europeans, and 200 ſepoys. Theſe were beſieged by 150 Europeans, 3000 horſe, 2000 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs, with 100 Europeans and 200 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs. 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys wounded: but during the time that the fort was inveſted, they had forty-five Europeans and thirty ſepoys 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 Veloor with the French and the troops from Trichinopoli; 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 ſepoys, 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 Boſinrow *, the nephew of Morarow, whoſe camp had been attacked and plundered by the French and Rajah Saib within a ſhort march of Veloor, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, and their artillery, marched along the cauſeway; while the horſe, with 1000 ſepoys, 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

other wing, as they advanced along the cauſeway to the village, and formed an extenſive front in the adjacent fields, which reached almoſt to the grove. They were ſpiritedly oppoſed on all parts, and vigorouſly purſued in their retreat. About 50 of the French, and 150 of their horſe and ſepoys, were either killed or wounded in the engagement, which continued five hours. The Engliſh had 20 Europeans, 8 ſepoys, 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 cloſely purſued by the Morattoes, who took his military cheſt, in which were 100,000 rupees; and they alſo returned with 400 of his horſes. Many of his ſepoys deſerted, and offered their ſervice to captain Clive, who incorporated 600 of their beſt men among his own troops, and compelled the governor of Arani to take an oath of ſubmiſſion to Mahomed Allee Cawn.

The French had repoſſeſſed Conjeveram, and placed a garriſon in its pagoda of 30 Europeans, and 300 ſepoys, who impeded the communication between Arcot and Madraſs, and had ſurprized a party of diſabled men returning from the ſiege, among whom, were the officers Revel and Glaſs: ſome of the men were murdered, but the officers were ſpared.

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 ſummoned the French officer to ſurrender, which he refuſed, and threatened to expoſe his captives on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. Two 18 pounders arrived from Madraſs, and the pagoda was battered in breach at the diſtance 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 ſepoys to Arcot; and returned with the remainder of his troops to Madraſs; 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 ſepoys, 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.

CHAP. IV.

RAJAH SAIB *plunders the country near* MADRASS: *Captain* CLIVE *is sent from Fort St.* DAVID *to command the army at* Madrass. *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'DAUTEUIL *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 Madrass, 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 sepoys, 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 Madrass, to take the command. A detachment of 100 Europeans arrived there from Bengal, and 80 more were taken from the garrison of Madrass; which were joined by 200 Europeans and 500 sepoys from the garrison of Arcot. The whole united force consisted of 380 Europeans, 1300 sepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 Madraſs. 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

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 ſepoys. Of the Engliſh, 40 Europeans and 30 ſepoys 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 Trichinopoli. 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys: 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,

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 Colleries. 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 Colleries 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

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* Or Monagee. † Or Allam Khan.

the

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 ſepoys, 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 Elimiſerum*, 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 Elmiſeram.

filaded

ſiladed 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 Lalgoody *, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys wounded; but they took fifteen Europeans, thirty ſepoys, and two pieces of cannon, one of which was a fine eighteen pounder. The ſmaller piece was left with ſome ſepoys to garriſon this poſt; and the reſt returned to Trichinopoli 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 ſepoys; 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 ſepoys, 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.

inter-

intercept him. M. Law was apprized of this march, and detached 80 Europeans, with 700 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, accidently 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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

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 sepoys 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 sepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys. 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 ſepoys, 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 10,000l. ſterling at leaſt. The horſemen and ſepoys 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. Dupleix, 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. Dupleix 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 by

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 ſepoys: 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.

CHAP. 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* Kineer *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 Maiſſoreans *cut off all ſupplies from the city.*—Salabatzing *poiſons his brother* GAZI ODIN CAWN *at* Aurengabad: *and M.* Dupleix *deſerts the intereſt 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 Deckan, 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. Buſſy 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 Kriſtna, 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. Buſſy 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

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 Kriſtna 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 le 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 Trichinopoli of what was tranſacting at Pondicherry; and

was farther informed, that the governor of Madraſs was preparing to attack Gingee, which was well ſupplied with all manner of ſtores, and garriſoned by 150 Europeans, beſides a great number of ſepoys 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 Maiſſoreans, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 Madraſs, 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. Acccordingly major Kineer, an officer lately arrived from Europe, was detached from the camp at Trivadi, with 200 Europeans, 1500 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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

Here they remained ſome days inactive, expecting a reinforcement from Madraſs. A company of 100 Swiſs, 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. Dupleix inſiſted, that the capture was as juſtifiable as that made of his own troops at Seringham.

On this occaſion, major Lawrence embarked from Madraſs, with another company of Swiſs, 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 Bahoor*, four miles from Fort St. David. He then fell back to Villanour, 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 Bahoor. The ſtratagem ſucceeded, and M. Du-

* Or Bal u.

pleix

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 ſepoys, and 4000 of the Nabob's troops, with nine pieces of cannon. The French army was compoſed of 450 Europeans, 1500 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 Maiſſorean 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs with 200 European recruits, and 500 ſepoys 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 Madraſs, 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 ſepoys The Engliſh troops arrived in the

* Cowlong, Kabelon, or Kobolam: but called Saudet Bundar by the Moors.

evening

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 Madraſs, 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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs, 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 ſepoys, 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-pettey.

honorable

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 Sadraſs and Arcot. A garriſon was placed in Chinglapet; but the fortifications at Cobelong were deſtroyed. The troops returned to Madraſs, where captain Clive embarked for England at the cloſe of the year, univerſally acknowledged as the man, whoſe example firſt rouzed 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.

37,500l.

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 Maisforean 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 Maisforeans 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 Madrass 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 Maisforean 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 ſepoys, 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 gallopped 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 ſepoys; beſides the lieutenants Wilky and Crow, who were ſlaughtered in the in-

tenchment, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 Trichinopoli. 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 negociation: 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 Veloor, 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.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The campaign of 1753.—*Both armies take the field in the province of* ARCOT, *and encamp near* TRIVADI. *The* MORATTOES *harraſs 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 ſepoys, 1000 of the Nabob's cavalry, and their own little troop of twenty men, commanded by major Lawrence. The French had 500 Europeans, 2000 ſepoys, 4000 Morattoes under Morarow, and their own troop of ſixty horſe. 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 ſepoys, 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 Boſinrow, who aſſiſted captain Clive at the ſiege of Arcot.

About this time, the Phouſdar Mortiz Allee Cawn ſet up his ſtandard in the province, and marched with 1500 horſe, and 3000 ſepoys, 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 Veloor, 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 sirpahs.

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 sepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 sepoys, with two field pieces, under the command of ensign Smith. They marched out of the city on the 21st of April, and attacked the Phoufdar's

dar's army near Veloor. 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 Veloor, and among the latter was enſign Smith.

AETER the reduction of Trivadi, M. Dupleix detached 300 Europeans and 1000 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 alie-

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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 sepoys, 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 sepoys; 8000 Maissorean horse, 3500 Morattoes, and two companies of Topasses, with 1000 sepoys, 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 sepoys 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 ſepoys, who were repulſed, upon which they were ſupported by their whole army; while the Engliſh army advanced to ſupport their ſepoys, leaving 100 Europeans to defend the camp: but the French drove the ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 Maiſſoreans, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys. 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys and ſome Europeans; while major Lawrence formed a camp at the

the Five Rocks, to intercept the convoys from Maiſſore. 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 ſepoys, 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.

CHAP. 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* WEYCONDAH; *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 Madraſs 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 Maissorean camp, to fall at once upon the left flank of the French: the sepoys 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 sepoys 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 ralli-

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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 ſepoys.

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 ſepoys made an attempt to mount the walls, and were repulſed. The ſepoys then aſſaulted the gate: but this attempt was alſo ineffectual, till a reſolute Engliſhman, who was ſerjeant to a company of ſepoys, 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

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 ſepoys, into Trichinopoli: a detachment was left at Elimiſerum; 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 ſepoys, with ſome cannon. Their whole army was now commanded by M. Maiſſin, 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 eſcalade; while M. Maiſſin, 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 battery, 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 morning of the 28th. They placed the ladders, and the whole 600 mounted on the battery, without interruption, 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. Captain 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 attempted 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 regreted 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 ſepoys from Madraſs 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 Neloor troops was killed; and Huſſan Allee, who commanded the French ſepoys, 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 Madraſs. He ſurprized the capital of Neloor, 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 ſollicitous 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 Madraſs, who ſent enſign Holt with a detachment of 40 Europeans, 200 ſepoys, 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

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 betweeen 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

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

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

The English deputies were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart: those for the French were the father Lavaur, superior of the jesuits, and Messieurs de Kerjean and Bausset. 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 Madrass. The English deputies opened the conference by proposing as the basis of the negotiation, that Mahomed Allee Cawn should be acknowleged 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 Madrass, 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 Maissorean 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 Kriſtna 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 Neloor 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 Maiſſoreans 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.

CHAP. VIII.

The Campaign of 1754.—*Reflections on the* War *in* INDIA. *Negociations 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.* DUPLEIX; *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.* Dupleix. *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 soldiers; 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 ſollicited 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 negociation with the French miniſtry on the ſubject. Monſieur Duvelaer, 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 Holderneſſe, 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 Sadraſs, and renewed hoſtilities at Trichinopoli, where the number of French priſoners obliged major Lawrence to augment the garriſon to 300 Europeans and 1500 ſepoys; 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 ſepoys. The French battalion was now equal to the Engliſh; be-

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* 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.

ſides,

ſides, they had four companies of Topaſſes, each of 100 men, diſtinct from their battalion: they had alſo 6000 ſepoys, and the Maiſſoreans 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 ſepoys; 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 ſepoys. They were ſurrounded and attacked on their march from Kelly Cotah *, on the 15th of February, by 400 Europeans, 6000 ſepoys, and 12,000 horſe, Morattoes and Maiſſoreans, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs, 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 Maiſſoreans, and had prevailed on his maſter to impriſon Monackjee, under pretence that he had not accounted regularly for the monies iſſued for the expences of the army. The repreſentations made by Mr. Palk, prevented the king from concluding the treaty with the Maiſſoreans; but did not induce him to ſend his troops to Trichinopoli.

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

In theſe circumſtances, it was diſcovered that the Engliſh army had for ſome time been expoſed to the danger of treachery, from a perſon in whom major Lawrence had been obliged to repoſe the utmoſt confidence. This was Poniapah, the principal linguiſt, who had an averſion to Mahomed Iſſouf, the chief commander of the Engliſh ſepoys. This officer was an excellent partizan, and was bred up under captain Clive: he was brave and reſolute 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 ſo well, that by frequently changing the roads, and the times of bringing the proviſions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for ſix weeks. However, the enemy got intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanore, and ſent a party to attack that place; but they were repulſed by the ſepoys ſtationed there. The Maiſſorean general

neral prevailed on Poniapah to charge Mahomed Iſſouf 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 ſepoys, 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 Iſſouf, 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 ſepoys on the

right, and the Europeans on the left: the ſepoys 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 ſepoys, and 4000 Maiſſorean 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 ſepoys, and 10,000 horſe, with ſeven cannon. The Engliſh army was compoſed of only 360 men in battalion, 11 troopers, and 1500 ſepoys: 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 ſepoys 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 enemy now ſeemed determined to let the Engliſh eſcape no farther, and threatened a general aſſault on the Tank; for their ſepoys 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 began. The ſepoys and Maiſſorean cavalry had been kept at bay by the Engliſh ſepoys; 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 ſepoys: but the enemy's loſs was much more conſiderable, having near 200 of their battalion, and 300 ſepoys, 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. Maiſſin, with all his Europeans, 3000 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 Chilambrum 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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs 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 ſepoys, 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

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 ſepoys, 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. Maiſſin 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys. 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 ſepoys were on the right near the Sugar-loaf Rock: the Maiſſore 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 Maiſſoreans 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. Elimiſerum was taken, and garriſoned by 200 Engliſh ſepoys; after which,

Monackjee

Monackjee was detached with the Tanjorine troops, accompanied by 220 Europeans, and 600 ſepoys, 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 Phouſdar of Veloor offered to acknowledge Mahomed Allee Cawn; upon which the preſidency of Madraſs 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

In July, M. Buſſy 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 Jaffeir 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 Madraſs 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 negociated with ſpirit, and concluded with cordiality.

Admiral Watſon ſoon after arrived with his ſquadron at Madraſs, where he landed the 49th regiment of 700 men, commanded by colonel Aldercron; 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 Fitſcher, 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 Madraſs, Pondicherry, Trichinopoli, 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 Madraſs, 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 Madrass 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.

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* Diſtrict.

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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 thoſe 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 Madraſs 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.

BOOK VII.

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

CHAP. 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.*

M. GODEHEU left M. Leyrit his ſucceſſor at Pondicherry: M. Buſſy commanded in the north, with the Soubahdar Salabatzing; and M. de Sauſſay 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. Buſſy 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. Buſſy demanded of Salabatzing, the poſſeſſion of the fort of Golconda: and M. Leyrit encouraged the Phouſdar of Veloor to take up arms againſt the Nabob: he even ſent 300 French, and as many ſepoys, 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, intitled, "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. Maphuze 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. Maphuze 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 previously been ordered to send their agents to settle their accounts with the Nabob. The four principal Polygars obeyed the summons; but Lachenaig refused; 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.

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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 matchlocks 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 Iſſouf was then detached with 500 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys; 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 Madraſs 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.

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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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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. Buſſy, to demand the Mogul's tribute, which had never been paid ſince the death of Nizam Al Muluck. This induced the preſidency of Madraſs 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 ſepoys, under the command of Jemaulſaib, an officer of ſome reputation, and next in rank to Mahomed Iſſouf. 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys: 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 ſepoys to protect them. The rear of the whole line was cloſed by a guard of twenty Eupropeans, forty Caffres, and 200 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 Madraſs, 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 Sauſſay, 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 decamping, 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 Maissorean 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 Maissore, 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 assist-

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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs,

* See this volume, p. 69.

where

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 Madrass, 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.

CHAP. 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* 17*th 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 negociation in India, they received advices of the acquiſitions which M. Buſſy had obtained from Salabatzing. This made them conclude, that negociations 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 Madrass, 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 Asterisms 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 Madraſs; 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 Madraſs 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 ſate 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 farewel; 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 gunpowder, 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 chearfulneſs, 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 regreted her loss, that it occasioned his death.

and

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-veſſel 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 ſollicitous 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 ſhipboard 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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.

CHAP. 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 Portugueze 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

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 forecaſtle. 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 forecaſtle, are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, 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 50,000l. 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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze. 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 Bourchier 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 ſtrong holds, that the preſidency inſtructed him not to expoſe the company's veſſels to any riſque 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 chaced them to the ſouthward. On the ſecond day, ſtill continuing the chace, 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 crouding 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 Bancoote, 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 25,000l. 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 Morattoe 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 ſepoys, 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 brass 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.	
Kent, - -	70	Drake.	bombs.
Cumberland,	60	Warren.	
Salisbury,	50	Triumph.	
Protector, Com. ship.	40	Viper.	

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

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 125,000l. 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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs 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.

CHAP. 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 Maiſſore, they collected a large ſum of money, without committing any hoſtilities; for the Maiſſoreans agreed to pay 5,200,000 rupees, or 650,000l. 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. Bussy, rendered as desirous as themselves of removing the French troops from the service of Salabatzing.

M. Bussy 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 Bisnagar: it was strongly fortified, and the garrison was reinforced by Morarow with a great body of Morattoes. However, the operations of M. Bussy soon reduced the Nabob and Morarow to enter into a negociation, 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. Buſſy 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 ſepoys, 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 harraſs them; but they marched with little loſs to Hydrabad, where they arrived on the 14th of June.

M. Buſſy 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 Madraſs, 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

Deckan,

Deckan, on which the very existence of the English on the coast of Coromandel seemed to depend. They therefore with great alacrity assured Salabatzing of their intentions to comply with his request, and were on the point of ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans and 1500 sepoys 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 Madrass 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 sepoys, and two eighteen-pounders: the whole now amounting to 500 men in battalion, and 1500 sepoys, 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 Madrass, 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 sepoys 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 negociation was opened, and Mahomed Issouf was sent into the town to settle the terms. The Phousdar agreed to pay 200,000 rupees, or 25,000l. 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 Madrass 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. Bussy 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.

BOOK VIII.

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

CHAP. 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 Orixa 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

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 Orixa 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

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 Baliſore. 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 Juanpardoa, 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 Madraſs and Bombay; to whom all the other Engliſh factories at Huegley, Pipley, 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 ſepoys. 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

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 Cossimbuzar*, 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 sepoys. 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

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 Jemmidaar 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 uneaſineſſes; 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 crouded 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;

ſtice; 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 houſhold 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 uneſſayed 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 Chandenagore, and Chinſura. Mr. Boddom, the

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 ſollicited 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.

CHAP. 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 Madrass to relinquish the agreement with Salabatzing the Soubah of the Deckan, and to send all their force to oppose Surajad Dowla the Soubah of Bengal. Colonel Clive was accordingly dispatched with 400 Europeans, and 1000 sepoys from Coromandel to Bengal.

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL Watſon ſailed from Madraſs 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 sepoys, 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 sepoys: 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 sepoys 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 ſepoys killed; with 15 ſeamen, and 50 ſoldiers and ſepoys 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 ſollicitous 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 Chandenagore *, 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 sepoys. He marched with this force, on the 12th of March, from Calcutta to Chandenagore, 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 Chandenagore, 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 Madraſs or to England:

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

THAT no Europeans ſhould reſide at Chandenagore; 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, councellors, 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 pounders

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 ſepoys, 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 Jaffeir 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. Buſſy, 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 Orixa, 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 repoſſeſs 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

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 Chandenagore 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 Plassey, 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 ſepoys killed and wounded. The Soubah fled with the few who continued faithful to him, among whom where 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 Orixa. 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 Aggamenes.

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 1,875,000l. ſterling for the Engliſh company and inhabitants; beſides 337,500l. 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 ſepoys.

M. BUSSY inveſted Vizagapatnam with 850 Europeans, 6000 ſepoys, 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 Maſſulipatnam.

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 ſepoys 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 atchieved, 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 Madraſs; 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

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, Madraſs, 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 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.

CHAP. 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 Madraſs-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 ſepoys, with 100 huſſars, 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 ſepoys, with four days proviſions in their knapſacks, he marched to ſave Trichinopoly 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 ſepoys, 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 Trichinopoli 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, under the command of Iſouf Cawn, and returned to Trichinipoli.

Colonel Ford was ordered by the preſidency of Madraſs to reduce the fort of Nellore*, which it was apprehended the Phouſdar would make over to the French. The colonel marched with 100 Europeans and 600 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs 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 ſepoys, who abandoned the place as he approached. Captain Polier left forty ſepoys in garriſon there; but they were ſoon after obliged to ſubmit to a French detachment of 100 Europeans and 300 ſepoys, which marched againſt this fort from Allamparva.

The ſituation of Outremalour gave the government of Madraſs 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 ſepoys.

Colonel Aldercron was then advanced within ſix miles of Madraſs, 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass, 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 2000l. to each company belonging to thoſe ſhips, as a reward for their courage and fidelity.

CHAP. II.

The BRITISH *parliament grant* 20,000*l. 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* CUDDALORE *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 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.

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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 Orixa, 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 independance 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 independance, 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. I. That the Mogul was ſovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, 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 alie-

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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 as 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,

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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 negociations 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 inforced 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

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* The directors for 1758, were the following gentlemen.

William Barwell,	Esquires.	Laur. Sulivan,	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 Madraſs.

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 Madraſs-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

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Henry Plant,
Henry Hadley,
Timothy Tullie,
George Dudley,
John Manſhip,
Nat. Newnham,
} Eſquires.

John Harriſon, Eſq;
And
Sir James Creed, Knt.
Mr. Sulivan was elected chairman; and
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	
Total	640	4980	

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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

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* 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.

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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 cruizing in the offing. The admiral judged them to be the enemy, and immediately gave chace, 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

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 Sadraſs, 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs, he ordered a court martial to aſſemble, and enquire into their conduct. In conſequence of which, captain Vincent

* Alamparva, Lampraavey, or Alinaparaghe.

was

was sentenced to be dismissed from the command of the Weymouth; captain Legge to be cashiered from his Majesty service; and captain Brereton 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 Madrass 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 cruize it took the Experiment brigantine, captain Whitehead, and sent her to Pondicherry: and from the 17th of June to the 26th of July the squardon remained before Pondicherry, to repair the damage it had received, and take in fresh provisions.

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* 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass. 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 ſailed 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 chace, 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 †.

* 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. Somerſet.
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 chace; 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-ſailing 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

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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 ſailed 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 ſepoys. Their vanguard compoſed of the French horſe, a battalion of the regiment of Lorrain, 200 of the company's troops, and 100 artillery-men, with eight pieces of cannon,

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* 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.

 accompanied

accompanied by 4000 ſepoys, 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

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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs 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 Caillaud, 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 dejected 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 Madraſs; 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. xlviii.

† 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. Buſſy 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 5000 l. ſterling.

THE company's ſhip the Pitt arrived at Madraſs 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 Madraſs 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 Madraſs; particularly ſeveral bodies of auxiliaries were ſollicited 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. Buſſy, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, who would have given them much trouble to take it, and have hurt their grand object, the ſiege of Madraſs, which was undertaken in the middle of December 1758.

Issouf Cawn marched from Trichinopoli with 2000 ſepoys, who took Elavaſanore, and joined captain Preſton at Chinglapet: but, on the 12th of December, the French army began to inveſt Madraſs; 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. Buſſy 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. Buſſy 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 ſollicited 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 Madraſs. 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 ſepoys, 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.

CHAP. 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 Choultry-plain. 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

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 pannic 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, under Iſſouf Cawn; which were joined by captain Preſton, with part of the garriſon of Chinglapet, conſiſting of 60 Europeans, and 500 ſepoys, with three cannon; and by captain Vafferot 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys: 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 Sadraſs, 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 Madraſs. Major Caillaud made an attempt to diſpoſſeſs the French from Sadraſs, which is twenty miles from Chinglapet, and diſpoſed his march ſo as to

* See this volume, p. 126.

arrive

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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys who were killed in their flight.

Five Chelingas had been obſerved in the morning going out of St. Thomas's bar, and ſailed to the ſouthward, as was apprehended, for ſtores. Jamaul 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 breastwork; 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 Madrass: 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

of communication between Mutal Pettah and Pettah 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 ſepoys, went over the bar to the ſouthward, and into Trivelcane village, where they ſurprized a guard of ſepoys, 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 sepoys, 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 ſaliant 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 Sadraſs, 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 Madraſs. 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 ſepoys, 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.

Accord-

Accordingly, the grenadiers of the third battalion under captain Campbell, with 100 more Europeans, and 300 ſepoys, 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 run 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 Madraſs, 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 ſepoys 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.

war

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 apprize 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 patroles when he marched from Chinglapet to surprize

prize Sadraſs. The major immediately ſent the letter to the governor of Madraſs, 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

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 Madraſs* 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 ſepoys 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

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* See the Introduction to this volume, p. xxv. xxvii.

† See this volume, p. 289. 291.

place,

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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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 Portugueze 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

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 Muſſoot*, 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 Muſſoot 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 ſepoys, which were 4000.

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THE presidency of Bombay were apprehensive that the Siddee would open the gates to the Morattoes, 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 sepoys. 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,

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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.	Article I. Agreeable to this article, I fully conſent to the appointment of Pharras Cawn.
II. That whatever articles Pharras Cawn has	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 Meer 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."

promiſed to do for the honorable Company, I will ſtand to without the leaſt alteration.

III. The Mecca gate ſhall be opened, your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy.

IV. Agreed to; and that we ſhall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honorable Company have demanded, I agree to."

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. GOMBROON.

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 Kismish, falsely called Queshmo 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 Asseen 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 Buſſorah, and being deſirous of rendering more ſecure the intelligence of an exchange having been made in his behalf, between Mr. Pigot, governor of Madraſs, and Monſ. 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-

Monſieur 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 Monſieur d'Eſtaing, yet all perſons mentioned in the preceding article were abſolutely free: but ſhould Monſieur 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 Monſieur 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 repurchaſing 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 Monſieur d'Eſtaing, and at his particular requeſt to Monſieur des Eſſars, 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* 10*th 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 Gombroon, the 14th of October, at ſix in the morning, in the year 1759; and was ſigned,

Des Eſſars. Alexander Douglaſs,
Charnyau. 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 chaced by one of the French frigates, which fired ſeveral ſhot at her. He immediately made the ſignal for a general chace, 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 chace, 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

on which the Engliſh hauled cloſe to the wind, under their top-ſalis, 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 chace. At half paſt eleven, the Revenge bore more away to the eaſtward, and was followed by the ſquadron: but after continuing the chace 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 chace; 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 Actif led with the larboard tacks on board.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
Actif, ——	64	600	Beauchaine.
Le Minotaur, —	74	650	L'*Aguille*, chef d'Eſcadre.
Le Duc d'Orleans,	60	500	Surville, le Cadet.
Le St. Louis, ——	60	50	Joannes.
Le Vengeur, ——	64	500	Palliere.
Le Zodiaque, —	74	650	M. D'ACHE, Lt. Gen.
Le Comte de Provence,	74	650	La Chaiſe.
Le Duc de Bourgogne,	60	500	Bouvet.
L'Illuſtre, ——	64	600	De Ruis.
La Fortune —	64	600	Lobry.
Le Centaur —	70	650	Surville
Total	728	6400	

liſh

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-topſail-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

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* 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 *Stevens*. Captain Kempenfelt.
Yarmouth	——	66	540	Vice admiral Pocock. Captain Harriſon.
Cumberland	——	58	520	Captain Somerſet.
Saliſbury	—	50	350	Captain Dent.
Sunderland	——	60	420	Hon. Captain Colville.
Weymouth	——	60	420	Sir William Baird, Bart.
		536	4035	

So that the French had two ſhips of the line, 192 guns, and 2365 men, more than the Engliſh.

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 Madraſs, 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

to the northward, and at ſix was joined by the Revenge * from Madraſs, 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 Madraſs;" 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.

ſlain

ſlain 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 Somerſet 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 revictualled his ſhips at Madraſs, 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 ‡.

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* 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 Madrafs, where they landed the troops on the 27th; while the admiral returned with the whole fleet to the coaft of Malabar, and arrived at Tellicherry, which was the general rendezvous, the laft day of November. On the 26th, admiral Stevens failed for Bombay with four fhips, and was followed on the 29th by admiral Pocock, who ordered admiral Corniſh to fail with the fix fhips * under his command to the coaft of Coromandel on the 15th of December, if the feafon was favorable.

ADMIRAL Pocock had received orders to return to England: but he continued in India until the next year, when affairs were re-eftablifhed in Bengal, and the coaft of Coromandel left in a ftate of tranquility. The admiral received the ftrongeft expreffions of gratitude and eſteem from the three prefidencies of Bombay, Madrafs, and Calcutta, for his eminent fervices done to the Company: and he found, that at a general court of the Eaft India Company, held on the 21ft 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 Eaft-Indies."

ADMIRAL Pocock reſigned the command to rear admiral Stevens, and failed 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.

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.

CHAP. 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* 22*d of* January 1760. *The* French *retreat to* PONDICHERRY, *which the* English *invest.*

WHEN general Lally retired from Madrass *, he proceeded to Conjeveram, which he strongly fortified. The English retook Poonomal-

* See this Volume, p. 318.

lay and Trepaſſore, before the army was ready to march from Madraſs, 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 Iſſouf Cawn. He marched towards Conjeveram, moved round it, and expoſed 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 ſuperior in number to the Engliſh, and therefore he kept within the fortification.

Colonel Draper was in ſuch a bad ſtate of health, as made it neceſſary for him to quit India, and return to England: he accordingly took his paſſage in a China ſhip from Madraſs, where his abſence was greatly regretted by the garriſon, who were thereby deprived of an excellent officer. He was ſoon followed by colonel Lawrence, whoſe health was alſo greatly impaired; and as he found it impoſſible to bring the French to an engagement, he reſigned the command of the army to major Brereton, and returned to England.

Major Brereton made a motion towards Vandewaſh, and the French marched to relieve it. They advanced within nine miles of the Engliſh army, which moved about four miles to meet them. Both armies remained two days within view of each other: but as M. Lally had poſſeſſed himſelf of a camp ſo ſtrong that major Brereton could not attack it, the latter made a forced march in the night of the 12th of April to ſurprize Conjeveram *, which was garriſoned by 500 ſepoys, under the command of Muſtapha Beg †. This partizan re-

* See this volume, p. 82, 96, 272, 294.

† He had been in the Engliſh ſervice, under the command of captain Preſton, during ſome part of the time that Madraſs was beſieged; but afterwards joined the French. See this vol. p. 300.

tired

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 adviſeable 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 Chittaput, 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 Madraſs 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 ſepoys, 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 Tiruvadoor, or Tiruvatter.

men,

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 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 Madraſs with the reſt of his regiment; and after concerting a plan of operations with the governor and council,

* See this volume, p. 125.

he

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 ſepoys, from Trichinopoli, under the command of ſerjeant-major Hunterman. Theſe troops were afterwards followed by forty Europeans, ſix companies of ſepoys, 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 ſepoys priſoners: but the main body of the French took Seringham, and made two hundred ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 Madraſs 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 ſepoys: 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 ſepoys to be diſarmed, and turned about their buſineſs." The garriſon conſiſted of one hundred Europeans, and five hundred ſepoys, with nine guns.

Colonel Coote had intelligence, that brigadier-general Buſſy 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.

Lieu-

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 ſepoys, 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

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 sepoys to form the van of the army, except two hundred black horse, who with three companies of sepoys 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 sepoys who supported the cavalry are to form the right of colonel Draper's regiment; and the five companies of sepoys, 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 sepoys, and two pieces of cannon. Colonel Coote advanced himself with two companies of sepoys, 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 diſappeared. 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 ordered

ed up ſome companies of ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 Lorrain 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 Lorrain 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 Brereton, 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 harraſs the enemy; and on finding that they retired to Pondicherry, he ſent captain de Vaſſerot, with one thouſand horſe and three hundred ſepoys 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 Madraſs *. 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 ſepoys, with ſeventy-three Europeans

* See this volume, p. 317, 318.

† See this volume, p. 273.

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 ſepoys, with two braſs eight pounders; and ſoon after he took a captain of the Lorrain 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 ſepoys.

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 ſepoys. 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 McMahon, who acted as engineer, and ſixteen wounded.

* See this volume, p. 84. † Ibid p. 83.

THIS

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 Madraſs 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 *, Chillambrum, 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.

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* See this Volume, p. 111. 183.

CHAP. 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 Narſipore: 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 caffres, topaſſes, and ſepoys. 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 Maſſulipatnam: 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 Maſſulipatnam, 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 Madraſs, he ſollicited 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 Nizampatnam, 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 Natal, 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 Sillebar 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 ſoocas, 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.

CHAP. 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 *protects 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 Madraſs, 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 negociation, 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 Chincery: the chief ſettlement belonging to the Dutch. § See this vol. p. 260.

place

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

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* Malays. † A military officer, or governor. ‡ See this volume, p. 253.

Zuydland *,

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 Buggoſes, 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 Allee 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

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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 Chinſura; 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.

† Or Bernagor.

‡ See this volume, p. 255.

able

able news, that some of your European dependants, accompanied by one hundred and fifty sepoys, 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 catagorical 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 *."

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* This letter was dated, "Hughly, 18 Nov. 1759:" it was signed,

A. Bisdom,	M. Isinck,
L. Zuydland,	S. de Hoog,
J. Backerad,	R. H. Armenhault,
J. C. Kist,	J. L. V. Scherichaven,
G. L. Vernet,	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 cannot-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 skreen 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 princess 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

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 coſs † from Chinſura, where they ſoon

* See this volume, p. 255—258. The Dutch troops were 120 Europeans, and 300 ſepoys.

† About four miles and a half.

after came to blows. The Dutch were commanded by colonel Rouſſel, 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 ſepoys. 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. Rouſſel, 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-Friezland, 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

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 negociation, 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. The

THUS the Dutch gentlemen disowned the proceedings of their ships down the river, owned themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages *;

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* The honorable and respectable president and council at Fort William, Messrs. Richard Becher and John Cooke, counsellors: the honorable and respectable director and council of Fort Gustavus, Messrs. John Bacheracht and John Charles Kist, members of the polity and justiciary 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 Chinsura, 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 Chinsura, shall make good all the

ANSWERS by the Dutch.

I.

THE director and council at Chinsura 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

mages*; 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.

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 Hughly is to conclude with the Nazim.

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.

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 coſs * from Chinſura. The Dutch were in the greateſt conſternation: they wrote to governor Clive in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms,

VI.	VI.
That as ſoon as poſſible, the ratifications be, upon the approbation of the reſpective directors, exchanged on both ſides.	GRANTED.
VII.	VII.
And laſtly, the two nations mutually guarantee the foregoing articles.	We cannot apprehend the neceſſity of this article.
Signed underneath	Signed underneath
Done at Garetty, the firſt day of December, 1759.	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

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RATIFICATION.

WE the underſigning by theſe preſents accept the aforegoing 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; Underneath the Seal of the Dutch company, in red wax.

Signed,

A. Bisdom,
G. L. Vernet,
R. H. Armenault,
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; underneath the arms of the Engliſh 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

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* 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 saltpetre of Azimabad, which shall be purchased by the means of Raja Ramnarain 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 Dustuck; 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 mint of Murſhedabad *, of the balance due to the company.

of Murſhedabad ſhall be made to pay whatever balance is 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. BISDOM; G. L. VERNET; R. H. ARMENAULT; M. ISINCK; J. L. V. SCHEVIKHAVEN; 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 Mightnesses 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 knowlege 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 excluſion 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, Golam 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. Vansittart succeeded to the government at Calcutta, and Mr. Holwell returned to England.

BOOK X.

Affairs in INDIA *from* 1760, *until the* GENERAL PEACE *in* EUROPE *in* 1763.

CHAP. 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, Henry-Crab Boulton, John Boyd, John Browne, Chriſ. Burrow, Charles Cutts, John Dorrien, Geo. Dudley, Peter Godfrey, Charles Gough, Henry Hadley, John Harriſon, } Eſqrs.

Fred. Pigou, John Raymond, Giles Rooke, } Eſqrs.

Thomas Rouſe, Dep. Chairman.

Henry Savage, Geo. Stevens, Richard Smith, } Eſqrs.

Lawrence Sullivan, Chairman.

Timothy Tullie, Richard Warner, Thomas Waters, Bouchier Walton, } Eſqrs.

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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys.

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 ſepoys and topaſſes priſoners: after which, he took Verdachilum, where he made priſoners of twenty-five Europeans and two hundred ſepoys.

MAJOR Monſon, having thus deprived the French of many valuable poſſeſſions, rejoined colonel Coote in the beginning of May: the marines reimbarked; 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 deſireable 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 ſepoys, to invade the

the king of Maiſſore's country, and draw his troops from Pondicherry; which anſwered the end propoſed: the Morattoes deprived Hydranaig of all authority, and the king of Maiſſore 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 ſuccceded 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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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 sepoys, 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 harraſs 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 Chelingoes upon Chelingoes 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 Chelingoes: 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 sepoys.

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 embrazures 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 Madraſs-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 Madraſs 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 Sadraſs 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 Raza * 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

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 to-morrow 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 Madrass, 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,

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 grenadoes 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 hogſheads; muſket-balls, 6 barrels; ditto 80 kegs; iron ramrods about 12000; copper drums 15; wood ditto 17; eſpontoons, 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 ſhot 2; with a large quantity of muſket ſlings, 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 en-

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 Madraſs *, and Fort St. David † ; and colonel Coote remained an abſolute conqueror on the coaſt of Coromandel.

CHAP. 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. xlvii. † 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

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 Parſlow'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 houſhold 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,
Hector Monro.
Lowet,
Plowſquelly,
De Palmas,
Drowet,
Picat de la Motte,
De Laulanhoiry,
Houſſe,
Macin,
Trorel,
Fyitty."

on

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.

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* The directors for this year were as following:

William Barwell, *
Fitz Will. Barrington, *
Christ. Baron, *
H. Crabb Boulton,
John Boyd,
Charles Butts,
Sir James Creed, Knt.
} Esqrs;

Giles Rooke,
Thomas Rouse,
Henry Savage,
Richard Steward, *
Richard Smith,
Lawrence Sullivan,
} Esqrs;

John Dorrien,
Charles Gough,
John Harrison,
Samson Harrison, *
Frederic Pigou,
} Esqrs;

William Thornton,
Timothy Tullie,
Richard Warner,
Thomas Waters,
Bourchier Walton,

Those mark'd thus * were new ones.

† See this volume, p. 186.

THIS

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 Madraſs, 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 Madraſs added thirty of their artillery, ſix hundred ſepoys, a company of caffres, another of topaſſes, 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 ſurf, in which ſome lives were loſt.

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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

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 ſepoys, with the part of colonel Monſon's and the Highlanders, then at Madraſs, 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 Madraſs, 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 ſtreights 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 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, diſdaining 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 Madraſs to the Manillas manned with Portugueze 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 perpertual 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 ſepoys, 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 ſepoys 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 ſounding 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, Fondo, 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 compleated 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 Madraſs.

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 compleated 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 ſaliant 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 embrazures 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 patroles. 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 ſepoys 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 embrazures, or carriages, in the night. They opened only an inconſiderable fire from three or four embrazures 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 Ruſſel 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 ſepoys, 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

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

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* 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 Madraſs for diſpatch, the declines of the S. W. monſoon making it of the utmoſt importance. To promote this end, I compleated 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 compleat 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 Kempenfelt. 2 commiſſioned officers, 12 petty ditto,

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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 Timeen, and was joined by captain Grant, in the Seahorſe, whom I had detached upon my firſt arrival at Madraſs, 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.

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 patteraroes 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 poſi-

tion,

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,

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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 compleated 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 dollars

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.

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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 chearfulneſs. 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 harraſſed 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 recommend him as a very able good officer. I am, &c.

S. CORNISH.

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 drove among the Narangos in the utmoſt danger of being loſt, and 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 muſket 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 ſurpriſed, 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.

FAL-

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 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 Madraſs, 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 Stevenson 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 Coote, 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 œconomical 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. Antº Arzpº 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, lieutentant 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 internecionem*; 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

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, ſepoys, cafres, 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.

EXTRACTS.

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 patroles 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."

CHAP. 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.

† The eldeſt ſon of Allum Geer, the depoſed Mogul.

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 negociated 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 †.

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* 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 Coſſim 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 Shahſadapore 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 reaching

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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 negociations, 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 ſepoys 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 Maraud-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 ſenſations increaſed, when upon inquiry I was told, that not only the two wretched ſufferers abovementioned, but the whole family, to the number of nine perſons, 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, mother 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 Neſſa 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 volnme, p. 238. 262.

laid

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.

aſſuredly

assuredly 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 Balkissen'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 Hoſſein 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 Hoſſein 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 Hoſſein 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 Caillaud 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

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 negociation 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 negociation 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

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 houſhold 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 ſepoys, 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, Chittygang, 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 Indoſtan,"

* There were none preſent but Coſſim Aly Khan, his friend Coja Pertuſe, 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 ſepoys, 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 diſſaffection 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.

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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 Vanſittart 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 Vanſittart'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 Vansittart, 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 Vansittart 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 Vansittart 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 Vansittart 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

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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 sepoys, 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.

CHAP. 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* 10*th 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 Allum; ſoon after which, a perfect tranquility was reſtored throughout the three provinces of Bahar, Bengal, and Orixa.

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.

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* See this volume, p. 252. 259. 262. † Or Mir Mahmud Coſſim Khan Bahadre. ‡ See this volume, p. 260.

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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-witnesses 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 sepoys 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 Englisn had disbanded most of their sepoys 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*.

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* 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 averſeneſs 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 Crooke, (Mr. Hay and Gulſton remaining with the Nabob as hoſtages.) As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, 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 ſepoys, 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, Coſſim 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

my's horſe advancing, ſome of the ſepoys 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 ſepoys 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 ſepoys, 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 Phouſdar, with about 2000 men; whom they eaſily routed; but he being that evening joined from Budgepore with four or five hundred ſepoys, 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 Coſſim 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 †.

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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 sepoys

* See this volume, p. 233. 244—252. † Ibid. p. 253. 256. 262.

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

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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 ſepoys 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

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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 riſques, 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 ſepoys 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.

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cut down himſelf. After which, the gentlemen, being alarmed by Mr. Smith, ſtood on their defence, and repulſed the ſepoys 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.

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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 negociation, 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 Fontainbleau, 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.

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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 Orixa, 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 expreſly 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

Nattal and Tapanoully, 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 Orixa, 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.

APPENDIX.

A Journal from Aleppo, *over the Deſart to* Baſſerah, October 21, 1771.

AT two this afternoon took my departure from Aleppo for Baſſerah, 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 *Indahab* (*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

artificial mount, on the top of which is a building reſembling a tomb.

From this place travelling S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ 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

Names of the remarkable places in the rout of the caravan.

	Courſes.	Tim. Hours	Mar. 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 viſiting

siting them. Lahauz (*i. e.* Discovery) is a very proper name for these heighths, being finely situated for the distant discovery of the march of an army, or caravan, either on the plain or desart.

Here it may be necessary (having before omited 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 Mahauson, 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 alcala, 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 medium

dium S. E. ¾ E. for eight hours and ½; 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. ½ 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 deſart, 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 Guſſerah 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 Ursa 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 deſart, 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	
Tiebran mountains to Air il Kom.	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	30
	S. S. E.		30
	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.		30
	S. E.	1	30
Hagla to Air il Kom.		37	30

By the aforeſaid 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° 30′ N. latitude, nearly 35° 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 Gusserah 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 jepsing, a kind of sparry matter, resembling the chrystals of nitre. It only appeared about the aquaduct where the water was stopped, or on the desart where mineral water had been spilt, on the hot sand. The Arabs

rabs ſay, there is an inſcription in Guſſerah Swayeagee to this purport, we filled this Guſſerah (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 Buſsheir, from whence the ſouth-ſide of the Tibean 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 encamped. We met with no water here, the country 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

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courſes.	H.	Min.
From Ain il Kom to Guſſerah Swaygee,	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	1	
	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	2	30
	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	1	
Guſſerah Swaygee to Geboul Buſsheir,	S. E by E $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	30
	S. E. by E	9	
Geboul Buſsheir to Jabil Ganam,	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 ſituate 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 Jurſa, 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 Forda, *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 Irſa, a ſmall Arab village, on the other ſide the river Euphrates; and about thirty miles thence N. E. is the city of Urſa, from which I calculate the ſituation of this place.

Places names in our route.	Courſes.	H.	Min.
	S. E. ¼ S.	3	30
	S. E. ¾ E.	4	
	S. E. by S.	1	45
	S. E.	3	
	E. by S.		45
	E. ¼ 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 Irsa (four miles E. N. E.) and that the city of Ursa is thence N. E. thirty miles, I conclude that Ursa

			°	″
is situated in	lat. by acct. and estimation		34	26 N.
	long. from the meridian	Aleppo	2	43 E.
		London	40	17
is situated 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 Ursa is not to be relied on, as the Arabs do not seem to be clear in either their course or distance from Ursa hither.

The city of Ursa 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 idolater, and being a statuary by trade, used to carve idols for Nimrod. His son had frequently, in vain, expostulated with him, on the absurdity 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 quarelled and treated each other in that rough manner. The father, enraged at this sarcasm, and right-

" ly

" ly gueſſing at the author of the ſacri-
" lege, 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 re-
" ceiving 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 Urſa. 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 quatter; 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

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

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 Jacabjamus,	E. by S.	1	15
	E. S. E.	3	45
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S	2	
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	3	
	E. S. E.	5	
Jacabjamus 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. $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Urſa 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 Meſapotamia; 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

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 Ursa 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 rockey clifts, 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 deſart, 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 exhorbitant 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. ¾ E.	1	20
	S. S. E.	1	
	S. E. ¼ S.	1	
	S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	3	
	E. by S.	1	
Ain il Arnab to Cabaſſee.	Eaſt	1	
	S. E. by E. ¾ E	1	
	Eaſt	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 } { London 41 41 } Eaſt.

13th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, courſe S. ¾ 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. ¼ S. ſeven

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 plough-ed, 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 Guſſerah 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 Rachelle, 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 bleek 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. ¼ E. of our camp, ſtands Alcander, a large and antient 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 Ephrates 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 antient 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 Alcander."

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 of Places in the Carav. route,	Courſes.	H.	Min.
From Cabaſſee to Air il Mahumedy,	S. ¼ E.	1	30
	S. S. E.	1	30
	S. E. by S.	2	
Ardil Mahumedy to Tamell	S. E. by S.	1	30
	S. E. ¼ S.	7	
Tamel to Ermat	S. E. ½ S.	30	10
Ermat to Ain il Baſalem	S. E. by E.	1	30
	E. S. E.	2	
Ain il Baſalem 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. { Aleppo 4 6 } E.
{ London 42 20 }

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 ought 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 heighth 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-

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 tour 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.

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 rockey 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 rockey 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 clifts 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 de-

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. ¼ W.	1	
	S. E. ¾ E.	3	
From Alcander to Tackde Gana	E. S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	2	
	E. S. E.	5	
	S. W. ¾ S.	1	15
Tackde Gana to Rackam	S. ¼ W.	1	30
	S. E. by E.	3	
Rackam to Gerseme	E. ¾ 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 21 } East.
Long. a merid. { London 42 55 }

22d.

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 Haſh, 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 reſervior 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 proviſion

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 riſque 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. ¾ 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 in long. from	Aleppo	5	19	E.
	London	42	53	

24th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, courſe variable; I judged it neareſt S. S. E. ½ 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 our bedding, &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 Gaſme, with his tribe of Arabs, four thouſand in number, lay encamped in the road near the rivers, we ſhifted our courſe more towards the deſart, 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.

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 Zamzummims, Dieut. 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 Haſhem	S. S. E. ½	8	30
Unil Haſhem to Belmuris	S. S. E.	5	
	E. S. E.	3	
Abelmuris to Gurna	S. E. by E. ¼ E.	5	
	E. S. E.	10	
	E. S. E. ¾ E.	7	
Gurna to Guſſerah	S. W. ¾ S.		30
	E. S. E.	3	30
Mugaroon to Battan Guſſerah		42	30
Aleppo to Mugaroon		217	5
Aleppo to Battan Guſſerah		259	35

Lat. by account		30	49	N.
Guſſerah is ſituate in long. a merid.	Aleppo	6	35	E.
	London	44	9	E.

30th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, courſe E. S. E. ¼ 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

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 ſin 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 gravely 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 Buſſerah. 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 Buſſerah. A hard barren gravely 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 Muſſulman of Buſſerah, who he was informed lay at Iſſabar. He (for private reaſons) being afraid of him, was determined to adjuſt matters here before he proceeded to Buſſerah, 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 Busserah, accompanied by Mr. F. Hanmer, 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 Busserah, and after dinner, at about two o'clock, set out for that place, in company with the beforementioned 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

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courſes.	H.	Min.
	E. S. E. ¼ E.	6	
From Battan Guſſerah 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. ¾ E.	2	
	S. E. ⅔ E.	4	
Battan Shagera to Chapda	E. S. E. ¾ E.	3	
		8	30
Chapda to Abuan	S. E. by E.	7	
	E ½ N.	6	
Abuan to Indholibie	E. N. E. ¼ E.	6	
Indholibie to Quibda	E. N. E. ¼ E.	3	
Quibda to Iſſabier	E. N. E. ¼ E.	3	
Iſſabier to Buſſerah	N. E. ¾ N.		
Battan Guſſerah to Buſſerah		58	30
Aleppo to Battan Guſſerah		259	35
Aleppo to Buſſerah		318	5

Lat. by obſervation		30	22	N.
Buſſerah is ſituated in Long. a merid.	Aleppo	8	6	E.
	London	46	1	E.

I find by the coaſting pilot, for oriental navigation with which captain Dick favoured me, that Buſſerah is there laid down more to the eaſt than I made it; but am perſuaded it is not more from the meridian of Aleppo. And if the table of longitude in Patoun's navigation is right in the ſituation of Alexandria, then this account of the longitude of Buſſerah is perhaps nearer the truth than thoſe draughts; which I preſume were formed from journals to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The ſituation of Scandaroon, as laid down in the general draught of the coaſting pilot, differs from that aſſigned 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 Buſſerah, 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 Buſſerah. 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 Buſſerah, 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 piasters, and had about two hundred weight of provisions and effects.

This journey greatly resembles a voyage at sea, where good salt and dried provisions are very convenient, as well as some 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 seems to me the best time for crossing the desart. It certainly must be much worse in summer, both on account of the scarcity of water, and the excessive heats, which at that time, and on those dry barren sands, must be intolerable.

But any person, having money and leisure, may perform this journey much more agreeably; by the way of Mossol and Bagdat, where they will meet with refreshments at every stage, and if curious in the survey of antient buildings, they may hire a bursie boat, about three days journey from Aleppo, and come down the Euphrates to Busserah, in which track they must undoubtedly find many noble ruins of antient cities on both sides the rivers.

The Arabs value themselves highly on being a free and unconquered people; a circumstance to be

be ſolely attributed to their poverty, and the ſterril ſtate 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 ſurrounded 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 Buſſerah, 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 Buſſerah, 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 deſart, which poſſibly was the fate of thoſe ancient cities before mentioned.

Buſſerah I take to be the Buxrath mentioned in Iſaiah xxxiv. verſe 6. Jeremiah xlviii. and xxiv. 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 Buſſerah and cities already mentioned, which I apprehend ſtood hereabouts, whoſe total demolition accompliſhed the prediction of the Prophets.

FINIS.

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