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THE
COUNTRIES OF INDOSTAN
EAST OF DELHI
by Major James Rennell.
late Surveyor General to the East-India Company in Bengal.
Engraved from a drawing made and given by him.
For the use of this History.
To whom the Author testifies his acknowledgments.

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A

H I S T O R Y
OF THE
M I L I T A R Y T R A N S A C T I O N S
OF THE
B R I T I S H N A T I O N
I N
I N D O S T A N,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION
ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN
CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F.A.S.

VOL. II.

SECTION THE FIRST.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS BY THE AUTHOR.

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B O O K V I.

T H E W A R O F B E N G A L.

THE scope of our narrative now calls us from the coast of Coromandel to relate the calamities which at this time beset the English settlements in Bengal; previous to which it is requisite to investigate the rise and progress of the English commerce in the province, and to give some portion of the history of the Mahomedan government.

1756.

BENGAL is the easternmost of the provinces which compose the empire of the Great Mogul. It lies between the degrees 26. 30. and 21. 30. of north latitude, and extends from the 86th to the 97th degree of longitude, computing from the meridian of London. Its area is nearly 21 square degrees.

The GANGES, from its irruption through the mountains of the frontier, flows for 300 miles to the south-east, when it receives the Jumna at Allahabad. From hence its course continues 300 miles almost directly east; when having received seven large rivers, and more of inferior note, it enters the province of Bengal, according to

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the ancient definition, in the latitude of 25. 10. where its current on the right hand washes the foot of a mountain called Tacriagully, from whence it strikes to the SE, until it reacheth the sea. A hundred miles below Tacriagully it sends off an arm to the south, which is called the river of *Cossimbuzar*, and 50 miles lower, another, called the *Jelingeer*, which, after flowing about 40 miles to the SW, unites with the other at a town called Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of these two streams is sometimes called the *little Ganges*, but more commonly the river *Hughley*, which after flowing 120 miles of latitude in a course which does not verge more than one point to the westward of the south, gains the sea in the latitude of 21. 30. at the island of *Sagore*. The main body of the *Ganges*, which for distinction is called the *great Ganges*, continues from the commencement of the river of *Cossimbuzar*, receiving a multitude of streams from the left, until it reacheth the latitude of 22. 45. where its waters are met by those of another river ~~even larger than itself~~ called the *Baramputrah*, which rises on the eastern side of the vast mountains that send forth the *Ganges* to the west. The conflux of these two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands between their junction and the open sea, which their waters, through several extensive channels, reach about 35 miles lower down, in the latitude of 23. 10. *Tacriagully* is the termination of a vast range of mountains, which accompanies the course of the *Ganges* from the west; and about 50 miles west of Tacriagully, where they begin to form the north boundary of Bengal on this side the river, another range strikes from them to the south, but in a curve swelling to the westward, which terminates within sight of the sea, at the *Nelligree hills*, 30 miles inland from the town of *Ballafore*, in the latitude of 21. 30. Several districts belonging to Bengal lie interspersed within these mountains, but none beyond them; for to the westward they extend several degrees, and are in some parts impassable, as far as the province of *Berar* in the *Decan*; to the north they divide Bengal from the southern division of *BEHAR*, and to the south, seem the natural separation of Bengal from *ORIXA*, which nevertheless has acquired

acquired a tract of country within them, extending 20 miles along the sea-coasts from Ballasore to the river of Pipeley, which dis-embogues opposite to the Island of Sagore. On the eastern side of the Ganges, the territory of Bengal extends to the north as far as the latitude of 26. 30. where it is bounded by the foot of the first range of mountains approaching Thibet. By the acquisition of a country, called *Purnea*, the territory on this side the river extends 20 miles more to the west than Tacriagully on the other; and a line nearly north and south, from the northern mountains to the Ganges, marks the boundary between Purnea and the province of Behar. From this line the territory of Bengal extends 180 miles to the eastward as far as Rangamatty, a town belonging to the king of Assam, situated in the latitude of 26. 10. on the river Baramputrah. The course of this river from Rangamatty to the sea seems the natural boundary of Bengal to the east; but considerable districts have been acquired on the other side of it, which will be described as occasion requires; and at the upper part of the sea-coast which bounds the bay of Bengal to the east, the province of Chittigan has been wrested from the kingdom of Aracan.

The sea-coast between the mouths of the river Hughley and the Great Ganges, extends 180 miles, and the whole tract is a dreary unhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible from the sea to ships of burden; and for several miles inward, the land is intersected by numerous channels, which derive from both rivers, and disembogue by many mouths into the sea. The islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied by deer and tygers.

The triangle included by the Cossimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south, as well as a large tract on either hand and to the north of this Delta, is as level as the sandy deserts of Africa, or Arabia; and, like some of the countries on the banks of the river of Amazons, no where produces a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould lying on a deep sand, which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of this immense

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menſe plain as are not watered by the Ganges and its branches, are fertilized by many other ſtreams from the mountains, and for the ſpace of three months, from May to Auguſt, when the ſun is moſtly in the zenith, heavy rains fall every day.

Hence the luxuriance of the ſoil ſupplies the ſubſiſtance of the inhabitants with leſs labour than any other country in the world. Rice, which makes the greateſt part of their food, is produced in ſuch plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often ſold on the ſpot at the rate of two pounds for a farthing: a number of other arable grains, and a ſtill greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the ſpices of their diet, are raiſed, as wanted, with equal eaſe: ſugar, although requiring a more attentive cultivation, thrives every where: although their kine are of a mean race, and give little milk, yet the defect of exuberance is ſupplied by the multitude of the animals: the caſts who eat fiſh, find them ſwarming in all the ſtreams and ponds of the country, and ſalt is produced in abundance in the iſlands near the ſea. Hence in ſpite of deſpotiſm the province is extremely populous; and the vacation from agriculture leaves a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be ſpared in others, at leiſure to apply themſelves to the loom; ſo that more cotton and ſilk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the ſame extent of country throughout the empire, and conſequently at much cheaper rates. The greateſt part of theſe manufactures, and of the raw ſilk, is exported; and Europe receives the largeſt ſhare; the reſt goes by land and ſea to different parts of the empire, and other countries; to which they likewiſe ſend rice, ſugar, beetle-nut, ginger, long-pepper, turmeric, and a variety of other drugs and productions of the ſoil. Their real wants from abroad are only the metals; but ſince Europe has opened a trade to India, they have conſumed large quantities of woollen manufactures, and require arms, and a variety of mechanical implements better than they can make themſelves, ſome from fancy, but the greateſt part for uſe. The abundance of advantages peculiar to this country have induced the eaſtern world to call it the paradise of India; and the western, without hyperbole, the rich kingdom of Bengal. But theſe advantages,

vantages, through a long course of generations, have concurred with the languor peculiar to the unelastic atmosphere of the climate, to debase all the essential qualities of the human race, and notwithstanding the general effeminacy of character which is visible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are still of weaker frame and more enervated disposition than those of any other province: bodily strength, courage, and fortitude are unknown: even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a stupidity which neither wishes nor seems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity. All those of the better casts, who are not fixed to the loom, are bred to the details of traffic and money, in which their patience and perseverance are as great as their detestation of danger, and aversion to bodily fatigue; and it is common to see the accounts of a huckster in his stall, who does not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a considerable merchant in Europe.

The natives of Bengal derive their religion from a code called the Shaster, which they assert to be the genuine scripture of Bramah, in preference to the Vidam, of which the followers assert the contrary, whilst neither understand the language of the original text, which is called the Shanscrit: the very disuse of this language is of the most remote antiquity; it is preserved only by the Bramins, and understood but by very few even of them. The two codes of the Shaster and Vidam divide almost equally the whole body of the Indian religion throughout Indostan. The followers of the Shaster are distinguished by the name of GENTOOS,

The language as well as the written character of Bengal are peculiar to the natives, and not used in any other province, and both seem to be base derivations from the Shanscrit.

It appears from the history of Feritsha that the sovereignty of the Mahomedans was established in Bengal about the year 1200, during the reign of Scheahbedin, the Gauride. At this time the capital was Lucknouti, an immense city, to which the natives attributed great antiquity: it was situated on the right side of the Ganges,
about

1736

1399.

1447.

1494.

1530.

1534.

1539.

1542. 1545.

1552.

1555.

1556.

1575.

1624.

about 20 miles north of the island of Cossibuzar, and about the same distance to the south of Maulda. From the reign of Scheabedin to the invasion of Tamerlane in 1399, the country during two centuries is always supposed annexed to the empire of Delhi, although its governors sometimes affected royalty; and the province, during this period, has more than once been conferred on princes of the royal blood who stood nearest the throne. The confusions in the empire, which followed the invasion of Tamerlane, gave the rulers of Bengal better opportunity to assert and maintain independence. In 1447 they appear assuming the stile and dignity of kings, and in 1494, Sultan Alla ul dien, as monarch of Bengal, makes peace on equal terms with Sultan Secunder emperor of Delhi. From this time the continual convulsions of the throne, until it was seized by the intrepid hand of Baber, left the Sultans of Bengal without the apprehension of controul from the transitory sovereigns who stiled themselves emperors, and even Baber, until his death, in 1530, had too much to do in confirming his authority in other parts of Indostan to look to Bengal: but in 1534 the reigning Sultan was expelled by the famous adventurer Shere Cawn, who himself in 1539 quitted the province on the approach of the emperor Homaion son of Baber. This is the first establishment made by the house of Tamerlane in the province, but it was of short duration; for Shere Cawn defeated Homaion on his return to Agra, immediately after which he recovered the dominion of Bengal, and armed by the means it afforded, drove Homaion out of Indostan into Persia, and assumed the throne of Delhi in 1542. He died in 1545; his son and successor Selim in 1552; and during their reigns no commotions appear in Bengal; but during the three abrupt successions after Selim, until Homaion recovered Delhi in 1555, Bengal was continually disputed, and by several competitions. Homaion died in 1556, the year after he was reenthroned, and strong rebellions in the intermediate countries kept Bengal independant of Delhi until the year 1575, when the generals of Acbar reduced the province, and a part of Orixa, after which Bengal remained in subjection until 1624, when it was wrested from the empire by Shaw Jehan

Jehan in rebellion against his father the emperor Jehanguire; but it was recovered the next year. Shaw Jehan succeeded to the throne in 1627, and in 1638 sent his son Sujah to command in Bengal. Sujah continued lord of the province until 1661, when he was driven to take refuge in Arracan by Emir Jumla the vizir of his brother Aurunzebe, who had confined their father Shaw Jehan, and ascended his throne. From this time until a revolution which has happened in our days, Bengal continued in uninterrupted submission to the authority of the great Mogul.

The peculiar patience of the *Gentoo*s in Bengal, their affection to business, and the cheapness of all productions either of commerce or necessity, had concurred to render the details of the revenue the most minute, voluminous, and complicated system of accounts which exist in the universe, inasmuch that the emperor Jehanguire, although the Mahomedans had then been sovereigns of the country for three centuries, says in his note book, that the application of ten years was necessary to acquire a competent notion of them. The military pride of the Mahomedans, their indolence and sensuality, their ignorance of the language, and the inferiority of their numbers, rendered them inadequate to a task they detested, and obliged them, however unwilling, to leave the collection of their revenues, as they found it, with the *Gentoo*s, and the same insufficiencies reduced them to continue the *Rajahs* or princes, amongst whom the country was divided, in the superintendance of the municipal regulations of their respective districts, subject to regulated tributes, and the arbitrary fines and extortions of victorious authority. The greatest part of Bengal remains at this day under the intermediate jurisdiction of these *Rajahs*, several of whom are descended from ancestors who ruled the same districts before the Mahomedan conquest.

The Portuguese appear in Bengal before the present dynasty of Moguls; for an armament was sent by the viceroy of Goa in 1534 to assist the reigning Sultan against the invader Shere Cawn. This nation, however, never established regular governments or garrisons in the province, as in most other parts of India. But different bands

1736

at different times took up their residence on the sea-coasts of Balasore and Arracan, and in several habitable islands; which lye in the mouths of the great and lesser Ganges, where, living without law, and with much superstition, some hired themselves as soldiers to the governors of the neighbouring districts, whilst others equipt boats and armed vessels, and plundered in the rivers all who were not able to resist them. The Dutch settled in Bengal about the year

1625.

1625.

1636.

The trade of this country was opened to the English by means of a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the emperor Shaw Jehan, whom he cured, and the emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province, and to carry them by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered: on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an ample stipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courtesy, and assisted in their mercantile transactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade.

1640.

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indostan, arise much more from the commodities which they purchase in that country, than from those which they send thither, and the most valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe consists of silk and cotton manufactures; the weaver of which is an Indian, living and working with his wife and several children in a hut, which scarcely affords him shelter from the sun and rain: his natural indolence however

however is satisfied in procuring by his daily labour, his daily bread; and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the district to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor; so that the chapman who sets him to work, finds him destitute of every thing but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furnish him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchase materials, and to subsist him until his work is finished; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the cost of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to sell, of which, by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the necessity of the purchaser to buy. Now the navigation to India is so very expensive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protractions of the voyage; and loss, instead of profit, would ensue, if ships were sent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival; for either they would not find these cargoes provided, and must wait for them at a great expence; or if ready, would be obliged to purchase them too dearly. Hence has arisen the necessity of establishing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ships, the cargoes intended to be returned in them.

The English company, either in the first voyage or soon after, built a factory at Hughley, the principal port of the province, lying about one hundred miles from the sea on the river to which it gives its name, and which is the western arm of the Ganges; but the officers of the government superintended the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled or might be converted into a station of defence; the Mogul empire, at that time, disdaining to allow in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any other sovereignty than its own: for whatsoever forts the Portuguese or other Europeans possessed on the sea-coasts of Indostan, the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, were either wrested or purchased from princes at that time not conquered by the Mogul, in

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1756.
1640.
to
1680.

whose territory no European power had hitherto been suffered to erect a single bastion.

Not permitted to have fortifications, the English were likewise prohibited from entertaining a military force sufficient to give umbrage to the government, but were allowed to maintain an ensign and 30 men to do honour to the principal agents; who, thus confined to commercial views, applied themselves with much industry to promote their own and the company's interests in trade. Englishmen were sent from Hughley to those parts of the province in which the most valuable commodities were produced: but as the number of factors employed by the company did not suffice to superintend in different places, the provision of such quantities of goods as were annually demanded, the greatest part of the purchases was managed at Hughley, where the principal agents contracted with merchants of the country, who, on receiving about one half of the value beforehand, obliged themselves under pecuniary penalties to deliver at fixed periods the goods for which they had contracted. The company being by these dispositions invested with a right in all the goods for which they had contracted, even before these goods were manufactured, gave the name of Investment to all their purchases in India.

These were the only methods of carrying on the trade with reasonable expectation of profit; but they rendered the English entirely dependant on the government of Bengal, who, either by seizing the goods which were provided, or by prohibiting them from being carried to the principal residence, from whence they were to be shipped, might at any time subject the company's estate to great detriment and loss: and of these risques the company were so apprehensive, that they kept their factories in Bengal dependant on the Presidency of Madras; where they had a fort and garrison, to which, in cases of sudden emergency, the agents in Bengal were to apply for advice and assistance.

Their trade, however, was carried on for some time without interruption, and with much success; but in a few years, when they had erected costly buildings, had accumulated large quantities
of

of English commodities, and had given large credits in the province, the government, deeming them as it were fettered to the shore, changed its conduct towards them. The patents granted to Boughton, as well as the other stipulations which had induced them to settle in the province, were either disavowed, or construed in contradiction to their meaning: the same customs were levied from them, as from other merchants: the Nabob affected to arbitrate between the company and such of the natives, who, in order to evade the payment of their debts, thought proper to purchase his protection; and even vagabond Englishmen, offending against the company's privileges, were encouraged to take refuge in his court, and to disavow the authority of their countrymen. In a word, every pretext which might bring the English affairs under his cognizance was practised, in order to subject them to fines and exactions. If the settlements hesitated, or refused to comply with the Nabob's demands, their trade, throughout the province, was immediately stopped.

1756.
1640
to
1680.

For these evils there were but two remedies, war, or retreat: both worse than the mischief; for although the government annually repeated its exactions, the advantages of the Bengal trade, whilst new, were such as rendered it more prudent to acquiesce, than by defiance to risk the whole of the company's stock and concerns in the province; and for forty years the English attempted no military resistance.

At length, finding these impositions extravagantly increased, because they had only been opposed by embassies and petitions; and having the same causes of complaint against the Mogul's government at Surat; the company, in the year 1685, determined to try what condescensions the effect of arms might produce; and with the approbation of King James the second, fitted out two fleets; one of which was ordered to cruize at the bar of Surat, on all vessels belonging to the Mogul's subjects: the other was designed not only to commit hostilities by sea at the mouths of the Ganges, but carried likewise 600 regular troops, in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land. The agents at Hughley received previous notice

1685

of

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1756.

1685.

of these intentions, and were instructed to call in all their factors and concerns, that all the English subjects and property might be in readiness to repair on board the ships, as soon as they should arrive in the road of Ballasore, from whence it was intended that they should proceed and surprize the city of Chittigan, on the opposite shore, where they were immediately to fortify themselves.

1686.

The conduct of this war was entrusted to Job Chanock, the company's principal agent at Hughley, a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge of a government from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having not long before been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob. One vessel of the fleet was lost; the largest ship, with another, were not able to make their passage, and the rest did not arrive before the month of October, 1686; by which time, a body of the Nabob's troops, probably from some suspicions of the intended hostilities, had surrounded the factory at Hughley. Chanock, therefore, on the arrival of the ships, ordered the troops, about 460 men, to come up the river to his assistance, gave battle, and drove the enemy out of the town. A truce ensued, during which all the company's effects were shipped; by which time, the governor of Hughley having received considerable reinforcements, both sides were equally willing and ready to renew hostilities. The Moors were again discomfited; but, nevertheless, prepared to blockade the factory again; to avoid which, Chanock, on the 15th of December, took the field, and marching down the western bank of the river, burned and destroyed all the magazines of salt, and granaries of rice, which he found in his way between Hughley and the island of Ingelee, which lies at the mouth of the river, near the western shore. On this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy in the province, he pitched his camp, in the month of April, whilst the ships anchored in the main stream. The Moors suffered them to remain here without molestation for three months, during which sickness swept away 300 Europeans, which was two-thirds of the whole force.

In the mean time, the fleet sent to Surat had been much more successful, having taken from the Mogul's subjects, cargoes, which were valued at a million of sterling money. These losses deterred the merchants at Surat from making preparations for future voyages; the manufacturers and mechanics, left without employment, complained loudly of famine; and the emperor's revenues were considerably diminished: upon which Aurengzebe sent one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the English complaints, and to mitigate the oppressions they had suffered. Orders of the same purport were likewise sent to the Nabob of Bengal, and arrived very fortunately for the English troops at Ingelee, when, reduced to only 100 men capable of bearing arms, they were surrounded by 10,000 foot, and 3000 horse. Hostilities ceased, and by a treaty signed the 16th of August, 1687, it was stipulated, that the English should not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewise erect docks and magazines at *Ulabarea*, a village situated on the western bank, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river.

However Chanock had not faith enough in the treaty to return to Hughley without the ships, and the Moors distrusted the English too much to suffer them to appear there with such an advantage. He therefore remained three months at *Ulabarea*, during which the place was found to be so improper for the purposes which had induced him to ask it, that he desired and obtained leave to remove to *Soota-nutty*, a town about 40 miles higher up, and on the other side of the river, where the factors and soldiery lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Mean while the war at Surat broke out afresh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee; but gave up the English trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the same time demanded a very large sum, as a recompence for the damage which his country had sustained by the late hostilities. Chanock being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of the council to *Dacca*, to try if he might be softened by submissions. Soon after their departure,

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1686.

1687.

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1756.

1688.

ture, the power of the settlement was translated from Mr. Chanock to Heath, a commander of one of the company's ships, a man of courage, but of a variable disposition, not far removed from craziness; who, soon after his arrival at Soota-nutty, ordered all the English to repair on board the ships, and proceeded with them to the road of Ballafore, where the governor of the town offered to treat with him in behalf of the Nabob; and finding that this proposal was not received with cordiality, detained two of the company's agents residing in the factory of Ballafore, as hostages against any violence: notwithstanding which, and that the two English deputies were still at Dacca, as well as two other factors in other parts of the province, Heath landed with a crew of sailors, and attacked the town, which had no defences. This outrage was committed on the very day that the governor received a copy of the treaty which the Nabob had made with the two deputies at Dacca; by which it was stipulated, that the English ships should attack the king of Arracan. Heath pretended to acquiesce to these terms, hoping that his professions might facilitate his intentions of surprizing Chittigan, where the fleet arrived on the 17th of January, 1689; but finding the works, as well as the garrison, much stronger than he expected, Heath, as if he had come with no other purpose, offered, as he had promised, to join the Nabob against the king of Arracan; but soon after changing his mind again, he sailed to the river which leads to the capital of that country, where he proffered his service to the king against the Nabob, insisting, however, that their first attempt should be against Chittigan. But, not being of a temper to bear the delays of an Indian administration, he as suddenly took disgust against this ally; and on the 13th of February, sailed away with the fleet and the company's agents across the bay of Bengal to Madras, where they arrived on the 15th of March. Here he apologized for his conduct by saying, that nothing but lies had been told on all sides.

1689.

Nevertheless, this conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected from measures dictated by the most prudent councils: for the Nabob imagined that

that the contempt and disrespect with which Heath had treated him, proceeded from a resolution which the English had taken, to abandon the trade of Bengal; and fearing to be called to a severe account by the emperor Aurengzebe, for forcing them to quit the province, he immediately sent letters to Madras requesting them to return, and promising all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cause of the late contentions. Such a condescension was thought a sufficient warrant of the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Chanock, therefore, with his factors and thirty soldiers, sailed from Madras, and arrived in the month of July at Soota-nutty; where, in consequence of the Nabob's orders, the government of Hughley received them with civility.

1756.

1689.

The next year they received a phirmaund or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, on condition of paying annually the sum of 3000 rupees. The great advantages intended by this favour, depended however more on the temper of the Nabob than on the will of the emperor; for the English had more than once before received such mandates, and found them of little use; and the remembrance of former evils continued to raise solicitude, even when no immediate causes of apprehension subsisted.

1690.

The right of jurisdiction over the Indian inhabitants, whom the residence and commerce of the English continually attracted to Soota-nutty, became every day more necessary, to prevent perpetual litigations with those, who although employed by the English, might at any time defy them in the courts of the government, in which the merchants of the settlement would be more cautious of seeking protection, if the company had power to stop their families and attach their effects: but this right of jurisdiction could not be purchased, even at Delhi, without the consent of the Nabob; it was equally necessary that the company should have a fort to protect their valuable effects against sudden violence; but even proffers of money, repeated for five years successively, could not prevail on the Nabob to allow these privileges; and they were despaired of,

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1690.

1696.

when some unexpected events enabled the company to obtain them.

In 1696, the Rajahs on the western side of the river Hughley, took up arms: they were headed by him of Burdawan, whose territory extends along the western side of the river, from Nuddeah to the island of Ingelee, and who likewise possessed a considerable district on the other shore, contiguous to Calcutta; so that the English, French, and Dutch companies, had each their principal settlement within his jurisdiction. The greatest part of the Nabob's army being near the court at Dacca, the rebels made great progress before a force sufficient to oppose them could assemble; and in the mean time they took Hughley, plundered Muxadayad, in the island of Cossimbuzar, and from thence proceeded to Rajahmahal. On the breaking out of this war, the three European settlements augmented their soldiery, and declared for the Nabob; of whom they at the same time requested permission to put their factories in a state of defence against an enemy, whose resentment they must incur by their attachment to his government. The Nabob ordered them in general terms to defend themselves; and they taking for granted, what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories: the Dutch about a mile to the south of Hughley; the French two miles lower down the river, at Chandernagore; and the English at Calcutta, a small town contiguous to Soota-nutty, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, and they were the first which the Mogul government suffered foreigners to build in any part of the empire. An English sloop prevented the Rajah from taking the fort of Tannah; and the garrison of Calcutta, consisting of fifty men, beat a body of his troops within sight of the town. The Dutch assisted the Nabob's troops to retake Hughley. The French did little, but appeared in arms, and fortified themselves better than either of the other two.

The news of this rebellion alarmed Aurengzebe himself so much, that he sent one of his grandsons, Azim-al-Shan, with an army, to

to superintend the three governments of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This prince was son of Mahomed Mauzum, who reigned after his father Aurengzebe, with the title of Behader Shah; and Azim-al-Shan himself seems likewise, even at this distant period, to have had an eye to the throne: for he came into Bengal with a resolution to amass money by every means. This avaricious disposition the English plied with presents, which in 1698 obtained his permission to purchase from the Zemindar, or Indian proprietor, the towns of Soota-nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their districts, extending about three miles along the eastern bank of the river Hughley, and about one mile inland: the prince, however, reserved the annual fine of 1195 rupees, which this ground used to pay to the Nabob of the province. But at this time, when the English settlements seemed on the point of emerging from continued difficulties to a state of prosperity, the erection of a new East India company, in opposition to the old, renewed all their former evils. The new company established their factory at Hughley, and the competition between the respective agents was carried on with the same animosity as exasperated their principals in England, which exposed the concerns of both to the impositions of the Nabob, and of the merchants of Bengal, who took every advantage of this rivalry. However, the spirit of commerce, which knows no resentments that are prejudicial to its interest, soon reconciled the contending parties in England, and produced a coalition, of which the preliminaries were adjusted in 1698; but the final union did not take place till seven years after: this time being necessary to blend the different concerns of both companies into one common stock.

In the mean time, the settlement of Calcutta had attracted such a number of inhabitants, as excited the jealousy of the governor of Hughley, who, pretending that he should be punished for suffering so many of the Mogul's subjects to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction, threatened to send a *Cadi*, or Mahomedan judge, and officers of the police, to administer justice amongst the natives living under the English flag. The measure would have

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1696.

1698.

1756.

renewed the same inconveniencies, which had forced the English to quit Hughley : it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azim-al-Shan, who forbade the governor of Hughley from proceeding in his intentions. By this constant attention to money, Azim-al-Shan in three years amassed three millions of pounds sterling, which he carried with him out of the province : but he left behind him his son Furrukhir to get more ; who, in 1713, gained the throne, after his father had perished in disputing it with his brothers.

The union of the two companies, by augmenting the stock, increased the trade, and enlarged the views of the direction : who, at the same time, warned by the late examination of the company's affairs in parliament, exerted themselves with zeal and intelligence, in order to confound the clamours of those who exclaimed against the institution of an East India company, as a monopoly detrimental to the mercantile interests of the nation. The commerce of Bengal more especially became the object of their attention : the subordinate factories of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, and Balasore, which had been abandoned, were now resettled : the exports and imports were doubled in value and in quantity ; and the garrison of Calcutta was augmented to 300 men ; all which the government of Bengal, contrary to its usual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour. This was the longest term of repose from vexations, which the English had experienced since their first establishment in the province ; and the increasing importance of the colony induced the company in 1707 to withdraw the settlements in it, from their former dependance on Madras, and to declare Calcutta a presidency accountable only to the direction in England.

But the nabob Jaffier Khan, who at this time was appointed to rule Bengal, did not suffer the English to remain any longer in this state of ease and independence : and the respite which they had lately enjoyed served only to convince him, that, as being better able,

able, they ought the more readily to comply with his demands. Having removed the seat of government from Dacca to Muxadavad, in the center of the province, he was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs; and to discover pretexts and means of distressing them, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurengzebe and Azim-al-Shan. Every year of his administration was marked by extraordinary and increasing extortions; not only from the Europeans, but from all ranks of people in the province: at the same time he was as much dreaded for his abilities as detested for his iniquities: and the presidency of Calcutta, not seeing any better resource, proposed in the year 1713, to the company in England, that an embassy of complaint, supported by a valuable present, should be sent to the great Mogul at Delhi; to which the company readily acquiesced, directing the presidencies of Bombay and Madras to join their grievances in the same petition with those of Bengal. The nomination of the ambassadors was left to Mr. Hedges the governor of Calcutta, who chose John Surman and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors in the service there; joining to them an Armenian, named Serhaud, who had for many years been the principal merchant in the settlement.

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1713.

It does not appear, that the presidency had any other lights to direct their proceedings and expectations at Delhi, excepting such as they received from this Armenian, who had never been there; but who was very solicitous to be admitted into this honourable commission, in hopes of getting a great deal of money by the goods he should carry free of charges in the train of the embassy. The presents designed for the Mogul and his officers consisted of curious glass ware; clockwork, toys, brocades, and the finest manufactures of woollen cloths and silks, valued altogether at 30,000 pounds; which Serhaud, in his letters to Delhi, magnified to 100,000, and gave such a description of the rarities which were coming, that the mogul Furrukhir ordered the embassy to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through whose territories it might pass. The train proceeded on the Ganges from Calcutta to Patna, the capital

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1715.

capital of Behar, and from hence by land to Delhi, where they arrived on the 8th of July 1715, after a march of three months. The famous Hossan Ally, who afterwards deposed four, and created five emperors of Indostan, was at this time Vizir, dreaded by his sovereign, and mortally hated by Caundorah, who was in full possession of the emperor's favour. The English, by their previous correspondence to Delhi, had chosen Caundorah for the patron of their petitions, to which the rivalry between these lords was likely to prove no little detriment; for the one only could persuade the emperor to grant, what the other alone had the power of carrying into execution. Jaffier, the Nabob of Bengal, had from the beginning regarded the embassy with detestation, as the strongest imputation against the integrity of his own conduct, and would probably have counteracted it, both by representations and money, if he had not wanted all his influence at Delhi to promote the success of greater views; for he had for some years been soliciting the annexion of the provinces of Behar and Orixia to the government of Bengal, and the succession to this vast viceroyalty, in his family. Nevertheless his emissaries privately spread their specious objections amongst his friends; which with the desire of Hossan Ally to thwart Caundorah, would probably have soon produced the dismissal of the ambassadors with civil and insignificant answers, if an accident, which on a less important occasion would have been too mean to merit historical notice, had not placed them at once in a high degree of favour with the emperor himself; whom not all the vigilance of a mogul's seraglio had been able to preserve from the contagion of a distemper, which its institutions seem so well calculated to prevent.

The Mogul, despairing of the skill of his own empiricks, was advised by Caundorah to employ the surgeon of the English embassy, named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured; and, in gratitude for this service, promised to grant the ambassadors any indulgences, which might be consistent with the dignity of his government. Soon after his recovery succeeded the festival of his marriage with the daughter of Jasseing, the principal

Rajah

Rajah of the Rajpoot nation; which interrupted all other business, and obliged the ambassadors to wait six months before they could gain permission to present their petition.

It was delivered in the month of January of the next year 1716, and contained a variety of requests; "That the cargoes of English ships, which might be wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should not in future be plundered; that a stipulated sum, paid annually to the government of Surat, should exempt the English trade at that port from the Mogul's duties, and from the visitations of his officers, who had continually extorted more than they were authorized to demand; that the rupees coined in the mints of Bombay and Madras should pass in the receipt of the Mogul's revenue: that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had formerly been granted, and were afterwards taken back by the government of Arcot, might be restored to the company in perpetuity, subject to the payment of the former fine: that the island of Div near the port of Masulipatnam might be given to the company, paying for it an annual rent of 7000 pagodas." In behalf of the presidency of Calcutta, the petition represented all the impositions of the Nabob of Bengal, and proposed, "that they should be obviated by positive orders, that all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: that the officers of the mint at Muxadavad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the company's money: and that a passport, or *dustuck*, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being visited or stopped by the officers of the Bengal government on any pretence whatsoever;" and in order to maintain these excellent privileges, if granted, even in defiance of the Nabob himself, it was requested, "that the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-seven towns, with the same immunities as Azim-al-Shan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, Soota-nutty, and Govindpore."

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1716

Caundorah,

1756.

Caundorah, although he meant the embassy well, advised them to act as if they had no other reliance than on the Vizir; and the emperor, with the same caution, professed indeed a general approbation of the petition, but directed the several articles to be discussed by the different officers of the state, to the cognizance of which they were deemed to belong. This subjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizir; who, not without candour, disputed all the material articles, and readily allowed those of less consequence: a second petition was therefore presented to the emperor, in consequence of which some more points were given up by the Vizir; and then a third; which, being received with the same favour as the other two, induced him to give up the rest of his objections. But, to the great disappointment of the ambassadors, the mandates were issued, not under the Mogul's, but under the seal of the Vizir; which, although carrying great authority in the provinces near the capital, was likely to be little respected by the distant viceroys, to whom these mandates were addressed. To increase their difficulties, the Armenian Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in some irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations; and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheless, Messrs. Stephenson and Surman with great steadiness and spirit returned the mandates, and determined to wait until they should obtain patents under the seal of the Mogul.

These procrastinations had already led the embassy to the month of April of 1716, when the emperor took the field, and marched towards Lahore against the Sykes, a nation of Indians lately reared to power, and bearing mortal enmity to the Mahomedans. The ambassadors followed the camp. The campaign was tedious, though successful, and, amongst other events, produced a quarrel between the troops of the Vizir and Caundorah, which rendered their diffension utterly irreconcilable. Their jealousies, after the return of the army to Delhi, continued to protract the admission of the claim made by the ambassadors; who, having wasted fourteen months without the least progress, began to despair of success, when

when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the seraglio, who promised on this condition to procure the patents in the form they desired, and without delay. So much money had already been spent, that the ambassadors thought it would be trivial not to risk this sum as the last experiment, although they much doubted the effect. But, to their surprize, as soon as the money was paid, the Vizir and all his dependents appeared as much inclined, as they had hitherto been averse, to promote their requests; and soon after thirty-four patents, including the different subjects of the petition, were issued in the Mogul's name, and signed with his seal. They were delivered to the ambassadors before they had discovered the real cause of their unexpected success; which, however, was explained to them before they left Delhi, by one of Caundorah's officers. In the year 1686, a little while before the fleet sent from England began to take the ships, belonging to the Moors, the English agents at Surat retired to Bombay; they returned after the peace; but a little before the present patents were issued, the presidency of Bombay had again withdrawn the factory of Surat, as a residence not worth maintaining, unless the trade could be freed from the impositions to which it had of late years been subject. The government of Surat, reasoning from former experience, took the alarm, and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England to commit hostilities, as in the year 1687, which would have been attended with the same success; for many ships of value belonging to the Mogul's subjects were at sea. The eunuch, to whom the ambassadors had given the bribe, was the intimate correspondent and friend of the Nabob of Guzurat, who had desired him to represent to the Vizir, that it was better to satisfy the English by granting their petitions, than by a refusal to expose the trade of Surat to their reprisals. To this advice the Vizir immediately acquiesced, and from that hour changed his conduct towards the ambassadors; the eunuch being early in the secret, and foreseeing the change that would shortly ensue, determined to reap some advantage from his intelligence, and imposed himself on the

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1717.

embassadors as the author of the benefits which it was not in his power to prevent. The ambassadors having thus accomplished their commission, took leave of the emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival at Delhi. The patents addressed to the Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob of Guzurat, took effect as soon as they were published, because they afforded no political pretext of opposition, as adding nothing to the military strength of the company's settlements in either of these subahships, although to their commercial advantages. But the thirty-seven towns which they were permitted to purchase in Bengal would give them a district extending ten miles south of Calcutta along the banks on each side the river Hughley, of which the passage in this extent might be easily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts; at the same time that the revenue of the tract would defray the expence: and it was supposed that a great number of weavers might be established in it, who would be immediately subject to the company's jurisdiction. The shrewdness of the Nabob Jaffier, exasperated by his grudge to the embassy in general, saw the consequences of this grant with indignation; but, not daring openly to dispute the Mogul's order, he deterred the holders of the land with secret threats of vengeance from parting with their ground on any terms of compensation which might be proffered to them: and the English government confiding too much in the sanction of the Mogul's authority, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nabob to their own views; and thus the most important concession which had been obtained by the embassy, was entirely frustrated. However, Jaffier admitted the privilege of the dustucks, which, being recognized throughout the province, greatly facilitated the circulation of the company's trade; which now no longer paid customs, nor was liable to be stopped by the officers of the government; and this immunity was still more beneficial, because the other European colonies were not entitled to it; nor indeed, any of the natives excepting two or three principal merchants, who purchased it at a high rate of the Nabob.

1756.

The company, confining themselves entirely to the trade between India and Europe, had, not unwisely, relinquished to their agents that which is carried on from one part of India to another: but the impositions of the government had hitherto prevented their agents from reaping any considerable advantages from this indulgence: and to promote their profits, the company, soon after the embassy, allowed all those who served them under covenants, to make use of their dustucks for such commodities as belonged to themselves; but forbid, under severe penalties, the prostitution or extension of this privilege to any others. A question now arose, whether the company's agents were entitled to trade from one part of the province to another, in such commodities as were the produce of Bengal. The Mogul's patent implied no restrictions. But they could not be ignorant of the intentions of Delhi concerning this privilege; for when the ambassadors proposed to Caundorah that it should extend to all kinds of commodities, he replied with emotion, "The Sea!" And the Nabob Jaffier openly treated the pretension with the same indignation as he had secretly felt against the ceded lands, declaring that he would not suffer the dustucks to protect any goods, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported, by sea; alleging, that as the salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, together with some other articles of general consumption, were either farmed out in monopolies, or taxed at excessive rates, the detriment to the revenues would be as great as the advantages to the company's agents, if they were permitted to trade in these articles, free of the customs and rents which were paid by the natives who dealt in them.

Convinced as much by the reasoning, as deterred by the power, of the Nabob, the agents receded from their pretension, and applied themselves to make the most advantage of those privileges which were not contested. Success produced new adventures; and the superior skill of our countrymen in navigation, induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians and Indians, to freight most of the goods which they exported to foreign markets, on the shipping belonging to the colony, which, in ten years after

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1756.

the embassy, amounted to 10,000 tons; and many private fortunes were acquired, without injuring the company's trade, or subjecting their estate to disputes with the government. The presidency, nevertheless, found it their interest from time to time to soothe the Nabob with presents, in order to promote the increase of the company's investment, and to facilitate the course of their business at the subordinate factories: but the people of all denominations residing in Calcutta, enjoyed, after the return of the embassy, a degree of independence and freedom unknown to all the other inhabitants of Bengal: who, on the contrary, were oppressed every year with increasing vexations by the rapacity of the Nabob.

1718.

In 1718, the year after the embassy, Jaffier received from Delhi the patents he had long solicited, annexing the provinces of BEHAR and ORIXA to his government of Bengal, and the reversion of the whole to his heir.

The Ganges, in a course which tends with little deviation from the west to the east point of the compass, flows through the whole province of BEHAR, and divides it into two regions. The southern extends about 220 miles, from the river *Caramnassa* to *Tacriagully*; and is skirted to the south by the chain of mountains which on this side accompanies the course of the Ganges; and several districts belonging to the province are included within the mountains themselves, but none recede more than 60 miles from the river. The river *Dewah*, which is likewise called the *Gogra*, joins the Ganges on its northern shore, 180 miles to the west of *Tacriagully*. That river for a long way before the junction tends to the w. n. w. and 40 miles of the lower part of its channel forms part of the western boundary of the northern division of Behar, which extends to the east 180 miles, to the line we have noted as the limit of *Purniah*, and recedes from the Ganges and *Dewah* 90 miles to the north; where forests at the foot of the range of mountains, which bound the country of *Nepal*, continue with the mountains to the eastward far beyond *Ranganati*, and form the northern boundaries of Behar, Bengal, and *Affam*. The area of Behar compriseth 9 square degrees. The capital, *Patna*, stands on the southern bank

of

of the Ganges, 130 miles to the west of Tacriagully. There are many manufactures in this province, although nothing near so many as in Bengal; to which it is likewise much inferior in fertility; but it produces a great quantity of saltpetre, and of the best opium in India.

1756.
1718.

ORIXA is the most northern country on the east side of the promontory of Indostan. The river Pipléy coming from the N. W. disembogues, as we have said, in the latitude of 22. 25, opposite to the island of Sagore. The channel of this river, for 40 miles from its mouth, and an imaginary line 20 miles farther to the west, to the foot of the Nelligréen hills, before they curve to the east behind Ballasore, divide Orixá from Bengal. Southward it extends along the sea coast to the latitude of 20. 10. within six miles of Gangam, which terminates the province of CHICACOLE in the Décan. To the westward Orixá is separated from the province of BEHAR by a vast tract of mountains hitherto unexplored. The interior of the province is the strongest and best soil in the empire; but from the want of good sea-ports, there are few manufactures, and very little circulation of gold and silver, in the country. Cateck, the capital, is situated in the latitude of 21. 23. and fifty miles from the sea.

Jaffier had no sons, but before his arrival in Bengal had given his only daughter in marriage to Sujah Khan, a lord of distinction, who accompanied him into the province. Of this marriage were born two sons, both of whom were arrived at man's estate, when the commission appointing their father Sujah to succeed Jaffier was sent from Delhi. Sujah, although humane, was indolent and voluptuous, and his father in law, being desirous to break him to business, sent him soon after the patents were received, to govern the province of Orixá.

A few months after his arrival at Cateck, two brothers, natives of Tartary, came to his court with strong recommendations from Delhi, in compliance with which Sujah received them into his service: appointing the elder, Hodjee Hamed, to attend his person as a domestic, and the other, Allaverdy, to command a troop of horse. They were both employed according to their talents.

For

28.

1756.

1725.

1729.

1736.

For the elder was calm, supple, wily, provident, but void of natural courage; the younger, stern, active, intrepid, sagacious, but too high-minded to submit to the compliances necessary in an Asiatic court. Conviction of the assistance which each might derive from the qualities of the other, cemented them as much as the relation of blood, in the most inviolable friendship. This powerful and uncommon union seemed to command fortune; for in a few years they raised themselves to the highest offices in Sujah's court and army; Hodgee Hamed becoming his prime minister, and Allaverdy the general of his troops. The Nabob Jaffier foresaw and dreaded the consequences of their influence; but the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions necessary to extricate his successor from the toils into which he had been led; and in 1725 Jaffier died, to the great joy of the province; but of none more than the two brothers, to whose ambition his death opened more extensive prospects. They accompanied Sujah to Muxadavad, and partook of the increase of his power, administering the same employments in the general government of the Subahship, as they had held in the province of Orixa.

In 1729 Sujah appointed Allaverdy to govern Behar, in which station he had frequent opportunities of exerting his military talents, as well as his political abilities; being constantly in arms against the Indian chiefs on both sides the Ganges, who had never been reduced to a settled dependance on the Moorish government. However, after many fights, intrigues, and assassinations, all submitted, and afterwards continued in obedience to Allaverdy; who now feeling his strength, gave scope to his ambition, which, as usual, obliterated every sentiment of gratitude to the creator of his fortunes.

In the mean time Hodgee maintained his influence over the Nabob by an obsequiousness which prevented all suspicions, and remitted large sums to his brother, which were sent to Delhi, and in 1736 procured a commission from thence appointing Allaverdy, Nabob of Behar, free from any dependance on the government of Bengal; but as there was no immediate occasion to proclaim this title, of which he
already

already enjoyed most of the advantages, the brothers agreed that it should be kept secret, until there should be a necessity of asserting it publicly. However, such a transaction could not be entirely concealed; and the first informations leading to farther investigations, Sujah, although unwillingly, was at length convinced of the treacherous ingratitude of his favourites.

1756.

He was meditating revenge, when the approach of Nadir Shah struck all the provinces of the empire with consternation, and kept all their rulers in suspense how far the storm would reach: and in 1739, before the Persians left Delhi, Sujah died.

1739.

The succession devolved to his only surviving son Suffraze Khan, a man of mean abilities, and governed only by his vices. He, however, bore the strongest resentment against the two brothers; but the fear of Allaverdy restrained him from taking away the life of Hodgee, who was in his power: and Allaverdy, trembling for the safety of his brother, refrained from committing any hostilities, but improved his army.

The profligacy of Suffraze Khan increased with the means of indulgencé: and his debaucheries went to an excess that disordered his understanding. There was, amongst the officers of the court, an old Gentoo of distinction, named Allumchund, whom the late Nabob used to consult with confidence; relying on which, Allumchund ventured, in a private conference, to warn Suffraze Khan of the dangerous consequences of his intemperance; but Suffraze Khan answered him with ignominious abuse and invectives. No one after this ventured to shew any disapprobation of his inclinations; and, left to himself, he soon after committed a more extravagant outrage.

1743.

There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad, whose head, Juggutseat, had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most parts of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances; from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled; and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the administration; for
by

1756.

1746.

by answering to the treasury, as security; for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenues; and the great circulation of wealth, which he commanded, rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expence. His eldest son, soon after the disgrace of Allumchund, married a woman of exquisite beauty, the report of which alone inflamed the curiosity of the Nabob so much, that he insisted on seeing her, although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family, by shewing a wife, unveiled, to a stranger. Neither the remonstrances of the father, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed to divert the Nabob from this insolent and futile resolution. The young woman was sent to the palace in the evening; and, after staying there a short space, returned, unviolated indeed, but dishonoured, to her husband.

Hodgee, who had been lurking for some such occasions of conspiracy, now began to move; and made overtures to Juggutseat and Allumchund, who received them with eagerness. Secret meetings were concerted, in which it was agreed, that as soon as Hodgee could be placed out of the reach of danger, Allaverdy should invade Bengal, and, if successful, take the Nabobship. But the first difficulty seemed insurmountable, as nothing could be more contrary to the security of the Nabob than the release of such a pledge as Hodgee, and it was impossible that he could be removed out of the province without the Nabob's consent; which nevertheless was at length obtained, by the intercession, it is said, of some of the principal officers of the Durbar, whom Hodgee had gained over and admitted into the secret of his conspiracy. The Nabob, at the audience of taking leave, treated Hodgee with scoff and mockery. The conveyances for his departure having for some time been held in readiness, he proceeded immediately on his journey to Patna; and as soon as he arrived there, Allaverdy, giving out that he was dishonoured by the ignominious manner in which his brother had been turned out of the province, began his march towards Bengal.

1741.

His approach was so sudden, that he gained the pass of Tacriat gully before Suffraze Khan had time to secure it by a proper reinforcement.

forcement. On hearing which, the Nabob accused Juggutseat of treachery; who defended himself by producing letters from Allaverdy, prepared for the purpose, in which he was upbraided for not having used his influence to prevent the banishment of Hodgee.

1756.
1745;

Suffraze Khan now assembled his troops, and ordered them to rendezvous on the plain of Gheria, which lies on the west side of the river of Cossimbuzar, about five miles to the north of Muxadavad. Here he had scarcely formed his encampment, which consisted of 30,000 men, horse and foot, when Allaverdy appeared in sight, with an equal number, but of better troops; for amongst his cavalry were 3000 Pitans, the bravest of the Mahomedans in Indostan; and his infantry, levied in Behar, were much stouter than those in the army of Suffraze Khan, who were mostly natives of Bengal.

However, the unexpected firmness of the Nabob inspired some of his officers with courage; but more were either disaffected, or wavering; and all belonging to the artillery had been engaged by Alumchund to discharge the cannon without ball, and to desert it soon after the onset. Troops after troops quitted the field, as soon as they saw the artillery abandoned. Nevertheless Suffraze Khan continued the fight, until he was left with only a few squadrons of horse, whom the enemy were moving to surround, when the driver of his elephant, warning him of the danger, offered, at the forfeit of his head, to convey him back safely to the capital; to which proposal the Nabob, with a resolution worthy of a better life, and of a better fate, replied, that he scorned to retreat before rebels and traitors; and ordered the driver to push into the thickest of the enemy's troops, toward the standard of Allaverdy; where, supported by the remains of his cavalry, he renewed the fight more desperately than ever, until he fell, shot through the heart by a musket ball.

Allaverdy, without meeting any farther opposition, marched to Muxadavad, where he was immediately proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixá; and used his victory with more lenity and

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moderation than is usually practised by eastern conquerors; and even spared the two sons of Suffraze Khan, whom, with their mother and other relations, he sent to take up their residence at Dacca, at the extremity of the province, where his officers were instructed to treat them with respect, whilst their conduct should give no umbrage. The whole province submitted as peaceably to his government; as if no revolution had happened: but Mussut Kouli, who governed Oriza under Suffraze Khan, flying from the battle of Gheria, retreated to Catteck, and when summoned by Allaverdy, refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. He therefore called his brother Hodgee from Patna to administer the government of Bengal during his absence, and then marched into Oriza, and in less than a month expelled Mussut Kouli, and reduced the province.

The excess and rapidity of his fortunes, together with the reputation of his military abilities, alarmed the throne; and Nizam-al-mulack, the Soubah of the southern provinces, in order to stop the farther progress of his arms, incited the Morattoes to invade his dominions almost as soon as he had taken possession of them. In consequence of which, an army of 80,000 Morattoes arrived within a few days' journey of the mountains, which bound Bengal to the westward, before Allaverdy had quitted Catteck; who, not having given credit to the reports of their approach, had taken no precautions to prevent their irruption: and had even permitted the greatest part of the army he led into Bengal, to return to their homes; so that his whole force did not exceed 10,000 men, 5000 of whom were cavalry, and amongst them were the 3000 Pitans: his soul, however, nothing dismayed, reassumed its wonted activity, as soon as he found the danger to be really formidable; and he advanced by excessive marches towards his capital. But the Morattoes had already passed the defiles of the mountains, when he arrived near Burdawan, 100 miles from Muxadavad; where, finding himself surrounded, he encamped in a strong situation. Baschir Pondit, the general of the Morattoes, immediately sent deputies to his camp, who shewed the Emperor's mandates, authorizing them to demand

demand the chout, or a fourth part of the revenues of the three provinces for the three last years. They likewise demanded that he should oblige himself to pay this tribute regularly in future, and that some officers deputed by the Morattoes should be employed in all the departments of the revenues, in order to ascertain and secure their proportion. They moreover required him to deliver up the treasures of the two last Nabobs, Soujah and Suffraze Khan, or to pay the equivalent.

Allaverdy, on hearing these imperious terms, ordered the deputies to quit his camp, with a defiance fraught with contempt to their general. The next day he renewed his march in open day, in full sight of the enemy, who soon broke and dispersed his infantry, but were not able to make impression on his cavalry. The Pitans were commanded by an officer named Mustapha Khan, whom they not only revered as their hereditary chief, but loved as the bravest soldier amongst them: Allaverdy himself, his nephew Zaindee Hamed, Meer Jaffier his brother-in-law, and all the other officers of distinction, continually presented themselves against the most dangerous onsets; and such examples could not fail to animate their followers. Before night they had advanced fifteen miles in their way, when they halted in a strong situation: the next day the march was renewed with the same courage and success: and on the evening of the third day they arrived at the town of Cutwah, situated about thirty miles south of Muxadavad, on the bank of the Cossimbuzar river, which in this part is fordable during the dry season of the year.

About 500 of the cavalry were killed during the retreat, but more horses perished; for only 3000 men mounted arrived at Cutwah, where they remained several days in order to recover their fatigue, having scarcely slept since they left their camp at Burdawan. The Morattoes, in the mean time, assembled round Cutwah, and persuaded themselves that Allaverdy would wait for reinforcements from Muxadavad before he attempted to pass the river. Great, therefore, was their surprize and admiration, when they saw him

preparing to ford it with the same spirit of defiance as he had shewn in the rest of his march.

The success of this operation depended on preventing the enemy from following them into the ford through the avenues of the town; and eighty of the bravest Pitans, excellently mounted and in complete armour, were selected for this important service, under the command of their general Mustapha Khan, whom Zaindee Hamed and Meer Jaffier joined as volunteers. This intrepid troop maintained their post until Allaverdy, with the main body had crossed the river; when they likewise began to retreat; and cutting their way through the enemy, all but fifteen escaped, and passed the ford.

As soon as they arrived, Allaverdy continued his march to Muxadavad, which he reached the next day; his first attention, after this gallant retreat, was to reward those who had so bravely seconded his own perseverance and courage. Every soldier received a gratuity; all the officers promotion: Meer Jaffier, who had signalized himself at the passage of the river, additional pensions, and to Mustapha Khan he presented a million of rupees. To Zaindee Hamed he gave the first place in his affection, and from this time destined him for his successor; although he had given his only daughter in marriage to Nowagis Mahomed, the eldest of Hodgee's sons.

The Morattoes, as soon as they had gained sufficient intelligence, crossed over into the island of Cossimbuzar, and ravaged the open country; but did not venture to attack the capital; and the approach of the rainy season, during which the swelling of the rivers would have confined them in the island, deterred them from continuing on it more than three days. To preserve their horses, they encamped on the high lands of Berbohin, in the north-west part of the province. Here they were enabled to form proper resolutions, by the advice of one of the Soubah's officers, named Meer-abib, who had deserted to them; he was a man of scheme, method, and activity, had been deputy-governor of Dacca, and possessed much general knowledge of the province. Instructed by him, they collected

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lected the revenues of the countries lying to the west of the river Hughley. He likewise enabled them to form a bridge of boats at Cutwah, and having procured some pieces of artillery, and some European deserters to man them, he built two floating batteries to defend the bridge, stationing one on each side. Thus prepared, as soon as the rainy season was passed, they crossed again into the island, by which time Allaverdy had augmented his army by levies made in Behar to 50,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and of these one half were Pitans. The enemy's detachments, nevertheless, trusting to the hardiness and activity of their horses, carried their ravages to the furthest parts of the island, and eluded the troops sent by Allaverdy to intercept them, who at length took the better resolution of marching with his whole force towards their bridge at Cutwah; on which Bafchir Pondit recalled all his parties, and the whole army re-crossed the river, but in such a hurry that they neglected to break the bridge. Their fear had scarcely passed before the van of Allaverdy's army arrived, but the fire of the floating batteries obliged them to halt until their artillery came up, which soon silenced the enemy's; when the Nabob's troops crowding in greater numbers than the bridge could support, some of the boats sunk, and a thousand men perished: it however was soon repaired, and the whole army crossed; but the Morattoes still continued to avoid every encounter. At length Allaverdy, despairing of striking a decisive blow against such an enemy, offered to treat; but Bafchir Pondit, elated with this condescension, repeated the same terms as he had proposed at Burdawan, and added to them that the son of Suffraze Khan should be placed in the Nabobship. Allaverdy, stung by this reproachful proposal, formed a design of circumventing his enemies, in contempt of all respects divine or human.

Pretending to be very solicitous of peace, he proposed a personal conference with Bafchir Pondit; who, suspecting the good faith of his professions, did not consent to the interview without taking several precautions against the treachery he feared, and even obliged Allaverdy to swear by the Koran, that he would use none. It

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was agreed that the conference should be held in a tent pitched in an open plain, at an equal distance between the two camps; and that each of the chiefs should be accompanied by fifteen officers on horseback, and the same number of unarmed servants on foot, who were to take care of their horses; but the care of providing the tent was left to Allaverdy, who had seduced Baschir Pondit into this negligence, by offering to send his wife, during the conference, to visit the wife of the Morattoe. At the appointed hour the two chiefs advanced to the tent, each of them having selected for his retinue the principal and bravest officers in his army; and with Allaverdy were his favourites, Mustapha Khan and Meer Jaffier: at the same time was discovered moving to the right a long train of covered pallankeens, which were supposed to be the retinue of his wife going to the Morattoe camp. The two companies met, and entered the tent with much ceremony. What followed is variously told; the prevailing report was, that the conference lasted an hour, which seems impossible; for on a signal, 50 armed men rushed from behind the sides of the tent, which had been pitched with a double lining in order to conceal them; and, joining the officers who accompanied Allaverdy, began the work of assassination. Baschir Pondit with all his attendants, and three or four of Allaverdy's, were killed; but Allaverdy himself did not unsheath his sword. The annals of Indostan scarcely afford an example of such treacherous atrocity, and none in which persons of such distinction were the actors. As soon as the massacre was finished, a signal was thrown out, on which the army of Bengal advanced against the Morattoe camp, and were joined in the way by Allaverdy, and his officers from the tent, who led them to the attack. The Morattoes fled on every side in confusion; but reassembled again to the westward, and renewed the war with redoubled devastations and barbarity.

Practice and encouragement at length brought the Nabob's cavalry to fight the enemy in their own way, and every day produced a combat or skirmish in some part or other of the country. This irregular war continued three months, when the Morattoes, finding their

their numbers much diminished, repassed the western mountains, and quitted the province.

The whole Morattoo nation in its two divisions of Poni and Berar, determined to avenge the death of Baschir Pondit, and the remains of his army were scarcely retreated before two others were in march to invade Bengal; each consisted of 60,000 men; but acted independently. The army of Poni was commanded by Ballerow Agerow, son of Ballerow, who, without dethroning the Sahah Rajah, or real sovereign of the Morattoes, had usurped the whole authority of the state, which he transmitted on his death to his son Balagerow. The other army was commanded by Ragojee Bonsala, who had some years before conquered, and had ever since governed the province of Behar. He is the same who, by the instigation of Nizamuluck, invaded the Carnatic in 1740, as now Bengal. The army with Ballerow entered the province of Behar, whilst the other, under Ragojee, marched through the mountains from Berar into Orixá. Allaverdy, on the news of their approach, broke the bridge at Cutwah, and encamped near his capital. Meanwhile, the two Morattoo armies, advancing without opposition, met at Burdawan; where the two generals agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided. At the same time they were joined by Meer-abib, who, as before, fixed another bridge at Cutwah, over which they passed into the island of Cossimbuzar; but Allaverdy, relying on the success of less hazardous measures, determined neither to offer or accept battle. Amongst the prisoners taken from the army of Baschir Pondit, was an officer of distinction, named Shaserow, whom Allaverdy had attached by several acts of generosity; in return for which Shaserow now employed his mediation with Ballerow in favour of Allaverdy, whose emissaries were at the same time sowing dissention between the two Morattoo generals, persuading each that much plunder had been secreted from the common stock of the army.

The explanations that ensued on this subject produced a coolness between them, which determined Ballerow to agree to the proposals of Allaverdy, who offered to pay two millions of rupees, on condition.

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dition that both the Morattoe armies should be immediately withdrawn, and three millions more as soon as they should be arrived in their own country. Accordingly it was agreed that Ballerow and Allaverdy should meet and confer together on the 30th of March; but some motions made that day by the troops of Ragojee causing Allaverdy to suspect treachery, he returned to his camp when on the way to the place appointed. However, on the 3d of April they met. The conference lasted two hours, during which the treaty was ratified. Ragojee dissimulated his disapprobation, until all the Morattoes had quitted the island of Cossimbuzar, when he openly refused to accept the treaty; and Ballerow, who had received the two millions of rupees, gave himself no trouble either to persuade or compel him, but marched away with his own troops and the money.

Allaverdy, more satisfied with having removed one half of his enemies, than disappointed at the refusal of Ragojee, immediately marched against him. But the Morattoes, as usual, avoided all encounters of risque, and ravaged the defenceless parts of the country until the month of June, when they retired into Orixá, and in a few days reduced the whole province; of which Ragojee, with the consent of his officers, gave the government to Meer-abib. As soon as the rainy season was passed, some of their detachments again infested Bengal; and in March 1744, new parties, allured by the success of their countrymen, traversed, plundering as they went, all Behar and Bengal, in their way to the main body, which remained in Orixá. The three following months Allaverdy was employed in beating up the parties that remained in Bengal, and as soon as the rains ceased, he marched with his whole force into Orixá; where by continual stratagems he brought on several encounters, in which the Morattoes suffered considerably; and pursuing these advantages, he in less than three months obliged them to quit the province and retire to the westward. However, he was scarcely returned to Muxadavad, in February 1745, when they renewed their incursions; but their detachments were not formidable enough to require the same stress of opposition which had hitherto employed his whole force

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force, and attention. He therefore, in October, detached a large body of troops to Patna, under the command of his nephew Zaindee Hamed, and now began to have some prospect of tranquillity; which, nevertheless, still fled before him.

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The reputation of Mustapha Khan, and his influence amongst the soldiery, had for some time rendered him obnoxious to the suspicions of Hodgee, who concluded, that if he did not already entertain dangerous views, he might aspire at the sovereignty after the death of Allaverdy, to the prejudice of his own son Zaindee Hamed: but mere arguments could not induce Allaverdy, who feared nothing, to entertain this opinion of a fellow soldier, by whom he had always been served with fidelity, and had on all occasions generously rewarded. He demanded proofs, which were supplied by letters that seemed to be written by Meer-abib to Mustapha Khan, implying a previous correspondence, exhorting the Pitan to assassinate Allaverdy, and promising him the assistance of the Morattoes to seize and maintain the government. Allaverdy, not suspecting that Hodgee would dare to use such an artifice in an affair of so great importance, believed the imposition, and determined to put Mustapha Khan to death at the next visit; whose friends advised him of the danger; on which he instantly marched away with the body of 3000 Pitans under his immediate command, and was the next day followed and joined by the same number, with their officer Sumsheer Khan; all took their way towards Behar.

Their departure confirming Allaverdy in his belief of Hodgee's representations, he ordered Zaindee Hamed to advance from Patna, in order to stop the retreat of the Pitans, whilst he himself followed them with his own army, which overtook them half way between Tacriagully and Patna, before Zaindee Hamed appeared in sight. Mustapha Khan therefore gave battle without delay; the conflict was sharp and obstinate, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers; and the success remained doubtful, until the two chiefs came within reach of one another, when a party of men, armed with matchlocks, who had been taught to shoot at a mark, and were

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appointed to guard the elephant on which Allaverdy rode, fired a volley directed against the person of Mustapha Khan, and killed him; on which Sumshêr Khan gave the signal of retreat, and, passing at a distance from Zaindee Hamed's march, retreated out of the province, and proceeded to his own country, to the east of the Jumna.

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After the battle, Hodgee, who had accompanied his brother, went to Patna, in order to superintend the civil administration of Behar; and having brought with him the head of Mustapha Khan, caused it to be carried on a pole round the city, during which procession it was insulted by the multitude with every indignity. Allaverdy hastened back to Bengal, which, during his absence, had been exposed to the return and depredations of the whole body of Morattoes, which he had driven out of Orixá. Thus ended the year 1746. Continual marches and a few indecisive skirmishes employed him until the end of 1747, when events of more dangerous consequence called forth the exertion of his utmost resolution.

Meer-abib, who, since his defection, had lost no opportunity of distressing Allaverdy, had entered into a correspondence with Sumshêr Khan, immediately after the death of Mustapha; in consequence of which the Pitán, with 8000 of his countrymen, appeared in December on the bank of the Ganges, opposite to the city of Patna; which intending to surprize, he tendered the service of his troops to Zaindee Hamed. Hodgee, it is said, had received some intelligence of the connexion existing between Sumshêr Khan and Meer-abib; and advised his son to project an interview, in which all the Pitán officers might be blown up by a mine of gunpowder; but Zaindee Hamed, suspecting his father's intelligence, rejected the proposal, and waited for the orders of Allaverdy; who instructed him to enlist the Pitáns, and afterwards to take the first opportunity of destroying their chiefs. Accordingly, the terms of agreement were settled, and the principal officers, accompanied by 2000 of their soldiery, crossed the river: they were received by Zaindee Hamed in a tent pitched at a little distance from the city. Sumshêr

Sheer Khan approached the first, made his obeisance, and having received from Zaindee a roll of beetel, as a pledge of friendship, took his place, standing behind him as an officer now rated in his service. Eleven other officers went through the same ceremony; and when Zaindee Hamed was presenting the beetel to the thirteenth, the officer who had last received it, plunged a dagger over his shoulder into his heart. In the same instant the others fell on those of Zaindee's retinue who were standing nearest his person, whilst the Pitani soldiers attacked the rest and his guards. The astonishment on one side being as great as the impetuosity on the other, all the attendants of Zaindee Hamed were soon dispersed; and during the conflict a party of Pitans galloped to the gate of the city, of which they kept possession, until Sumsheer Khan arrived with the rest.

Here the consternation was so great, that no one thought of resistance; and the Pitans, cutting down all they met, proceeded and got possession of the citadel. Their first care now was to seek for Hodgee, in order to retaliate the death of their leader Mustapha Khan, and the ignominy with which Hodgee had treated his remains; he was taken, endeavouring to escape in a covered pallan-keen, and immediately scourged in public, like a common criminal; after which he was led through the city on an ass, with his legs tied under the belly, and his face painted half black, half white; during which procession he was insulted with every scoff and mockery that detestation could suggest. Five millions of rupees were found in his house; and the scourge was again repeated, in order to extort a confession of the treasures he was supposed to have concealed; but whether he really had no more, or believed that no confession would exempt him from future torture, he bore that which was now inflicted on him until his life was in danger; when Sumsheer Khan, desirous of reserving him for more lingering and exquisite sufferings, ordered him to be taken care of; but the unfortunate and high-minded wife of Zaindee found means to convey to him a dose of poison, which in a few hours released him from all his agonies. His fate excited no commiseration; for his avarice, perfidy, and cruelty, had rendered him execrable to every rank and condition.

The main body of Pitans, crossing the river, joined those in possession of the city, and during three days rioted in massacre and rapine: after the tumult subsided, Sumsheer Khan established officers to govern the city, raised contributions from the neighbouring districts, and levied troops.

The news of these disasters overpowered all the fortitude of Allaverdy, and rendered him for some days incapable of attending to the concerns of his government: his grief was mostly paid to the memory of Zaindee Hamed, who was the only one of his family worthy to succeed him. However, the desire of revenge recalled his wonted firmness, and he appeared again with new vigour, augmenting his army, and improving it by new discipline: he likewise solicitously attached to his person the 4000 Pitans, who had remained with him after the retreat of Mustapha Khan. Thus animated and prepared, he took the field in the month of March with 25,000 horse and 15,000 foot, and proceeded into Behar through the pass of Tacriagully.

In this interval, Sumsheer Khan had likewise levied 5000 horse and 10,000 foot, with which and his 8000 Pitans he took the field, and encamped about 20 miles to the east of Patna, having concerted with the Morattoes that they should fall upon Allaverdy's rear, whilst the Pitans attacked him in front. In consequence of this agreement Meer-abib and Ragojee had entered the country of Burdawan, waiting the motions of Allaverdy to direct their own: and as soon as he had passed Tacriagully, they, by a shorter route, crossed the mountains, seventy miles to the west, through the passes of Berbohin, and arrived in the middle of Behar almost as soon as the army of Bengal. Allaverdy saw his danger; but nevertheless proceeded, and when near the encampment of Sumsheer Khan, left his own tents and baggage standing on the plain, with only a small force to guard them, and marched on to give the Pitans battle; who met him without hesitation. The Morattoes in the rear were within a march of the battle; but, as he had foreseen, stopped at the camp, and, during the conflict, employed themselves in plundering the spoil, instead of assisting their allies; the battle, nevertheless, was the

the most fierce and obstinate that had for many years been fought in Indostan. Allaverdy had foreseen the fury of their onsets, and remained in the rear in order to rally his own troops. Nevertheless, the Pitans would in all probability have been victorious, had he not interspersed his cavalry with matchlock men; who, firing with aim, shot, one after another, most of their principal officers, and at last Sumsheer Khan himself, just as he had cut his way to the elephant on which Allaverdy superintended the battle. His death, as usual, decided the victory. The Pitans hastened back to Patna, where they remained gathering together their own effects, and plundering whatsoever they could find valuable belonging to the inhabitants, until the army of Bengal appeared in sight, when they quitted the city, and crossing the Ganges, marched away to their own country.

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Allaverdy having settled the government of Behar, returned before the rainy season to Muxadavad. The Morattoes, after the defeat of Sumsheer Khan, divided into several detachments, of which some infested Behar, some Bengal, and others Orixá; but their operations were not formidable enough to call Allaverdy himself again into the field: and he committed the conduct of the war to his general Meer Jaffier, who was continually employed in interrupting or dislodging their parties.

The war, ever since the retreat of Ballerow in 1743, had been principally carried on by the Morattoes of Ragogee Bonfola from Behar, joined sometimes by partizans and adventurers from other countries. In 1749, Ragogee assisted Nazirjing in his expedition into the Carnatic with 10,000 horse, under the command of his son Jonagi, which, with other expeditions, disabled him from recruiting the losses sustained by his army in Bengal, which was continually diminishing by fight or fatigue. In the beginning of the next year Meer Jaffier pent up 5000 of their horse in the mountains of Behar, and put more than one half of them to the sword.

1749b

1750a

At this time much confusion reigned at Delhi. The army of the Emperor Hamed Schah, commanded by his vizir Seifdar Jung, had been routed in the preceding year by the Rohillas, a tribe of Pitans.

Pitans.

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Pitans tributary to the province of Oude, who 20 years before were of little note or estimation; and to repair this disgrace, it was resolved to hire 40,000 Morattoes of Balagerow, who had succeeded his father Ballerow in the government of Poni. Its own distress therefore deprived the throne of farther means to excite more enemies against Allaverdy, in whom, on the other hand, the infirmities of age seemed to have quelled the ambitious spirit which had rendered him so formidable to the empire. The Court of Delhi, therefore, as the best compromise, consented to confirm him Subah of Bengal, Behar, and Orixia, on condition that he should annually remit the usual tribute of six millions of rupees.

The patents were published at Muxadavad soon after the body of 5000 Morattoes were defeated in Behar, and Allaverdy improving both circumstances, opened a negociation with their leaders, consenting to leave them in possession of the southern part of Orixia until a firm peace could be settled with the heads of the nation, provided all their parties were immediately withdrawn out of the provinces of Bengal and Behar. The terms were accepted, and he soon after sent an ambassador to Poni; but a variety of references and discussions delayed the ratification of the treaty to the end of the year 1751. 1753, when it was agreed that Allaverdy should annually pay the sum of 120,000 rupees, and that all Orixia, south of Catteck, should be ceded to the Morattoe dominion in perpetuity, and that they should receive half the revenues of the northern part as far as the river of Pipli, with the permission of appointing officers, who, together with the Nabob's, were to superintend the collections.

Thus ended this war. All the countries lying to the east of the great and lesser Ganges, excepting the island of Cossimbuzar, were defended by these rivers from the calamities which afflicted Orixia, the western part of Bengal, and the southern region of Behar, where the pusillanimous inhabitants were continually taking flight, even on imaginary alarms, and wandering from their homes found no resources of charity in their countrymen; for the fear of contamination prevents all of the Indian religion from giving shelter, or administering to the wants of any, who are not known or recommended

mended to them, and confining all their sentiments of humanity to persons of their own cast, they suffer the stranger to perish without compassion. Nor could the advantages of a climate, in which fuel and raiment are scarcely necessary, countervail the destructive effects of this general timidity and uncharitableness.

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Examples of these distresses were frequently seen by the English at Calcutta, to which place the inhabitants of the opposite side of the river often came over in great numbers for refuge, and perished through want; communicating their own terrors to those of whom they asked relief; insomuch, that in the year 1742 the Indian inhabitants of the colony requested and obtained permission to dig a ditch at their own expence, round the company's bounds, from the northern part of Soota-nutty to the southern part of Govindpore. This work would extend seven miles, whilst the force to defend it did not exceed 300 Europeans and 500 peons. In six months three miles were finished: when the inhabitants, seeing that no Morattoes had ever been on the western side of the river within sixty miles of Calcutta; and that Allaverdy exerted himself vigorously to prevent their incursions into the island of Cossimbuzar, discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Morattoe ditch*.

Allaverdy made no objection to this work; and moreover permitted the English, in the same year, to raise a rampart with bastions of brickwork round their factory at Cossimbuzar. But the rest of his conduct shewed that these indulgences did not proceed from any desire of courting the Europeans in times of difficulty; for, notwithstanding the services which he might have received from their garrisons, he never asked their assistance. He forbid the English and French from committing any hostilities against each other in his dominions, during the war declared between the two nations in 1741; and, in the year 1748, he, on some contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Ostend company out of the river of Hughley: and he several times exacted money of the English, French, and Dutch settlements; alledging, that they ought to contribute to the expence, as they participated of the protection of his arms. The presidency of Calcutta, not com-
plying;

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plying with his demands on the first summons, he more than once stopped their trade; however, all they paid from his accession did not exceed 100,000 pounds sterling; which on an average was not two in a hundred on the amount of their investments to the end of the war.

The Morattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade. This was in the year 1748, when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging to the company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much impaired by the distresses of the province, which enhanced the prices and debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures.

The difficulties which Allaverdy had encountered and surmounted since his accession, obliterated in the minds of his subjects whatsoever detestation they might have conceived against his usurpation of the sovereignty: his attention to protect them from the violences and iniquities of his officers, acting either with civil or military authority, had gained him the public reverence and esteem; and such was the openness and generosity of his character on all occasions, in which his ambition was not thwarted, that his ingratitude to his benefactor Sujah Khan, the murder of Bafchir Pondit, and his intentions to cut off Mustapha Khan, were imputed, although absurdly, to the influence which his brother Hodgee was supposed to have over all his resolutions: he remained, perhaps, the only prince in the east whom none of his subjects wished to assassinate. But he was no sooner arrived at this degree of reputation and fortune, than increasing infirmities warned him of his approaching end; and his injudicious choice of a successor, embittered his latter days with as many anxieties as he had suffered in the rest of his reign.

Having no male issue or descendants, the succession naturally devolved into the family of his brother Hodgee, who had three sons, Nowagis Mahomed, Zaindee Hamed, and Sid Hamed; Nowagis married the only daughter of Allaverdy, by whom he had no issue; Sid Hamed had a son; and Zaindee Hamed left two, of whom

whom the elder, named Mirza Mahmud, was adopted by Allaverdy, and the other, named Moorad Dowlah, by Nowagis Mahomed. The superior qualities of Zaindee justified Allaverdy in preferring him to his elder brother Nowagis, a man of much less resolution and capacity; but after the death of Zaindee there remained no reason to exclude Nowagis again from the succession: for he was of a better character than his brother Sid Hamid; and of the two children left by Zaindee, the younger, Moorad Dowlah, was weak of intellect, and the elder, Mirza Mahmud, a youth of seventeen years, had discovered the most vicious propensities, at an age when only follies are expected from princes. But the great affection which Allaverdy had borne to the father was transferred to this son, whom he had for some years bred in his own palace; where, instead of correcting the evil dispositions of his nature, he suffered them to increase by overweening indulgence: born without compassion, it was one of the amusements of Mirza Mahmud's childhood to torture birds and animals; and, taught by his minions to regard himself as of a superior order of beings, his natural cruelty hardened by habit, rendered him as insensible to the sufferings of his own species as of the brute creation: in conception he was not slow, but absurd; obstinate, sullen, and impatient of contradiction; but, notwithstanding his insolent contempt of mankind, innate cowardice, and the confusion of his ideas, rendered him suspicious of all who approached him, excepting his favourites, who were buffoons and profligate men, raised from menial servants to be his companions: with these he lived in every kind of intemperance and debauchery, and more especially in drinking spirituous liquors to an excess, which inflamed his passions, and impaired the little understanding with which he was born. He had, however, cunning enough to carry himself with much demureness in the presence of Allaverdy, whom no one ventured to inform of his real character; for in despotic states the sovereign is always the last to hear what it concerns him most to know.

This youth in the year 1753 Allaverdy declared his successor, and from this time suffered him to act in the government of the

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provinces with great authority; whilst his subjects beheld with equal surprize and consternation an instance of such dotage in a prince, whose judgment had never failed him until this, the most important option of his life. The doom was, however, irrevocable, and Mirza Mahmud on his appointment received the name of Chiragee-al-Dowla, signifying the lamp of riches, by which he was afterwards called; but by the Europeans, Surajah Dowlah. His uncles, Nowagis and Sid Hamed, did not indeed break out into open rebellion, but shewed so much discontent, that Allaverdy was convinced they would dispute the succession after his death; and knowing that Nowagis Mahomed was governed by a man of abilities, named Hossein Cooley Khan, he determined to remove this minister. But Nowagis having for some years held the government of Dacca with its appurtenances, had acquired great wealth, which enabled him to maintain a large retinue of armed men in constant pay; and the city of Dacca was at this time governed by a nephew of Hossein Cooley Khan: Allaverdy therefore was apprehensive that Nowagis might retire to Dacca, and throw off his allegiance, if he should take the alarm, whilst that city remained under his authority; but Surajah Dowlah undertook to remove the nephew of Hossein Cooley Khan, and sent a party of assassins, who entering Dacca in disguise stabbed him in the dead of night. As soon as his death was known at Muxadavad, Nowagis took up arms, but more from apprehensions of his own danger than with intention to revenge the injury: Allaverdy therefore easily quelled this insurrection, by assuring him that the murder had been committed without the participation either of himself, or Surajah Dowlah. Some days after the tumult was quieted, Surajah Dowlah caused Hossein Cooley Khan himself to be assassinated in open day, as he was passing through the streets of Muxadavad.

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These murders increased the gloomy conjectures which the appointment of Surajah Dowlah to the succession had already raised in the minds of the people. His uncles Nowagis and Sid Hamed had hitherto acted independently of each other, but now united; and although their reverence to Allaverdy restrained them from revolt

during

during his life, they augmented their forces and the number of their dependants. In this state of mutual suspicion the two parties remained, until the beginning of the year 1756, when both Nowagis and Sid Hamed died of fevers, without poison.

Their deaths dissolved indeed the union of their houses; but, nevertheless, did not leave Surajah Dowlah without powerful competitors: Nowagis left great treasures; and his widow, the daughter of Allaverdy, as the only means of preserving them, determined to dispute the succession. Her sex excluded her from the government, to which otherwise she was the natural heir, as the only child of Allaverdy. And the younger brother of Surajah Dowlah, who had been adopted by her husband, was dead; but although a stripling, had left a son, who was about two years old; and this infant she determined to hold out to the province as the competitor of Surajah Dowlah. At the same time, the son of Sid Hamed, who governed the country of Purneah, relying on the general detestation which was entertained against Surajah Dowlah, levied forces, and determined to oppose his accession.

A Gentoo, named Rajah-bullab, had succeeded Hossein Cooley Khan in the post of Duan or prime-minister to Nowagis; after whose death his influence continued with the widow, with whom he was supposed to be more intimate than became either her rank, or his religion; but, doubtful of the event of the impending contest, he determined to place his family and treasures out of the reach of danger; and, not deeming them in safety at Dacca, where they had remained for some time, he ordered his son Kiffendass to remove them from that city, under pretence of going a pilgrimage to the Pagoda of Jagernaut, on the coast of Orixa. Accordingly, Kiffendass left Dacca with several loaded boats: but, instead of going through the channels at the bottom of the Delta, proceeded along the great Ganges to the Jelingeer river, through which he entered the river of Hughley; when his father at Muxadayad requested Mr. Watts, the English chief at Cossimbuzar, to obtain permission of the presidency of Calcutta, that Kiffendass with his family might, if they found it necessary, rest for some days in the

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town, by which the boats must pass, in their way to Oriza. At the same time there remained no hopes of Allaverdy's recovery; upon which the widow of Nowagis had quitted Muxadavad, and encamped with 10,000 men at Mootá Gill, a garden two miles south of the city, and many now began to think and to say that she would prevail in her opposition against Surajah Dowlah. Mr. Watts therefore was easily induced to oblige her minister, and advised the presidency to comply with his request. His letter to the presidency on this subject was scarcely arrived in Calcutta, before the boats of Kiffendafs appeared in sight: the president, Mr. Drake, was at this time at Balláfore for the recovery of his health; but the rest of the council, relying on the opinion of Mr. Watts, consented to admit Kiffendafs into the town.

Amongst the Gentoo merchants established at Calcutta, was one named Omichund, a man of great sagacity and understanding, which he had employed for forty years with unceasing diligence to increase his fortune. The presidency had long permitted him to provide much more of the company's investment than the share allowed to any other contractor; by which, and other indulgences, he was become the most opulent inhabitant in the colony. The extent of his habitation, divided into various departments; the number of his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Behar, and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the principal officers of the government of Muxadavad, that the presidency in times of difficulty used to employ his mediation with the Náhob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy: the manufactures provided for the company having every year since the first irruption of the Morattoes decreased in quality and increased in price, much of this detriment was imputed to the avarice and iniquity of Omichund; and the company determining, if possible, to restore their investment to the former condition of price and quality, relinquished in the year 1753 their usual

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usual method of contracting with merchants, and sent *Gomastahs*, or *Gentoo* factors in their own pay, to provide the investments at the different *Aurungs*, or cloth markets in the province. From this time Omichund was excluded from any participation in the company's affairs, which diminishing his commercial advantages, vexed his avarice, although possessed of four millions of rupees. However, he still continued the trade, which he used to carry on independent of the investment, and redoubled his attention to maintain his importance at Muxadavad; in consequence of which Rajah-bullub at this time requested his good offices to his son Kiffendafs, whom Omichund received on his arrival with much hospitality, and lodged the family in a convenient habitation.

The admission of Kiffendafs into Calcutta was soon known at Muxadavad. It wounded the pride of Surajah Dowlah, and exasperated his mind with such suspicions, that he immediately went to Allaverdy, and told him that he was well informed the English intended to support the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Mr. Forth, the surgeon of the English factory at Cossimbuzar, who attended Allaverdy in his last illness, was present, and Allaverdy, instead of answering Surajah Dowlah, questioned Mr. Forth concerning the report, who replied, that it was raised by the enemies of the English, in order to hurt them in his favour, and that on examination it would appear groundless; adding, that the English had no other ambition than to be merchants in his country. Allaverdy then asked how many soldiers were in the factory at Cossimbuzar? Whether the French or the Dutch presidencies had lately sent up any to their factories in that town? Where the English ships of war were? Whether they would come to Bengal? Whether some had not been in the river of Hughley three months before? Why the squadron came into India? Whether there was war between England and France? To which questions Mr. Forth replied, without deviating from the truth; and Allaverdy, seeming to be convinced that the expectation of a war with France had brought the squadron to India, and that the English at Calcutta were in no condition to risk the displeasure of his government, told Surajah Dowlah, that

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that he gave no credit to his information; who replied, that he could prove it. A few days after this conversation, news arrived in Bengal that the English had taken Gheria. The piracies which Angria had for so many years committed on the subjects of the Mogul had rendered his name famous throughout the empire; and there was scarce a province of which he had not taken some of the natives, who concurred in describing his fortress as impregnable: and various rumours now prevailed at Muxadayad. Some said that the English intended to send sixteen ships to make war in Bengal; others, that Surajah Dowlah was determined to sack Calcutta, and drive the English out of his dominions: and Mr. Watts received positive information that there were many spies employed by the government in Calcutta; and that the weakness of the garrison and fortifications, and the facility with which the place might be taken, were the public discourse of the city and the court. The presidency on this information ordered strict search to be made, and several who were suspected of being spies, were turned out of the company's bounds.

At length the long-expected event of Allaverdy's death happened on the 9th of April: his public character is sufficiently delineated by his actions: his private life was very different from the usual manners of a Mahomedan prince in Indostan; for he was extremely temperate, had no pleasures, kept no seraglio, and always lived the husband of one wife. Warned by the experience of his own ambition, the defection of Meer-abib, and the rebellion of Mustapha Cawn, he declined as much as possible to entrust any Mahomedan, excepting of his own lineage, with any power out of his sight, which might either tempt or enable him to revolt: but kept his army, which consisted chiefly of Mahomedans, continually under his own eye, or never suffered a large body of the same troops to remain long enough at a distance to be seduced from their obedience: At the same time he paid them well and regularly, and rewarded the officers of merit and distinction, either with ready money or with jaghires, which were always rents arising from lands over which they were not suffered to have any extensive jurisdiction.

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But he preferred the service of *Gentoo*s in every office and dignity of the state, excepting in the ranks of the army, for which they neither wished nor were fit, and seemed to regard the increase of their wealth as his own. Roydulub was his duan, or treasurer, and his confidential minister; Ramramsing the Rajah of Midnapore, the master of the spies and messengers. The governments which he gave to his nephews, the sons and grandsons of Hodgee, as well as the interior establishment of their families, were regulated by *Gentoo*s. He encouraged the immense opulence of the Seats, and admitted them to his most secret councils; he gave the government of Hughley and its district, in which all the European settlements on the river are situated, to Monikchund; and after the assassination of Zaindee Hamed, he would not trust the government of Behar, notwithstanding its importance as a province and a frontier, to Meer Jaffier, although his brother-in-law, and the first officer in his army; but gave it to the *Gentoo* Ramnairan. The Rajahs, both of Bengal and Behar, sought their protection and exemptions, from their fellow *Gentoo*s, who were established in his confidence, and contributed not a little to increase their fortunes. Thus was the *Gentoo* connection become the most opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge; nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants; and it is said that the Seats alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees, as a contribution to support the expences of the Morat-toe war. Warranted by such experience, Allaverdy recommended the policy of his own preference to his successor, and instructed his wife to inculcate the same maxims after his decease; but he did not foresee that the great inferiority of abilities in Surajah Dowlah might turn to dangers the very means from which his own had derived security.

Surajah Dowlah immediately after the death of Allaverdy was proclaimed, and prepared to attack the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Not more than one or two days after his accession he

wrote

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wrote a letter to the president of Calcutta, ordering him to deliver up Kiffendafs, with his treasures. The bearer of the letter was brother of Ramramfing, the head of the spies: he came in a small boat, and landed in the disguise of a common pedlar on the 14th of April, and immediately proceeded to Omichund's, who, as the governor was absent at his country house, introduced him to Mr. Holwell, a member of the council, who superintended the police of the town. The next day it was deliberated what resolution should be taken concerning this messenger.

The governor returning the next day summoned a council, of which the majority being prepossessed against Omichund, concluded that the messenger was an engine prepared by himself to alarm them, and restore his own importance; and as the last advices received from Cossimbuzar described the event between Surajah Dowlah and the widow of Nowagis to be dubious, the council resolved that both the messenger and his letter were too suspicious to be received; and the servants, who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory and off the shore with insolence and derision: but letters were dispatched to Mr. Watts, instructing him to guard against any evil consequence from this proceeding.

It is probable that the report of the spy, supported by the representations of his brother, renewed the same ideas which had induced Surajah Dowlah to accuse the English some days before to Allaverdy. He, however, concealed his resentment; for when the vaqueel, or Gentoo agent employed by Mr. Watts represented at the Durbar, the suspicions which had induced the English government to treat the messenger as an impostor, Surajah Dowlah scarcely shewed any emotion or displeasure; and neither Mr. Watts nor the president received any farther injunctions from him concerning Kiffendafs.

In the beginning of April letters had been received from England, informing the presidency that war with France was inevitable, and ordering them to put the settlement in a state of defence: but to do this was impossible without building the fort anew. However, a great number of labourers were sent to repair a line of guns, which

which extended on the brink of the river in front of the western side of the fort.

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In the mean time the widow of Allaverdy interposed between her daughter and Surajah Dowlah, and at length prevailed on her to acknowledge him; which she had no sooner done than Surajah Dowlah put her into close confinement; and seized her palaces and treasures, with the infant son of his own brother. As soon as he had quelled this enemy, he proceeded with his whole army, consisting of 50,000 men, against the son of Sid Hamet in Purnea.

Notwithstanding the diligence which had been employed to expel the spies employed by the Nabob in Calcutta, several found means to remain undiscovered; and, instigated most probably by the head spy, represented in their letters to the Dürbar, that the English were very busy in raising strong fortifications. The Nabob, whose cowardice easily led him to believe any thing that alarmed his fears, gave such entire credit to the report, that on the day in which he began his march towards Purneah, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Drake, signifying that he had been informed the English were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round the town of Calcutta; and ordering him immediately to desist, and to destroy all the works which had lately been added to the fortifications.

It was unfortunate, Mr. Watts had neglected to inform the presidency of the complaint which Surajah Dowlah had made to Allaverdy a little before his death, in the presence of Mr. Forth; and of the conversation which ensued on that occasion; for whatsoever informations were now communicated, were considered as the artifices of the court to frighten the presidency out of a sum of money; whereas the conversation implied that Surajah Dowlah bore rancour against the English; and that both he and Allaverdy had been attentive to their military proceedings. But, wanting this information, Mr. Drake thought that the truth would be his best defence, and simply wrote a letter, importing, "That the Nabob had been misinformed by those who had represented to him that the English were building a wall round the town; that they had

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“dug no ditch since the invasion of the Morattoes, at which time
 “such a work was executed at the request of the Indian inhabi-
 “tants, and with the knowledge and approbation of Allaverdy; that
 “in the late war between England and France, the French had at-
 “tacked and taken the town of Madras, contrary to the neu-
 “trality which it was expected would have been preserved in
 “the Mogul’s dominions; and that there being at present great
 “appearance of another war between the two nations, the Eng-
 “lish were under apprehensions that the French would act in the
 “same manner in Bengal; to prevent which, they were repairing
 “their line of guns on the bank of the river.” Few in Mr.
 Drake’s situation would have apologized in any other manner: ne-
 vertheless, considering the character of Surajah Dowlah, and the
 disposition of his mind towards the English at this juncture, the an-
 swer was improper; because it tended to make him believe that the
 impending war between the two nations would probably be brought
 into Bengal; and because it implied that he either wanted power or
 will to protect the English. Accordingly, when he received the
 letter on the 17th of May at Rajamahal, the perusal of it irritated
 him to a degree of rage which astonished all his officers, except-
 ing one or two of his intimate favourites. He instantly changed
 his resolution of proceeding further, ordered his army to march
 back without delay to Muxadavad, and sent forward a detachment
 of 3000 men, to invest the fort of Cossimbuzar. On the 22d of
 May these troops arrived and surrounded it, but committed no hos-
 tilities; and on the 1st of June the Nabob himself came up with
 the main body of his army.

The fort was just strong enough to oblige an enemy to attack it
 with cannon: the bastions were small: the curtains were only
 three feet thick, and served as the outward wall of a range of cham-
 bers, which, with their terrasses, imitated ramparts; and were on all
 sides overlooked from without by buildings within 100 yards, and
 there was neither ditch, nor even a pallisade, to interrupt the ap-
 proach to the very foot of the walls: perhaps the jealousy of the
 government would not suffer more; none of the cannon were above
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nine pounders, most were honey-combed, many of their carriages decayed, and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges. The garrison consisted of 22 Europeans, mostly Dutchmen, and 20 Topasses.

The Nabob, immediately on his arrival, sent a messenger, ordering Mr. Watts to come to him; who at the same time received a letter from the duan, Roydulub, assuring him of safety: he nevertheless delayed until Mr. Forth the surgeon went out and returned, accompanied by an officer, with the same assurances from Roydulub in person: on which he proceeded to the tent of Roydulub, and was introduced by him to the Nabob, who received him with insolence and invectives: immediately after which he was conducted into another tent, where several secretaries and officers prepared a writing, importing, that the presidency of Calcutta should, within fifteen days, level whatsoever new works they had raised; that they should deliver up all tenants of the government who had taken protection in the settlement; and that if it should be proved that the company's dufftucks, or passports for trade, had ever been given to such as were not intitled to them, what the government had been defrauded of by such practices, should be refunded. Mr. Watts, surrounded by menaces, signed the paper; immediately after which the same conclave ordered him to send for Mr. Collet and Mr. Batson, the two other members of the council, who came and signed likewise, and were detained with Mr. Watts in the camp. The next day they received an order to surrender the fort; but representing that this did not now depend on themselves, no umbrage was taken at the delay of their conferences with one another; and their messages to the garrison, who, deeming the fort, as it really was, untenable, the Nabob's officers, with a number of followers, were admitted on the 4th of June; who, instead of sealing up what effects they found, as the Nabob had ordered, stole the greatest part; and the soldiery, who took possession of the factory, insulted the garrison with every kind of contumely and reproach. This behaviour continued three days, and so much affected the mind of the

commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, that he shot himself through the head:

The cannon and ammunition were carried to the camp; the soldiers were sent to the common prison at Muxadavad; Mr. Baffon, one of the council, and the younger men in the company's service, were permitted to retire to the French and Dutch factories; and Mess. Watts and Collet, instead of being employed as they expected, to represent the will of Surajah Dowlah to the presidency of Calcutta, were informed that they must accompany him thither. None of the Nabob's officers endeavoured to restrain him from this rash and violent resolution; they believed themselves marching to the plunder of one of the most opulent cities in the empire. But Seat Mootabray and Roopchund, the sons of the banker Juggutseat, who had succeeded to the wealth and employments of their father, and derived great advantages from the European trade in the province, ventured to represent the English as a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants, and earnestly entreated the Nabob to moderate his resentment against them; but their remonstrances were vain; and on the 9th of June the army began their march towards Calcutta.

During these proceedings, letters were daily dispatched from Calcutta, instructing Mr. Watts to assure the Nabob that the presidency was ready to obey his orders, to demolish whatsoever additions had been made to their fortifications, and what other buildings without the fort might have been represented to him as works intended for defence; but none of these letters reached Mr. Watts, and were probably carried to the Nabob, whose intentions they encouraged. Coja Wazeed, the principal merchant of the province, who resided at Hughley, was likewise desired to interpose his mediation; to whom the Nabob replied, that Mr. Drake had grievously offended him, and that he would not suffer the English to remain in his country on any other terms than were allowed them in the reign of the Nabob Jaffier. In the mean time, as the principal reason assigned for Surajah Dowlah's indignation was his belief that the English were erecting new fortifications, the dread of exasperating him

him still more, unfortunately deterred, the presidency from taking the necessary measures to oppose, until there remained no longer any hopes of appeasing him; and in this precarious suspense, twenty days, in which much might have been done, were suffered to elapse unemployed. But, on the 7th of June, when news was received of the surrender of Cossimbuzar, they were convinced that they must owe their safety to resistance.

Letters were immediately dispatched to Madras and Bombay requesting reinforcements, but without any probability that any could arrive from either in time; for the sea was shut by the south monsoon, and the messengers of the country could not arrive at either of their destinations in less than 30 days. As a relief nearer at hand, the French and Dutch presidencies at Chandernagore and Chinchura were solicited, as in a common cause, to enter into a defensive alliance against the Nabob; but the Dutch positively refused, and the French insolently advised the English to repair to Chandernagore, in which case they promised them their protection. No resource therefore remained but in their own force, which was indeed very inadequate to the contest; for, although the regular garrison consisted of 264 men, and the inhabitants serving as militia were 250; in all, 514 men; yet only 174 of this number were Europeans, and of these not ten had ever seen any other than the service of the parade; the rest were Topasses, Armenians, and Portuguese inhabitants, on whose faith or spirit no reliance could be placed. The number of Buxerries, or Indian matchlock men, were therefore augmented to 1500; provisions were laid in store, and works of defence, such as the time would admit, were erected.

Whilst the Nabob was advancing, it was determined to take possession of the fort of Tannah, which lay about 5 miles below Calcutta, on the opposite shore, and commanded the narrowest part of the river between Hughley and the sea with 13 pieces of cannon. Two ships of 300 tons, and two brigantines, anchored before it early in the morning of the 13th of June; and as soon as they began to fire, the Moorish garrison, which did not exceed fifty men, fled, on which some Europeans and Lascars landed, and having disabled

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abled part of the cannon, flung the rest into the river: But the next day they were attacked by a detachment of 2000 men, sent from Hughley, who stormed the fort, drove them to their boats, and then began to fire, with their matchlocks and two small field-pieces, on the vessels, which endeavoured in vain with their cannon and musketry to dislodge them. The next day a reinforcement of 30 soldiers were sent from Calcutta, but the cannonade having made no impression, they and the vessels returned to the town.

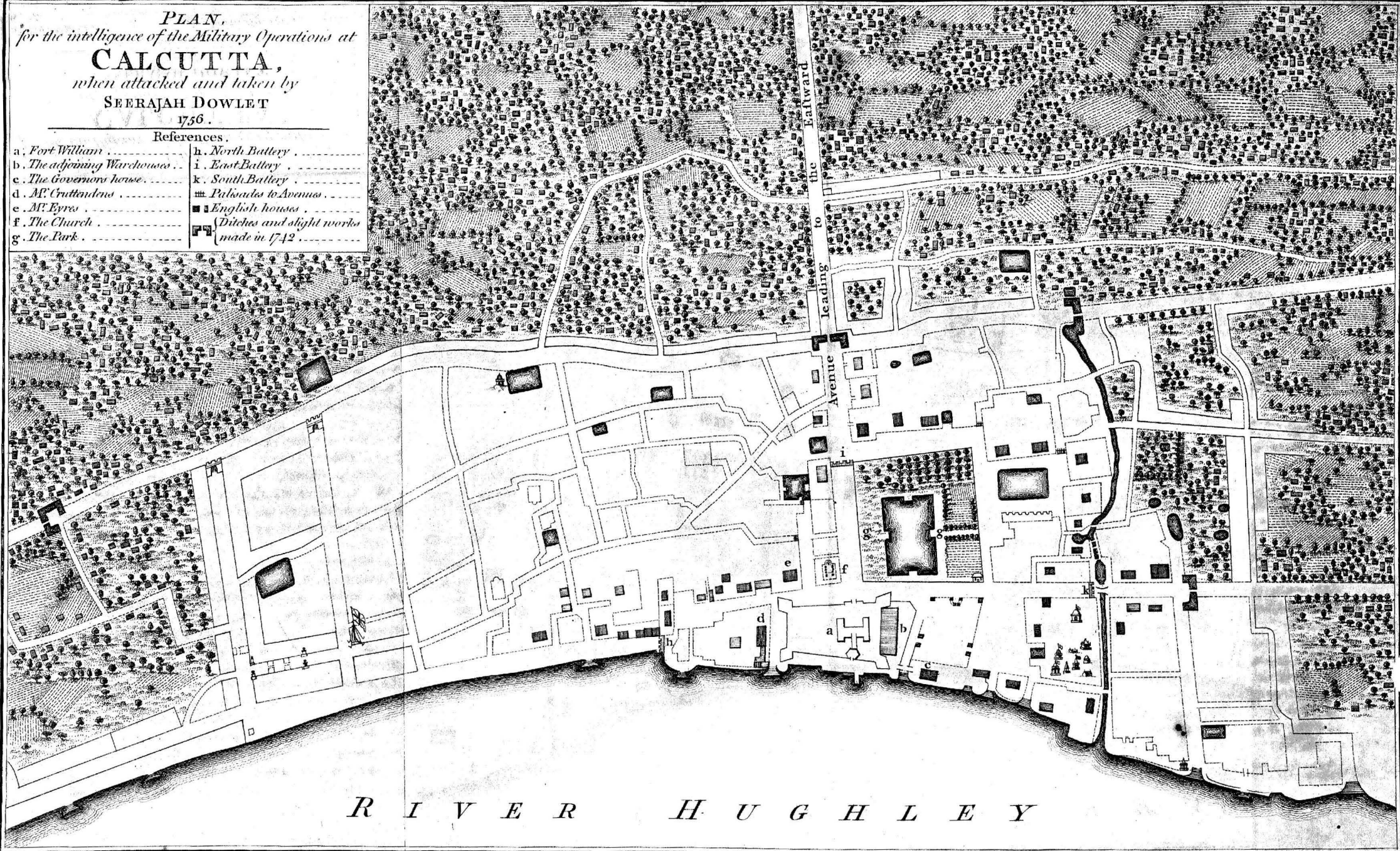
On the 13th, likewise, a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund, by the Nabob's head spy, advising him to send his effects out of the reach of danger as soon as possible: which confirming the suspicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended, and put under strict confinement in the fort; and a guard of twenty men was placed in his house, that his effects might not be clandestinely removed. His brother-in-law, Hazarimull, who had the chief management of his affairs, concealed himself in the apartments of the women, until the next day; when the guard, endeavouring to take him, were resisted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, and armed domestics, amounting to 300: several were wounded on both sides before the fray ended; during which, the head of the peons, who was an Indian of a high cast, set fire to the house, and, in order to save the women of the family from the dishonour of being exposed to strangers, entered their apartments, and killed, it is said, thirteen of them with his own hand; after which, he stabbed himself; but, contrary to his intention, not mortally. At the same time, Kiffendass was brought into the fort by another detachment.

Mean while the Nabob advanced with such uncommon diligence, that many of his troops died of fatigue, and many were killed by the sun, which at this season struck perpendicular on their heads: on the 15th day of June, the 7th of their march, they arrived at Hughley, from whence they crossed the river in a vast fleet of boats, many of which had accompanied the army from Muxadayad, and the

PLAN,
for the intelligence of the Military Operations at
CALCUTTA,
when attacked and taken by
SEERAJAH DOWLET
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References.

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| a. Fort William | h. North Battery |
| b. The adjoining Warehouses | i. East Battery |
| c. The Governors house | k. South Battery |
| d. M ^r Cruttendens | ▤ Palisades to Avenues |
| e. M ^r Eyres | ■ English houses |
| f. The Church | ▭ Ditches and slight works made in 1742 |
| g. The Park | |



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the rest had been assembled at Hughley. Surajah Dowlah had previously sent letters to the Dutch and French settlements at Chinchura and Chandernagore, ordering them to assist him with their garrisons against Calcutta; and when his army was in sight of their factories, he repeated his summons in more imperious terms; but they pleaded the treaties subsisting between their nations and the English in Europe; which denial he highly resented; but suppressed his indignation for the present, lest they should, as in a common cause, take up arms in conjunction with the English. But to this they were nothing inclined.

The news of the enemy's approach was brought to Calcutta early the next morning, the 6th of June; on which the militia and military repaired to their posts, and the English women quitted their houses, and retired into the fort. Most of the Indian inhabitants who had not already taken flight now deserted the town, and fled, they knew not whither, to avoid the storm; but the Portuguese, or black Christians, availing themselves of this title, flocked to the fort, into which more than 2000 of them, men, women, and children, were imprudently admitted. At noon, the van of the Nabob's army, marching from the northward, appeared in sight of the company's bounds, and having neither reconnoitred nor gained intelligence, they remained ignorant that the Morattoc-ditch did not continue round the limits, but left an opening without defences to the south. They therefore, without hesitation, advanced to attack the part which lay directly before them, where a deep rivulet, without any bank behind it, supplied the place of the Morattoc-ditch, and the redoubt, called *Perring's*, which was one of the objects of the Nabob's displeasure, stood on a point of land at the mouth of the rivulet; but being only intended to command the river, this work had but one embrasure towards the land. Contiguous to the redoubt stood a bridge, which was the only passage over the rivulet; on the other side of which, within 100 yards, were thickets and groves, through which lay the high road. A ship of 18 guns had been stationed to the north of the redoubt, in order to flank the thickets: the greatest part of the company's buxerries were assembled here to defend

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defend the rivulet; and as the guard of the redoubt was only 20 Europeans, 30 more, with two field-pieces, were sent from the fort to their assistance. Four thousand of the enemy's matchlocks, with four pieces of cannon, took possession of the thickets, and from three in the afternoon until night kept up a constant fire, the cannon against the redoubt, the matchlocks every where. It was returned by the redoubt and the field-pieces, which were placed in the rear of the bridge and opposite to the road, and the buxerries wherever they chose. At midnight nothing was moving in the thickets; for every man, after eating his meal, had, as usual, betook himself to sleep; which ensign Pritchard, who had served on the coast of Comandel, suspected from their silence, and crossing the rivulet at midnight with his party, seized and spiked the four pieces of cannon, beat up and drove all the troops out of the thickets, and returned without the loss of a man.

The Jemautdar of Omichund's peons, wounded as he was, had caused himself to be transported to the enemy's camp; and by his advice they desisted from renewing the attack on the north, and the whole army moved to the eastward of the company's bounds, into which several parties entered through passages which there were no troops to defend. In the afternoon they set fire to the great bazar, or market, within half a mile north-east of the fort, and took possession of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, which commenced half a mile to the north, and extended mostly along the bank of the river. A party was sent to drive them away, and returned with some prisoners, who reported that the enemy intended the next day to make a general attack upon the out-posts, on which the party was recalled from Perring's redoubt to the north of the bounds; and every one passed the night under arms.

The fort of Calcutta, called Fort-William, was situated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and southern extremities of the company's territory. Its sides, to the east and west, extended 210 yards; the southern side 130, and the northern 100: it had four bastions, mounting each 30 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Cossimbuzar, terraces,

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raffes, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the bastions; under the western face, and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of pallisadoes. In the year 1747, warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another; however, the terrasses of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbets over a slight parapet.

The houses of the English inhabitants occupied the ground six hundred yards towards the east, and half a mile to the north and south of the fort; but lay scattered in spacious and separate inclosures; and several of them overlooked the fort; as did the English church, which stood opposite to the N. E. bastion; under these disadvantages the fort was deemed so little capable of defence, that it was resolved to oppose the enemy in the principal streets and avenues.

Accordingly three batteries, each mounting two eighteen pounders, and two field-pieces, were erected: one opposite to the eastern gate of the fort, at the distance of 300 yards, in the principal avenue, which continued in a straight line to the eastward as far as the Morattoe ditch: this battery adjoined on the left to the gateway of an inclosure, in which, at the distance of a few feet, stood a very spacious house of one floor, in which the mayor's court and assizes used to be held. A cross-road passed from N. to S. along the eastern curtain of the fort; but 200 yards N. of it, this road lost sight of the fort, by a short turning towards the river, along the bank of which it continued straight to the N. in a street formed by houses on one side, and the walls of inclosures on the other nearest the river; at the upper end of this street, just beyond the turning, was another battery:

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The third was in the cross-road 300 yards to the south of the fort, but the ground between was clear. Breast-works with pallisadoes were erected in the smaller inlets at a distance; and trenches dug across the more open grounds. Between the north battery and the eastern, or that at the mayor's court house, there were only two inlets, both of which led into a spot lying on the eastern side of the cross-road between the church and a house belonging to Mr. Eyre. But the ground immediately to the south-east of the fort was much more open; and part of this space was occupied by a large inclosure, called *The Park*; the north side of which skirted the principal avenue leading to the eastern battery, the western side extended 200 yards along the side of the cross-road towards the southern battery, and the eastern side skirted one side of a rope-walk about sixty yards broad. Along the other side of this rope-walk stood three English houses, all within effective musket-shot of the eastern battery; which, being erected at the north-east angle of the park, might, by turning a gun to the south, scour the whole length of this rope-walk, but could not so well command the entrance into a small lane, which led into the farther end of the rope-walk from the south-east. This pass was of consequence; for the enemy might from hence proceed to the south wall of the park, and then continue along it without interruption to several houses, which extended along the cross-road, almost from the south-west angle of the park to the backside of the southern battery, which stood 100 yards farther on in the cross-road: about 200 yards east of this battery, and about the same distance to the south of the lane last mentioned, lay another passage, which gave inlet into a large opening, south of the park; from whence the enemy might with even more facility penetrate to the same houses commanding the southern battery. Both these passes were therefore carefully secured. Immediately in front of the southern battery the road was arched over a deep and miry gully; which continued to the river; but, as this battery was thought less tenable than either of the other two, another was erected 200 yards behind it, across the same road, and within 100 of the fort, about the midway of the western side of the park-wall.

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The enemy, as it had been expected, attacked the out-posts on the 18th in the morning. At eight o'clock one of their divisions advanced to the southern battery, and, taking possession of several houses situated on each side of the road beyond it, fired from their matchlocks and from their wall-pieces, an engine of much greater efficacy, carrying a ball of three ounces; the two eighteen pounders, which were mounted on the battery, cannonaded the houses, in order to dislodge them, but without effect.

At break of day, two field-pieces with a platoon of Europeans had been detached from the eastern battery to a slight barricaded work at some distance in the avenue; and 40 buxerries under a good officer had likewise been sent to take post in the inclosure of the gaol, which lay about 100 yards beyond the battery, on the right hand of the avenue: the walls of this inclosure were high, and holes had been struck through to admit the firing of the two field-pieces, in case the enemy should gain their way, and oblige those at the barricade to retreat to the gaol. About nine o'clock, a multitude of some thousands, armed with match and firelocks, advanced from the Morattoo ditch, along the avenue. They were stopped by the quick firing of the two field-pieces, which soon after dispersed them; but they retreated into the thickets on either hand, and, secure under that shelter, kept up an incessant, although irregular, fire on the barricade; nevertheless, the party there maintained their post two hours, when several being killed, and more wounded, the rest retreated, with the field-pieces, to the gaol: at the same time the enemy, instead of advancing along the avenue, proceeded through by-ways, and got possession of the three English houses which stood along the rope-walk, and overlooked the back part of the gaol, on which they fired so warmly from the windows and terrasses, that in a few minutes they killed six buxerries, and wounded four or five Europeans; on which the rest quitted the inclosure, leaving the field-pieces behind, and returned to the battery at the Mayor's Court.

The battery to the north was likewise attacked about nine o'clock, but here the enemy did not find the same advantages as at the other two; for the street was narrow, and the inclosures which skirted it

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on the side next the river afforded no shelter that was not over-looked by the battery itself; and, on the other side, the only houses which commanded it were contiguous to one another, and did not extend more than sixty yards beyond; and in each of them were posted four or five Europeans. The first fire from the battery dispersed the division which was marching along the street to attack it, and deterred them from appearing again in a body: nevertheless they remained in the cross streets, from which two or three at a time frequently used to come out, fire at random, and then retreat. A platoon, with a field-piece, was detached to drive them out of the cross streets; which they easily effected, and then proceeded along the northern street, until they lost sight of the battery; when the enemy, taking advantage of their error, returned through the cross streets, to cut off their retreat, but yielded again to the field-piece and the fire of the platoon. Soon after, the whole body of the enemy, which had been appointed to this attack, went away, and joined those who were employed against the eastern battery.

At noon the attacks in all parts ceased at once, and every thing remained quiet until two, when the enemy recommenced their fire upon the eastern battery, not only from the three houses in the rope-walk, but also from two others on the left hand of the avenue; from which stations neither the two eighteen pounders on the battery, nor the cannon from the fort, were able to dislodge them. The enemy's fire was so incessant, that only the men necessary to serve the guns were suffered to remain in the battery, whilst the rest took shelter in the mayor's court-house, from whence the place of those who were either killed or wounded at the guns was occasionally supplied. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a multitude of the enemy forced the palisade at the farther end of the rope-walk, although defended by a serjeant and twenty men; and rushed down the walk with so much impetuosity towards the eastern battery, that the gunners had scarcely time to turn one of the eighteen pounders against them; however, the first discharge of grape-shot checked, and a few more drove them to seek shelter in the covers at hand; but many of them joined those who were in the houses;

from

from which the fire increased so much, that at five o'clock Captain Clayton, the military officer who commanded in the battery, sent Mr. Holwell, who acted as a lieutenant under him, to represent to the governor the impossibility of maintaining this post any longer, unless it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men, sufficient to drive the enemy out of the houses: but before Mr. Holwell returned, Captain Clayton was preparing to retreat, having already spiked up two 18 pounders and one of the field-pieces; and the whole detachment soon after marched into the fort with the other. They were scarcely arrived before the enemy took possession of the battery, and expressed their joy by excessive shouts.

The two other batteries had remained unmolested since noon; but a party had been detached from the southern to defend the palisade to the east of it, which was overlooked by two large houses, one on each hand: a serjeant and twelve men, belonging to the military, posted themselves in one of the houses; and a lieutenant with nine of the militia, all of whom were young men in the mercantile service of the company, took possession of the other: the fire from both defended the pass until the eastern battery was deserted, when, all the ground from hence to the two houses being open, numbers of the enemy gathered in the ground on the inside of the palisade, and began to attack the two houses, which animating those who were attacking the palisade on the other side, they at length tore it down, and joined those already within. The serjeant with the twelve military saw their danger before the enemy had made proper dispositions to prevent their escape, and quitting the house in which they had been stationed, proceeded by by-ways which they knew to the southern battery; but did not give notice of their retreat to those of the militia in the other house; who soon after seeing themselves surrounded, without hopes of succour or relief, came out in a compact body, determined to fight their way to the fort; but two, whose names were Smith and Wilkinson, separated from the rest, and were immediately intercepted: the enemy, however, offered them quarter, which Smith refused, and, it is said, slew five men before he fell; on which Wilkinson sur-
rendered.

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rendered, and was immediately cut to pieces. The other eight, always presenting and rarely firing, got to the south west angle of the park, when the guns, as well of the fort, as of the battery which had been raised across the road leading to it, midway of the west side of the park-wall, deterred the enemy from accompanying them any farther. The detachments at all the three batteries, the two to the south, and that to the north of the fort, were now recalled; and boats were sent, which soon after brought away Ensign Pifchard, and the guard of 20 men, which was remaining at Perring's redoubt to the north.

The batteries had been so much relied upon as the best defences of the settlement, that the desertion of them on the very first day they were attacked created general consternation; and the uproar of 1500 black Portuguese in the fort increased the confusion. Of the Lascars, who had been enlisted to serve the cannon, not more than twenty, and of the buxerries not one, remained. The Armenian and Portuguese militia were stupified with fear. However, the English still preserved their courage, and small parties were detached to the church, to Mr. Eyres, opposite the angle of the north-east bastion; to Mr. Cruttenden's on the north, and to the governor's house on the south, all which commanded the ramparts. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three guns which had been spiked and left in the eastern battery, and turned them on the fort; whilst numbers of their troops, sheltering themselves in the trenches which had been dug in the park, and behind the walls of that inclosure, kept a constant fire of small arms on the ramparts.

A ship and seven smaller vessels, belonging to the settlement, lay before the fort; and boats, with the natives who plied them, had been carefully reserved. As night approached, it was resolved to send all the European women on board the ship; two of the council superintended their embarkation, and were accompanied by several of the militia. Before eight o'clock the party at the governor's house, having been much galled by the enemy from the next house to the south, were recalled; their retreat exposed the range of warehouses adjoining to the south curtain, which was the weakest part
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of the fort, because unflanked by any bastion; and at midnight the enemy were heard approaching to escalade the terrasses of these warehouses. On which the governor ordered the drums to beat the general alarm; but although this summons was thrice repeated, not a man appeared in obedience to it, excepting those who were on duty; but the enemy, supposing the garrison prepared, retreated.

At two in the morning, a general council of war was held, to which all the English, excepting the common soldiers, were admitted: and after debating two hours, whether they should immediately escape to the ships, or defer the retreat until the next night, the council broke up without any regular determination: but, as of the two proposals, the first was not carried into execution, it was by many believed that the other was adopted.

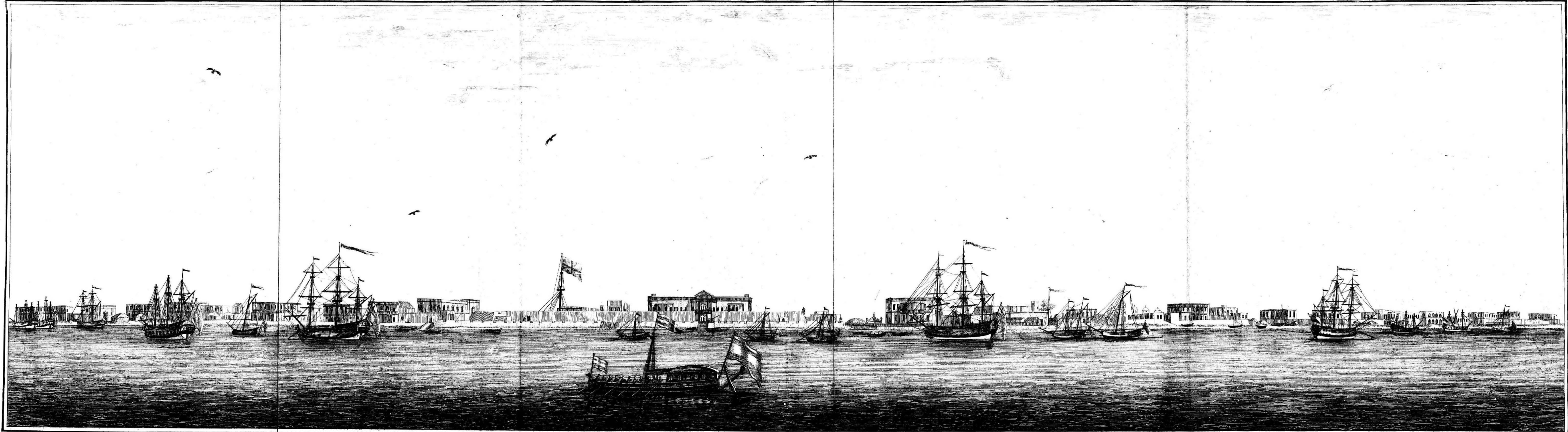
The enemy renewed their attacks as soon as the morning appeared, by which time they had mounted three guns near the southwest angle of the park, from whence, as well as from the eastern battery, they now cannonaded the fort, whilst their matchlock men from several houses, and behind the walls of inclosures, fired upon the several houses in which parties were remaining, as well as upon the bastions and ramparts. They had not, however, ventured to take possession of the governor's house to the south, notwithstanding it had been evacuated so many hours; and another party, under the command of Ensign Pischard, was sent thither early in the morning. Ever and anon some one of the defenders was killed or wounded: but, although ten times the number of the enemy fell, their loss in so great a multitude was scarcely felt, and immediately supplied. Before nine, Ensign Pischard returned to the fort, wounded, and was followed by his party; on which the detachments in the church and the two other houses were likewise recalled, and the posts they quitted were immediately taken possession of by the enemy, whose courage and activity increased with their success, whilst terror and confusion prevailed more and more in the garrison.

Many of the boats had deserted in the night; and in the morning, when it was intended to ship off the Portuguese women and children,

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When the voice of order was lost amongst this affrighted multitude, of which every one pressing to be first embarked, the boats were filled with more than they could carry, and several were overset. Most of those who had crowded into them were drowned, and such as floated with the tide to the shore, were either made prisoners or massacred; for the enemy had taken possession of all the houses and inclosures along the banks of the river, from which stations they shot fire-arrows into the ship and vessels, in hopes of burning them. None of the garrison who had embarked with the English women had returned to the shore, and their fright being much increased by the fire-arrows, they, without orders from the governor, removed the ship from her station before the fort to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river; on which all the other vessels weighed their anchors likewise, and followed the ship; and to increase the evil effects of their retreat, it happened at the very time when the detachments from the fort were obliged to abandon the adjacent houses: in this hour of trepidation many of the English militia, seeing the vessels under sail, were terrified with the apprehension of losing this opportunity of escaping, and quitted the shore. The governor, utterly unexperienced in military affairs, had hitherto shewn no aversion to expose his person wherever his presence was necessary. He had early in the morning visited the ramparts; and after the retreat of the detachments from the houses, when an alarm was given that the enemy were endeavouring to force their way through the gate of palisadoes in the wall between the southern bastion and the line of guns, had repaired thither, and ordered two field-pieces to be pointed towards the gate; but found none willing to obey him. Soon after, a man came and whispered to him, that all the gun-powder remaining in the magazines was damp and unfit for service; although dismayed by this information, he refrained from divulging it, and endeavoured to reduce the confusion which prevailed every where till ten o'clock; when perceiving that only two boats remained at the wharf, in one of which several of his acquaintance were preparing to escape, the dread of being exposed to the resentment of Surajah Dowlah, who had

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had often threatened to put him to death, prevailed over all other considerations, and, panick-struck, he hurried into the other boat, without giving warning to the garrison: the military commanding officer, and several others who saw him embark, followed his example, and accompanied him to the ship.

The astonishment of those who remained in the fort was not greater than their indignation at this desertion; and nothing was heard for some time but execrations against the fugitives. However, the concourse soon proceeded to deliberation, when Mr. Pearkes, the eldest member of the council in the fort, resigned his right of command to Mr. Holwell. The whole number of militia and military now remaining amounted only to 190 men: and two or three boats being returned to the wharf, the new governor, in order to prevent any more desertions, locked the western gate leading to the river.

The ship which had been stationed at the northern redoubt, still remained there; and the garrison, having determined to defend themselves vigorously until they could repair on board of her, an officer was dispatched in a boat with orders to the captain to bring her down immediately to the fort. But the reliance upon this resource was of short duration; for the ship coming down, struck on a sand-bank, and was immediately abandoned by the crew. In the meant time the fort was warmly attacked; and bravely defended until the enemy ceased firing at noon: neither did they renew their efforts with much vigour during the rest of the day, or the succeeding night; but employed themselves in setting fire to all the adjacent houses; excepting those which commanded the ramparts. In this interval the garrison continually threw out signals, flags by day and fires by night, calling the vessels at Govindpore to return to the fort; but this their last expectation of relief was likewise disappointed; for not a single vessel came to their assistance.

The next morning the enemy recommenced their attacks with greater numbers than ever; and whilst some of the garrison were exposing themselves with much resolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate; who, to calm the minds of such as desponded,

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desponded, at sun-rise, threw a letter from the rampart, written by the prisoner Omichund, to Monickchund, the governor of Hughley, who commanded a considerable body of troops in the army before the fort, requesting him to intercede with the Nabob to cease hostilities, since the English were ready to obey his commands, and only persisted in defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. The letter was taken up, but the enemy nevertheless continued their attacks until noon, when a large body attempted to escalate the northern curtain, under cover of a strong fire of their small arms from Mr. Cruttenden's house: but, after persevering half an hour they were repulsed, and the fire on all the other quarters of the fort ceased as soon as this body retreated. In these few hours twenty-five of the garrison had been killed, or were lying desperately wounded, and seventy more had received slighter hurts; and the common soldiers having broke open the store-house of arrack, were intoxicated beyond all sense of duty.

At two the enemy appeared again, but acted faintly; and at four a man was discovered advancing, with a flag of truce in his hand, which Mr. Holwell, at the general request, answered with another on the south-east bastion, from whence he at the same time threw a letter which he had prepared, addressed to the duan, Roydulub, of the same purport as that which Omichund had written in the morning to Monickchund. A parley ensued, during which many of the enemy flocked to the eastern gate of the fort, and to the gate of palisades near the south-west bastion, both which they attempted to cut down; whilst greater numbers, with scaling ladders, endeavoured to mount the warehouses to the south; a shot was likewise fired, which wounded Mr. Bailey, as he was standing on the s. e. bastion with Mr. Holwell, who immediately ran down to bring men to the ramparts: but few obeyed, and those who would have been willing, had retired to various parts of the fort to get sleep; and whilst search was making for them, the drunken soldiers, intending to escape to the river, broke open the western gate of the fort, just as a body of the enemy had forced the gate of palisades, and were rushing to attack this likewise, which they found

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found opening; others at the same time had escaladed the warehouses. In this confusion no resistance was made; and every one surrendering his arms, the Nabob's troops refrained from bloodshed; but about 20 of the garrison ran to the N. W. bastion, and dropped from the embrasures, where some escaped along the slime of the river, and others were surrounded and taken prisoners.

At five the Nabob entered the fort, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and most of the principal officers of his army. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kiffendals to be brought before him, and received them with civility; and having bid some officers go and take possession of the company's treasury, he proceeded to the principal apartment of the factory, where he sat in state and received the compliments of his court and attendants in magnificent expressions of his prowess and good fortune. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend the fort, and much dissatisfaction at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury, which did not exceed 50,000 rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this subject before seven o'clock, when the Nabob dismissed him with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Mr. Holwell, returning to his unfortunate companions, found them assembled and surrounded by a strong guard. Several buildings on the north and south sides of the fort were already in flames, which approached with so thick a smoke on either hand, that the prisoners imagined their enemies had caused this conflagration, in order to suffocate them between the two fires. On each side of the eastern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers adjoining to the curtain; and before the chambers a varanda, or open gallery: it was of arched masonry, and intended to shelter the soldiers from the sun and rain, but being low, almost totally obstructed the chambers behind from the light and air; and whilst some of the guard were looking in other parts of the factory for proper places to confine the prisoners during the night, the rest ordered them to assemble in ranks under the varanda on the right hand of the gate-

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way ; where they remained for some time with so little suspicion of their impending fate, that they laughed among themselves at the seeming oddity of this disposition, and amused themselves with conjecturing what they should next be ordered to do. About eight o'clock, those who had been sent to examine the rooms reported that they had found none fit for the purpose. On which the principal officer commanded the prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them along the varanda. It was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it *The Black Hole*. Many of the prisoners knowing the place, began to expostulate ; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated ; on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged, that the last entered with difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door ; confining 146 persons in a room not 20 feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the varanda.

It was the hottest season of the year ; and the night uncommonly sultry even at this season. The excessive pressure of their bodies, against one another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night in this horrible confinement ; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door ; but without effect, for it opened inward, on which many began to give a loose, to rage. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, exhorted them to remain composed both in body and mind, as the only means of surviving the night, and his remonstrances produced a short interval of quiet ; during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising to give him a thousand rupees in the morning, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returning in a few minutes, said it was impossible ; when Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum ; on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal sentence, that no relief could be expected, because the Nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him.

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In the mean time every minute had increased their sufferings: The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued sweat; which soon produced intolerable thirst, succeeded by excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing little short of suffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and air. Every one stripped off his cloaths; every hat was put in motion; and these methods affording no relief, it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and after remaining a little while in this posture, rise all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time, several, unable to rear themselves again, fell, and were trampled to death by their companions. Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage; but the thirst increasing, nothing but water! water! became soon after the general cry. The good Jemautdar immediately ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows; but, instead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cause of destruction; for the sight of the water threw every one into such excessive agitations and ravings, that, unable to resist this violent impulse of nature, none could wait to be regularly served, but each with the utmost ferocity battled against those who were likely to get it before him; and in these conflicts many were either pressed to death by the efforts of others, or suffocated by their own. This scene, instead of producing compassion in the guard without, only excited their mirth; and they held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing the deplorable contentions of the sufferers within; who, finding it impossible to get any water whilst it was thus furiously disputed, at length suffered those who were nearest to the windows, to convey it in their hats to those behind them. It proved no relief either to their thirst, or other sufferings; for the fever increased every moment with the increasing depravity of the air in the dungeon, which had been so often respired, and was saturated with the hot and deleterious effluvia of putrifying bodies; of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the

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1756 air at the windows, were either in a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming their creator with the frantic execrations of torment in despair, heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length laid down quietly and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Those who still survived in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made efforts to obtain air, by endeavouring to scramble over the heads of those who stood between them and the windows; where the utmost strength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground, or in endeavouring to get that of which others were in possession. All regards of compassion and affection were lost, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintness sometimes gave short pauses of quiet, but the first motion of any one renewed the struggle through all, under which ever and anon some one sunk to rise no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which and life, continued until the morn, long implored, began to break; and, with the hope of relief, gave the few survivors a view of the dead. The survivors then at the window, finding that their intreaties could not prevail on the guard to open the door, it occurred to Mr. Cooke, the secretary of the council, that Mr. Holwell, if alive, might have more influence to obtain their relief; and two of the company undertaking the search, discovered him, having still some signs of life; but when they brought him towards the window, every one refused to quit his place, excepting Captain Mills, who with rare generosity offered to resign his; on which the rest likewise agreed to make room. He had scarcely begun to recover his senses, before an officer, sent by the Nabob, came and enquired if the English chief survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had

so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door, before they could clear a passage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-six who went in, no more than twenty-three came out alive, the ghastliest forms that ever were seen alive. The Nabob's troops beheld them, and the havock of death from which they had escaped, with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a distance, and were immediately obliged, by the intolerable stench, to clear the dungeon, whilst others dug a ditch on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown.

Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was soon after carried to the Nabob, who was so far from shewing any compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, that he only talked of the treasures which the English had buried; and threatening him with farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them, ordered him to be kept a prisoner. The officers to whose charge he was delivered, put him into fetters, together with Messrs. Court and Walcot, who were likewise supposed to know something of the treasures; the rest of the survivors, amongst whom were Messrs. Cooke and Mills, were told they might go where they pleased; but an English woman, the only one of her sex amongst the sufferers, was reserved for the seraglio of the general Meer Jaffier. The dread of remaining any longer within the reach of such barbarians determined most of them to remove immediately, as far as their strength enabled them, from the fort, and most tended towards the vessels which were still in sight; but when they reached Govindpore in the southern part of the company's bounds, they were informed that guards were stationed to prevent any persons from passing to the vessels, on which most of them took shelter in deserted huts, where some of the natives, who had served the English in different employments, came and administered to their immediate wants. Two of three however ventured, and got to the vessels before sun-set. Their appearance and the dreadful tale they had to tell were the severest of reproaches to those on board, who, intent only on their own preservation,

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servation; had made no efforts to facilitate the escape of the rest of the garrison: never perhaps was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected: for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon.

But the trepidation on board of all the vessels had been so great; that, having sailed in the morning in order to proceed lower down the river, the fire from the fort of Tannah, where the enemy had again mounted several pieces of cannon, drove a snow and a sloop ashore; on which the rest returned to the station they had quitted at Govindpore, where they remained until the 24th, when they were joined by two ships from Bombay, which came up the river, and had sustained the fire of Tannah without any hurt. Encouraged by this example and reinforcement, the fleet again weighed anchor, and proceeding with better conduct, passed the fort of Tannah with the loss of only two lascars; on the 25th they passed Buzbuzia, another fort twenty miles lower down, where the enemy were only preparing to mount cannon; here another vessel was stranded by bad navigation: on the 26th they arrived at Fulta, a town with a market, which is the station of all the Dutch shipping. The southerly monsoon which prevailed at this time rendering it impossible to quit the river, it was determined to remain at Fulta, if not driven away by the Nabob, until the season changed.

Mean while the Nabob's army were employed in plundering Calcutta, where the booty, although sufficient to gratify the common soldiery, produced nothing that answered the expectations which had urged the Nabob to get possession of the settlement. Most of the inhabitants, excepting Omichund, had removed their valuable effects; but in his treasury were found 400,000 rupees, besides many valuable effects. Most of the merchandizes provided in the country had been shipped to different ports before the month of April, after which time vessels cannot go out of the river. None of the company's ships were arrived from England; and none of those belonging to private merchants were returned from their voyages; and the greatest

greatest part of the commodities imported in the preceding year were sold; neither had the goods providing at the aurungs for the ensuing season been brought to Calcutta; so that the whole amount of the merchandizes remaining in the settlement did not exceed in value the sum of two hundred thousand pounds; which was much diminished before they had passed through the rapine of the soldiery, and the embezzlement of the officers appointed to manage the plunder. The Nabob, irritated by the disappointment of his expectations of immense wealth, ordered Mr. Holwell and the two other prisoners to be sent to Muxadavad, in hopes that they would at last discover where the treasures of the settlement were buried. This order was executed by his officers with all the severity that the fear of causing the death of the prisoners would admit. They were put into an open boat, without shelter from the intense sun and heavy rain of the season, fed only with rice and water, and loaded with irons, notwithstanding their bodies were covered with painful boils; a crisis by which all who survived the dungeon recovered of their fever. In their passage up the river, they received some refreshments from the Dutch settlement at Chinchura; and both the French and Dutch at Cossimbuzar administered to them all the offices of humanity which their guard would permit, who, on their arrival at the capital, chose a cow-house for the place of their confinement.

It could scarcely be imagined that the Nabob, after such flagrant injuries, should suffer the remains of the colony to abide within his dominions, in expectation of reinforcements. But there always reigned so much confusion in his mind, that he rarely carried his ideas beyond the present appearance of things; and, soothed by the compliments of his courtiers into a belief that the reduction of Calcutta was the most glorious and heroic atchievement that had been performed in Indostan since the days of Tamerlane, he imagined that the English nation would never dare to appear again in arms in his country; and, having written letters full of these commendations of himself to Delhi, he neglected to pursue the fugitives,

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and determined to avail himself of the terror of his arms against his rival and relation, the Phouidar of Purneah.

To perpetuate the memory of his victory he ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alinagore, signifying *The Port of God's* and, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monickchund to command in the place, he departed with the rest of his army on the second of July. Two or three days before his departure he published leave to such as had escaped the dungeon to return to their houses in the town, where they were supplied with provisions by Omichund, whose intercession had probably procured their return. But this indulgence was rendered of short duration by the intemperance of a serjeant, who in a fit of drunkenness killed a Moorman. This happened on the last of June, on which the ban was published against every European who should be found in the territory. All fled immediately to the French, Dutch, and Prussian factories, from whence at different times most of them repaired to the fleet at Fulta.

As soon as the Nabob's army had crossed the river near Hughley, he sent a detachment to the French, and another to the Dutch settlement, threatening to extirpate them both, if they did not immediately pay him a large sum of money: but, after receiving many submissive assurances of their pacific dispositions, he consented to release the Dutch for the sum of 450,000 rupees, and the French for 100,000 less; which difference, it is said, he made because the French had supplied him with 200 chests of gunpowder, as he was marching to Calcutta. At the same time he released Mr. Watts and Mr. Collet, who had hitherto been led prisoners in his camp, and consigned them to the care of the Dutch governor at Chinchura, from whom he took an obligation to produce them whenever they should be demanded. On the 11th he arrived at Mixadavad, from whence he issued orders, commanding the seizure and sequestration of all the effects and merchandizes belonging to the English, or their tenants, in all parts of his dominions. However, finding that no discoveries could be obtained concerning the treasures which he supposed to be buried in Calcutta, he, on the 16th,

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both, in compliance with the frequent intercessions of the widow of Allaverdy, released Mr. Holwell and his two companions, signifying their deliverance in person, as he was passing by the shed of their confinement. They immediately repaired to the Dutch factory, where they were received with much hospitality, and from thence proceeded to Chinchura.

Meanwhile, the fleet remained at Fulta, where they were joined by several other vessels from the sea. The company's agents likewise from the subordinate factories at Dacca, Jugdea, and Ballafore, having on the first alarm escaped from these residencies, resorted to the fleet. For some time no provisions could be procured; but as soon as the Nabob's army left Calcutta, the country people ventured to supply them.

The want of convenient shelter, as well as the dread of being surpris'd, oblig'd them all to sleep on board the vessels, which were so much crowded, that all lay promiscuously on the decks, without shelter from the rains of the season, and for some time without a change of raiment; for none had brought any store away; and these hardships, inconsiderable as they may seem, were grievous to persons, of whom the greatest part had lived many years in the gentle ease of India. But sufferings which the hardiest cannot resist ensued: for the lower part of Bengal, between the two arms of the Ganges, is the most unhealthy country in the world; and many died of a malignant fever, which infected all the vessels.

But, instead of alleviating their distresses by that spirit of mutual good-will, which is supposed to prevail amongst companions in misery, every one turned his mind to invidious discussions of the causes which had produced their misfortunes; although all seem'd to expect a day when they should be restored to Calcutta. The younger men in the company's service, who had not held any part in the government, endeavour'd to fix every kind of blame on their superiors, whom they wish'd to see removed from stations, to which they expected to succeed. At the same time, the members of the council accus'd one another, all concurring to lay the severest blame upon the governor; and these examples gave rise to the same

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spirit of malevolence amongst those who could derive no benefit from their invectives, beyond the vanity of their temporary importance.

The conduct of the military operations was void of method, subordination, discipline, and skill. All the out-posts were at too great a distance from the fort; only the three or four nearest buildings should have been occupied: all beyond them blown up, or the floors of their upper stories ruined. The walls of all the inclosures within the aim of musket-shot from the fort, should have been demolished, and the rubbish removed. A ditch and palisade should have been carried on, if time admitted no more, at least in the weakest parts, round the fort, especially along the warehouses to the south. Shells should have been thrown wherever the enemy assembled or took post, and resolute sallies should have been made in the night into their open quarters, which in such a multitude must have been many. By these means the defence might have been protracted ten days, during which, if the Nabob could not be appeased, the arrival of the ships of the season would have secured the retreat of the defenders and their families without danger. Although nothing of these operations was executed, the neglect of them was not imputed; but cowardice in general was reproached to those who first left the shore, and with little decency, by those who accompanied, or followed their flight, and all assembled at Fulta, excepting three or four, were in one or other of these predicaments.

The causes to which the resentment of the Nabob was imputed, were more vague, but cast, if possible, more blame. The paper, which was signed by Mr. Watts immediately after he was made prisoner at Cossimbuzar, was urged as a proof that the government of Bengal had been defrauded of vast sums by the abuse which the company's agents had made of the *dustucks* or passports for trade, which, it is said, had been commonly sold to the Indian merchants residing in the settlement, who were not entitled to that privilege: but, although this fraud was sometimes committed by the indigent and profligate, the greatest part of the English commerce was carried on by men, whose character and fortune placed them beyond the necessity or suspicion of such a meanness: so that this practice could not have been either so frequent or injurious to the revenues of Bengal,

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Bengal, as the rapacious ministers of Surajah Dowlah might have made him believe; more especially since the Nabob Allaverdy never accused the English of such illicit practices. The other article signed by Mr. Watts, concerning the protection given to the subjects of the Nabob, was likewise insisted on; although for fifteen years before Kiffendass, the government had never claimed any persons who took up their residence in Calcutta. However, these reflections carrying against no one in particular, it was boldly asserted, that the protection of Kiffendass, which certainly did contribute to the Nabob's resentment, had been purchased by large bribes; but this accusation was absurd, because they must have come through his host Omichund, whom the presidency regarded as the first, though latent cause of all their calamities, and punished accordingly. It was likewise asserted, that the governor, Mr. Drake, had written an insolent letter to the Nabob, in answer to his order for demolishing the fortifications; and that he sent a message of defiance to him by the spy who brought the letter concerning Kiffendass; reports, for which no evidence was produced.

There is sufficient testimony to believe that the sagacity of Allaverdy, reflecting on the fates of Nazirjing and Chundersaheb, the subsequent war in Coromandel, and the late reduction of Angria, and comparing these military exploits of the French and English with the former humility of their condition, in the Mogul's dominions, should have advised his young successor, Surajah Dowlah, to watch the military measures of all the European settlements in Bengal, and to suffer no increase in their garrisons, nor addition in their fortifications, and to crush immediately, whichever of them should manifest any symptom of defiance, or confidence in their own strength; but at the same time to give every encouragement to their commercial views, not only as an essential benefit to the province, but likewise as the best security of their dependance on his government. This admitted, the disorderly brain of Surajah Dowlah, his excessive cowardice, his tyrannical ideas, and the instigations of his minions, representing Calcutta as one of the richest cities in the world, sufficiently account for his incapacity to distinguish the necessary season of carrying the advice of his predecessor into execution, and for his inflexible perseverance in a resolu-
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tion which flattered the pusillanimity and other vices of his own mind.

The English at Fulta, notwithstanding their wrangles, agreed to acknowledge the authority of the governor, and of such others as had been members of the council at Calcutta, who in the beginning of July deputed Mr. Maningham, one of the members, with a military officer, to represent their condition to the presidency of Madras, and to solicit the expedition of an armament to their assistance. With them our narrative returns to the coast of Coromandel.

WAR OF
Coromandel.

ALL was lost before the presidency of Madras even received intelligence of the danger; for the letters, advising the surrender of Cossimbuzar, did not arrive until the 15th of July. The experience of former embroilments between the European settlements and the government of Bengal, suggested hopes that the Nabob would, as his predecessors, be appeased with a sum of money. But whether this or the worst should happen, it was deemed necessary, in either case, to send a reinforcement without delay; in the one, to render the settlement more respectable to the Nabob; in the other, to afford refuge to such as might have escaped the calamities of war.

The squadron under the command of Admiral Watson, and the Delaware, one of the company's ships lately arrived from England, chanced at this time to be in the road of Madras; but, as it would have been highly imprudent to send away, or divide the squadron until the last extremity, a detachment of 230 men, mostly Europeans, were shipped on board the Delaware, under the command of Major Kilpatrick. They sailed on the 20th of July, and on the 5th of August arrived letters from the fugitives at Fulta, with details of the capture of Calcutta, which scarcely created more horror and resentment than consternation and perplexity.

We have said that the presidency was at this time preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans with deputies to Salabadjing, who had solicited this assistance to rid himself of the French army under the command of Mr. Buffly. The government of Pondicherry, as soon as they received intelligence that Mr. Buffly had taken

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taken possession of Charmaul, and that the maintenance of this post against their enemies was the only probability of a reconciliation with them, resolved to send the succours, which Mr. Bussy, foreseeing the event, had long before requested, when he separated from Salabadjing at Sanore. Accordingly, 500 Europeans and a train of field artillery were embarked on one of the French company's ships called the Favorite. The ship sailed on the 15th of July, the very day that the presidency of Madras received the first intelligence of the distresses in Bengal; the troops were to be landed at Masulipatam, from whence they were to march to Golcondah.

Hitherto the French influence in the government of Salabadjing, had been regarded as the evil which threatened the most danger to the English concerns in India, and the removal of it had been the constant object of their attention; but it now became an immediate consideration, what respect ought to be paid to this view, compared with the necessity of reinstating the lost affairs in Bengal.

Letters from England dated in the month of August of the preceding year had informed the presidencies in India, that a war with France seemed inevitable, and that hostilities would in all probability commence very soon after the dispatch of those letters; which moreover gave intelligence that the French were preparing to send a fleet of 19 ships of war, with 3000 regular troops, from Brest to Pondicherry. On this it had been determined to make many improvements and additions to the fortifications of Madras; but as no particular work was yet completed, what was done had rather weakened than augmented the strength of the place.

The troops maintained by the English and French governments on the coast of Coromandel were at this time nearly equal, each consisting of about 2000 Europeans, and 10,000 Sepoys, who on both sides were separated in different garrisons and situations in an extent of 600 miles. The detachment of 500 men sent to Masulipatam had diminished the French force serving in the Carnatic, to be by this number, less than what the English had in the province, exclusive of their troops to the south of the Coleroon; nor had the French as yet any Squadron in India to oppose that under the command of Mr. Watson.

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Watson; but it was imagined that their expected armament would give them as decisive a superiority at sea, as on shore.

On the other hand, a privation of the Bengal investments for three years would ruin the English company; and if the settlements there were not immediately recovered, the French upon the arrival of their armament would urge and assist Surajah Dowlah against any future attempts of the English to re-establish themselves in his dominions; in which case, an expedition to recover them would require a large and special armament from England; where, perhaps, the national exigencies in other parts of the world might not allow a force adequate to this service; and where, at all events, the equipment could not be made but at a much greater expence than would be incurred by employing the force at this time ready on the coast of Coromandel. At the same time the national honour required immediate reparation, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

Nevertheless there prevailed in some of the members of the council a strong propensity, at all events, to assist Salabadjing. The partizans of this opinion insisted, "that, as a force sufficient to en-
" counter the Nabob of Bengal with any probability of success, sub-
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" tally incapable of resisting the French after the arrival of their ar-
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" Watson's Squadron, and deputies, with a power to treat with the
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vigorous hostilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation, and considered the force proposed as unequal even to the retaking of Calcutta: he therefore insisted "that it ought to be sufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; at least, a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many Sepoys as could be transported, not less than 1500; that as the squadron, if divided, would be of little service any where, the whole should proceed to Bengal; that such an armament would soon decide the contest; that after peace was made, the squadron, with a large part of the troops, might return to the coast, and arrive in the month of April; before which time, the nature of the Monsoons rendered it improbable that the French armament, since it had not yet appeared, would be able to make their passage to the coast. In the mean time the detachment sent to the relief of Mr. Bussy had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the means of making any attempts in the Carnatic, which the force of Madras could not easily frustrate." This opinion, after many and repeated objections, became at last the unanimous sense of the council.

This resolution was communicated to Admiral Watson, who after consulting his council of war, consented to it. Some difficulties arose about the disposition of the captures which might be made by the squadron; but this was soon adjusted by an agreement, that whatsoever property should be taken which had belonged either to the company, or to English individuals, or even to natives, who were tenants of the company when the Nabob commenced hostilities, should be restored without diminution, to the proprietors; but that whatsoever should be taken which had never belonged either to the company, or to such as were under their protection, should become without participation or reserve the property of the squadron.

But other points of equal moment to the success of the expedition still remained to be decided; and, indeed, by having been mingled without distinction with the more general questions, they had helped not a little to perplex and protract the deliberations of the council. These points were: Who should command the land forces? What

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1756. should be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependance or relation he ought to stand to the late governor and council of Calcutta? How far their authority as a presidency ought to be maintained or impaired?

Each of the remaining council of Bengal had written separate letters to the presidency of Madras, in which such misdemeanours and misconduct were reciprocally imputed to all the others, that, if no allowance had been made for the prejudices of exasperated adversity, it would have been absurd to intrust the re-establishment of the company's affairs to those, who, by their own accounts, had ruined them; and, indeed, enough of the causes and progress of the calamities in Bengal were not at this time sufficiently developed, to exempt the late presidency of Calcutta from much blame. The difficulty of deciding concerning their authority suggested to Mr. Pigot, the commander of Madras, a desire to go himself to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers, as the company's representative in all other affairs: but he wanted military experience, nor had the council authority to give so extensive a commission to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. The climate of Bengal was so adverse to an asthmatic disorder, with which Colonel Lawrence was afflicted, that it was thought he would be disabled, from that incessant activity requisite to the success of this expedition, of which the termination was limited to a certain time. Colonel Clive was therefore chosen to command the troops. To assure the exertion of the most vigorous hostilities until peace was made, and then the return of the troops in April, it was resolved to invest him with independent power in all military matters and operations, and in consequence to furnish him with money, and empower him to draw bills. It was, however, resolved to acknowledge Mr. Drake and the former members of the council, as a presidency, with full powers in commercial and civil affairs, and to remit them likewise a large

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large sum of money. Mr. Manningham, who had been sent from Fulta as their representative, objected strongly to the powers given to Clive, as derogating from the authority of that presidency, and contrary to the institutions of the company. Two months passed in debates, before these final resolutions were taken, and then the embarkation began. The sloop of war belonging to the squadron had been dispatched, some time before, to inform the English at Fulta of the intended armament, and to exhort them not to quit the river in despair of assistance.

The squadron consisted of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fire-ship; to which were added, as transports, three of the company's ships, and two smaller vessels. On board of this fleet were embarked 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys; 250 of the Europeans were of Adlerson's regiment; the rest, the best men of the company's troops. It was resolved to send more Sepoys as conveyances should offer. Admiral Watson hoisted his flag in the Kent; and Admiral Pocock in the Cumberland. Colonel Clive embarked in the Kent; he carried letters written by Salabadjing the Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomedally Nabob of Arcot, as well as from Mr. Pigot, exhorting Surajah Dowlah to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment. The instructions to Clive recommended the attack of Muxadavad itself, if the Nabob continued obstinate; and the capture of the French settlement at Chandernagore, if the news of a war with France should arrive whilst the troops remained in Bengal. The fleet set sail on the 16th of October, and were out of sight the next day.

This effort to recover the settlements in Bengal left the forces of Madras too much diminished to detach to such a distance as Golcondah a body of troops sufficient to assist Salabadjing effectually against the French army with Mr. Bussy; and as a few would be of no service, and might be lost, it was resolved to send none. In the mean time the French army were maintaining their ground in Charmaul.

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On the same evening that they took possession of this post, detachments were stationed in two others; the one was a large habitation called *Gauchmaul*, standing in a spacious and walled enclosure, almost opposite to Charmaul, about 400 yards on the other side of the river Mouffi; in this post were lodged 300 Sepoys. The other was an edifice called *Daudmul*, built on a rising ground very near the western side of Charmaul, which it overlooked. It was an ancient and very singular structure, consisting of two stories of arched masonry, each story disposed in several ranges of arches, and the upper covered by a terrace strong enough to endure the service of cannon. Four twelve-pounders were mounted on this terrace, and the adjoining streets and avenues were barricaded; the guard here, besides the artillery men, was 500 Sepoys, with several European officers of experience.

On the 6th of July, the day after the army entered Charmaul, 1000 Sepoys, with all the European cavalry and six field pieces, went out in the evening with intention to beat up the Morra-toes in their camp, which continued in its first situation, about seven miles to the west; but they had taken the alarm, and abandoned the camp before the detachment arrived. The next night another detachment with more success beat up one of their parties in a garden on the eastern side of the town. The French troops now took possession of all the magazines in the city which belonged to the government, and likewise carried away all the cannon which were mounted on the walls, not that they wanted artillery, but in order to withdraw them from the enemy. The interval between the ranges of building and the tank in Charmaul was planted with rows of palmira and cocoa-nut trees; which were now cut down; and with them and other materials, scaffolds were erected against various parts of the walls, to serve as stations for musketry.

On the 8th, another detachment with six field-pieces marched out in open day, and cannonaded the whole body of Morra-toes, which hovered around for some time, until some of their horses were killed. In the evening, the Morra-toes quitted their former ground, and encamped

camped within three miles of the city under the rock and fortrefs of Golcondah, probably with an idea of protection from the guns of the fortrefs; but Candagta, one of their generals, who commanded 2000 horse, encamped with them at the bank of the river about half way between Golcondah and the city, where they were the next night beaten up by a detachment of 500 Sepoys with the hussars. They fled, leaving many of their horses picqueted in the camp, and even the military drums and cymbals of their commander: but the French detachment did not lose a man.

The rainy weather prevented any more sallies for several days: mean while the numbers of the enemy increased greatly. The Phouldars, or, as they are commonly called, the Nabobs of Kanoul and Condanore, came each with 3000 Pitans well mounted: other chiefs of the same rank, and others of inferior, as well Mahomedan as Indian, brought their troops: for every tributary and dependant in the vast viceroyalty of the Decan had been summoned. But several of these chiefs, especially Kanoul, privately assured Mr. Bussy they did not intend to act effectually against him.

On the 20th arrived Jaffier Ally Khan, much exasperated at the death of his nephew, with 3000 horse, 3000 foot, and the first division of artillery, consisting of 20 pieces of cannon. The main body of the army with which Salabadjing and Shanavaze Khan remained, moving only four miles a day, was still at a considerable distance. Jaffier Ally immediately held a council of war, in which it was resolved to straiten the blockade of Charmaul, and to begin by taking possession of the most advantageous posts in the city itself.

Mr. Bussy received immediate intelligence of this council: he had hitherto refrained from distressing the inhabitants, but now, in order to deter the enemy from establishing themselves in the city, he posted a detachment at an edifice standing in the high street, and called *Charminar*, or the four towers; it was a square piazza of arches, having at each end a tower 60 feet high, with balconies at the top, from which the Mahomedan priest calls the people to prayers;

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prayers; some mischief might be done with musketry from these balconies, and the loop-holes, which gave light to the winding stairs; but there were no means of employing artillery in the tops, for they were vaulted; nor within, for there were neither floors or landing-places; nevertheless several small pieces of cannon were pointed out of the loop-holes, from a conviction that the enemy would not immediately discern their inutility. Mr. Buffy then informed Jaffier Ally, that if any of his troops entered the city, he would destroy the whole with fire; and this menace stopped his intention; he however stationed an advanced detachment where Candagla had encamped, which was beaten up and dispersed the next night by a party of 50 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. The rains immediately after, falling again heavier, and lasting longer than before, hindered all enterprizes in the field for a fortnight.

Some months before Mr. Buffy had commissioned the French agents at Surat to levy a body either of Abyssinians or Arabs, whom, as being of more courage and endurance, he intended to discipline as the choicest of his Sepoys. Six hundred had been collected; and were on their march, when Mr. Buffy arrived at Hydrabad, and the enemy hearing of their approach detached Janogee Nimbulcar with his 3000 Morratoes to intercept them. The Morratoes met them on the road some miles on this side of Aurungabad, and harrassed them continually for three days; during which they killed fifty; one hundred and fifty dispersed, and the remaining four hundred, worn out with fatigue, surrendered; Janogee returned with his prisoners to the camp, and confined them in the fortress of Golcondah, but treated them well.

The weather having cleared on the 26th, a detachment with three field-pieces marched in the evening, and at midnight attacked that part of the enemy's camp where they kept their artillery; the multitude of bullocks in this quarter, scared by the firing, encreased the confusion of the troops: the fort of Golcondah took the alarm and fired all its cannon at random; but two of the French field-pieces breaking down, stopped the detachment from pursuing their success,

success, and they returned, having spiked up only three of the guns in the enemy's camp. 1756.

The next day came up 4000 Sepoys under the command of Murzafa Khan. This man commanded the Sepoys of the detachment with which Mr. Buffy first marched into the Decan in 1751. The next year he left Mr. Buffy when at Beder, and, raising a body of Sepoys on his own account, took service with Balagerow, whom he left when before Seringapatam in 1755, and went over to the Mysoreans; from thence he went to the Nabob of Sanore, and was in this place when invested in the beginning of the present year by Salabadjing and Balagerow. Having during his command of the French Sepoys gained the attachment of most of their officers by largesses and other compliances, he had ever since continued a correspondence amongst them, whenever they were in the field; in conjunction with, or near, the armies in which he was serving; as Mr. Buffy had experienced in the campaigns of Mysore and Sanore. This quality, and the military experience which he was supposed to have acquired whilst in the French service, induced Shanavaze Khan to hire him, as soon as it was known that Mr. Buffy had determined to make a stand at Hydrabad. Murzafabeg, as soon as engaged, made forced marches before the main body, and sent his emissaries forward; and on the very day of his arrival at Hydrabad, a whole company of French Sepoys, who went out into the plain under pretence of exercising, marched away, their firelocks shouldered, and joined him at Golcondah.

The next day the whole army moved from hence with twenty pieces of cannon under his direction, and at noon appeared to the westward within a mile of Charmaul. The infantry and artillery took possession of all the eminences; and the cavalry drew up in the intervals, where the ground was plain. Immediately 250 of the French battalion and 1000 Sepoys, with six field-pieces, marched out to try them, whilst the rest remained in their posts ready to act as occasion should require; and two pieces of cannon were mounted on the tower in the N. W. angle of Charmaul, which commanded a view of the field. The detachment despised the enemy so much, that they

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they ventured to separate into three divisions, and each with two of the field-pieces advanced against different bodies of infantry, at a considerable distance from each other. The cavalry, every where flung themselves between, and continually surrounded the three divisions, whose destruction to a stranger would have seemed inevitable; and indeed nothing but the firm reliance on the general discipline could have warranted the hazard, or have surmounted the danger; but with this advantage and the dexterity of the field-pieces, each division either sufficed to its own defence, or, when pressed, received assistance from one of the others. In the different evolutions, the enemy's cavalry were often within reach of the two guns at Charmaul, of which even the random shot did execution, whilst the enemy's cannon were fired, although continually, with very little effect. Their infantry did nothing but shift from safe ground to safer, and fire with fear. In this variety of fights, the engagement lasted five hours, and did not cease until the sun was set; the French troops fired 35,000 musket cartridges, and 900 from their field-pieces; 125 of the enemy's horses were counted dead on the plain; by which the total of their loss must have been considerable. That of the French was slight; six Sepoys killed, and thirty wounded; of the Europeans none killed, and only four wounded.

Two days after, on the 1st of August, came up Salabadjing himself, and the main body of the army. A council was immediately held, in which Murzafar Khan proposed a general assault on Charmaul. This deliberation was in a few hours communicated to Mr. Buffly, who immediately demolished several of the adjacent houses; but the attack was not made. The intrigues of Murzafar Khan had already pervaded the whole body of Sepoys, and the greatest part of them had promised him to desert with their arms, the first time they should be led into the field; their correspondence was discovered, and determined Mr. Buffly to make no more sallies.

By this time reinforcements were approaching, Mr. Moracin, the French chief of Masulipatam, on the first advices of the rupture at Sanore, had collected 160 Europeans and 700 Sepoys, which, with five field-pieces, marched in the middle of July, under the command

of Mr. Law, the same officer who capitulated at Seringham in 1752; but when arrived at Bezoara, about 40 miles inland; excessive rains detained them here several days. In the interval the Favorite arrived at Masulipatam with the troops from Pondicherry, of which, all in condition, marched immediately; but were so much retarded by the rains, and the inundations of the Kristna, that they did not arrive at Bezoara until the 3d of August, when the whole, now 480 Europeans, 1100 Sepoys, and 11 field-pieces, proceeded, and arrived on the 10th within fifteen leagues of Hydrabad.

The ministry of Salabadjing determined to intercept this reinforcement: all the Morratoes, 12000, other smaller bodies amounting to 4000, in all 16000 cavalry, with infantry of various denominations and commands, to the number of 10000 were ordered on this service. Mr. Buffy, as usual, received information what troops were appointed; he was personally acquainted with all the commanders, had been of use to several of them, and had lately received some marks of good-will from Janogi and Ramchundur, who commanded 6000 of the Morratoes. He therefore proposed a conference, which was accepted by several of these chiefs, who repaired in the night to a tent pitched on the other side of the river near Gauchmaul, where he met them unattended and alone. Wanting positive knowledge of what passed in this interview, we conjecture that he wrought upon them by promises of greater advantages, if he should be restored to his former influence in the government of Salabadjing; than they could expect either from the gratitude of Shanavaze Khan, or the friendship of the English, who, it was believed, were to take the place of the French, in the army and councils of the Decan. They promised not to act against the reinforcement with any efficacy, and only as much as might be necessary to save appearances; confirmed these assurances by their oaths, and gave Mr. Buffy the distinctions and colours of their respective banners, of which he immediately dispatched information to Mr. Law, as ensigns from which he would have nothing to fear.

The reinforcement continued their march on the 11th, and had now to pass a tract of mountainous country covered with rocks and

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thick woods, which they entered, marching in a file of four abreast. The advanced guard were 400 Sepoys, under the command of an officer named Mahmood Khan. After marching five hours, in which they had only advanced nine miles, some parties of the enemy were descried forward in the road; on which Mahmood Khan, as if impatient to attack them, quickened the pace of the Sepoys. The captain of the grenadiers, whose company followed next in the line, sent orders to him to halt, which he disregarded; and as soon as the Sepoys were out of sight, some irregular firing was heard: soon after came a messenger, requesting the grenadiers would advance to their assistance, who he said were surrounded by the enemy; but the captain having suspicions, sent forward scouts, who discovered the banners of the Sepoys mixing quietly with those of the enemy. This treachery was effected by the intrigues of Murzafar Khan, who was here in person, and immediately began to attack the French line with these very Sepoys, and the whole of the infantry of Salabadjing's army sent on this service, which was committed to his direction. Besides the usual and lighter arms a part of the infantry wielded 2000 *caytocks*, a fire-arm frequently made use of in Europe in the early times of gun-powder, and then called a wall-piece; but at present rarely used, excepting in Indostan and the easternmost parts of Asia: it is a gun eight or ten feet in the barrel, carrying a ball of one, two, or three ounces; and under the middle of the barrel is fixed by a swivel, either one iron spike, or two, which open crossways, and being stuck in the ground support the piece, and assure its aim: it carries far point blank, but the larger sizes are so unwieldy, that two men are required to move and manage them, and they can scarcely be fired quicker than a piece of cannon. Parties were continually detached to dislodge these caytocks, and whatsoever other troops were annoying the line from the rocks and thickets on either hand. At noon the line came to open ground, where they halted; and the fall of a heavy shower of rain damaged the enemy's powder, and put an end to their attacks.

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They retired to a hill half a league distant, and took possession of a village at the foot of it, called Gorampally, which the French troops marched before day-break to attack, and found all the enemy's cavalry in the field, by whom they were soon surrounded. Ramchunder and Janogée, according to their promises, acted only in shew, which Mr. Law admired, and could not account for, not having yet received the information concerning them from Mr. Buffy; but Candagla, who had rejected his proffers, acted more efficaciously, attacking the baggage in the rear, and dispersed the whole train of oxen on which it was laden. The troops in the village made little resistance, and the reinforcement rested there during the remainder of the day. Hitherto only one European and three or four Sepoys had been killed, and twelve of both wounded, but by the flight of the Coolies and the scaring of the oxen all their provisions were lost; and the troops were obliged for their meal to kill some of the draught-bullocks of the artillery.

At noon Mr. Law received the letter from Mr. Buffy, with information of such of the enemy's banners as did not intend to act vigorously, and at seven in the evening renewed his march. The next stage was Meliapore, 15 miles from Gorampally, and the whole way through difficult defiles. The enemy with unusual alertness, although it was night, sent forward all their infantry to line the thickets; and Mr. Law, as the use of the field-pieces greatly retarded the march, only opposed the enemy with platoons, which were detached to wheresoever the fire came from. At seven in the morning the line arrived at Meliapore, and took post in a ruined mud fort near the town. Only two men had been killed, and three wounded; but all were exhausted with fatigue, and every carriage wanted repair; and the next march was more difficult than any of the former. It was therefore resolved to remain at Meliapore until the men were entirely recovered; but this repose led them into reflections, always dangerous when troops are in dangerous circumstances; and very soon the whole body were persuaded that they had done all that was possible, and that it now behoved the army of Chaimaul to act likewise, and march to their relief. The officers,

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instead of repressing, caught the despondency, and prevailed on Mr. Law to dispatch a letter to Mr. Bussy, expressing their doubts and anxiety concerning the farther progress of the reinforcement.

In the mean time the news of Mahmood Cawn's defection had been spread with exaggeration through the main camp at Golcondah, and encouraged the ministry to send more troops against the reinforcement. Mr. Bussy, to repress this intention, sent in the night of the 12th a strong party, consisting entirely of Europeans, to beat up the advanced guards of the camp, and the attack was made with much success; but on the same night he received the letter from Mr. Law, which increased his perplexity; because he could not trust his Sepoys in the field where their seducer Murzafacawn acted, nor could he without equal imprudence send a number of Europeans sufficient to make their way to Meliapore. Judging, however, from his own experience in various conjunctures, he deemed the reinforcement strong enough to accomplish the remaining, as they had the preceding part of the march, provided the officers led them with intrepidity; and in this conviction he wrote to Mr. Law, commanding him, *in the name of the King*, to march immediately, and at all events, on the receipt of the letter. Not doubting, likewise, that the ministry of Salabadjing, if they should hear of the despondency of the reinforcement, would make an utmost effort in this time of decision, unless deterred by the strongest apprehensions, he the next day pitched his own tent, which was very conspicuous, and encamped with 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, on the strand above the bridge on the other side of the river Mouffi. The numbers were studiously magnified, and, with the presence of Mr. Bussy in the field, inspired such a variety of apprehensions concerning his designs in the camp at Golcondah, that they even recalled the detachments they had sent the day before.

The peremptory order from Mr. Bussy at Meliapore arrived in the morning of the 14th, and Mr. Law immediately issued orders to march. The reinforcement, although they had remained four days and three nights at Meliapore, had not got the rest they wanted; for the fort was in several parts open, and the enemy had harassed

passed them continually with skirmishes, even by night as well as day. At nine at night they began their march, the preparations for which had been perceived, and gave the enemy time to make their own. The road for the first four miles winded through defiles in the rugged rock, over which carriages could not pass without attention to every turn of the wheel. The enemy in several places felled the wood across the road, and all their infantry were in possession of the most advantageous stations before the French troops entered the defiles; and their fire, especially from the caytacks, was much better directed than against the former marches. Men began to fall in the first discharges; no general rules of action could be observed; to get onward was the only principle; it was now become fortunate for the French line that they had no baggage, and nothing to defend but themselves and their artillery; which, although a great encumbrance in the defiles, was to be their best resource when out of them. A large body of the enemy's cavalry, led by Candaglia the Morattoe, followed the line into the defile, and through the night endeavoured to retard the march by their din and clamours, but as soon as it was light, acted with more efficacy: for, as many as the road permitted charged the rear, although the guard consisted entirely of Europeans, and had two field-pieces: it was commanded by D'Arambure, an officer of proved gallantry, and next in rank to Mr. Law. Still repulsed, the cavalry still renewed their onsets, Europeans were cut down, and Morattoes shot at the very muzzles of the guns. At sun-rise the van of the line came to the issue of the defile, against which the enemy had planted all their cannon, 20 pieces; behind which appeared all the cavalry which had not followed in the rear; but they seemed to rely on the artillery more than on themselves, which was so ill served, that it neither interrupted the troops in issuing out of the defile, nor afterwards from forming in the opening; when the field-pieces, as they came out, were turned to scour the thickets behind; and soon drove away what parties of the enemy were still molesting the remaining part of the line. Whilst the troops were forming, the enemy's cavalry and cannon in the front hastened onward, to pass a small river called Cingoram,

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Cingoram, about a mile from the thickets, and drew up on the other side. The cavalry, with Candagla, followed the French troops as they marched towards the river, the approach to which on both sides was a descent. All the field-pieces were ordered to remain on the hither bank, until the rest of the troops had passed; and this service was likewise committed to D'Arambure, who judiciously divided their fire against the enemy on the other side, and those in his rear, which kept both at a distance, until the whole of rank and file had crossed and formed, and were able to defend themselves against the enemy on that side; when the cannon were sent over one by one, during which the remaining continued to awe the enemy on the side they stood, against whom every piece, as soon as it landed on the other side, was likewise pointed; and parties of the battalion likewise waded into the stream ready to rescue the last pieces. But the cavalry had already suffered too much at a distance, to venture this nearer risque, and all the loss which the French line sustained, after leaving the thickets until they had passed the river, was by the caytocks and other fire-arms of the enemy, sheltered wherever they found safe cover. The country forward from the river, although not plain, was open, and the French troops were animated with new alacrity by the view of the spires of Hyderabad, which now appeared in sight. The whole of the enemy's cavalry moved on as they, and surrounded them on all sides, but made no effectual attacks; for those who were willing, were dispirited by the backwardness of the great body of Morattoes commanded by Rümchunder and Janogee Nimbular, who acted faintly according to their engagements with Mr. Buffy. At length, at five in the afternoon, the reinforcement arrived at the town of Aydnagur, situated six miles from the river Cingoram, and the same distance from Hyderabad. They had been 18 hours without respite in march and action; during which 25 Europeans, of whom two were officers, were killed, and 65 wounded. The Sepoys suffered more; The enemy, it was said, lost 800 horses and more than 2000 men; the French fired 40,000 market-cartridges, besides their field-pieces.

At Aynagur they found some scanty provisions, of which they were in much need: at nine in the evening, Mr. Bussy received intelligence of their arrival, and immediately detached 140 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with carriages, to bring the sick and wounded, and 20 mules, laden with provisions ready dressed. He at the same time detached another party, to give alarm to the camp at Golcondah, in order to prevent them from sending any troops to interrupt the march of those proceeding to Aynagur, who arrived there at four in the morning without molestation. At six all were in march again from Aynagur, and at ten arrived at the city of Hyderabad, having met with no interruption, nor even seen any of the enemy on the way; for they had all been recalled during the night to the camp at Golcondah. Mr. Bussy received the reinforcement with the acknowledgments due to their perseverance and valour; and they were scarcely arrived, before he received a messenger sent on a dromedary by Salabadjing with proposals of peace, and assurances that he had ordered all hostilities to cease. Mr. Bussy answered, that he was not averse to a reconciliation, but that his reinforcement was arrived, and he feared nothing the Soubah's army could do.

The negotiation nevertheless continued. Mr. Bussy demanded that Murzafar Khan and the late deserter-Mahmood Khan should be delivered up to him. Salabadjing replied, that as a prince he could not, without losing the confidence of the whole world, surrender any persons whom he had received into his service and pay, but that he should not impede any means that might be employed to make them prisoners. The conjuncture did not admit of any stipulation for the removal of the minister Shanavaze Khan. Jaffer Ally Khan, the old Nabob of Rajahmundrum, came and made his submissions to Mr. Bussy, blaming himself much for having taken part with men, whose views and understandings, he said, he had now every reason to despise. Jauggee Nimbulcar delivered the Arabs and Abyssims he had confined in the fortress of Golcondah, but kept their arms. Every thing being settled, Mahomed Hussein, the king's Duan, accompanied by the principal lords of the court,

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court, visited Mr. Bussy in his tent on the 20th, and the same day Mr. Bussy proceeded, with an escort of 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, to pay his respects to Salabadjing, who received him with the distinctions of an officer in the Mogul government, second only to himself. The interview was courteous, and the protestations solemn. No hints were given of the late disagreements, and future measures were concerted with much seeming confidence. New patents were immediately prepared, and letters dispatched through all the governments of the Decan, to destroy the impressions which had been made by those written during the rupture.

Thus ended this distress; the greatest in which Mr. Bussy had been involved since his command in the Decan. Nor would his perseverance and resolution alone have sufficed, without the sagacity of his character, and the influence of his reputation.

Besides the provisions which were laid in store, the army at Charmaul was constantly supplied with cattle for the shambles, and forage for the horses, oxen, camels, and elephants, by bands of a people called Lamballis, peculiar to the Decan, who are continually moving up and down the country with their flocks, and contract to furnish the armies in the field. The union amongst all these bands renders each respectable even to the enemy of the army they are supplying; but they are not permitted to deal with places besieged; nevertheless Mr. Bussy surmounted this objection by bribing the Morratoes, who, for the sake of marauding, undertook the patrols of Salabadjing's army, to let the Lamballis pass in the night, and it was especially concerted, that the convoys should come in on the nights when the French troops made sallies on the enemy's quarters.

But money was equally necessary, and the want of it had well nigh reduced him to quit Charmaul; for he had exhausted the public, his own, and all he could borrow on his own credit, and had no means of raising more, excepting by giving rescripts on the revenues of the four ceded provinces; but most of the renters and Polygars of those countries were, in the present conjuncture, encouraged to withhold them by the letters which they received from the ministry of Salabadjing, and still more by the practices of Ibrahim

Cawn,

Cawn, the governor of Chicaçole, who, although raised by Mr. Buffy to this post, from the command of a company of Sepoys, disavowed the French authority, and declared himself only subject to Salabadjing, as soon as he heard that the French army had stopped at Hyderabad; on the news of which, the bankers, who had hitherto supplied Mr. Buffy, agreed that it was not safe to advance money on these rescripts, nor on any other security which he might offer: but Vizeramrauze, the Rajah of Vizianagur in Chicaçole, judging with more sagacity than Ibrahim Ally, ordered his agents at Golcondah to assure Mr. Buffy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes; and one night, when little expected, and most wanted, a man came to Charmaul, and, being permitted to speak in private with Mr. Buffy, delivered with the message of Vizeramrauze a sum of gold, as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was sufficient for the present want, and the same man afterwards furnished more as necessary.

On the day of the reconciliation, Murzafer Khan and the deserter Mahmood Khan moved, and encamping with their Sepoys in a strong situation at some distance from Golcondah, where they relied on the assurances of protection which they had received from the wife of Salabadjing, who held the first rank in his seraglio. Mr. Buffy nevertheless sent out parties on several nights to surprise them, and Mahmood Khan was taken; but from consideration of his former services, and the good-will borne to him by the French Sepoys in general, his life was spared. Murzafer Khan maintained his ground some weeks longer, until his Sepoys began to mutiny for want of pay, when some of them proffered Mr. Buffy to deliver him up, who sent a party to receive him; but a little while before the party arrived, he escaped with a few attendants, and went to Poni, where he entered again into the service of Balagerow, by whom he was some time after put to death for a conspiracy.

No other military operations happened during the rest of the year at Golcondah. Shanavaze Khan continued to manage the affairs of the government as duan; and Mr. Buffy interfered little in

1756. His purposes, having taken the resolution to proceed with the greatest part of the troops under his immediate command, to repress the insurrections, and regulate the government, in the ceded provinces. On the 16th of November, he began his march, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys, leaving 100 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys with Salabadjing at Golcondah, who towards the end of the year prepared to proceed to Aurengabad.

The armament to Bengal had not only deprived the presidency of Madras of the means of distressing the French affairs in the Decan, but left them without the power of making any military efforts in the province of Arcot. No pressing occasions had required the service of their forces in the field in this part of the dominions of their ally, the Nabob Mohamed Ally; but the confusions which had induced the presidency to send Mohamed Iffoo into the MADURA and TINIVELLY countries had not subsided, when his mission itself produced new disturbances.

This officer with Maphuze Khan, and their respective troops, remained at Chevelpetore during the months of June and July, and all the adjoining Polygars had either made their submissions, or seemed willing to be quiet. He then requested Maphuze Khan to march out of the country, and proceed with his troops to Arcot, according to the injunctions of his brother the Nabob, who would be ready to settle accounts with him, and pay what arrears might be due to his soldiery. Maphuze Khan acquiesced without objection, and Mahomed Iffoo sent with his camp the 18 pounder he had brought from Tritchinpoly, that it might be deposited in Madura, because it encumbered his march up and down the country; and a company of Sepoys went to take care of the 18 pounder on the road. He then allotted six companies to garrison Chevelpetore, and guard the adjacent country; and with the rest, about 2000, in which were included those levied by the Nabob, and sent to Maphuze Khan, he proceeded from Chevelpetore on the 1st of August, and on the 10th arrived at the town of Tinivelly.

By this time the presidency of Madras had made arrangements for the management of these countries, and concluded an agreement with Moodilce,

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Moodilee, the native of Tinivelly, who came to Madras on this purpose in the month of April. The southern and more fertile districts, which in former times belonged to the kingdom of Madura, had by various alterations and appropriations been annexed to the government, and intermingled with the rent-rolls, of Tinivelly; and the greater Moravar, during the confusions which prevailed since the year 1750, had made encroachments on the west; so that what remained at this time under the ancient denomination of Madura, and under the immediate jurisdiction of the city, did not extend in any direction above 40 miles, and, in most, much less; which, being commanded on the west and north by mountains and Polygars, and bounded on the east by the woods of Moravar, was in every part exposed to depredations from the wild inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The land of the territory is likewise in many parts incumbered with plots of rock, and, where free, the soil, except in a few districts to the south, is of laborious and expensive cultivation. From these detriments and defects, the annual revenue of the whole territory seldom exceeds 120,000 rupees; at the same time that the maintenance of the city, its garrison, and other military posts in the country, raise the expenses to triple this sum. On the other hand, the country now rated under Tinivelly is of much greater extent and fertility, commonly yielding a revenue from 11 to 1,200,000 rupees a year; but should Madura and its districts be in the hands of an enemy, the country of Tinivelly would be constantly exposed to the most ruinous attacks, and could receive no support from Tritchinopoly; which renders it necessary to maintain the one at a certain loss, as the only means of securing the advantages which may be derived from the other. The family of Moodilee, having for 100 years been employed in farming districts in both countries, had, in this long course of time, rented every part, and knew the properties of each. He accordingly refused to undertake the districts of Madura, but offered to rent the country of Tinivelly for three years, at the annual rent of 1,100,000 rupees, clear of all expenses, to be paid at three periods in each year; for which purpose he was to be invested with the usual authorities of jurisdictions,

civil and criminal: he obliged himself to maintain not less than 1000 of the company's Sepoys, under the command of such officers as the presidency should appoint; and engaged to produce, within three months from the contract, the security of substantial *shroffs*, or money-changers, for the regular payment of the stipulated sums. The agreement was concluded in the beginning of July; immediately on which Moodilee appointed agents, and sent orders to place flags with the company's colours, in the cultivated lands; and soon after proceeded himself to administer his office in person.

Mahomed Iffoof, on his arrival at Tinivelly, found that the agents of Moodilee had, in the beginning of their occupations, been overruled and insulted by Meir Jaffier, who had hitherto managed the country for Maphuze Cawn. The dispute indeed had ceased, but the grudge still remained: and to prevent any farther effects, Mahomed Iffoof ordered Meir Jaffier to depart immediately to Madura, but permitted him to take three field-pieces which belonged to him, and whatsoever retinue he chose: he at the same time detached five companies of Sepoys to reinforce the garrison of Madura, and ordered them to protect and watch Meir Jaffier and his people on the road. They had not proceeded two days, when unexpected intelligence stopped their march.

On the arrival of Maphuze Cawn from Chévelopetore, all the cavalry in his service were assembled in the city of Madura; their number was 2000, all of good quality, for he had disbanded the less effectual. The day after his arrival, the Jemautdars in a body surrounded his house, and declared that he should not move out of it, until their arrears were paid, which, by their own account, amounted to 700,000 rupees. They were headed by the governor Danishmend Cawn, who from this time was better known in the country by the name of Berkatoolah, although not the same officer who defended Trinomalee in 1753. The company's Sepoys in the garrison wondered at these proceedings, discoursed of them, and suspected that the tumult was concerted, as a pretence to keep possession of the city; for Maphuze Cawn might have been stopped any where else, as well as at Madura: their opinions being known, and their fidelity unshaken,

unshaken, the Jemautdars of the cavalry seized the commanders of the three companies, and having confined them, disarmed the common men, and turned them out of the town; but the next day released the officers, on recollection that no advantage could be derived from their detention, and that they might, by continuing in the city, learn what it was not wished they should know. As soon as they were gone, the brother of Myana came into the city from the woods of Nattam with 2000 Colliers, a considerable stock of provisions, and some money; in return for which service, the Jemautdars gave him the town of Tirambore and the pagoda of Coilguddy, in which they had some troops. The suddenness and facility with which these operations passed, sufficiently shewed that measures had been previously concerted for the success of the rebellion. The possession of Madura, the principal object of the conspiracy, being secured, it was not thought necessary to dissemble any longer. Invitations were sent to every Polygar in the country to join. A man mounted on an elephant was received in ceremony at Madura, bringing a patent as from the Nabob, appointing Maphuze Cawn to the government: and parties sent into the neighbouring districts, pulled and tore down with derision the Company's flags, which had been planted by the orders of Moddilee, according to the custom of the country, on the lands appropriated to cultivation.

The Sepoys which had been turned out of Madura, sent messengers with an account of what had happened to Mahomed Iffoo, who had not entertained a surmise, when he received intelligence, of the revolt. He instantly dispatched orders to the detachment marching to Madura, to halt, which they had already done; and to seize Meir Jaffier and his effects. He appointed Jemaul Saheb to remain with 1000 Sepoys at Tinivelly, and proceeding himself with the rest, about 700, joined on the road the detachment he had sent forward, which the Sepoys coming from Madura had joined before. On the 10th of August he encamped at Secunder-maly, a strong post three miles to the south of Madura: his whole force consisted of 1500 Sepoys and six field-pieces; but, not having a piece of battering cannon since he had deprived himself of the 18 pounder, he wisely judged

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judged that it would be destruction to no purpose to have attempted an escalade against such superior numbers as were in the city; for even the Colleries fight well behind walls. The day after his arrival some cavalry advanced near his post, but were driven back by a few discharges from the field-pieces, with the loss of two men. Skirmishes of this kind passed every day after, and on some without any loss on either side. On the 13th of September the renter Moodilee arrived in the camp with two companies of Sepoys, which had escorted him from Tritchinopoly through the countries of the two Moravars, and the next day he continued his journey towards Tinivelly.

The Pulitaver, Catabominaigue, and the other Polygars of Tinivelly, took time to consider how they should act in consequence of the revolution at Madura, and the Jemautdars there, not finding them so ready to join as they had expected, began to think of preserving some openings to a reconciliation with the presidency. Accordingly they wrote letters apologizing for the revolt, and ascribed it intirely to their necessities for want of pay: and lowered their demands to 400,000 rupees. All the force which could be spared from the immediate service of the Carnatic being at this time required for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, the presidency empowered Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly either to treat with the Jemautdars, or to employ such other means as he should judge expedient to recover Madura. On this authority Captain Calliaud sent his interpreter from Tritchinopoly to Maphuze Cawn, who, in the very first conference, unable to keep his temper, avowed that he thought himself very ill used by the appointment of another renter; and that he would never give up Madura until the Tinivelly countries were granted to him upon the same terms as they had been let to Moodilee. The interpreter seeing no likelihood of accommodation with him, tried with the Jemautdars, offering to pay 50,000 rupees immediately, although he had brought no money, and 150,000 more after they should have evacuated the city. The Jemautdars agreed to these terms; and went to Mahomed Issoof's camp in order to obtain his confirmation; who not thinking himself sufficiently authorised,

authorized, advised them to wait, without departing from the agreement, until it could be ratified by Captain Calliaud; to which they consented. Captain Calliaud approved of the terms, but added as an indispensable condition that Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah should be delivered up with the city. To this likewise the Jemautdars seemed to have no objection; on which orders were dispatched to Moodilee to send money and bills for the amount of the agreement without delay from Tinivelly. These various negotiations and correspondences employed 30 days, during which several events happened which contributed to change the state of affairs.

The family of Moodilee by their occupation of renting the countries, had formed connections with most of the Polygars dependant on Tinivelly, more especially with the Pulitaver and Catabominaigue; and on his invitations the Pulitaver and several others met him on the road. Catabominaigue and others sent their agents; all came, as usual, with considerable retinues, and in the midst of this multitude Moodilee entered the town of Tinivelly on the 27th of September, and proclaimed his commission. But the Colleries of the Polygars, whom no consideration can restrain from thieving, committed night robberies in the town and adjacent villages. Several of them were taken and punished by the Company's Sepoys; on which others stole the effects of the Sepoys themselves, who, irritated as much by the insult as the loss, transferred their resentment on Moodilee, because he suffered the Polygars to remain in the town, and continued to treat them with civility. At the same time the troops of Travancore renewed their incursions into the districts about Calacad; and Nabey Cawn Catteck, who had concealed himself ever since the defeat in which Moodemiah was killed, now appeared again, made overtures of reconciliation to Maphuze Cawn, which were accepted; and having enlisted 400 of the horse, which Maphuze Cawn had disbanded, kept traversing the country between Madura and Tinivelly. These disturbances, and the dissention between the renter Moodilee and the Company's Sepoys, had already deterred the bankers from furnishing him with the sums necessary for the commencement of his own business, at the time that he was called upon to supply
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the money for the payment of the Jemautdars at Madura. / All he could dispatch immediately was 20,000 rupees, which stopped on the road from an apprehension of being intercepted by Nabey Cawn Catteck; and it was some days before he could obtain authentic bills of exchange for the amount required.

Mean while the Jemautdars having the power in themselves, had taken no pains to conceal their negotiation from Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, who, having no other means to overset it, employed intrigue. There was, among the Jemautdars, one named Seer Cawn, a man of art and spirit, attached to Berkatoolah; he had hitherto gone with the rest, with the view alone of leading them back, whenever the opportunity should offer. No money coming on several days in which it was expected, Seer Cawn suggested to his comrades, that the interpreter had amused them with the negotiation in order to cover some other design, perhaps the surprize of the city, by Mahomed Iffool's troops at Secunder Maly; and advised them to think of a reconciliation with their friends rather than trust any further to those whose views they did not know. Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah improved the effects of these suggestions by lavish promises, which prevailed, and immediately after the reconciliation 500 horse marched to join those with Nabey Cawn Catteck.

Notwithstanding this change, the interpreter still remained in the city with hopes of renewing the negotiation, on which Captain Calliaud resolved to go to Nattam himself, to be nearer at hand to give the necessary instructions; and, warned by the late disappointment, he took with him from Trichinopoly an agent belonging to the house of Buckanjee, the principal *shroff* or banker in the Decan, whose word was every where esteemed as ready money. Arriving at Nattam on the 25th of October, he was met there by the interpreter, and an officer lately sent by the Nabob from Arcot to treat with the Jemautdars. The officer represented that neither Maphuze Cawn nor Berkatoolah were in reality averse to an accommodation, but insisted that the presidency should give their guarantee for the terms, since neither of them would trust the Nabob: that Berkatoolah, who was rich, required only protection for his person, family,

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and effects; but Maphuze Cawn, a provision adequate to his ranks. On this information Calliaud ordered the interpreter to renew the proposal of paying the Jemautdars, and pledged his own word to Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah; but insisted that Maphuze Cawn should immediately accompany him to Trichinopoly. Both seemed satisfied, and Maphuze Cawn made preparations as if he intended to proceed to Nattam the next day; but this day brought on the change of the monsoon, with such severe and tempestuous weather, that nothing could stir abroad. The fort of Nattam had no shelter against the sky, and the rains holding without intermission, Captain Calliaud apprehensive that the roads might become impassable, and keep him longer than he ought in prudence to remain out of his garrison, left Nattam the next day, and reached Trichinopoly on the 30th, where a day or two after came the interpreter, the Nabob's officer, and a Jemautdar sent by Maphuze Cawn, to explain his own demands. He requested to be placed in the government of districts, any where in the Carnatic, from which he might appropriate 200,000 rupees a year for his own maintenance; and alleging that he had been obliged to sell every thing he had, to satisfy in part the demands of his troops, he asked, but without insisting, for 20,000 rupees to furnish himself again with necessaries. Captain Calliaud dismissed the Jemautdar with assurances, that these terms should be complied with, and set out himself for Madras, in order to obtain the confirmation of the presidency, and to explain to them the general state of affairs in the southern countries.

At this time the expedition to Bengal had carried away one half of the English force in the Carnatic, and intelligence of the declaration of war with France increased the necessity of every caution: in consequence of which Captain Calliaud on the second day of his journey met letters from the presidency, with positive orders not to quit his garrison without their express permission; on which he immediately returned to Trichinopoly.

Mean while, the dissention between the Company's Sepoys and their ruler at Tinivelly had increased, and had produced evil consequences. Moodilee by his contract was only obliged to furnish the

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pay of the Sepoys employed by himself; but Mahomed Iffoof, by a wrong interpretation, imagined that Moodilee was obliged to maintain the whole number wheresoever employed; and moreover to discharge the arrears of their pay, of which two months were due on his arrival in the country. In consequence of this mistake, Jemaulsahab, who commanded the Sepoys in Tinivelly, demanded the amount, and on Moodilee's refusing to pay it, confined him under a guard for several days; during which he ordered the Pulitaver and the other Polygars to quit the town, with threats of severe punishment if they remained any longer. They departed immediately; but instead of returning to their homes, the Pulitaver went to Nabey Cawn Catteck and offered him his assistance, both in men and money; and by their united representations, Catabominaigue was induced to join their league. At the same time the troops of Travancore kept their ground, and continued their depredations in the districts dependant on Calacad. The hopes of the advantages which might be derived from these confusions, were much more agreeable to the disposition of Berkatoolah, than the success of his negotiation with the English, by which he was to obtain nothing more than the pardon of his offences; and in the middle of November, as soon as the ground was sufficiently dry, to march, he went from the city, and put himself at the head of the 500 horse, which had gone out before, and were now joined to those of Nabey Cawn Catteck, and the troops of the Polygars. The whole force amounted to 10000 men, of which 1000 were horse. They were assembled about 40 miles to the south of Madura, and instead of proceeding directly to the south, in the open country, struck to the east into the districts of Catabominaigue, a part of whose woods extend within a few miles of the town of Tinivelly. Issuing from thence at night before their approach was known, they entered the town at day-break by several avenues, which were weakly guarded: for Moodilee a few days before had marched with the greatest part of the Sepoys and his other force, about twenty miles to the south-east, in order to protect the districts of Alwar Tinivelly, against which he had been led to believe the enemy designed to bend their attack. The enemy remained

remained two days in Tinivelly, plundered much, but committed no cruelties; and during this delay, Moodilee regained the fort of Palamcolah, which stands on the other side of the river about three miles from the town. The fort is spacious, but the ramparts were in ruins, nevertheless capable of resisting an enemy, which had no battering cannon. Matchlocks and musketry were fired without any mischief for two days, during which the cavalry ravaged the country round. Mahomed Iffoo, who still continued at Secundermaly, before Madura, received no certain intelligence of the enemy's design until four days after they were in motion; he immediately struck his camp and proceeded towards Tinivelly, and they hearing of his approach collected all their parties and advanced to give him battle. The two armies met on the 1st of December at Gangadoram, about twenty miles north of Tinivelly. The inferiority of numbers was much more than compensated by superior skill; the Company's Sepoys faced the enemy on every side with advantage of situation and discipline, and the field-pieces were fired with much execution against the cavalry, whose fortunes depending on the preservation of their horses, they quitted the contest and the field. The next day Mahomed Iffoo proceeded to Tinivelly, and from thence marched into the desolated districts, in order to give heart to the inhabitants, and recall them to their occupations. The Polygars returned to their woods, and Berkátoolah with his cavalry to Madura; but Nabey Cawn Catteck went to Chevelpetore, and not having means to attack the fort, in which were some Sepoys, attempted to escalate the pagoda in the town; on which one of the Bramins went to the top of the high tower over the gateway, and after a short but loud prayer of execration, threw himself headlong to the pavement, which dashed out his brains; the enemy, although Mahomedans, were so much afraid of incurring the general detestation of the country, if their attempts against the pagoda should incite any more acts of such enthusiastic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town.

Whilst Captain Calliaud was in expectation of a conclusive answer from Maphuze Cawn's agent, he received intelligence of the new confederacy, and their operations, and of Berkátoolah's departure

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from Madura to partake in their hostilities: nevertheless, some hopes of reconciliation still remained; for some of the Jemautdars, although the lesser number, were averse to the turbulent proceedings of the others, and wished an accommodation on the terms which had once been so nearly concluded: he therefore determined to make another trial, and sent Mr. William Rumbold, a lieutenant of his garrison, who talked the languages of the country, together with the interpreter, to renew the negotiation. They were escorted by a company of Sepoys, and arrived at Madura, on the third of December, and on the next day came into the town Berkatoolah, with his cavalry, which had been beaten by Mahomed Iffoof.

Maphuze Cawn received Mr. Rumbold with much civility, and in a private conference acknowledged his errors, apologized for his conduct, and promised to accompany him to Trichinopoly; but neither of them suspected that a person had been placed behind a curtain to listen to their conversation. About an hour after their visit, the Jemautdar Seer Cawn, with a body of horse, beset Maphuze Cawn's house, and made him a prisoner; and after a message, which was not complied with, sent 30 horsemen to force Mr. Rumbold out of the city; who, having no means of resistance, obeyed, and rejoined his escort, which he had left at a choultry on the other side of the river. As soon as he was gone, Seer Cawn assembled all the Jemautdars, whom he persuaded that Maphuze Cawn intended to sell them and the city. When they were sufficiently inflamed, Berkatoolah came in, and war was determined; but, whilst they were deliberating on the manner of conducting it, came a letter from Mr. Rumbold, threatening the utmost vengeance of the English nation for the indignity which had been offered to its representative in his person; and the immediate return of Mahomed Iffoof with all the Company's Sepoys was held out as an earnest of this resolution. The Jemautdars, startled at the expressions of indignation in Mr. Rumbold's letter, agreed to invite him to return. He refused, without public reparation; of which they permitted him to dictate the mode; conformable to which, Maphuze Cawn, with all the Jemautdars, came the next morning to the choultry, made many apologies, and conducted

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conducted him back to the city; where, on entering the gate, he was saluted by the discharge of all the cannon on the ramparts, which were only 13 pieces. The negotiation was renewed on the same terms as before; and it was agreed to wait until the guarantee of the presidency for the terms required by Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, should arrive from Madras. But three days after this preliminary was settled, Nabey Cawn Catteck, with his horse, came from Chevelpetore, and immediately on his arrival offered to furnish 40,000 rupees for the present subsistence of the cavalry of the Jemautdars, if they would relinquish all treaty with the English, and send Mr. Rumbold away. On the bustle occasioned by this proposal, Mr. Rumbold went to Maphuze Cawn, who wept, and in his anguish broke his seal, that he might not be obliged to affix it any more to acts he did not approve. From Maphuze Cawn's he went to Berkatoolah's, where he assembled and harangued the Jemautdars, who, after various discussions, consented that the articles to which they had before acceded, should be immediately drawn up in both languages, and executed by all parties: it was now night, and to do this required some hours; for every Jemautdar was to sign. This while was employed with much assiduity by Nabey Cawn Catteck, who now offered to supply 3500 rupees a day, which, being fully sufficient for the maintenance of the whole body of cavalry, prevailed; and Mr. Rumbold was advised to take care of himself, as all the roads would soon be stopped. He accordingly went out of the city the next morning, as if he had something to regulate concerning his escort of Sepoys, with whom he set off at midnight, and reached the fort of Nattam without interruption, when, being out of danger, he proceeded more leisurely to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of December. Thus ended the third unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Madura by negotiation, in all of which the contumelious conduct of the Jemautdars was not the effect of sudden exigencies, but the result of a plan formed by Berkatoolah to lead them to such extremities of affront, as should preclude all hopes of reconciliation with the English. That such was their situation he easily convinced them,

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as soon as Mr. Rumbold was gone, and then declared he intended not only to maintain the city, but likewise to recover the whole country for Maphuze Cawn. These resolutions were not unanimously approved, but the dissenters were by far the smaller number; and letters of invitation were immediately dispatched to all the Polygars, to Hyder Naig the Mysore general, and to the King of Travancore. A few days after, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck went with 500 horse to the Pulitaver's place. The commander Mahomed Iffoof, on receiving the summons of Mr. Rumbold, had returned from the districts he was visiting to Tinivelly; where leaving as before 1000 Sepoys, he proceeded with the rest, about 1800, towards Madura. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, resolved to accompany the greater force, and, besides his usual retinue, was attended by 100 good horse, which he had lately levied. They arrived on the 16th of December at Gangadurum; where Mahomed Iffoof hearing of Mr. Rumbold's departure from Madura, halted to observe the motions of the enemy, and remained there until he received information that Nabey Cawn Catteck and Berkatoolah had passed to the Pulitaver's, on which he proceeded to Chevelpetore, and encamped there, in order to awe the Polygars in this part of the country from joining the enemy.

During the march Moodilee sent one of his relations, named Algapa, to negotiate a reconciliation with the Pulitaver, and offer some districts as the fee of his alliance. The Pulitaver, who never refused or kept his word on any occasion, sent an agent with Algapa to the camp at Chevelpetore, and at the same time sent his troops to join Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck. The agent, under the usual pretext of doing honour to his embassy, was accompanied by two or three hundred Colliers. Mahomed Iffoof entirely disapproved of the intercourse, as he knew the Pulitaver's character, and that some of his people were at this very time plundering to the westward of Tinivelly. Unfortunately, during this mood of indignation, five of the agent's Colliers were taken, stealing horses and oxen belonging to the camp, and being brought to Mahomed Iffoof, he immediately put them to death, by blowing them off from the mouth of a cannon: a sanguinary execution,

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cution, not unfrequent in Indostan, and in this case atrocious. The agent, with all his retinue of Colleries, immediately ran away from the camp; and their injury determined the Pulitaver, perhaps for the first time in his life, to act with some good faith toward those with whom he was connected. But knowing the irrefolution of Maphuze Cawn, he, with his usual cunning, was afraid of trusting him in Madura exposed to the overtures and negotiations of the English, and insisted that he should come from thence to Nelletangaville, and remain at all times under his own ward. In consequence, Berkatoolah, who was with the Pulitaver, sent for Maphuze Cawn, who, in the end of December, went from the city with 500 horse. Thus closed the year in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly.

Between Tanjore and Tondiman the quarrel had continued, notwithstanding the retreat of the Tanjorine army in the preceding year; but the letters of the presidency of Madras, and the subtle delays of Monacjee, again prevented the renewal of hostilities until the end of June, when the forces of Tanjore were required to revenge another quarrel. The Danish settlement at Tranquebar had requested an enlargement of their bounds, which the king refused, and the Danes soon after, on the pretence of some outrages from his officers, attacked two pagodas in the neighbourhood. One they took, and whilst they were employed before the other, were attacked themselves at a disadvantage by a large detachment of horse and foot from Tanjore, who killed 40 of them, and wounded 100; on which the rest retreated to Tranquebar: a negotiation ensued, which, by the interposition of the presidency of Madras, was concluded in the middle of August. In September began the great and long feast of the king and his gods, which consumed the month. In October, the approach of the rains gave Monacjee a pretence to keep the army in quarters; and after they set in, it was impossible to move until they were over. The king then insisted, and Monacjee proceeded against Killanelly Cottah, of which Tondiman had taken possession in consequence of the surreptitious cession made to him the year before by Monacjee, who had clandestinely affixed the King's seal to the grant. It stands 40 miles s. by w. of Tanjore, and was stronger than any place which
Tondiman

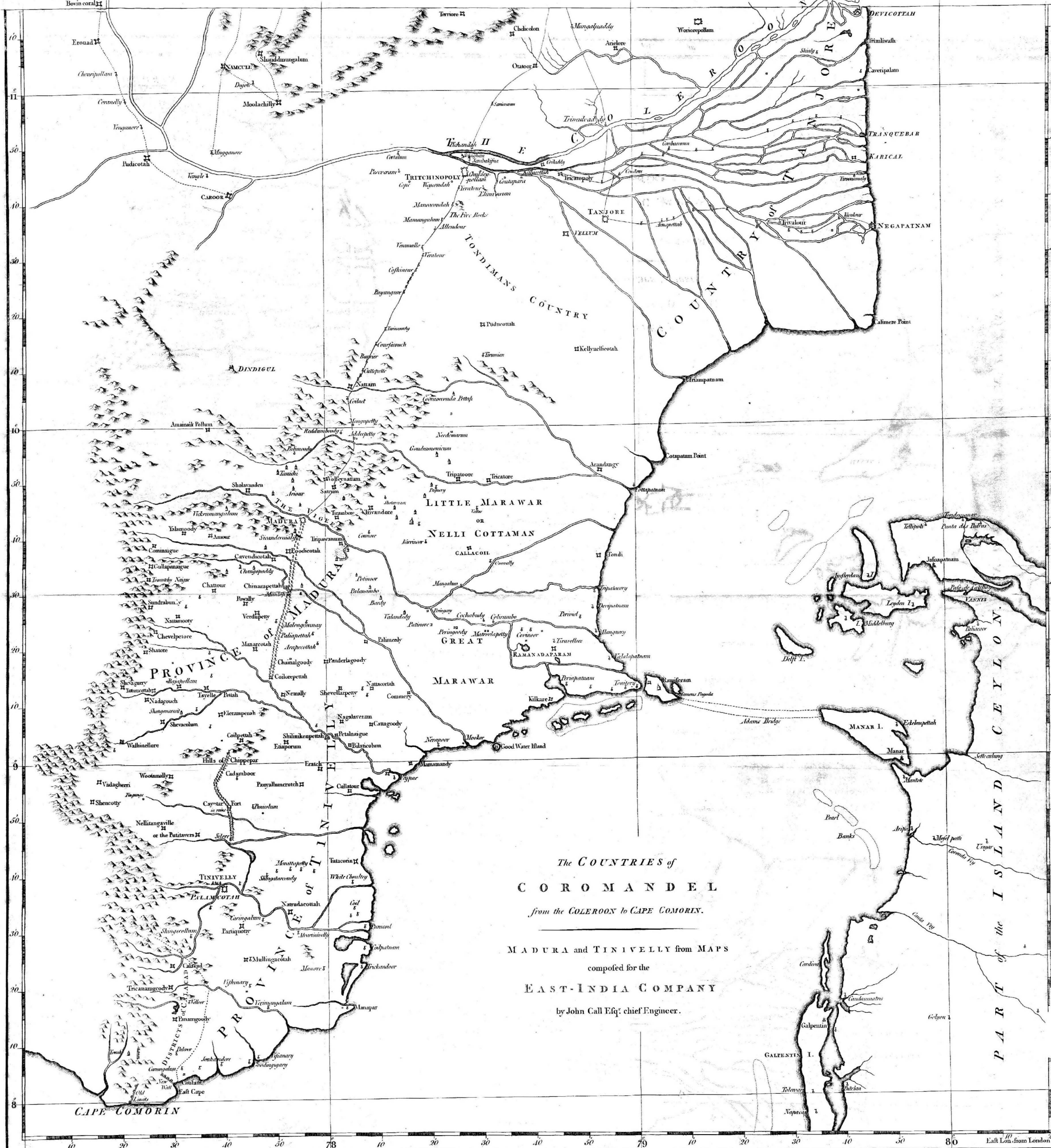
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Tordiman had taken before: and the Tanjorines had made very little progress in the attack at the end of the year.

The French had not, during the year, meddled, excepting by private instigations, in the quarrels of the southern countries. The Rheddy, whom they had restored at Terriore, failed, as before, in his tributes; on which they sent a party of 50 Europeans from Seringham, which were joined by another from Pondicherry, who removed him, and re-instated the other, who likewise had before been once appointed and once deposed. This expedition was finished in the beginning of February, but the party from Seringham remained at Terriore to watch the tributes in future. In July, 100 Europeans were taken from Seringham, to complete the detachment sent with Mr. Law to the relief of Mr. Buffly at Charmaul. By these subtractions, which were not replaced, the garrison at Seringham, which before was superior, remained at the close of the year only equal in Europeans to that of Tritchinopoly, each having about 330; but 200 more were sent thither from Pondicherry on the 9th of December; and 500 Sepoys were raising at Terriore, in order to equal the number in Tritchinopoly, which were 1500. Thus ended the year 1756 in Coromandel.

END of the SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK



The COUNTRIES of
C O R O M A N D E L
 from the COLeroon to CAPE COMORIN.

MADURA and TINIVELLY from MAPS
 compiled for the
EAST-INDIA COMPANY
 by John Call Esq; chief Engineer.

Published according to Act of Parliament June 3^d 1774.

B O O K VII.

WE shall now relate the progress and operations of the armament sent for the recovery of the settlements in Bengal.

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The fleet sailing on the 10th of October, met the currents setting so strongly from the north, that they were driven in the first twelve days after their departure, six degrees of latitude to the south of Madras; and by this time the northern monsoon, during which the wind blows from the N. W. had gathered strength. In this season the only way to get Bengal, is to steer across the bay to the shore of Tannaſery and Arracan, along which the currents slacken, and sometimes even tend to the northward; and milder weather than in the middle of the bay enables the vessel to gain the latitude of the sands at the eastern mouths of the Ganges, from whence tides help across to the road of Ballasore, and from hence assure the entrance into the river Hughley. Attempting this passage with much adverse weather, Admiral Watson, on the 10th of November, ordered the allowances of provisions and water to be retrenched: Two days after, the fire-ship, unable to stem the violence of the monsoon, bore away to Ceylon; and the Marlborough, one of the company's, sailing very heavily, was left on the 16th by the rest of the fleet, which arrived in the soundings off Point Palmeiras on the first of December. But the Cumberland and Salisbury not having kept the wind so well as the others, struck on the dangerous sand which extends several miles from that point out to sea, both however, floated again; but the Cumberland bore away to Vizagapatam.

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The Kent and Tiger gained the road of Ballasore, where they waited for the spring tides until the 9th, when they proceeded under the conduct of English pilots into the river, and arrived on the 15th at Fulta. Here they were joined, on the 20th, by all the other vessels, excepting the Cumberland and the Marlborough, the absence of which greatly impaired the force of the armament: for the Cumberland was not only the largest ship in the squadron, but had likewise on board 250 of the European troops; and the greatest part of the field artillery had been imprudently shipped on board of the Marlborough.

The detachment with Major Kilpatrick had arrived at Fulta on the second of August, but were not deemed a force sufficient to risque hostilities; and the vessels before assembled there being too much crowded to receive them on board, they were obliged to encamp in the swampy grounds near the town, where sickness prevailed amongst them so much, that of the whole detachment, which was 2300 when sent, one half were dead, and of the remainder not more than thirty men were able to do duty when Admiral Watson arrived.

The rainy season, which began whilst the Nabob was before Calcutta, prevented him after his return to Muxadavad from reassuming his former intention of attacking his relation the Phousdar of Purneah until the month of October. He then marched to that country: when the two armies encamped in sight of each other, the Phousdar, a headstrong youth, saw the general Meer Jaffier with a party reconnoitring, and mistaking his ensigns for the Nabob's, hastened with the foremost of his cavalry to attack him, and was killed in the onset. The country of Purneah submitted immediately after his death, and the Nabob returned in triumph to his capital: where, ruminating on the excess and apparent security of his fortunes, he continued to imagine, that the English would never venture hostilities in his dominions; to which presumption his ignorance did not a little contribute; for he was often heard to say, that he did not believe there were ten thousand men in all Europe. His ministers, however, had convinced him, that his revenues would be much

much diminished by the loss of the English trade; which had determined him to permit their return; but under the same restrictions as they were subject to in the reign of Jaffier, before their embassy to Delhi. On hearing of the arrival of the armament, he ordered his whole army to assemble at Muxadavad, and prepared to march to Calcutta. The governor of this place, Monickchund, having foreseen the war, had been diligent in improving his garrison, had fortified Buz-buzia, and had begun to erect a fort, which he called Aligur, on the bank of the river opposite to Tannah; but only part of the rampart commanding the river was finished. The Phousdar of Hughley purchased two ships, which he loaded with bricks, intending to sink them in the narrow pass of the river between Tannah and Aligur.

Before the arrival of the armament, letters from the court of directors in England, had appointed Mr. Drake, with three other members of the council, to act as a select committee, in the conduct of all political and military affairs. They had already associated Major Kilpatrick, and as soon as the fleet arrived at Fulta, they added Mr. Watson and Colonel Clive to their board. The letters which Clive had brought from Madras, accompanied by one from himself and another from Mr. Watson, full of threats, were sent open to Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, in order to be forwarded to the Nabob. Monickchund replied that he dared not send letters written in such menacing terms; and on receiving this answer, it was determined to commence hostilities. The absence of the troops on board the Cumberland was in some measure supplied by the recovering men of Kilpatrick's detachment, and by a company of seventy volunteers, who embodied themselves at Fulta.

All the ships and vessels, as well those which were just arrived, as those which before were assembled at Fulta, left this place on the 27th of December, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia. This fort Mr. Watson determined to attack the next day; and, as it was supposed that the garrison would defend it but a very little while, it was resolved to lay an ambuscade, in order to intercept their retreat towards

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Calcutta. All the men of Adlercron's regiment who were arrived, being 120, remained on board the ships of war. The rest of the battalion, 500, with all the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, landed, and at sun-set marched from Mayapore, under the command of Colonel Clive, and under the conduct of Indian guides. The field-pieces, with a tumbril of ammunition, were drawn by the troops: for the council at Fulta, through dread of the Nabob's resentment, had not ventured to provide any bullocks either of draught or burthen. The guides, in order to prevent discovery, led the troops at a distance from the river, through a part of the country, which was uninhabited indeed, but full of swamps, and continually intersected by deep rivulets, which rendered the draught and transportation of the three carriages so tedious and laborious, that the troops did not arrive until an hour after sun-rise at the place of ambuscade. This was a large hollow, which in the rains might be a lake, sinking about ten feet below the level of the plain: it lay about a mile from the river, a mile and a half north-east of Buz-buzia, and half a mile to the east of a high road leading from this place to Calcutta. The eastern, and part of the southern bank of the hollow, were skirted by the huts and enclosures of a village, which seemed to have been abandoned some days before. The grenadiers and 300 Sepoys were detached from the hollow, to take possession of another village on the bank of the river adjoining to the northern wall of the fort of Buz-buzia; where, it was supposed, that their appearance would induce the garrison to mistake them for the whole of the English troops on shore; and that in consequence of this notion they would retreat along the high road, instead of the bank of the river. The company of volunteers were detached, and posted themselves in some thickets near the high road, but on the farther side from the hollow, towards which it was intended that their fire should drive the fugitive garrison. The rest of the troops remained with Colonel Clive, and concealed themselves, some in the hollow, and others in the adjoining village, and the two field-pieces were placed on the north side of the village. The troops being excessively fatigued, were permitted.

mitted to quit their arms, in order to get rest; every man laid himself down where he thought best, some in the village, others in the hollow; and from a security which no superiority or appearances in war could justify, the common precaution of stationing centinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all asleep. It happened that Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, had come the day before to Buz-buzia, with 1500 horse and 2000 foot. This officer had no courage, but much circumspection; and some of his spies had followed the English from Mayapore, and had observed all their motions in the morning.

About an hour after the troops had lain down to sleep, they were awakened by the fire of small arms on the eastern side of the village, into which, at the same time, a multitude of matchlock men were discovered, advancing with resolution. All the soldiers, wheresoever scattered, hurried on the alarm into the hollow, in which their arms were grounded, about 60 yards from the enclosures on the eastern bank; here they formed the line as fast as they could; but, unfortunately, the artillery-men, instead of repairing to the two field-pieces, which would have protected the whole, ran to seek protection themselves from the line. During this confusion, the enemy, meeting no resistance, advanced and took possession of the eastern bank; from whence, under the shelter of various covers, they kept up a continual, though irregular fire, wounding several, and killing an ensign. Colonel Clive, apprehensive of a panic, should he order the troops to march out of the reach of the enemy's fire, commanded the line to stand firm, and detached two platoons, one from the right, the other from the center, opposite to which the enemy's fire was strongest. Of the platoon from the center eight men were killed by one volley before they gained the bank; the rest nevertheless returned the fire, and then forced their way with their bayonets into the village; where they were joined by the other platoon, which had succeeded with the loss of only three men. This intrepidity quelled the enemy's courage; who no longer appeared in bodies, but shifted in small parties from shelter to shelter, firing rarely, and with little effect; however, some officers on horseback exposed themselves

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selves with much resolution, endeavouring to rally their men, but in vain. In the mean time, the company of volunteers, as soon as they heard the firing, marched back from the high road, and rescued the field-pieces, of which some of the enemy had taken possession, but did not know how to use them. Upon this, the artillery-men returned from the line to the field-pieces, and immediately began to fire them into the village, which soon drove all the enemy out of it, who fled as fast as they could to join a large body of horse, which was now discovered advancing from the south towards the hollow: but, on perceiving the fugitives coming from the village, this cavalry halted at the distance of half a mile. On this the English troops, with the field-pieces, formed regularly on the plain, and advanced towards the enemy, who were commanded by Monickchund. They stood several shot from the field-pieces, until one chanced to pass very near the turban of Monickchund, who immediately gave the signal of retreat by turning his elephant, and the whole body marched away to the north-east and returned to Calcutta. Had the cavalry advanced and charged the troops in the hollow, at the same time that the infantry began to fire upon the village, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities.

As soon as the enemy retreated, the troops marched to the village on the bank of the river, from whence the detachment posted there was advancing to join them. By this time the Kent, having out-failed the other ships, anchored before Buz-buzia, and alone silenced the cannon of that fort; but the troops having already undergone so much fatigue, it was determined to defer the assault until the next morning. They passed the rest of the day in the village, without giving or receiving any molestation, and in the evening were joined by 250 sailors from the squadron. One of these having got drunk, straggled, at eight in the evening, to the ditch of the fort, which he crossed, and scrambled up the rampart; where, finding no centinels, he hallooed to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the fort; on which they quitted their post, and joined him on the rampart, when they found the place evacuated,

the

the enemy having abandoned it as soon as it grew dark enough to conceal their retreat. Several guards of Sepoys proceeded immediately to post centinels round the walls; and whilst this was doing, some other sailors, who were likewise very drunk and had got into the fort, supposed some of the Sepoys to be some of the enemy's men who had not escaped; and in this notion fired their pistols, and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the company's troops.

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The operations of the morning at the hollow, irregular and imperfect as they were, changed the contemptible opinion which Monickchund and his soldiery had conceived of English troops, from their own success at the taking of Calcutta; and on his return from Buz-buzia to that place, he remained there only a few hours, and leaving 500 men to defend the fort, went away with the rest of his command to Hughley, where having likewise communicated his own terrors, he proceeded to carry them to the Nabob at Muxadavad. On the other hand, the resolution and activity with which the enemy's matchlock men began their assault on the village, impressed most of the English officers, and many of the common men, with a much higher opinion of the troops of Bengal than they deserved.

The sloop of war had been sent forward some days before, and anchored in sight of the forts of Tannah and Aligur, where her appearance had deterred the governor of Hughley from sending the ships laden with bricks, which he had intended to sink in the pass. The fleet left Buz-buzia on the 30th of December, and anchored on the 1st of January, between those forts, which the enemy abandoned without firing a shot, leaving on the platforms 50 pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Calcutta, many of which however were not mounted. The next morning, Colonel Clive, with the greatest part of the Europeans and Sepoys, landed and marched along the high road from Aligur to Calcutta; and at nine o'clock the Kent and Tiger anchored before the English fort; but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides; during which disadvantage the enemy cannonaded them briskly from the line of guns on the brink of the river, killing nine men in the
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Kent; and seven in the Tiger; but their fire slackened as that from the ships increased; and before eleven they deserted the fort, and soon after the town; when a detachment sent from the ships, under the command of Captain Coote, hoisted the English colours in the fort; for the troops with Colonel Clive were not yet arrived. The next day Admiral Watson put Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council, in possession of the government.

The greatest part of the merchandizes belonging to the company, which were in the fort when taken, were found remaining without detriment; for this part of the plunder had been reserved for the Nabob; but every thing of value belonging to the inhabitants had been removed out of the settlement: some of the best houses had been demolished, and others damaged by fire; in the middle of the fort a mosque was erected with the materials of several buildings which had been pulled down to make room for it; but no alterations had been made in the fortification. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monickchand; they were indeed mostly of the lower ranks of people; for his rapacity had deterred such as were known to have property from trusting themselves within his reach.

Whatsoever joy the English inhabitants might feel at their restoration to the town, it was soon allayed by the contemplation of the ruined state of their habitations, and of the poverty to which they were reduced, having no means to procure themselves subsistence, but their usual allowances from the company.

Mr. Drake, notwithstanding his adversities, had retained some correspondents; and the company's money some spies, from whom he received intelligence as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, that the town of Hughley was in great consternation; and that it would be some time before the Nabob's army would march from Muxadavad; upon which the committee resolved to attack Hughley without delay. The twenty-gun ship, the sloop of war, and three other vessels, were appointed to this service; and on board of them embarked 150 Europeans, being those of Adlercron's regiment, with 200 Sepoys; they sailed on the 4th of January, and hoped to reach Hughley in one tide;

side; but the twenty-gun ship struck upon a sand-bank, which stopped their progress for five days. On the 10th they arrived at Hughley.

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This town lieth about 23 miles above Calcutta, adjoining to the north part of the Dutch settlement of Chinchura, from whence it extends three miles on the bank of the river: at the northern extremity of the town is a fort, which was at this time garrisoned by 2000 men: 3000 more had been sent from Muxadavad to guard the town, but these retreated as soon as the English troops landed; remaining however within a few miles. The vessels battered the fort until night; and although the breach was scarcely practicable, it was determined to storm it before break of day. A false attack was made at the main gate, whilst Captain Coote with the other division, accompanied by some sailors, mounted the breach before they were discovered by the garrison, who no sooner saw the English on the ramparts, than all of them quitted their posts, and fled out of the lesser gate. Three Europeans and ten Sepoys were killed in the attack. On the 12th Captain Coote, with 50 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, marched to the Bandell, a large village three miles north of the fort, where they destroyed several granaries of rice, and in their return were surrounded in the village by the fugitive garrison, and the troops which had been sent from Muxadavad, from whom they disengaged themselves without losing a man. On the 16th a party proceeded in boats some miles to the northward, and destroyed several more granaries on each side of the river, and on the 19th the Europeans, with the smaller vessels, returned to Calcutta.

During this expedition to Hughley, news arrived from Aleppo, that war had been declared between Great Britain and France in the preceding month of May. There were 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery at Chandernagore: and the select committee of Calcutta expected that they would immediately join the Nabob, with whom, it was thought, that the English force, great as it was, would then be unable to cope, and in this persuasion they determined to treat with him. Accordingly Colonel Clive wrote a letter to the *Seats* at Muxadavad, requesting them to act as mediators; but news

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of the attack upon Hughley arriving at the same time, exasperated the Nabob and all his officers so much, that he immediately began his march, and the *Seats* were afraid to appear as friends to the English; they however deputed their ablest agent Rungeet Roy to attend the Nabob, and ordered him to correspond with Colonel Clive. The merchant Omichund likewise accompanied the Nabob's army. This man, anxious to recover his shattered fortunes, had followed him from Calcutta to Muxadavad, where ingratiating himself with Moonloll, who although no public minister, had more influence than all of them together, he soon acquired a degree of confidence and intimacy with the Nabob himself; who nevertheless restored with a very sparing hand his effects which had been seized in the general plunder and confiscation of the English property. Omichund being likewise proprietor of most of the best houses, and having many other interests in Calcutta, was solicitous to regain his former influence amongst the English, by promoting the pacification.

In the mean time the English had not been negligent in making preparations to oppose the Nabob's approach to Calcutta, for they had fortified a camp with several outposts around it, about a mile to the northward of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river. The situation was well chosen; for a large lake, which commenceth about two miles to the eastward of the Morattoe ditch, and adjoins to marshes which extend to the sea, rendered it impossible for an enemy coming from the northward to enter the company's territory without passing in sight of the camp; and at the end of the month the field artillery of the army was completed by the arrival of the Marlborough, which had the greatest part on board. On the 30th, the Nabob's army began to cross the river, about 10 miles above Hughley. Their approach immediately deterred the villagers from bringing any more provisions either to the town or camp, and all the natives who had been hired for the services of the army, deserted. The want of bullocks still continued, and there was but one horse either in the camp or town, and this had been brought from Madras. However, the apprehensions of the French joining the Nabob, were in a great measure removed; for they, instead of this resolution, which

which it was certainly their interest to have taken without delay, refused him their assistance, and proposed to the English, that the two nations should engage by treaty not to commit hostilities against each other in Bengal during the continuance of the war in Europe. Nevertheless, Colonel Clive despaired of victory over the Nabob, although unassisted by the French force; and yielding to the advice of Rungeet Roy, wrote a letter to the Nabob on the 30th of January proposing peace. The Nabob answered with expressions of cordiality; but continued his march. As he approached, an Armenian, named Petrus, brought and carried several messages; and on the 2d of February, the Nabob desired to confer with deputies, and promised to send passports for them in the evening; but no passports came; and the next morning at day-break, the villages to the north-east were seen in flames, and soon after the van of his army appeared advancing in full march towards Calcutta. Their way was along a high road, which runs for a mile north and south, until it reaches the head of the lake, where was a bridge of masonry, from whence the road turns and continues in the direction of east and west, almost in a strait line for two miles until it joins the N. E. part of the Morattoe ditch: so that if the bridge had been retrenched, and a detachment with two field-pieces posted there, the enemy must have passed between this post and the camp: but Colonel Clive, perhaps not imprudently, unwilling to divide his force, and equally so to break off the negotiation with the Nabob, suffered the troops in sight to pass unmolested; who spread themselves without the Morattoe ditch, and a body of their *Louchees*, or plunderers, who are armed with clubs, passed into the company's territory about noon, and attacked the houses of the natives in the northern part of the town; but a detachment which had been posted at Perring's redoubt, sallied, and, killing some of them, returned with 50 prisoners; which deterred the enemy from making any more incursions during the rest of the day. In the plain, troops after troops, in different intervals, followed the first that appeared; and in the afternoon a large body, with cannon and coolies, began to intrench themselves in a large garden on the right hand of the road, midway

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between the bridge and the Morattoo ditch, and about a mile and a half to the south-east of the English camp. On this insult, Colonel Clive immediately marched with the greatest part of his troops, and six field-pieces; as they approached, the enemy fired upon them from nine pieces of cannon, and several bodies of their cavalry drew upon each side of the garden, of which the attack appeared so hazardous, that Clive restrained the action to a cannonade, which continued only an hour, that the troops might regain the camp before dark: three Sepoys and two artillery men were killed, and about ten of the enemy's horse.

The next morning, the main body of the enemy's army appeared advancing in the same road as the van had passed, and a letter was received from the Nabob, desiring that the deputies would come to Nabob-gunge, a village six miles to the north of the camp: on which Mr. Walfh and Mr. Scrafton were immediately sent; who when they arrived at Nabob-gunge, found that the Nabob had quitted it some hours before: on which they followed in the track of the army, and in the evening arrived at his quarters, which he had taken up in a garden belonging to Omichund, situated in the north-east part of the company's territory, within the Morattoo ditch. Here they were introduced by Rungeet Roy to the prime minister Roydoolub, who suspecting that they intended to assassinate the Nabob, desired to examine whether they had pistols concealed, and then insisted that they should quit their swords; but finding that they would not submit to this humiliation, he conducted them to the Durbar, where the Nabob was sitting in full state, accompanied by all his principal officers: many others of inferior degree, such as were of the largest stature, and bore the greatest marks of ferocity in their countenances, had likewise been selected to attend on this occasion; who, to appear still more terrible, were dressed in thick stuffed garments, with enormous turbans, and during the audience sat scowling at the deputies, as if they only waited the signal to murder them. The deputies began by expostulating with the Nabob for entering the company's limits, whilst he was amusing Colonel Clive with offers of peace, after which they delivered a paper containing

taining their proposals, which the Nabob read, and having whispered to some of his officers, desired the deputies to confer with the Duan, and dismissed the assembly. As the deputies were going out, Omichund, who had been present at the audience, advised them to take care of themselves; adding, with a very significant look, that the Nabob's cannon was not yet come up. The deputies suspecting that the Nabob intended to detain them prisoners, ordered their attendants to extinguish their lights; and instead of going to the tent of the Duan, hastened along the high road within the Morattoe ditch to Perring's redoubt, and from thence to the camp.

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Their report determined Colonel Clive to attack the Nabob's camp in the morning. At midnight 600 sailors armed with firelocks were landed from the ships of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the Sepoys 800, the field-pieces 6 six-pounders. The order of march was a line advancing in half-files, that is three men abreast: half the Sepoys marched before, and half behind the battalion of Europeans; in the rear were the field-pieces with the artillery-men and Lascars, and all the sailors. To lessen the incumbrance of carriages, there being no bullocks to draw them, the Lascars carried the ammunition of the field-pieces on their heads; and to deter them from flinging away their loads and taking flight, they were guarded on all sides by a part of the sailors; other sailors were allotted to draw the field-pieces, and the rest of them marched as they could, immediately behind the rear division of Sepoys; Colonel Clive kept in the middle of the battalion. Of the Nabob's army, a part, with the general Meer Jaffier, were within the Morattoe ditch; and most of these encamped near Omichund's garden, as a protection to the Nabob, who lay there; but much the greatest part encamped between this ditch and the lake, overspreading all the ground between, without method or order. A little before the dawn of day, the English line came upon their advanced guards, stationed in the ditches of that part of the high road which leads from the bridge at the head of the lake, to the Morattoe ditch. These guards, after firing their matchlocks, and discharging some rockets, ran away: but one of the rockets striking the cartouch-box of one of the Sepoys,

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set fire to the charges, which blowing up, communicated the mischief to several others, and the dread of catching this fire threw the whole division into confusion: fortunately none of the enemy were at hand to take advantage of it, and Captain Coote, who marched at the head of the grenadiers, immediately in the rear of the Sepoys, rallied them, and restored the line of march. By this time it was daylight, when a very thick fog, peculiar to the mornings of this season of the year in Bengal, began to overspread the ground. The line proceeded without farther interruption, until they came opposite to Omichund's garden, when they heard the sound of horse coming upon them on the full gallop from the right; on which they halted. This cavalry was a body of Persians excellently mounted, and stationed as an outguard to the Nabob, under that part of the Morattoe ditch, which encloses Omichund's garden: they were suffered to come within thirty yards before the line gave fire, which fell heavy, and killing many of them, the rest instantly dispersed in great confusion. The line then proceeded slowly, platoons constantly firing on either hand; whilst the field-pieces in the rear fired single balls forward, but obliquely outward; on each side of the line; but all without any immediate object; for the fog prevented any man from seeing beyond the ground on which he trod. About a mile to the south of the garden is a narrow causeway, raised several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side; it leads from the east to the Morattoe ditch, and across it into the company's territory. The enemy had barricaded the passage; which it was intended to force, and from thence to proceed, as it were, back again, along the high road adjoining to and on the inside of the rampart, in order to attack the Nabob's quarters at the garden: but as soon as the first division of Sepoys changed their former direction and began to march along the causeway, the field-pieces in the rear, on the right of the line, continuing to fire forward, killed several of them: upon which the whole division sought their safety in the ditch on the other side of the causeway, and the troops who succeeded them crossed it likewise, not knowing what to do. As soon as this was reported to Colonel Clive, he ordered the whole line to continue crossing the cause-

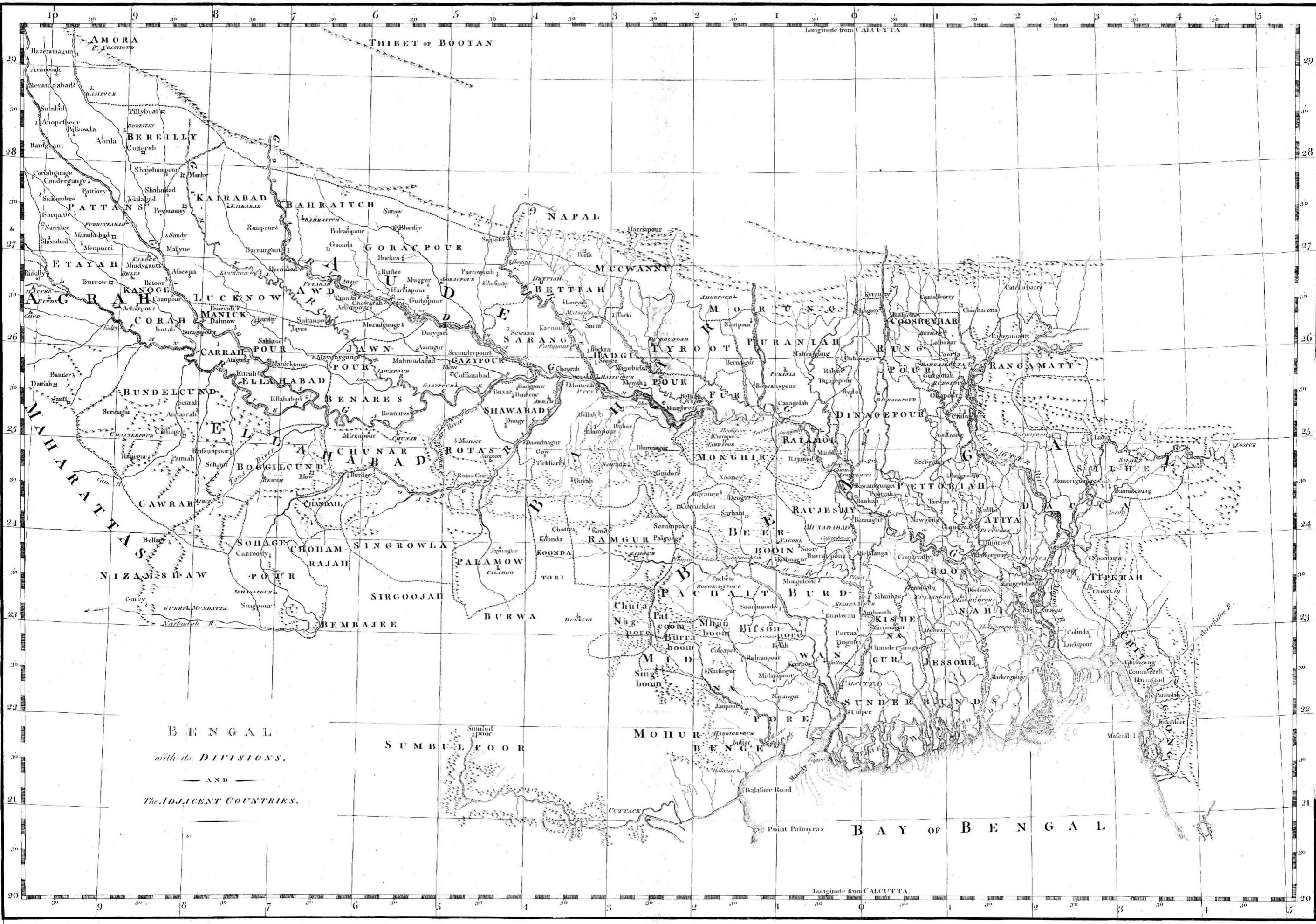
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causeway, but to halt immediately after they had passed it, intending to form them into some disposition, proper to storm the pass; this brought the whole together into one irregular heap, and whilst Colonel Clive was waiting for the return of two or three officers, whom he had sent to examine the barricade, the troops were unexpectedly assailed by a discharge from two pieces of heavy cannon, loaded with langrain, and mounted within 200 yards, upon a small bastion of the Morattoe ditch, to the right of the barricade, which killed and disabled 22 Europeans; another discharge soon followed, with less, but however with some effect. This annoyance instantly over-set the resolution of storming the pass; and the line immediately began to extend itself again, as well to present the fewest bodies to the cannonade, as to gain without delay a broad high road, which, about half a mile to the south of the causeway, crosses the Morattoe ditch into the company's territory, and then joins the avenue leading to the fort of Calcutta. But their progress was now continually retarded by the excessive labour and difficulty of transporting the field-pieces; for the ground between the causeway and the road was laid out in small rice fields, each of which was enclosed by a separate bank, so that the field-pieces could only be drawn along the ditches between the banks, and were therefore at every field in a different direction: sometimes, likewise, it was necessary to raise them over the banks into the field, in order to repulse the enemy's cavalry; who after nine o'clock, when the fog cleared, were discovered threatening to the left; ever and anon advancing so near, that it was necessary to detach platoons from the line to repulse them. In the mean time the fire of the enemy's two pieces of cannon continued, and a quarter of a mile to the south of these two other pieces began likewise to annoy the line from the same rampart. At ten, after much fatigue and action, the troops, having abandoned two of the field-pieces, which had broken down, arrived, and formed in the high-road leading to the avenue, where a body of horse and foot were posted in front to defend the passage across the Morattoe ditch. Several very large bodies of cavalry likewise assembled in the rear, acting with more courage than those in front,

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front, and pressed hard upon one of the field-pieces, which was gallantly rescued by Ensign Yorke, with a platoon of Adlercron's regiment. The fire of a few other platoons dispersed the enemy in front; and the troops being now within the company's territory, might have proceeded along the road on the inside of the ditch, quite up to Omichund's garden, where the Nabob still remained, surrounded by a large body of cavalry; but Colonel Clive thinking that they had already endured too much fatigue, continued marching straight along the avenue to the fort, where they arrived about noon. Twenty-seven of the battalion, 12 sailors, and 18 Sepoys, were killed, and 70 of the battalion, with 12 sailors, and 35 Sepoys, were wounded; two captains of the company's troops, Pye and Bridges, and Mr. Belcher, the secretary of Colonel Clive, were killed; Mr. Ellis, a factor, who with several other young men in the mercantile service of the company, served as a volunteer, lost his leg by a cannon ball. The greatest part of this mischief was done by the four pieces of cannon from the rampart of the Morattoditch. In the evening the troops returned to their camp, passing through the town along the streets nearest to the river, and part of the way within a quarter of a mile of the stations of the enemy, who did not molest them.

The troops, officers as well as common men, dispirited by the loss which had been sustained, and the risques to which they had been exposed, as they thought, to very little purpose, blamed their commander, and called the attempt rash, and ill-concerted. It was nevertheless necessary, as well to convince the enemy that their former inactivity did not proceed from fear, as because the difficulty of obtaining provisions increased every hour whilst the Nabob remained so near Calcutta. But it was ill-concerted; for the troops ought to have assembled at Perring's redoubt, which is not half a mile from Omichund's garden, to which they might have marched from the redoubt, in a spacious road, capable of admitting 12 or 15 men a-breast, on the left exposed indeed to the annoyance of matchlocks from some enclosures, where, however, cavalry could not act; but their right would have been defended by the rampart



Longitude from CALCUTTA

BENGAL
with its DIVISIONS,
— AND —
The ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

Longitude from CALCUTTA

Point Palmyras BAY OF BENGAL

rampart of the Morattœ ditch, contiguous to which the road lies; and their only danger would have been in front, from onsets of cavalry, and the discharge of what pieces of cannon the enemy had got near the garden.

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The Nabob's army was much more disheartened than the English. They had lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 common men, four elephants, 500 horses, some camels, and a great number of bullocks. The Nabob himself having never before been so near the tumult of a battle, regarded the attack of his camp as an effort of uncommon intrepidity, accused all his own officers of cowardice, and would have immediately retreated out of the company's territory, had they not promised to be better prepared in future. Accordingly his whole army passed the succeeding night on the watch, firing cannon and musketry until day-light, in order to encourage themselves, and to deter the English from attacking them again.

The next morning Rungeet Roy, by the Nabob's order, wrote a letter to Colonel Clive, complaining of the hostilities which he had committed; but making proposals of peace. To which Colonel Clive, in a letter to the Nabob himself, replied, that he had marched through his camp with no other intention than to convince him of what the English troops were capable, who, he said, had cautiously hurt none, excepting such as had opposed them; but that he was willing to renew the negotiation. The Nabob, instead of resenting the scoff, ordered Rungeet Roy to continue the correspondence; and under the pretence of acting consistently with his professions of peace, moved his whole army, and encamped about three miles to the north-east of the lake. They passed in sight of the English camp, and were again suffered to proceed without molestation.

Messages of negotiation continued, brought and carried by Omichund and Rungeet Roy; and, on the 9th of February, a treaty was concluded of the following purport: "The Nabob agreed to restore
" the Company's factories, but only such of the plundered effects
" and monies as had been regularly brought to account in the books
" of his government. He permitted the English to fortify Calcutta
" in whatsoever manner they should think expedient; allowed them

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to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exempted all merchandizes passing with their *dustacks* or passports, from tax; fee, or imposition; permitted them to take possession of the thirty-eight villages, of which the grant had been obtained by the embassy in 1717, from the Emperor Furrukshir; and in general confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by former emperors ever since their first arrival in the province. The oaths of the Nabob, Meer Jaffer and Roydoolab, were the only pledges or security for the execution of the treaty.

On the 11th the Nabob removed a few miles farther to the north, and the next day sent the usual serpaws or presents of dresses to Admiral Watkin and Colonel Clive, by Rungtel Roy and Omichund, and proposed an alliance offensive and defensive against all enemies. This proposal was accepted without hesitation, and the article ratified was sent back the same day by Omichund, who was likewise intrusted by Colonel Clive to sound if the Nabob would permit the English to attack the French settlement of Chandernagore; for there was time before the setting in of the southern monsoon. The Nabob detested the idea; but, dreading an immediate renewal of hostilities, temporized; and pretending that Mrs. Bussy from the Decan, and a squadron from Pondicherry, were coming to Bengal, he requested that the English would prevent them from entering his dominions; and, as a farther disguise, he requested 20 English gunners to serve in his own artillery; he likewise recommended, that Mr. Watts might be appointed the company's representative at his court; choosing him from a persuasion that he was a meek man, without guile. The next day he continued his march to Muxadavad, and Colonel Clive having received no positive injunction to the contrary from the Nabob, determined to prosecute the enterprize against Chandernagore. Accordingly, on the 18th, the English troops crossed the river a few miles above Calcutta, and encamped on the opposite shore; but before this time the French had taken the alarm, and by repeated letters called on the Nabob, as he valued his own safety, to protect their settlement; their messengers found him just arrived at Augadeep, 46 miles south of Muxadavad, where he halted,

and immediately wrote a letter, peremptorily commanding the English to desist from their intention.

In the mean time Mr. Watts set out for Muxadayad, and with him were sent the artillery-men requested by the Nabob; he was likewise accompanied by Omichund, whose conduct in the late negotiation had effaced the impression of former imputations, insomuch that Mr. Watts was permitted to consult and employ him without reserve on all occasions. They stopped on the 18th near Hughley, where Omichund discovered that a messenger from the Nabob had arrived the day before with a present of 1,00,000 rupees to the government of Chandernagore; that the governor of Hughley, Nuncomar, had received orders to assist the French, in case the English should attack them; and that a detachment of the Nabob's army was marching from Augadeep to reinforce the troops at Hughley; on which Omichund visited Nuncomar, and by pompous representations of the English force, by assurances of their protection and favour, and the promise of 12,000 rupees to be paid as soon as Chandernagore should be taken, won him over to their interests; a striking instance of the extreme vehality which prevails even amongst the highest ranks in Indostan; for the annual emoluments of the Phoufdar amounted to 250,000 rupees. On the 21st, Watts and Omichund arrived at Augadeep, when the Nabob immediately sent for Omichund, and expressing much indignation at the intention of the English to attack Chandernagore, commanded him to answer strictly whether they intended to maintain, or to break the treaty. Omichund told him that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith; insomuch that a man in England, who on any occasion told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and acquaintance; then calling in a Bramin, who chanced to be attending near the tent, he put his hand on the Bramin's foot, a form of oath among the Gentoes, and swore that the English would never break the treaty. The Nabob, something appeased by this solemn declaration, said he would revoke the orders he had given to Meer Jaffer, to march with half the army to Chandernagore; and instructed Omichund to assure

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Colonel Clive, that the troops which had marched two days before, were not intended to assist the French. The next day he received a letter from Colonel Clive, assuring him that he would not commit hostilities against the French without his consent; on which he continued his march to Muxadavad.

Nevertheless, Mr. Watts and Omichund did not despair of obtaining his permission; and on their arrival at Muxadavad, practised with such of the favourites and ministers as could promote the success of their applications. Their solicitations created much anxiety and agitation in the court, where the French, from various causes, had many friends. Monickbund, and several other officers of note, had shared largely in the spoil of Calcutta, and being convinced that nothing would render the English so formidable to the Nabob, as the reduction of Chandernagore, expected to be called upon to refund their plunder as soon as that event should happen: Coja Wazeed managed the greatest part of the French trade in Bengal with great profit to himself; and, to the *Seats* Mootabray and Roopchund, the government of Chandernagore was indebted a million and a half of rupees. These various interests concurred in counteracting the practices and petitions of Mr. Watts and Omichund, and the remonstrances of Colonel Clive. The Nabob encouraged all the intrigues which were employed on both sides; and even often expressed himself to Mr. Watts and Omichund in terms which implied permission; but every letter which he wrote to Colonel Clive, and scarce a day passed without one, positively forbade the attack. With these contradictions he kept the English councils in suspense until the end of February, when he received intelligence that an army of Pitans had taken Delhi, and intended to conquer the eastern provinces of the empire. This news struck him with so much consternation, that he immediately dispatched a letter to Colonel Clive, requesting his assistance against this imaginary invasion of his own dominions, and offered to allow a hundred thousand rupees a month for the expences of the English troops.

The government of Chandernagore, at the same time that they were soliciting the protection of the Nabob, prosecuted their negotiation

tiation with the English at Calcutta, where the select committee, having little hopes of obtaining the Nabob's consent to attack them, consented to a treaty of neutrality and pacification in Bengal, and agreed that it should be guaranteed by the Nabob: but when all points seemed to be adjusted, Mr. Watson refused his concurrence, because the act of Chandernagore was not obligatory on Pondicherry; whereas Calcutta treated without reference to a superior power. Colonel Clive was at this time become more anxious than any one to conclude the treaty, and insisted, that Admiral Watson should either ratify it, or proceed immediately against Chandernagore, without waiting for the Nabob's consent. The Admiral rejecting the alternative, altercations ensued, which delayed the execution of the treaty, until Clive received the Nabob's invitation to march to his assistance against the Pitans. On the same day a boat from Ingelee brought intelligence of the arrival of three ships from Bombay, under the command of Commodore James, which had on board three companies of infantry, and one of artillery, and that the Cumberland, of 74 guns, which had parted from the fleet in the passage from Madras, was arrived in the road of Ballasore. With such additions the English force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagore, although protected by the Nabob's army: Colonel Clive therefore immediately dismissed the French deputies, who were then with him, waiting to sign the treaty, which was even written out fair, and which they supposed had been intirely concluded: he at the same time wrote to the Nabob, that he would join him as soon as the news concerning the approach of the Pitans should be verified, and that he should in the mean time proceed as far as Chandernagore. Accordingly the troops quitted their encampment opposite to Calcutta on the 7th of March, while the artillery proceeded in boats, advancing slowly, that the Bombay detachment might have time to come up the river, before they entered the French limits. In the interval the Nabob was kept quiet by his dread of the Pitans, and the representations of Nuncomar, who constantly assured him that the English had no hostile intentions. Nevertheless, Admiral Watson refused to attack the French until the consent of the Nabob was obtained; to whom, however,

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however, he represented, that the government of Chandernagore little deserved his favour, since they had made use of his name to sanctify a treaty which they had no power to conclude; and complained at the same time, with some menaces, that he had neither made any restitution, nor accomplished any other part of his treaty with the English. The Nabob, perplexed with the angry style of Mr. Watson's letter, made use of these words in his answer; "If an enemy comes to you and implores your mercy, with a clear heart, his life should be spared; but if you mistrust his sincerity, act according to the time and occasion." This letter was scarcely dispatched before his favourites made him change his mind, and write others positively forbidding the attack; but Mr. Watson, considering this contradiction as an indignity, ordered the ships to move.

The settlement of Chandernagore, like that of Calcutta, consisted of a territory, a town inhabited by the natives, another by the French, and a fort. The territory, beginning from the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinchura, extended two miles along the bank of the river, and about one and a half inland. The fort was situated nearly at an equal distance, between the north and south extremity of this territory, and about 30 yards from the river. It was a square of about 130 yards, with four bastions, each mounting 10 guns; several more were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin, which stood on the margin of the river, before the gateway of the western curtain: all these were heavy cannon, from twenty-four to thirty-two pounders; and six of smaller calibre were planted on the terrace of a church within the fort, which overlooked the walls. The French, after they received intelligence of the declaration of war, had begun to dig a ditch, had demolished all the buildings which stood within 100 yards of the walls, and used the ruins to form a glacis; but neither the ditch nor the glacis were completed: to supply these defects, they had erected several batteries without the verge of the glacis; one of three guns before the gate leading to Chinchura; another of four, in a high road leading from the westward to the north face of the fort; to the south-

southward they had four batteries, three of which were in the principal streets leading to the fort; and the other close to the river, about 150 yards south of the fort, commanded a narrow part of the channel, in which several ships had been sunk, in order to stop the passage of the men of war. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but only 300 of the Europeans were regular troops, the rest being inhabitants of the town and sailors. They likewise expected the assistance of the troops belonging to Hughley, of which a part were already stationed within their bounds; but Nuncomar fulfilled his promise to Omichund, and recalled these troops as soon as the English appeared in sight, alleging to the Nabob, that he had withdrawn them in order to preserve the standard of the province from the disgrace to which it would inevitably have been exposed, by assisting the French against so superior a force as that which was come to attack them.

The detachment from Bombay having joined, Colonel Clive commenced hostilities on the 14th of March. In order to avoid the opposition of the batteries in the southern part of the town, the troops entered the French limits from the westward, along the high road leading to the north face of the fort; detachments from the garrison were placed in the thickets on either hand, who skirmished until three in the afternoon, and then retired to the battery in the road, which lay under command of the north-west bastion. The English from several houses near continued to fire upon the battery with their small arms until night, when the enemy spiked up the cannon and retreated into the fort. The desertion of this battery rendered the other four to the south, excepting that on the bank of the river, of no use, and exposed them all to be taken in the rear, when the retreat of their guards to the fort would be cut off: to prevent which their guns and men were recalled early the next morning, before the English troops were in motion to intercept them. At noon the English army took possession of the houses nearest to the southern esplanade, and under their shelter suffered very little from the fire of the garrison. The 16th was employed in bringing up the artillery and stores, and the next day they began to fire musketry from the

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the tops of the houses, and to throw shells from some cohorns, and a thirteen-inch mortar; this annoyance continued on the 18th: the next day a battery was begun behind some ruins, opposite the south face of the s. e. bastion, and, at the same time, were mounted three pieces of cannon on the enemy's battery close to the river, turning them against the south flank and face of the north-east bastion: this day the ships Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, arrived from Calcutta, and anchored about a mile below the fort. The navigation had been extremely difficult, but conducted with extreme precaution and skill by Captain Speke, who commanded the Kent. On the 20th the fire from the fort silenced the three guns on the battery close to the river, and on the 21st they beat down a house near the other, the ruins of which buried some men, none of whom, however, were mortally hurt. The next day this battery was completed, and the other repaired: not more than 20 men, Europeans and Sepoys, had been killed and wounded in all these operations. In the mean time the narrow channel between the ships and the fort had been diligently sounded, and it was found that the vessels which were intended to obstruct their passage, had not been sunk in the proper place. Every thing being ready on shore, it was determined to attack with the ships the next day; and, indeed, no time was to be lost; for the Nabob finding himself deceived, had continually dispatched messengers, of whom six arrived in one day, with letters commanding the English in very imperious and menacing terms to discontinue the attack; he had likewise sent forward a part of his army under the command of Roydoolub, who having advanced within twenty miles of Hughley, halted in consequence of the representations of Nuncomar, assuring him that the French would surrender before he could arrive to their assistance.

During this interval, the Cumberland, in which Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag, arrived at Ingelee. After striking on the sand off Point Palmyras, she plied ten days against the wind and currents in vain to get round, when, the great number of sick on board, amounting to 266, determined Mr. Pocock to bear away for refreshment to Vizagapatam, where he found the settlement in fears, not ill founded,

founded, of being attacked by M. Bussy; and landed ninety of the Company's troops, to reinforce their garrison. From hence, as the currents still continued strong from the Norward, he sailed for intelligence to Madraſs, where, at the request of the presidency, he landed the rest, one hundred more, and received the same number of sailors belonging to the squadron, which had recovered in the hospital. There still remained on board 90 rank and file, who were of Adletcron's regiment, and they returned with the ship to Ingelee, where the report from Calcutta signified, that the three other men of war with Admiral Watson were proceeding from thence to Chandernagore, of which the attack might be expected every day. There was no time to carry the ship up the river; for the pilotage at this season requires several; nor were any boats sent down to convey the troops with their accoutrements; on which Mr. Pocock, with a spirit worthy of an English admiral, took the Cumberland's barge, and rowing night and day, joined Mr. Watson a few hours before the morning of the attack, and immediately hoisted his flag in the Tiger.

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This ship was appointed to attack the N. E. bastion of the fort, the Kent against the ravelin before the middle of the curtain, the Salisbury against the S. E. bastion. At sun-rise the two batteries on shore began to fire, the one against the S. E. bastion with twenty-four pounders, the other against the N. E. with three; to which the enemy's fire was much superior until seven o'clock; when the Tiger coming opposite to the ravelin, before the gateway, her first broadside obliged the enemy to abandon that defence; after which she proceeded, and anchored at the distance of 50 yards, directly opposite to the N. E. bastion. The Kent soon after let go her anchor opposite to the ravelin, but in this instant, the fire from the fort killed and wounded several of the sailors appointed to manage the ship; and a shot unfortunately disabled the commander, Captain Speke; who not being able to continue the directions he intended to give, so much confusion ensued, that the cable, not stopped in time, ran out to its end; and the ship, instead of anchoring opposite to the ravelin, fell back so far, that her poop appeared beyond the S. E. bastion, exposed

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likewise to flank of the bastion on the s.w. The enemy, elated with this advantage, kept up so hot a fire, that Admiral Watson instead of attempting to recover his intended station, determined to decide the contest where his ship lay, which occupying the post intended for the Salisbury, this ship anchored 150 yards lower down the river, and remained out of the action, which was maintained entirely by the Kent and Tiger. The cannonade was fierce, every shot on both sides took place; and, at the same time, the two batteries on shore assailed with a cross fire the two bastions of the fort, against which the ships directed their broadsides. At nine o'clock, the fort shewed a flag of truce, and Mr. Watson, not to let the enemy see the condition of his ship, sent Captain Coots, of the King's regiment ashore to receive their proposals; and whilst messages were passing concerning the terms of surrender, 50 of the best soldiers of the garrison, with 20 Topasses, and several officers, quitted the fort, and marched to the northward. At three in the afternoon the capitulation was concluded.

During this action, the Salisbury received only some straggling shot, which did little damage, and the fort received as little from her fire. In the Tiger, the master and 14 others were killed, and 56 wounded: the Kent received six shot in her masts, and 142 in her hull; the first lieutenant Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. Amidst this slaughter, it was a general consolation that the wound of Captain Speke was not mortal, whose enterprising spirit, and nautical abilities, had eminently contributed to the successes of this squadron in India: the same ball, which struck the calf of his leg, carried off the thigh of his son, a youth of promising hopes, who died of this disaster. Of the English troops on shore, only one man was killed, and 10 wounded, during this last attack; but the fire of their batteries, and of their musketry from the tops of the houses, hastened the surrender of the fort, in which 40 men were killed and 70 wounded. The defence was gallant, more especially as none of the garrison, excepting a few of the officers; had ever before been in services of danger: Mr. Devignes, a Captain of one of the French company's ships, commanded the bastions,

bastions, and inspired his own activity and courage into all who served under him. The immediate reduction of the fort was owing to the ships, and of them, only to the two in which the two Admirals hoisted their flags, whose fire did as much execution in three hours, as the batteries on shore would have done in several days; during which the whole of the Nabob's army might have arrived, when the siege must have been raised: otherwise the troops alone were sufficient to accomplish the success.

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At the same time that the Nabob heard of the surrender of Chandernagore, he received more positive, but still false, intelligence from Patna, that the army of Pitans, against whom he had asked the assistance of the English troops, were in full march to invade the province of Behar, and that they had engaged Balagerow, the general of the Morattoes, to invade Bengal. Frightened by this intelligence he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, and offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as it had been held by the French Company; but he ordered the division of his army, which had marched with Roydulub, to continue at Plassy on the Island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the South of Muxadavad. This guard did not accord with his professions; and it was determined to try the sincerity of them by requesting him to give up all the other French factories and subjects remaining in his dominions. Nothing could be more repugnant to his intentions; for he had ordered his officers to protect the soldiers of Chandernagore, who had left the fort during the attack; and by this assistance they had escaped an English detachment sent in pursuit of them, and were arrived safe at Cossimbuzar; however, he answered Colonel Clive with much civility, though with inconsistent excuses; alleging, that as a prince he could not persecute the distressed, and as a feudatory of the great Mogul he could not contribute to the destruction of Europeans; who were established in the province by the permission of so many Emperors; as if the same reasons ought not to have prevented him

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from destroying Calcutta. But lest these evasions should create suspicions, he began to restore part of the English effects, and paid 450,000 rupees in money.

In the mean time; the captors collected the plunder of Chandernagore, which amounted to 100,000l. sterling. The ships returned to Calcutta, where the Kent, infirm before, was condemned as unfit for future service. The season was by this time so far advanced, that the other ships could not get out to sea before the southern monsoon set in. The troops might indeed have been sent to the coast of Coromandel, if they had been embarked, immediately after Chandernagore was taken, on several vessels; which were ready to sail at that time. But Colonel Clive determined, contrary to the orders of Madras, to remain in Bengal with the whole army until the month of September; being convinced that the Nabob would never fulfil the terms of the treaty of February, unless constrained by fear. He therefore, instead of leading the army back to Calcutta, encamped on the plain to the north of Hughley, where it was better situated either to awe or act against the Nabob.

In this interval Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, had persuaded the Nabob that a fleet of 40 French ships were attacking Bombay. The Nabob elated by this supposition returned to his former equivocations concerning the treaty. On which Colonel Clive wrote to him, that nothing but his permission to attack the French at Cossimbuzar could convince the English that he bore the good will of an ally towards them, and that his dignity might be preserved by assisting neither side. This letter provoked him to excess, and amongst other extravagancies, he said publicly, he would put Mr. Watts to death. But soon recollecting the imprudence of this threat; and being as anxious to prevent the English troops from advancing towards his capital, as he was solicitous to preserve the French for future contingencies, he furnished Mr. Law with money, arms, and ammunition, and ordered him to march with all his men, as if proceeding to the western frontiers of Behar; but in expectation of being soon recalled to Muxadavad. Accordingly this body of adventurers, consisting of 100 Europeans, and

60 Coromandel Sepoys, with 30 small carriages, and four elephants, passed through the city in military array on the 16th of April, and having crossed the river, proceeded towards Behar. This evasion however deceived nobody. And Colonel Clive prepared to send a detachment in pursuit of them.

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The report of the detachment renewed the indignation of the Nabob; he immediately ordered the English Vacqueel to quit his presence, and to appear no more at the palace, and sent two of his officers to Mr. Watts, proposing this alternative; "either that he should immediately return to Calcutta; or give an assurance under his hand, that the English should make no further attempts to molest the French." Mr. Watts refused either to retire, or to give the assurance, and obtained leave to consult the presidency, who ordered him to send what treasure and effects he had collected to Calcutta, as opportunities might offer, but without seeming either to fear or to intend mischief. Colonel Clive also detached 40 Europeans to protect the factory, and sent in several boats a supply of ammunition concealed under rice.

By this time the mutual suspicions between the Nabob and the English were so much increased, that Colonel Clive thought a rupture inevitable, and even necessary. He therefore persisted in his resolution of sending a detachment in pursuit of Mr. Law; and having received information that Meer Jaffer, the general of the army, was offended against the Nabob, he advised Mr. Watts to cultivate his friendship.

The spirit of rebellion had for some time been lurking in the court of Surajah Dowlah; he had imprisoned Monickehund, and upon releasing, had obliged him to pay a million of rupees as a fine for the effects he had plundered in Calcutta. The Duan Roydoolub, although the first civil officer in the state, found his conduct subject to the controul of the favourite Moonlol. To the Seats, the Nabob behaved with civility; but they, accustomed to the confidence and good sense of Allaverdy, trembled for their wealth, under the caprices of his successor; and they had long been connected with Meer

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Meer Jaffier, who, although he despised the wretched character of Surajah Dowlah, dreaded the excesses of it.

Mr. Watts communicated with Omichund on the state of tempers and resentments; and they admitted Mr. Scrafton, to their councils, who came at this time to Muxadavad in his way to Dacca, and was instructed by Colonel Clive to observe, whilst he remained there. Omichund with his usual bustle attended every day at the Durbar, and was as assiduous in his visits to the principal officers of the government.

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On the 23d of April an officer named Yar Khan Latty, by a private message, requested to confer with Mr. Watts in secrecy. This man commanded 2000 horse in the Nabob's service, but received a stipend from the *Seats* to defend them upon any occasion of danger even against the Nabob himself. It is therefore probable that he was now employed by the *Seats* to discover the real intentions of the English towards the Nabob. Mr. Watts sent Omichund, whom Latty informed, "That the Nabob would very soon march with the
 " greatest part of his forces towards Patna, against the Pitans; and
 " that he intended to temporize with the English until his return to
 " Muxadavad; when he had determined to extirpate them, out of
 " his dominions, into which he had sworn that they should never
 " return; that most of his officers held him in utter detestation,
 " and were ready to join the first leader of distinction who should
 " take arms; that the English army might, during his absence, take
 " possession of Muxadavad; and that he, Latty, with his own troops,
 " would join them in the attempt; when if they would proclaim
 " him Nabob, he should be supported by Roydoolub, and the *Seats*;
 " he offered in return to enter into any engagements which the
 " English should stipulate for the advantage of their own affairs." Mr. Watts approved the scheme, and communicated it to Colonel Clive, who approving it likewise, immediately countermanded the detachment which was ready to march in pursuit of Mr. Law, and wrote a very civil letter to the Nabob.

The day after the conference between Omichund and Latty, Petrus the Armenian, who had been employed between the Nabob and the English

English in February, came to Mr. Watts with the same proposals from Meer Jaffier as had been made by Latty. Meer Jaffier declared, "that self-defence obliged him to arm, being in danger of assassination every time he went to the Durbar; that the Duan Roydoolub, the *Seats*, and several officers of the first rank in the army, whom he named, had engaged to join, if the English would assist in dethroning the Nabob: if the scheme were accepted, he desired that the terms of the confederacy might be settled without delay, and requested that Colonel Clive would immediately break up his camp, and foot the Nabob with every appearance of peace until hostilities should commence."

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The superior importance of Jaffier gave him the preference over every other pretender who might offer; and as soon as Clive received intelligence of his overtures, he went from the camp to Calcutta, and communicated them to the select committee, of which he was himself a member. The committee accepted the alliance as the most fortunate event which could happen, and instructed Mr. Watts what terms to stipulate: they were all very advantageous, but one eminently so, demanding a restitution in money adequate to all the losses which had been sustained by the Company and individuals by the capture of Calcutta. This council was held on the first of May. The next day Colonel Clive returned to the camp, which, in compliance with the request of Meer Jaffier, he immediately broke up; sending one half of the troops to Calcutta, and the rest into the fort of Chandernagore. He then requested the Nabob to give the same proof of amicable intentions by withdrawing the large division of his army, which still lay encamped at Plassy, under the command of Roydoolub:

But in this interval the Nabob had been relieved from his fears of the Pitans by intelligence of their retreat from Delhi, which made him less solicitous to temporize with the English, and Roydoolub had stopped at Cutwah the detachment of 40 Europeans going to Cossimbuzar; the spy, Mooteram, who had been sent under pretence of some compliment to Colonel Clive, gave information, that half the English army had been privately detached in small parties from the camp,

camp, and were at the very time located in the factory at Colim-
bazar. The Nabob, believing this intelligence, sent a mob of ser-
vants and troops to examine the factory, where they found only
eight Topikes and 40 Europeans, of which some were French de-
serters, and the rest were the English gunners whom he had bor-
rowed for the service of his own artillery, and had lately returned.
Dowry's suspicions that the English intended to move to-
wards Muzardul confirmed, and induced him to reconcile himself
with Meer Jaffer, whom he ordered to proceed immediately with
1500 men, to reinforce Rorobah at Plassy. Believing, like-
wise, that the English design of war could proceed up the great arm
of the Ganges to the northern point of the island of Colimbar, and
then come down the Colimbar river to Muzardul, he com-
manded large piles to be fixed across the river at Soctey, about 20
miles above the city. Such was his extreme ignorance. He at
the same time instructed Mr. Law to remain with his men at Bogh-
pore, half way between the pass of Tacriagully and Patna, and his
officers, in Behar to supply all their wants.

In this conjuncture Meer Jaffer, fearing that by a refusal to proceed
to Plassy, he should turn the Nabob's suspicions upon himself, obeyed
Dowry's appearance of alacrity, and marched from the city on the 29th
of April, but left his agent to carry on the correspondence with Mr.
Watts, who, to remove as much as possible all suspicious appear-
ances, ordered the detachment which had been stopped at Cutwah
to return to Calcutta; he at the same time dispatched Mr. Scrafton
to the select committee, and on the 6th of May received their reso-
lutions concerning the treaty with Jaffer, when, in concert with
Jaffer's agent, whom we suppose to be still the Armenian Petrus;
they established positive sums to the articles stipulating monies. The
rains detained the agent in the city till the 12th, when he went
to Plassy, and returned on the 14th, with assurances, that Meer
Jaffer had consented freely to all the articles; but requested that the
confederacy might be kept secret from Omichund, whom he regarded
as an intriguing Gentoo without fortitude or honesty.

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This opinion was probably suggested to him by the *Seats*, who knew the abilities of Omichund, and might apprehend that his influence with the English would interfere with their own, if he should have a leading part in the intended revolution. This restraint very much perplexed Mr. Watts: for Omichund had already been trusted too far, to be now treated with diffidence, without much risque to the scheme, if he should by other means discover the real cause; why no farther attention was had to the proposals of Yar Khan Latty. Mr. Watts soon found, that such evasions as men in his situation generally employ, could not elude his sagacity, and therefore told him the confederacy with Jaffier; but had delayed this confidence so long, that Omichund saw it was extorted by fear and necessity. From this hour implacable hatred arose between them, although they co-operated in the conduct of the confederacy.

From his own experience of the practices of Indostan, Omichund had no doubt that Mr. Watts would be amply rewarded by Jaffier, if the revolution succeeded. At the same time he found that no advantage was intended for himself more than restitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta, but that he should run the same risque of his person as Mr. Watts, which to both were great indeed; and more of his fortune, as being much greater than Mr. Watts's: he therefore claimed a commission of five in the hundred on all the Nabob's treasures in money, and a fourth part of his jewels. The common people, to whom numbers give no distinct ideas, rated them at 45 millions of pounds sterling, which nothing but idiotism could believe; but better enquirers supposed them to be four millions and a half; on which Omichund's share would have been 675,000 pounds sterling. The audacity of the pretension implied malignant art; but it is said he threatened to reveal the conspiracy to the Nabob, if not complied with. If so, the boldest iniquity could not go farther. Mr. Watts in his letter on this subject intimates, that he had some apprehensions of such a consequence if Omichund were not satisfied. However, in their conference he evaded a po-

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sitive answer, and Omichund was contented by the promise of referring his claim to the select committee.

On the 14th he sent the articles of the treaty, as finally settled by himself, and accepted by Meer Jaffier, and communicated two other instances of Omichund's improbity. The one was, "that soothed by the seeming acquiescence of Mr. Watts to his claim of commission and a share of the jewels, he had been led to declare that he intended to secrete as much as he could of the Nabob's treasures from the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and to divide this booty with Roydoolub." The other accusation came from Rungeet Roy, the agent of the *Seats*. "When the Nabob concluded the treaty of the 6th of February, he empowered Omichund and Rungeet Roy to offer 30 thousand gold *mohurs*, a coin equivalent to 29 shillings, as a present to the English commanders, and promised moreover 200,000 rupees to be disposed of as Omichund should think proper; who advised Rungeet Roy to make no mention of the present at that time, and promised to divide the 200,000 rupees with him. Rungeet Roy, impatient to receive his share, had frequently pressed the Nabob to send the present to the English commanders, and to issue the other money to Omichund. But the Nabob, irritated by the late proceedings of the English, and safe in his capital, was no longer inclined to confer so costly a favour, in every respect to his own detriment. Omichund observed this repugnance, and turned it to his own advantage, by telling the Nabob, that he would be obliged to make the present, if he suffered Rungeet Roy to interfere any longer in the English affairs; but that he might save it, by disgracing him. The Nabob accordingly withheld himself from any farther communication with Rungeet Roy, but rewarded Omichund, with orders for the delivery of many of his confiscated effects. Mr. Watts, desirous to put the truth of these informations to the test, asked Omichund if he should demand the 30,000 gold rupees from the Nabob, to which Omichund replied, that such a request would be very improper at this time, but that he would himself consider of means to get it."

A stranger,

A stranger, named Govindroy, came on the 3d of May to Calcutta, with a letter as from Ballajerow, the general of the Morattoes, dated from Hyderabad, the capital of Golcondah. In this letter Ballajerow offered to invade Bengal with a hundred and twenty thousand men, within six weeks after he should receive the invitation of the English governor. No mutual interests of great importance subsisting at this time between the English and the Morattoes, the letter and the bearer were suspected of imposture. The man was questioned, but none in the settlement had sufficient criterions to distinguish whether his answers were pertinent. Mr. Watts was consulted, and regarded the letter as an artifice invented by the Nabob to try the real disposition of the English towards himself, by their answer to Ballajerow. Clive, with his usual facility of finding expedients in difficulties, advised the committee to communicate the letter to the Nabob with the semblance of believing its authenticity; whereby, should he have invented it, the artifice would be turned against himself; and if he had not, no better means could be employed to deceive the suspicions which he entertained of their evil intentions.

This resolution was taken on the 17th of May, and at the same consultation the committee deliberated on the final terms they should require of Meer Jaffier, and on the conduct they should hold towards Omichund; having before them the treaty as modelled by Mr. Watts, and his letters concerning Omichund. The terms which Mr. Watts had stipulated for restitution were, to the Company 10 millions of rupees, to the English and other European inhabitants three millions; to the Gentoos three, to the Armenians one: in all 17 millions of rupees. Three millions were likewise mentioned for Omichund; of which we suppose Mr. Watts had informed him.

The committee really believed the wealth of Surajah Dowlah much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Alliverdy had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasions of ruinous enemies; and even if Surajah Dowlah himself had reigned many, instead of only one year. In this persuasion they increased the restitution to Europeans from

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three to five millions of rupees; but allotted only two instead of three millions to the Gentoos, and only 700,000 instead of one million to the Armenians. But these alterations added only 700,000 rupees to the total of the sums stipulated by Mr. Watts for restitution. It was then agreed to ask a donation of 2,500,000 rupees to the Squadron, and the same sum to the army. A member then proposed that it should be recommended to Mr. Watts, to ask a donation from Meer Jaffier to each of the members of the committee; and this likewise was resolved.

They then took into consideration what conduct they should hold towards Omichund; they were astonished at the enormity of his demands, and still more exasperated at the imputed atrocity of his intentions in case of disappointment; and determined that he should get nothing by the revolution more than restitution in common with the other Gentoos merchants of Calcutta; but at the same time they designed to make him believe that they intended to reward his services. The expedient was suggested by Colonel Clive. It was to send two treaties, both signed by Admiral Watson and the members of the committee, and in the treaty which was to be delivered to Meer Jaffier, to omit any stipulation for Omichund; but, in the fictitious treaty which was to be shewn to Omichund, to insert an article stipulating for him a present of two millions of rupees.

These resolutions being taken, it became necessary that some person deputed from the committee should confer with Meer Jaffier; but, as he lay encamped at Plassey, it was difficult to effect this without raising suspicions in the Nabob. It was therefore resolved that Colonel Clive should write to the Nabob, that he had sent Mr. Scrafton in order to communicate a matter of great secrecy and importance, which was the Morattee letter brought by Govindroy. Mr. Scrafton was instructed to stop at Plassey, and to make a visit, as of ceremony, to Meer Jaffier, whom he was to inform of the purport of the treaty, and of the other requests; and to obtain his assent to them; he was likewise to explain to him the manner in which the committee were acting towards Omichund; and finally

finally to adjust a plan of operations for the subsequent conduct of the revolution.

Colonel Clive undertook to get the treaties prepared with due secrecy. The fictitious was transcribed upon red paper. But the agent of Meer Jaffier having insisted that the King's Admiral should sign, as well as the company's representatives; and Omichund knowing this, it was necessary to the scheme of deceiving him, that Mr. Watson should sign both. He signed the real, but refused to sign the fictitious treaty: on which his signature was counterfeited.

On the 19th of May, Clive dispatched the treaties by a private messenger of the country; but, in this short interval, either some intelligence from Muxadavad, or his own reflections, changed his notions of the vastness of Surajah Dowlah's treasures: and he instructed Mr. Watts, that if Meer Jaffier should disapprove of the great amount of the stipulations for money, the restitution allotted for the company might be reduced from ten to five millions of rupees.

Mr. Scrafton was stopped near Plaffy by the advanced guards of the camp; he requested to be conducted to the quarters of Meer Jaffier; but some of the Nabob's spies being present, they interfered, and insisted that he should take the direct road to the capital, where he arrived on the 24th. In the interval between Mr. Watts's letters of the 6th, and Mr. Scrafton's return to Muxadavad, the crafty Omichund had practised another trick on the credulity of the Nabob; for, perceiving by his questions that his suspicions of the English increased, although he had discovered nothing of their project, Omichund, after much artificial hesitation, informed him, as a discovery by which he risked all his pretensions to the favours of the English, that they had lately sent deputies to Mr. Buffy in the Decan, inviting him to march into Bengal, and proposing that both armies should join in dethroning him, when the spoil was to be equally divided between them. A little knowledge and understanding would have convinced the Nabob, that such an union was im-

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practicable during the war between the two nations, and that it would at any time be incompatible with the interest of the English: nevertheless his timidity prompted him to give intire credit to the tale, and he rewarded Omichund for the intelligence, by ordering the sum of 400,000 rupees, which had been taken from his house at Calcutta, to be immediately restored to him, together with all his effects, wheresoever confiscated in the province: he moreover gave him a mandate, ordering the Rajah of Burdawan to repay 450,000 rupees, which Omichund had lent the Rajah some years before. At this time Omichund was not certain what provision might be made for himself in the treaty, and was endeavouring to get all he could from the Nabob clandestinely, but without any positive intention of undermining the confederacy; for nothing was more likely than his fallacy concerning Buffy to divert the Nabob from any suspicions of the real designs and connexions in which the English were engaged; but nothing, at the same time, was more likely to prevent him from removing his army from Plassy, which was deemed absolutely necessary to their success.

As soon as Mr. Scrafton arrived at Muxadavad, Mr. Watts went with him to the Nabob, to whom Mr. Scrafton delivered a letter from Colonel Clive, which, amongst others, had the following subtle expressions. "I have sent Mr. Scrafton to communicate a matter of the greatest importance. Notwithstanding all that the English have suffered from you, I give you this last proof of my desire to live in peace with you: Why do you keep your army in the field? They distress all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing our trade. The English cannot stay in Bengal without freedom of trade. Do not reduce us to suspect that you intend to destroy us whensoever you have an opportunity." Mr. Scrafton then communicated the Morattoe letter, at which the Nabob seemed much pleased; for he had heard of the arrival, and suspected the business of the messenger, who really came from Ballajerow. After some pause, ruminating on the variety of informations on which he was to form his opinion, he pretended to be convinced that he had suspected the

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the good faith of the English without cause; and dismissed Mr. Watts and Scrafton with an assurance that he would immediately recall the troops under the command of Meer Jaffier into the city, but would leave those with Roydoolub in the field, in readiness to join the English on the approach of the Morattoes; who he said would probably invade his dominions. This unexpected resolution would have marred the scheme, since Meer Jaffier would have been as cautious of concluding any thing decisive, whilst one half, as whilst the whole of the army remained in the field. At the next conference Mr. Scrafton represented to him, that the English could not, with common prudence, rely on any of his professions, whilst such a part of his forces were encamped towards Calcutta. The Nabob meditated some time on this argument, and then starting, as a man agitated by suspicion and dismay, said eagerly, "But should the Colonel deceive me." But Scrafton removed his terrors by assurances, and prevailed on him to issue orders recalling his whole army to Muxadavad,

The nearer the confederacy approached to the event, the more did Mr. Watts's apprehensions of the treachery of Omichund increase. Mr. Scrafton therefore undertook to get him away to Calcutta, and under the pretext of solicitude for his safety, proposed that Omichund should accompany him thither without delay, alleging, that his age and the habits of his life would not permit him to make his escape on horseback in the hour of confusion and danger, when the flight of Mr. Watts would convince the Nabob that the English intended war, and when his utmost vengeance would be excited against all their adherents. But avarice is the most inflexible of the vices; and Omichund, not having received more than half of his plundered money from the treasury, requested Mr. Scrafton to wait until he had got the whole. Mr. Watts imputed this delay to another motive, thinking that he wanted to remain in the city until Roydoolub should return from Plassy, that they might settle between them the scheme of purloining as much as possible of the Nabob's treasures. To counteract his repugnance, whatsoever might be the cause, Mr. Scrafton assured him, that Colonel Clive intended to employ him as
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the principal agent of the English in their affairs with the future government after the revolution; and that the emoluments of this office would amply compensate, whatsoever he might relinquish or lose by his immediate departure. At length he consented to go, but it was necessary, and seemed difficult to obtain the Nabob's consent, as he relied principally upon Omichund for intelligence concerning the proceedings and views of the English. But Omichund himself solved the difficulty, by advising Mr. Scrafton to demand of the Nabob the present which he had intended to give to the English commanders at the conclusion of the peace in February; in consequence of which, the Nabob suspecting the secret had been disclosed by Omichund, would immediately hold him in as much detestation, as he had hitherto regarded him with favour. Accordingly this scene was acted. The Nabob denied the promise. Omichund pretended to be terrified; and the Nabob being really irritated, told Mr. Scrafton that he might carry him wheresoever he pleased.

Mr. Scrafton remained three days longer in the city in expectation of the return of Meer Jaffier from Plassy. Meer Jaffier arrived on the 30th, and visited the Nabob, who, having no further need of his immediate service, treated him with insolence. The frown of despotism is always dreadful; and Meer Jaffier returned to his palace, convinced of impending danger; infomuch that he was afraid of conferring in private with Mr. Scrafton, who visited him in the afternoon, but received him in the hall of public audience; on which Scrafton left the city that evening.

He was accompanied by Omichund. They proceeded in palanquins; but when Scrafton arrived at Cossimbuzar, he missed his companion; on which he stopped and dispatched messengers to the city, who found the old man sitting at midnight in the Nabob's treasury, soliciting Moonloll for some more of the money which the Nabob had ordered to be restored to him in reward for his story concerning Buffy; but finding that Moonloll would give him nothing but promises, and pressed by the messengers, he returned with them and rejoined Mr. Scrafton at two in the morning. Continuing their journey, Mr. Scrafton fell asleep, and waking at day-break, missed his
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companion again; and not knowing where to seek him, stopped and waited on the high road until three in the afternoon, when Omichund rejoined him again. He had been to visit Roydoolub at the camp at Plassey, who had told him that no stipulation had been made for him in the agreements with Meer Jaffier. Omichund therefore questioned Mr. Scrafton with much sharpness and suspicion; but now the truth itself served to deceive him; for Mr. Scrafton told him, that Roydoolub could not know any thing of that stipulation, since Mr. Watts had not yet communicated the treaty ultimately adjusted by the select committee even to Meer Jaffier himself. This appeased his anxieties, and they continued the rest of their journey without interruption. On the 8th they arrived at Calcutta, where Omichund was received by Colonel Clive, and the other members of the select committee, with much dissembled cordiality, which, however, could not entirely efface the impresson which the words of Roydoolub had made in his mind; in consequence of which he bribed the Persian scribe of the council, to inform him if any deceit to his detriment should appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Persian language.

The palace in which Meer Jaffier resided, is situated on the southern extremity of Muxadavad, on the island of Cossimbuzar. The Nabob resided in a palace called Heraut-jeel, in the middle of the city, on the other side of the river. Both palaces stand on the bank of the river, are fortified with towers, and were provided with cannon. Meer Jaffier, at his return from the Nabob, had requested all the officers on whose attachment he relied, to keep their troops in readiness to defend his palace. In the same evening he sent a trusty messenger to Mr. Watts, to whom Mr. Watts delivered the two treaties, real and fictitious, together with the separate article of donation to the Squadron, army, and committee, and explained the intention of deceiving Omichund by the fictitious treaty; requesting, that all the three papers might be ratified, and returned to him without delay. But Meer Jaffier having promised Roydoolub to conclude nothing without his participation, deferred the ratification until his return from Plassey; which was, however, only a delay

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of two days; for Roydoolub came to the city on the third of June. He being informed of the stipulations, objected that all the money in the Nabob's treasury was not sufficient to answer them, and proposed as a just compromise, that whatsoever might be found should be equally divided between the Nabob and the English. Mr. Watts nevertheless would not recede from any of the sums which had been stipulated, and represented to him, that if an equal division was established, the English could not allow the usual commission of five in the hundred to the officer who should be appointed to manage the business of the treasury; but proffered this office with that emolument to him, provided he would consent to all their demands. This argument prevailed: Roydoolub relinquished his objections, and Meer Jaffier signed the treaties on the fourth of June. On the same day the Nabob, not from any suspicion of the confederacy, but from his pre-conceived aversion to Meer Jaffier, ordered him to resign the command of the army to an officer named Coja Haddee.

It still remained necessary, that Meer Jaffier should take an oath to observe the treaties. Mr. Watts therefore proposed an interview; which Jaffier wished likewise; but objected, that they could not meet without great risque of discovery, since his palace was strictly watched by the spies of the Nabob. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domestics, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own house in a covered palankin, such as carry women of distinction, and passed without interruption to Jaffier's palace; where, with his son Meerum, received him in one of the apartments of his seraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin. Here they conferred without the risk of observation. Meer Jaffier confessed that the number of troops on whose service he could entirely rely, did not exceed 3000 horse; but expected that several other commanders, whom he knew to be dissatisfied with the Nabob, would turn against him in the day of battle. At all events, he desired that the English troops would immediately take the field, promising, that if the Nabob should determine to defend the city, he would attack his palace as soon as they appeared in sight; if the contest was to be decided by a battle on the plain, he would regulate
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his conduct according to the station which he should chance to occupy; if in the van, he would, on the approach of the English, beat his great drum, display his standard, march off with all the troops under his command, and join them on the right; if on either of the wings, or in the rear, he would display a white flag, charge the main body of the Nabob's army as soon as the English began the attack, and endeavour to take the Nabob prisoner. After these explanations, he gave his full assent to the terms of the real treaty, and to whatsoever other donations had been stipulated; then placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his son, whilst Mr. Watts held the papers open before him, he swore with great solemnity, that he would faithfully perform all he had promised. They then resolved, that Omar-beg, one of his officers who had lately carried several messages between Jaffier and Mr. Watts, should immediately proceed with the treaties to Calcutta; and Mr. Watts returned as he came, undiscovered. Having brought this dangerous negotiation to a conclusion, no other affairs required his presence at Muxadavad; but as his retreat would leave the Nabob without a doubt of the hostile intentions of the English, he determined to remain seemingly in his power until the last extremity, and, in the mean time, to make such preparations as would secure his flight.

The public treaty as written in Persian, and signed by Meer Jaffier, is thus translated: "I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life." These words were written by Meer Jaffier in his own hand, and undersigned by him with his name. The following were as usual in the hand of a scribe. "Treaty made with Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, and the other counsellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.—Article I. "Whatever articles were agreed to in the time of peace with the Nabob Sûrajah Dowlah, I agreed to comply with.—II. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.—III. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, the paradise of nations, and Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English,

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“ nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three pro-
 “ vinces.—IV. In consideration of the losses which the English
 “ company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta
 “ by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of
 “ the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.—V. For the
 “ effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree
 “ to give fifty lacks of rupees.—VI. For the effects plundered from
 “ the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty
 “ lacks of rupees shall be given.—VII. For the effects plundered
 “ from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of
 “ seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted to
 “ the English, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta,
 “ shall be left to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake,
 “ William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Es-
 “ quires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.—
 “ VIII. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta,
 “ are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars: besides these,
 “ I will grant to the English company 600 yards without the ditch,
 “ —IX. All the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee,
 “ shall be under the Zemindary of the English company; and all
 “ the officers of these parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The
 “ revenues to be paid by the company in the same manner as other
 “ Zemindars.—X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the English,
 “ I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.—XI.
 “ I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, be-
 “ low Hughley.—XII. As soon as I am established in the three pro-
 “ vinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid. Dated the
 “ 15th of the month of Ramazan in the fourth year of the present
 “ reign.” The treaty, written and signed by the English, contained
 the sense of all these articles, but not expressed in the same words;
 and it likewise had one more of the following tenor:—“ XIII. On
 “ condition Meer Jaffier Cawn Bahadar solemnly ratifies and swears
 “ to fulfil the above articles. We the underwritten do, for and in
 “ the behalf of the honourable East India company, declare on the
 “ holy evangelists, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaf-
 “ fier

“ fier Cawn Bahadar with our whole utmost force, to obtain the
 “ Subahship of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriza, and
 “ further that we will assist him to the utmost against all his ene-
 “ mies whatever, whensoever he calls upon us for that purpose,
 “ provided that when he becomes the Nabob, he fulfils the above
 “ articles.” This treaty was signed by Admiral Watson, Mr.
 Drake, the governor of Calcutta, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts,
 Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. The donations to the army,
 squadron, and committee, were written in another treaty.

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Omarbeg with the treaties arrived at Calcutta on the 10th, and explained the intentions of Jaffier to the select committee, in the same manner as Jaffier had explained them to Mr. Watts. The troops of Jaffier, without the assistance of others who might join him, were deemed fully sufficient to assure the success of the enterprise, provided they acted with vigour. But he had hitherto behaved with so much irresolution, that Clive began to suspect he would fail still more in the hour of danger. However, it was necessary either to proceed to immediate action, or entirely relinquish the confederacy; for the secret had inadvertently been revealed, and began to be the public talk even of the common soldiers at Calcutta and Chandernagore. It was therefore determined to commence hostilities without delay. Omichund was on the watch to learn the resolutions of this council, and the real purport of the treaties; but the governor having entertained some suspicions of the scribe whom Omichund had bribed, only entrusted him with the fictitious treaty, in which the stipulation in favour of Omichund was inserted; who being satisfied with the report of the scribe, resolved to proceed with the army to Muxadavad.

On the 12th, the troops which were at Calcutta, with 150 sailors from the squadron, proceeded and joined that part of the army which was quartered at Chandernagore. All the necessary preparations had been made, and the whole army began their march from Chandernagore on the next day, leaving 100 of the sailors to garrison this fort, that every soldier might serve in the field. The Europeans with the field-pieces, stores and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats,

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which were towed by the Indian rowers against the stream; for the tide flows no farther than Hughley. The Sepoys marched in light of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hughley to Patna. The Nabob entertaining suspicions of Nuncomar, had lately sent a new governor to Hughley, who threatened to oppose the passage of the boats; but the twenty-gun ship coming up and anchoring before his fort, and a menacing letter from Colonel Clive, deterred him from that resolution. As soon as the army left Chandernagore, Colonel Clive sent away two of the Nabob's messengers, who were in his camp, with a letter of the following purport: "That the Nabob had used every subterfuge to evade the accomplishment of the treaty of February; that he had in four months restored only a fifth part of the effects he had plundered from the English; that he had scarcely made peace, before he invited Mr. Bully to come from the Decan, and assist him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; that the party of French troops, with Mr. Law, were at this very time maintained at his expence within 100 miles of his capital; that he had, on groundless suspicions, insulted the English honour; at one time sending troops to examine their factory at Colimbuazar; at another, driving their Vacqueel with disgrace out of his presence: that he had promised a sum of gold rupees; then denied that promise; and then sent Omichund from the city, under pretence that it was he who had deceived the English commanders in that business. On the other hand, the English had bore all these injuries patiently, and had even taken the field to assist him when alarmed by the approach of the Pitans; but at length seeing no other remedy, their army was now marching to Muxadavad, where they intended to refer their complaints to the decision of the principal officers of his government, namely Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, the *Seats*, Meer Murdeen, and Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would acquiesce, and spare the effusion of blood."

Monickchund, the late governor of Calcutta, having received some hints of the confederacy from Omichund, had proffered his alliance

to Meer Jaffier. The *Scots* had secured Yar Khan Lattey, and several other commanders had promised their assistance in the hour of need, although they still appeared dutiful to the Nabob. All these, whether Gentoos or Mahometans, confirmed their professions by the usual oaths of their religions. The Nabob, receiving some confused intelligence of these practices, prepared to attack the palace of Jaffier. Messages of threat and defiance passed between them from the 8th to the 11th, when letters from Calcutta spread a report in the city, that the English were confederated with Jaffier; to which, however, the Nabob did not seem to give credit; but Jaffier concluding that he must believe what was so true, sent a message to Mr. Watts, on the 11th, advising him to make his escape without delay. Mr. Watts was prepared, and all the English property and soldiers had been sent away from the factory at Cossimbuzar. Nevertheless he determined to wait still longer, in expectation of a letter from Clive authorizing his departure. He, however, immediately sent away the Armenian Petrus, who had been the most confidential of his agents in the conspiracy, and Jaffier sent one of his own domestics with Petrus; both were instructed to press Colonel Clive to begin his march. Notwithstanding several other warnings, Mr. Watts persevered until the 13th, when Jaffier informed him there was no longer any safety, since the Nabob's artillery would begin to fire upon his palace the next morning; upon this Mr. Watts immediately left his house in the city, travelling in his palanquin towards the English factory at Cossimbuzar, where he had lately been several times in pretence of business. There remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a surgeon, who were to make their escape with him, and they had resided for some time at a country-house called Maudipore, about two miles to the south of Cossimbuzar.

Mr. Watts, stopping at the factory, of Cossimbuzar, ordered the domestics to prepare a supper, telling them, that he should return in the evening with those at Maudipore, to which he then proceeded. There was in his retinue an Uzbeg Tartar, named Mirza Shah Buzbeg, who had served many years in different armies, was an excellent horseman, and on all occasions void of fear: he had attached him-

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self with much fidelity to Mr. Watts, in return for some services which Mr. Watts had rendered him eight years before at Patna; and now accompanied his flight. The four Englishmen and the Tartar, armed with pistols, mounted their horses at Maudipore about an hour before sunset; they were accompanied by some dog-keepers leading greyhounds, and each horseman was, likewise, attended by his groom on foot. This servant in India is, by habit, capable of keeping pace for several hours with the horse, although going at a great rate. Having proceeded at a gentle pace on the plain, until they were about six miles to the south, they sent back the dog-keepers, saying, that they themselves would return leisurely another way. Immediately after this they met two Cossids, or messengers, dispatched by Colonel Clive, with a letter to Mr. Watts, permitting him to leave Muxadavad, if nothing more required his stay. It being now dark they quitted the road, and struck to the left, where the country at some distance was uninhabited, and covered with thickets, along the skirt of which they proceeded to the south, as fast as they could, until they thought themselves 30 miles from Cossimbuzar. They then turned to the west, and about midnight came to the village of Aguadeep, situated on the bank of the river. At the entrance of the village was a party of the Nabob's horse, picketed on each side of the road in the open air; but this guard was, as usual at this season of the night, so fast asleep, that not one of them arose to enquire who were come amongst them. Having passed to the southern extremity of the village, they discovered two small boats, which were only capable of containing the riders. The Tartar, unwilling to lose his own horse, undertook to save those of his companions, who, leaving them with him, immediately went into the boats, and rowed down the stream about eight miles, to the point where the Cossimbuzar and Jelingeer rivers unite: here they found a party of soldiers, with some boats, dispatched to escort them to the army. Having thus escaped out of the reach of danger, they took some refreshment, and continued their way before day-break, in the boats with the soldiers; and the next day, at three in the afternoon, joined the army at Culnah, a town about 15 miles

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miles to the north of Hughley. Mr. Watts, immediately on his arrival, sent back one of his own messengers, who chanced to be in the camp, to Muxadavad, with intelligence of his own safety, and of the approach of the army. The Armenian Petrus, with the messenger from Meer Jaffier arrived the same day. The Tartar, with the grooms, soon found a boat in which they embarked, and holding the horses with the bridles lengthened, swam them all safely across the river; they joined the army the day after Mr. Watts.

Intelligence of their flight was carried to the Nabob early in the morning after their departure, just as he was about to commence hostilities against Meer Jaffier. The information overwhelmed him with astonishment and terror; for it convinced him at once of what he had hitherto disbelieved, that the English were confederated with Jaffier: and seeing now the whole extent of his danger, magnified by his own timidity, he determined, if possible, to separate their union; and immediately revoking the orders to attack Jaffier, he employed emissaries to treat with him. At the same time several of the Nabob's officers, on whose friendship Jaffier relied, were exhorting him to a reconciliation; to which he seemingly agreed, but, either through suspicion or scorn, refused to visit the Nabob. Such an objection at any other season would have excluded all further intercourse; but the Nabob, relinquishing his state, went to the palace of Jaffier with a retinue not sufficient to give umbrage. This visit produced an agreement, sanctified, as usual, by mutual oaths on the Koran. Jaffier promised neither to join or give assistance to the English in the impending contest; the Nabob to permit him as soon as peace should be restored, to retire unmolested out of the province with his family and treasures. This interview was on the 15th, and precarious as the reconciliation was, it elated the Nabob so much, that he immediately wrote in terms of defiance to colonel Clive, although he had not received the manifesto fraught with accusations, which Clive had dispatched to him on leaving Chandernagote. "He reproached the English, in the sharpest invectives, with the flight of Mr. Watts. Suspicion," he said, "that some trick was intended, had been the real cause which had induced
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him to keep his army so long at Plassy; but God and the Prophet would punish those by whom the treaty was violated." He at the same time ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, to assemble with the utmost diligence at their former encampments at Plassy, and sent orders to Mr. Law, who was waiting with his party at Boglipore, to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition.

The English army arrived and halted on the 16th at Patlee, a town on the western shore of the river of Cossimbuzar, about six miles above the junction of this with the Jellingeer river. Twelve miles above Patlee, on the same shore, is the fort of Cutwah; the walls of which were only of mud; but it commanded the passage of the river. The governor of this fort had promised to surrender after a little pretended resistance, and Major Coote was sent forward on the 17th with 200 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, one field-piece, and a small mortar, to summon the place. The town of Cutwah lies about 300 yards south of the fort, and is separated from it by the Agey, a river which takes rise in the high lands of Berbohin. The detachment landed at midnight, and found the town abandoned; but not being able to make use either of the field-piece or mortar, because some of their appurtenances had been left behind, remained quiet until day-break, when Major Coote went to the bank of the river, and waved a white flag, which for some time was answered only by shot. However, the governor at length came down to the opposite bank, but instead of compliance, defied the attack. As soon as he was returned into the fort, the Sepoys crossed the river, and under shelter of a ridge, fired upon the ramparts, whilst the Europeans marched to the left, in order to ford at some distance from the fort. As soon as the garrison saw them entering the river, they set fire to a shed of mats, which had been raised to protect the walls from the sun and rain, and as soon as all parts were in a blaze, they made their escape to the northward. Within the fort, and in several granaries in the neighbourhood, was found as much rice as would sustain 10,000 men for a year. The main body of the army arrived at Cutwah in the evening, and encamped on the plain;

but the next day the rainy season began with such violence, that they were obliged to strike their tents, and shelter themselves in the huts and houses of the town.

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The Nabob's troops seeing in the impending warfare no prospect of plunder, as in the sacking of Calcutta, and much more danger, clamorously refused to quit the city, until the arrears of their pay were discharged: this tumult lasted three days, nor was it appeased until they had obtained a large distribution of money. Colonel Clive had dispatched a letter every day since he left Chandernagore, informing Meer Jaffier of his progress and stations, but he had hitherto received only one letter from Jaffier, which arrived on the 17th, and was dated the day before. In this Jaffier acknowledged his seeming reconciliation with the Nabob, and his oath not to assist the English against him; but said, nevertheless, that the purport of his covenant with them must be carried into execution. This ambiguous communication, at so decisive a time, made Colonel Clive suspect that he might betray the English, by leaguings with the Nabob, and determined him not to cross the river into the island of Cossimbuzar until this doubt should be removed. The two next days passed in disappointed expectations of farther intelligence; but, on the 20th, returned the messenger whom Mr. Watts had dispatched to Muxadavad on his arrival at Culnah. He reported, that he had been introduced to Meer Jaffier and his son Meirum, in a private court of their palace, into which, as soon as they began to question him, came some other persons, whom he supposed to belong to the Nabob; for as soon as they appeared, Meirum threatened to cut off his head as a spy, and the heads of all the English, if they should dare to cross the river into the island. From this report no consequences could be drawn; but in the evening arrived two letters from Meer Jaffier, dated on the 19th, one written to his agent Omarbeg, who was in the English camp, and the other to Colonel Clive. This only mentioned that he should begin his march that day from the city, and that his tent would be either on the left or the right of the army, from whence he promised to send more frequent and explicit intelligence; having hitherto been deterred by the fear of discovery, as guards were stationed on all the roads to intercept all messengers. His letter

ter to Omarbeg contained several particulars of the reconciliation between himself and the Nabob, and gave some account of the state of the army. But neither letter explained his own designs in the field, or proposed any plan of operations for the English army. This communication, therefore, although it abated Colonel Clive's suspicions of Jaffier's treachery, did not confirm him in any reliance upon his resolution or assistance: and much confounded by this perplexity, as well as by the danger of coming to action without horse, of which the English had none, he wrote the same day to the Rajah of Burdawan, who was discontented with the Nabob, inviting him to join them with his cavalry, even were they only a thousand. But, recollecting that the princes of Indostan never join the standard which doubts of success, his anxieties increased by the dread of those imputations, to which he foresaw the present caution of his conduct would be exposed; if, after having engaged the public welfare in a project of such importance and risque, he should recede from the attempt in the very hour of event. He, therefore, determined to consult his officers, and assembled them the next day in council. They were 20, and he proposed to their consideration, "Whether
 " the army should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbuzar,
 " and at all risques attack the Nabob? or whether, availing them-
 " selves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cut-
 " wah, they should maintain themselves there during the rainy-
 " season; and in the mean time invite the Morattoes to enter the
 " province and join them?" Contrary to the forms usually practised in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngest officer first, and ascending from this to the opinion of the president, Colonel Clive gave his own opinion first, which was, "to remain at Cut-
 " wah;" and then descended to the lowest according to the succession of rank. The Majors Kilpatrick and Grant were of the same opinion as himself, but Major Coote reasoned otherwise. He said,
 " that the common soldiers were at present confident of success;
 " that a stop so near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour,
 " which it would be difficult to restore; that the arrival of the
 " French troops with Mr. Law would add strength to the Nabob's
 " force and vigour to his councils; that they would surround the
 " English

“ English army, and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when
 “ distresses not yet foreseen might ruin it as effectually as the loss
 “ of a battle. He therefore advised, that they should either ad-
 “ vance and decide the contest immediately, or immediately return
 “ to Calcutta.” It is very rare that a council of war decides for
 battle; for as the commander never consults his officers in this au-
 thentic form, but when great difficulties are to be surmounted, the
 general communication increases the sense of risque and danger
 which every one brings with him to the consultation. Thirteen
 officers were against, and only seven voted for immediate action. The
 sanction of this council in no wise alleviated the anxieties of Clive;
 for, as soon as it broke up, he retired alone into the adjoining grove,
 where he remained near an hour in deep meditation, which con-
 vinced him of the absurdity of stopping where he was; and acting
 now entirely from himself, he gave orders, on his return to his quar-
 ters, that the army should cross the river the next morning.
 The sick were lodged in the fort of Cutwah, and at sun-rise, on
 the 22d, the army began to pass: all were landed on the opposite
 shore by four in the afternoon; at which time another messenger ar-
 rived with a letter from Jaffier, which had likewise been dispatched
 on the 19th, but had taken bye-roads, and was delayed by other pre-
 cautions. The purport was, “ That the Nabob had halted at Min-
 carra, a village six miles to the south of Cossimbuzar, and intended
 “ to entrench and wait the event at that place, where Jaffier pro-
 “ posed that the English should attack him by surprize, marching
 “ round by the inland part of the island. Colonel Clive imme-
 diately sent back the messenger with this answer: “ That he should
 “ march to Plassy without delay, and would the next morning ad-
 “ vance six miles farther to the village of Dardpoor; but if Meer
 “ Jaffier did not join him there, he would make peace with the
 “ Nabob.” Accordingly the troops proceeded before sun-set, con-
 forming their march to the progress of the boats, which as before,
 were towed against the stream; and having, by unceasing toil, ad-
 vanced fifteen miles in eight hours, arrived at one in the morning
 at Plassy. The army immediately took possession of the adjoining
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grove, when, to their great surprize, the continual sound of drums, clarions, and cymbals, which always accompany the night watches of an Indian camp, convinced them that they were within a mile of the Nabob's army. His intention to remain at Muncarra, had arisen from a supposition that the English would advance immediately after they had taken Cutwah, and would arrive at Plassy before his own could get there; but as soon as he found that they were not so active, he continued his march, and arrived at the camp of Plassy twelve hours before them.

The guards and sentinels being stationed, the rest of the troops were permitted to take rest. The soldier slept; but few of the officers, and least of all the commander. On the other hand, the dependency of the Nabob increased as the hour of danger approached. Sitting in his tent in the evening of his arrival at the camp, it chanced that his attendants quitted him one after another in order to say their usual prayers at sun-set, until they left him quite alone; when a common fellow, either through ignorance, or with an intention to steal, entered the tent unperceived, until he was discovered by the Nabob; who starting from the gloomy reflections in which he was absorbed, hastily recalled his attendants with this emphatic exclamation, "Sure they see me dead!"

The grove of Plassy extended north and south about 300 yards in length, and 300 in breadth, and was planted with mango-trees, in regular rows. It was inclosed by a slight bank and ditch; but the ditch was choaked with coarse weeds and brambles. The angle to the south-west was 200 yards from the river, but that to the north-west not more than 50. A little to the north of the grove, and on the bank of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob's, encompassed by a garden-wall. The river, a mile before it reaches this house, curves to the south-west nearly in the shape of an horse-shoe, including a peninsula about three miles in circumference, of which the neck, from the stream to the stream again, is not more than a quarter of a mile across. About 300 yards to the south of the peninsula, began an entrenchment, which Roydoolub had thrown up to secure his camp: the southern face, fronting the grove of Plassy, extended

extended nearly in a straight line, about 200 yards inland from the bank of the river; and then turning to the north-east by an obtuse angle, continued nearly in this direction about three miles. Within this entrenchment encamped the whole army, of which a part likewise occupied the peninsula. In the angle was raised a redoubt, on which cannon were mounted. About 300 yards to the east of this redoubt, but without the camp, was a hillock covered with trees; and 800 yards to the south of this hillock and the redoubt, was a small tank or pond; and 100 yards farther to the south was another, but much larger tank: both as all such public reservoirs of water in Bengal, were surrounded by a large mound of earth at the distance of some yards from the margin of the water.

At day-break, the enemy's army issuing from many different openings of the camp, began to advance towards the grove; 30,000 foot; 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon. The greatest part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various arms, pikes, swords, arrows, rockets. The cavalry, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were much stouter than any which serve in the armies of Coromandel. The cannon were mostly of the largest calibres; 24 and 32 pounders; and these were mounted on the middle of a large stage, raised six feet from the ground, carrying besides the cannon, all the ammunition belonging to it, and the gunners themselves who managed the cannon, on the stage itself. These machines were drawn by 40 or 50 yokes of white oxen; of the largest size, bred in the country of Purnea; and behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. The infantry and cavalry marched in many separate and compact bodies. Forty vagabond Frenchmen under the command of one Sinfray, appeared at the larger tank, that nearest the grove, with four pieces of light cannon. Two larger pieces advanced and halted on a line with this tank, close to the bank of the river. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 17000 foot took their station under the command of Meer Murdeen and the son of Moonis. The rest of the army in large columns of horse and foot, extended in a curve from the

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left of the hillock near their camp, to the ground about 800 yards east of the southern angle of the grove of Plassy; and in this part were the troops of Mees Jaffier, Roydoolub, and Latty. In all the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, two, three, and four pieces together.

Colonel Clive, viewing the enemy's array from the top of the hunting-house, was surprized at their numbers, as well as the splendor and confidence of their array: but judging, that if his own troops remained in the grove, the enemy would impute the caution to fear, and grow bolder, he drew them up in a line with the hunting-house, and facing to the nearest tank. They were 600 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 were sailors; 100 Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys; the artillery were eight field-pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitz; the Topasses were blended in the battalion with the Europeans, the sailors assisted the artillery-men. The battalion with three field-pieces on the right, and the same number on their left, were in the centre; on the right and left of which extended the Sepoys in two equal divisions. The other two field-pieces and the howitzes were advanced, 200 yards in front of the left division of Sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns. This line extended 600 yards beyond the right of the grove; but the distance of the enemy in this quarter, prevented any danger of their falling upon the flank before whatsoever troops were ordered could fall back, and range along the east side of the grove. The first shot was fired, by the enemy, at eight o'clock, from the tank; it killed one, and wounded another of the grenadier company, which was posted on the right of the battalion. This, as a signal, was followed by the continual fire of the rest of the Nabob's artillery on the plain. But most of their shot flew too high. The two advanced field-pieces answered the fire from the tank, and those, with the battalion acted against the different divisions of heavy artillery on the plain; but firing out of the reach of point-blank shot, hit none of the enemy's guns; nevertheless, every shot took place, either in one or other of the bodies of infantry or cavalry. But ten for one killed, was no advantage in such a disparity of numbers, and in half an hour the

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English lost 10 Europeans and 20 Sepoys; on which Colonel Clive ordered the whole army to retire into the grove. The enemy elated by this retreat, advanced their heavy artillery nearer, and fired with greater vivacity than before; but their shot only struck the trees; for the troops were ordered to sit down, whilst the field-pieces alone answered the enemy's cannon from behind the bank. Explosions of powder were frequently observed amongst their artillery. At eleven o'clock Colonel Clive consulted his officers at the drum head; and it was resolved to maintain the cannonade during the day, but at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. About noon a very heavy shower covered the plain, and very soon damaged the enemy's powder so much, that their fire slackened continually; but the English ammunition served on. The Nabob had remained in his tent out of the reach of danger, continually flattered by his attendants and officers, of whom one half were traitors, with assurances of victory; but about noon he was informed, that Meer Murdeen, the best and most faithful of his generals, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. The misfortune disturbed him to excess; he immediately sent for Meer Jaffier; and as soon as he entered the tent, flung his turban on the ground, saying, "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." The other bowed, and with his hands on his breast, promised his utmost services; and returning to his troops and associates, immediately dispatched a letter to Colonel Clive, informing him of what had passed, and advising him either to push forward in the instant, or at all events, to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning; but the messenger was afraid to proceed whilst the firing continued. In the mean time, the terrors of the Nabob increased continually: Roy-doolub taking advantage of them, counselled him to return to his capital: his advice prevailed, and the Nabob ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments.

Accordingly, about two o'clock, the enemy ceased the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of oxen to their artillery, and as soon as these were in motion, their whole army turned and proceeded slowly towards the camp. But Sinfray with his party and field-pieces still maintained his post at the tank. This was a good

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station to cannonade the enemy from, during their retreat; and Major Kilpatrick impatient to seize the opportunity, advanced from the grove with two companies of the battalion, and two field-pieces, marching fast towards the tank, and sent information of his intention, and the reason of it, to his commander, who chanced at this time to be lying down in the hunting-house. Some say he was asleep; which is not improbable, considering how little rest he had had for so many hours before; but this is no imputation either against his courage or conduct. Starting up, he ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick sharply for making such a motion without his orders, commanded him to return to the grove, and bring up the rest of the army; and then proceeded himself with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray, seeing his party left without support, abandoned; and retreated to the redoubt of the intrenchment, where he planted his field-pieces ready to act again.

As the main body of the English troops were advancing to the tank, that part of the Nabob's army, which in the beginning of the action had formed opposite to the south-east angle of the grove of Plassy, lingered in the retreat behind the rest, and when they had passed the parallel of the grove, halted, faced, and advanced towards the north-east angle. These were the troops of Meer Jaffier; but their signals not being understood, it was supposed that they intended to fall upon the baggage and boats at the grove, whilst the English army were engaged at the tank. Three platoons of the line, whilst in march, and a field-piece, were detached to oppose them, under the command of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Rumbold; and Mr. John Johnstone, a volunteer, managed the field-piece, the fire of which soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Meanwhile the army being arrived at the tank, got all their field-pieces upon the mound, and from thence began to cannonade into the Nabob's camp; on which many of the troops came again out of the intrenchment, and several pieces of their artillery were likewise preparing to return; on this, Colonel Clive advanced nearer, and posted half his troops and artillery at the lesser tank, and the other half at a rising ground about 200 yards to the left of it. From these stations the cannonade
was.

was renewed with more efficacy than before, and killed many of the oxen which were drawing the artillery, which threw all the trains that were approaching into disorder. On the other hand, the Frenchmen with Sinfray plyed their field-pieces from the redoubt; and matchlocks from the intrenchments, from ditches, hollows, and every hole or shelter, as also from the bushes on the hillock east of the redoubt, kept up a constant although irregular fire, whilst the cavalry advanced several times threatening to charge sword in hand, but were always stopped and repulsed by the quick firing of the English field-pieces. Nevertheless, the English suffered as much in this, as they had during all the former operations of the day. At length the troops of Jaffier appeared moving away from the field of battle, without joining the rest of the Nabob's army; which convincing Colonel Clive who they were, he determined to make one vigorous effort for victory by attacking at once Sinfray's redoubt, and the eminence to the eastward of it, in the cover of which an ambuscade was suspected. Two divisions of the army were appointed to the two attacks, and the main body advanced in the centre ready to support both, and to act, as occasion should offer, of itself. The division on the right gained the eminence without firing or receiving a single shot. At the same time the left marched up to the redoubt, which Sinfray, finding himself again deserted by his allies, quitted without farther resistance, and without carrying off his field-pieces. Thus the whole of the English army entered the camp at five o'clock, without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores, dispersed around them, and abandoned by an army which out-numbered them ten to one, and were flying before them on all sides in the utmost confusion.

The cause of this sudden panic was the flight of the Nabob, who hearing that Meer Jaffier remained inactive on the plain, and that the English were advancing to storm his camp, mounted a camel, and fled at the utmost pace of the animal, accompanied by about 2000 horsemen. The victory was decided, and was confirmed by the arrival of the messenger with the letter sent by Meer Jaffier at

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noon; soon after came another, whom Colonel Clive immediately returned with a note, requesting Meer Jaffier to meet him the next morning at Daudpore.

The English soldiers being told, that they should receive a donation of money, received the orders to march on to Daudpore with acclamations, nor shewed any desire to stop for the plunder which lay spread around them. They halted, however, until the commissaries had taken possession of as many oxen as sufficed for all the artillery and carriages of the army; their own being much inferior to the Nabob's. A detachment was sent forward, under Major Coote, to pursue, or rather to observe if the enemy rallied; and the whole army arrived at eight o'clock, and rested at Daudpore. This important victory was gained with little loss. Only 16 Sepoys were killed, and 36 wounded, many of whom slightly; and of the Europeans about 20 were killed and wounded; of which number, six of the killed, and ten of the wounded, were of the artillery; as were likewise the only two officers who were wounded during the different operations of the day.

In the morning, Colonel Clive deputed Mr. Scrafton and Omarbegi to conduct Meer Jaffier to Daudpore, who received them with reserve, and an air of anxiety, as if he apprehended that the English resented his conduct, in not having joined them, conformably to his promises; he, however, immediately proceeded with them to Daudpore, accompanied by his son, Meirum, and his usual retinue. On entering the English camp, he alighted from his elephant, and the guard drew out, and rested their arms, to receive him with the usual honours. Not knowing the meaning of this compliment, he started back, as if he thought it a preparation to his destruction; but Colonel Clive advancing hastily, embraced, and saluted him Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, which removed his fears. They conferred about an hour, he making some apologies, and the Colonel no reproaches; but advised him to proceed immediately to the city, and not to suffer Surajah Dowlah to escape, nor his treasures to be plundered. Meer Jaffier returning to his troops, hastened with them to Muxadavad, and arrived there in the evening, that is, of

the 24th. Colonel Clive then dispatched letters to Roydoolub, Latty, and Monickchund, and to Monickchund he promised that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta. The army proceeded in the afternoon, and halted six miles beyond Daudpore.

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Surajah Dowlah got to the city before the midnight after the battle; and not a few of his principal officers arrived there almost as soon as himself. These he assembled in council. Some advised him to deliver himself up to the English, which he imputed to treachery; others proposed, that he should encourage the army by the offer of great rewards, and appear again at their head in the morning. This he seemed to approve, and, having ordered an immediate distribution of three months pay to the troops, dismissed the council, and retired into the seraglio, where, left to his own reflections and his women, his terrors returned.

The next morning, the 24th, he sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with their furniture and necessaries, and with them a great part of his own jewels, and some gold rupees: and determined to escape himself in the night; but, having lost all confidence in every officer of distinction, whose fortunes either he himself or his grandfather had made, he intrusted his intentions only to the eunuch who governed his seraglio. The arrival of Meer Jaffier in the evening, although he attempted nothing immediately, hastened the Nabob's departure. Having disguised himself in a mean dress, he went secretly at ten o'clock at night out of a window, carrying a casket of his most valuable jewels, and attended only by his favourite concubine and the eunuch. They got undiscovered into a boat, which the eunuch had prepared at the wharf of the palace: it immediately rowed away to the northward. It was his intention to escape to Mr. Law, and with him to Patna, the governor of which province was a faithful adherent to his family. At midnight, Meer Jaffier was informed of his flight, and immediately sent several parties in pursuit of him. In the morning, the whole city was in confusion, no one knowing what was become of their late Nabob, and not perceiving his station occupied by any other. Moonlol, and several others of the Nabob's familiars, were taken in the forenoon, endeavouring to
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make their escape; and the next day the women, with the elephants belonging to the seraglio, which the Nabob had sent away previous to his own departure, were stopped by some of Meer Jaffier's troops at Bogwangolah, a town on the great arm of the Ganges, 15 miles to the N. E. of Muxadayad.

The English army arrived at noon, the 25th, and halted at Maudipoor, from whence Colonel Clive sent forward Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, attended by 100 Sepoys: they arrived at three in the afternoon in the city, and visited Meer Jaffier, who then dispatched more parties in pursuit of Surajah Dowlah. Their visit convinced the inhabitants whom they were to look up to as their future lord, and their exhortations, seconded by the vicinity of the English army, encouraged Meer Jaffier to proclaim himself Nabob.

The next day, the 26th, Watts and Walsh visited the *Seats*, where they met Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, and conferred concerning the payment of the stipulated monies, but Roydoolub insisted pertinaciously that the whole amount of Surajah Dowlah's treasures was not sufficient to supply it. The restitution, with the donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of Secca rupees; equal to 2,750,000 pounds. But other donations were promised, which have since been the foundation of several fortunes; although not then publicly avowed.

Mr. Watts proposed, that the *Seats* should supply the deficiency, and repay themselves out of the future revenues. Roydoolub replied, that the *Seats* could not advance crores of rupees; a crore is 10,000,000. His objections raised as unfavourable prejudices of his character, as were entertained of Omichund; but the next day, the 27th, the deputies had real cause to think evil of him; for the *Seats* sent Rungeet Roy to inform them, that a consultation had been held in the night, between Roydoolub, Meerum the son of Meer Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussain Cawn, an officer of distinction, in which it was proposed to assassinate Colonel Clive, who intended to have gone to the city that day; but changed his resolution on this notice, and waited all the next at Cossimbuzar for farther information concerning this plot; during which, his apprehensions were

were removed, but by what intelligence we do not know. On the 29th in the morning, he entered the city, escorted by 200 of the battalion and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded to the habitation allotted for him. It was a palace and a garden, called Moraudbaug, and spacious enough to accommodate all the troops which accompanied him. Here he was immediately visited by Meerum, with whom he went to the palace of the late Nabob, where Meer Jaffier with all the great officers in the city were waiting for him. In the hall of audience was fixed the *Musnud* or throne, in which Surajah Dowlah used to appear in public. Jaffier, after the first salutation at the entrance, returned towards the inner part of the hall with Colonel Clive, and seemed desirous to avoid the *Musnud*, which Clive perceiving, led him to it, and having placed him on it, made obeisance to him, as Nabob of the provinces, in the usual forms, and presented a plate with gold rupees; he then, by an interpreter, exhorted the great men to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince, in exchange for such a tyrant as Surajah Dowlah; on which they likewise paid homage, and presented gold. The next morning Jaffier visited Clive, and conferred with him on the state of the treasury, alleging, as Roydoolub had done, that there was not sufficient to answer all his engagements to the English, but that he was nevertheless ready to agree to any reasonable accommodation. Clive proposed, and Jaffier agreed, to refer the matter to the *Seats*; and, in order to extinguish as soon as possible this brand of contention, they proceeded immediately to the house of the *Seats*, accompanied by Watts, Scrafton, Meerum, and Roydoolub. Omichund, who was attending, followed, thinking himself, at this very time, in as high a degree of estimation with Clive, as any one who had contributed to the revolution; but, on his arrival at the *Seats*, finding that he was not invited to the carpet where the others were in conference, he sat down at a distance near the outward part of the hall.

The treaties, as written in Persian and English, were read, explained, and acknowledged. After much conversation, Roydoolub insisting always on the scantiness of the treasury, it was agreed that one half
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of the money stipulations should be paid immediately; two thirds of this half in coin, and one third in jewels, plate, and effects, at a valuation; but that the other half should be discharged in three years at three equal payments: Roydoolub was allowed a commission of five in the hundred on the sums for restitution, which amounted to 17,700,000 rupees, and this was one of the gratuities which had been held out to Omichund. The conference being ended, Clive and Scrafton went towards Omichund, who was waiting in full assurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune; when Clive said, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund:" on which, Scrafton said to him in the Indostan language, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing." These words overpowered him like a blast of sulphur; he sunk back, fainting, and would have fallen to the ground, had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms; they carried him to his palapkin, in which they conveyed him to his house, where he remained many hours in stupid melancholy, and began to shew some symptoms of insanity. Some days after, he visited Colonel Clive, who advised him to make a pilgrimage to some pagoda; which he accordingly did soon after, to a famous one near Maulda: he went, and returned insane, his mind every day more and more approaching to idiotism; and, contrary to the usual manners of old age in Indostan, still more to the former excellence of his understanding, he delighted in being continually dressed in the richest garments, and ornamented with the most costly jewels. In this state of imbecility, he died about a year and a half after the shock of his disappointment. Grounded on his importance, by knowing the secret, he held out the terror of betraying it, to secure his own advantages. Whether he would have betrayed it, if refused, is uncertain: for part of his fortune was in the power of the English, and he had the utmost vengeance of Jaffier and his confederates to fear. However, the experiment was not to be tried. But, on the other hand, as his tales and artifices prevented Surajah Dowlah from believing the representations of his most trusty servants, who early suspected, and at length were convinced, that the English were confederated with Jaffier; the 2,000,000 of rupees

rupees he expected should have been paid to him, and he left to enjoy them in oblivion and contempt.

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On the 2d of July, two days after the conference at the *Seats*, news came to the city that Surajah Dowlah was taken, and the report excited murmurs amongst a great part of the army encamped around. The towers of his boat, fatigued with excessive toil, stopped in the night at Rajah Mahal, and the Nabob, with his concubine, took shelter in a deserted garden; where he was discovered at break of day by a man of mean condition, whose ears he had caused to be cut off, when at this place about thirteen months before he took the fatal and furious resolution of returning from his intended expedition against Purneah, to the destruction of Cakutta. The injured man revealed him to the brother of Meer Jaffier, residing in the town, and he to the soldiers who were seeking him. They hurried him back to Muxadavad with the eager diligence of men who knew the value of their prize; and to recommend themselves still more to their employers, treated him with every kind of insolence and indignity compatible with the preservation of his life. In this manner they brought him, about midnight, as a common felon, into the presence of Meer Jaffier, in the very palace which a few days before had been the seat of his own residence and despotic authority. It is said that Jaffier seemed to be moved with compassion; and well he might, for he owed all his former fortunes to the generosity and favour of Allaverdy, who died in firm reliance, that Jaffier would repay his bounties by attachment and fidelity to this his darling adoption; who, himself, to Jaffier at least, was no criminal. Surajah Dowlah prostrated himself, and with excessive tremor and tears implored for life alone. But Meerum, the son of Jaffier, a youth not seventeen, fierce, barbarous, and in his nature cruel as Surajah Dowlah himself, insisted on instant death. Jaffier ordered the prisoner to be removed, and the soldiers who had taken led him into a distant chamber, one of the vilest of the palace, which they guarded in expectation of farther orders. Most of the principal men in the government were at this time in the palace, some to testify their respects, others to transact the affairs of their

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their offices. All these Jaffier consulted. Some, although they had before trembled at the frown of Surajah Dowlah, now despised the meanness of his nature, more than they had dreaded the malignancy of his disposition: others, for their own sakes, did not chuse to encourage their new sovereign in despotic acts of bloodshed: some were actuated by veneration for the memory of Allaverdy: others wished to preserve Surajah Dowlah, either as a resource to themselves, or as a restraint upon Jaffier; all these proposed a strict but mild imprisonment. But the rest, who were more subtle courtiers, seconded the opinion of Meerum, representing the risques of revolt and revolution to which the government of Jaffier would continually be exposed, whilst Surajah Dowlah lived. Jaffier himself gave no opinion; and Meerum seeing his unwillingness to pronounce, advised him to go to rest; and he himself would take care of the prisoner. Jaffier, pretending to understand these words as if they meant no violence, dismissed the assembly, and retired into the inward apartments of the palace; when Meerum privately sent one of his own menial servants, in whom he most confided, to the guard, with the fatal mandate; which they received with the ruthless alacrity of ruffians who murder for reward. Their boisterous intrusion into the chamber convinced Surajah Dowlah of their purpose, and the instant terrors of death threw him into a strong agony of bitter lamentation. At length he recovered sufficiently to ask leave to make his ablutions, and to say his prayers. A pot of water chanced to be near, which the executioners, impatient to perform their work, hastily threw over his head. The servant then struck with his poignard, and the others finished the massacre with their swords. His mangled remains were exposed, in the morning, through the city, upon an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Allaverdy, where they were buried. The populace beheld the procession with awe and consternation; and the soldiery, having no longer the option of two lords, accepted the promises of Jaffier, and refrained from tumult.

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Thus perished Surajah Dowlah, in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his reign, by the hands of violence, as his father and grandfather had perished before him, and by means not unlike those which were employed by both his grandfathers to destroy the heir of their benefactor, by whom they, as Jaffier by them, had been promoted from obscurity to the highest ranks of the state. There were found with his secretary copies of the letters he had written to Mr. Buffy in Chicacole, and to Mr. Law in Behar. In one to Mr. Buffy, dated a few days after he had sworn to the peace concluded with the English on the 6th of February, he presseth him to send 2000 men under the command of trusty officers, and in another invites him to march himself with his whole force into Bengal. To Mr. Law he writes soon after his departure into Behar, and before the confederacy against himself began to move, that he is determined to attack the English, and orders him to return immediately with his party to Muxadayad. Tyrant as he was, if he had respected the advice of his grandfather Allaverdy, and not have excited the detestation of the Gentoos, at the same time that he was rendering himself dreadful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the English would have found no alliance sufficient to have ventured the risque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the same iniquity of character, which urged him to the destruction of Calcutta, would soon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds.

The party of Frenchmen, with Mr. Law, advanced from Bogli-pore as soon as they received the last summons of Surajah Dowlah, but so late, that they had not passed Tacriagully, when they heard some confused reports of the battle of Plassy, on which Mr. Law halted, waiting for more certain information. Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles farther, he would the next day have met and saved Surajah Dowlah, and an order of events, very different from those which we have to relate, would in all probability have ensued. After waiting two days at Tacriagully, Mr. Law received intelligence that he was taken; on which he immediately marched back into Behar, intending to offer his service to Raimnarain, the vice-nabob of the province.

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Of all the Gentoos whom Allaverdy had raised to high appointments, Ramnarain seems to have been the only one, whose gratitude had not been estranged by the despotic caprices of Surajah Dowlah. But they were connected by the same resentments: for, whilst Surajah Dowlah was harbouring grudge against Meer Jaffier at Muxadavad, Ramnarain was at variance with a brother, and a brother-in-law of Meer Jaffier, who held considerable employments at Patna. The knowledge of this animosity had deterred Roydoolub, although connected with Ramnarain by religion as well as business, from attempting to gain his concurrence to the confederacy; nor does it appear that Ramnarain knew any thing of it until it was brought to the point of decision. In the mean while, he regarded the party with Mr. Law as an important resource to Surajah Dowlah, in case hostilities should be renewed with the English, and had accordingly supplied them, although secretly, with the means of subsistence ever since they had retreated into his province. The new regency at Muxadavad had, therefore, no reason to expect his willing acquiescence to the revolution, or not to suspect that he would not entertain the party with Mr. Law, and even strengthen himself still more by alliances with the neighbouring powers to the westward. The best means of averting these consequences consisted in sending a detachment expedite and strong enough to destroy the French party before they reached Patna, or a force sufficient to deter Ramnarain from taking them into his pay when they should arrive there.

Meer Jaffier, notwithstanding the seeming acquiescence of the soldiery to his accession, was afraid to trust any considerable body of them at a distance, and especially in the precarious province of Behar; but was ashamed to acknowledge his mistrust, which Clive penetrated, and determined to undertake the expedition with the English troops alone. The detachment consisted of 230 Europeans, three companies each of 100, Sepoys, 50 Muzaffars, and two field-pieces, both six-pounders, and Major Coote was appointed to the command. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions, were laden in 40 boats, all of which were very ill equipt, whether with
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rowers or tackle; and, nevertheless, were not ready before the 6th of July, when they left Muxadavad; by which time the French party had got half-way to Patna.

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The news of the battle of Plassy was brought to Calcutta on the 25th of June in a letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Drake, the governor, who immediately communicated it to the council. The victory was deemed decisive; and all restraints of secrecy being now removed, the purport of the treaties were revealed by the members of the council to all they met. In a few minutes all the inhabitants of the town, impatient to hear or tell, were in the streets. The restitution of public and private property; the donations to the squadron, the army, and individuals; the grants to the company; the privileges to the English commerce; the comparison of the prosperity of this day with the calamities in which the colony was overwhelmed at this very season in the preceding year: in a word, this sudden reverse and profusion of good fortune intoxicated the steadiest minds, and hurried every one into the excesses of intemperate joy; even envy and hatred forgot their energies, and were reconciled, at least for a while, to familiarity and good-will; for every one saw that his own portion of advantages was intimately and inseparably blended with that of every other person in the settlement.

The Presidency immediately prepared a vessel to carry these welcome tidings to England. Mr. Maningham, who had been deputed from Fulta to Madras, chancing to return at this time to Calcutta, was sent to Muxadavad, where Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, and himself, were appointed to act as a committee in the management of all public affairs. Their first care was to get the money stipulated by the treaties. Roydoolub persisted in his assertions of the scantiness of Surajah Dowlah's treasury, and endeavoured to prove them by facts which were not true. At length, after a variety of discussions and equivocations, the committee by the 6th of July received, in coined silver, 7,271,666 rupees. This treasure was packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of soldiers to Nudiah; from whence they
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were escorted by all the boats of the squadron and many others, proceeding with banners displayed and musick founding, as a triumphal procession, to contrast that in which the inhabitants of the Ganges had seen Surajah Dowlah returning the year before from the destruction of Calcutta. Never before did the English nation at one time obtain such a prize in solid money; for it amounted (in the mint) to 800,000 pounds sterling. From real or pretended difficulties, no more money was received until the 9th of August, when Roydoolub paid 1,655,358 rupees; and on the 30th of the same month he delivered gold, jewels, and cash, amounting to 1,599,737 rupees: the three payments amounted to 10,765,737 rupees. The whole sum agreed to be paid, as one half of the stipulations of the treaty, was 11,350,000 rupees: the deficiency, 584,905, was still delayed; but the commission which had been promised was paid to Roydoolub.

During the receipts of the money the committee had likewise attended to the other articles of the treaty. A mint was established at Calcutta, and the first rupees were coined there on the 19th of August. Agents were sent to re-establish the subordinate factories. Mandates from the Nabob were issued for the freedom of the English trade throughout the province, but permitting it only under the usual passport of the company's dustuck, and without exemption from the former prohibitions of dealing in any commodities, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported to sea. It was difficult to define the limits of the lands ceded to the company, south of Calcutta; for they had never been surveyed by the government: and great quantities of salt being manufactured in the districts nearest the sea, the tenants and renters who gained much by this commodity, were averse to the introduction of new masters, who, as merchants, might wish to appropriate this trade to themselves: their patrons, resenting the loss of those presents and advantages, which they received for their protection, suggested every obstacle to prevent the Nabob from giving these districts to the English; and prevailed so far, that it was agreed the company should not

not exercise any authority in them, until all the lands had been surveyed, and every man's possession ascertained.

All the prosperities which had been imagined on the news of the battle of Plassy were now realized in Calcutta. A committee of the most respectable inhabitants were appointed to distribute the money received for the restitution of the losses of individuals, and executed the office with much discretion and equity. Commerce revived throughout the settlement, and affluence began to spread in every house; but as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undisputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in salt and other articles, which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Meer Jaffier complained of these encroachments within a month after his accession, which, although checked for the present, were afterwards renewed, and at last produced much more mischief than even disinterested sagacity could have foreseen.

Admiral Watson barely lived to see the effects of those successes, to which his conduct had so much contributed: he died on the 16th of August, after five days illness, of the malignant fever peculiar at this season of the year to the lower climate of Bengal. The frankness and integrity of his nature, and his zeal for the honour of his nation, had endeared him to all ranks of his countrymen, wheresoever he appeared in India.

In this interval continual advices had been received from Major Coote of the progress of his detachment, which had met with even more interruptions than might have been expected from the insufficiencies of the outfit. The boats, for want of rowers, could not be towed as fast as the troops marched on shore, which obliged him, before they arrived at the head of the island of Cossimbuzar, to press 87 men out of three large trading boats which were coming down the river. On the 10th of July, which was the 4th day after their departure from Muxadavad, the troops, and on the 11th the boats, arrived at Rajamahal, 40 miles beyond Muxadavad; where a brother of Meer Jaffier commanded; he had sent 120 horse to meet the detachment on the road, and promised every other kind of assistance, but

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but afforded none. However, after five days delay, the boats were repaired, but the horsemen refused to proceed without two months pay, which Major Coote had neither money or orders to furnish: he therefore continued his march without them on the 13th, and on the 18th arrived at Boglipore, which is 65 miles from Rajahmahal. Here he received intelligence, that Mr. Law's party had four days before passed the city of Patna, which is 55 miles beyond Boglipore. Major Coote left this place on the 19th, and was followed the next day by 60 horsemen, sent by the governor under the command of his son. On the 21st, the horsemen, troops, and boats, arrived at Mongheir, which by the road is 35 miles farther. The garrison, on the appearance of the detachment, who expected to have been admitted into the fort, manned the ramparts, and shewed their lighted matches, which obliged the troops, to march round the walls. On the 23d they arrived at Burhia, 30 miles farther on. By this time so many mischances had happened to the fleet of boats, several having been lost, others stranded, and some continually breaking from the towing lines, that Major Coote landed the field-pieces and ammunition at Burhia, and the same evening proceeded six miles farther to Darriapore. At two in the afternoon of the next day the troops arrived at Panarack, 11 miles farther. During this march all the European soldiers were holding mutinous language in complaints of their hardships and fatigues. Major Coote, impatient to reach Patna, resolved to reserve their chastisement until he arrived there, but, as an immediate disgrace, put them all into the boats, and the same evening marched himself at the head of the Sepoys 3 miles farther to the town of Bhar. Proceeding with them the next day, which was the 25th, whilst the Europeans were following at leisure, he arrived at night at Futwah, which is 26 miles from Bhar, and only seven from Patna. During this day's march he received two letters, and they were the first, from Ramnaraim, apologizing for the escape of the French party, and imputing it to the want of timely notice from Meer Jaffier. Soon after a deputation of his principal officers arrived at Futwah, under the pretence of compliment, but in reality to observe the force, and discover the inten-

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intentions of Major Coote. They informed him that Ramnarain had returned only two days before from an expedition against two disobedient chiefs of Moy and Sader, whose districts lay about 30 miles south-east of Patna; that immediately on his return he had proclaimed Meer Jaffier Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixia; that he had sent forward 2000 of his troops, horse and foot, in pursuit of Mr. Law, and that he had disbanded the greatest part of the rest. The next day, the 26th, at ten in the forenoon, the whole detachment, as well as the boats, arrived at the English factory, which is a spacious building situated on the bank of the river, just without the western wall of the city. Major Coote immediately prepared to visit Ramnarain, but was prevented by a message, desiring him to take some repose, and to defer his visit until the next day: in the afternoon three Europeans and some Sepoys, who were leading some cattle to the factory, were, without provocation, assaulted and wounded by a number of Peons belonging to the garrison. Complaint was immediately made to Ramnarain, who shewed no inclination to redress the outrage; and moreover desired Major Coote not to visit him, as was intended, the next day, lest the ceremonial should give occasion to quarrels betwixt their respective attendants. An English officer, likewise, walking in the town, overheard two men of condition, who did not suppose him to understand their language, talking of a design to massacre the English detachment. In the night many of the Europeans got drunk, and 30 of the most disorderly, who had likewise been foremost in the mutiny on the road, were selected, and confined for punishment.

The next day Major Coote conferred with Mahmud Amy, the brother, and Meer Cossim, the brother-in-law, of Meer Jaffier. They informed him that the French party might easily have been stopped, if Ramnarain had so willed; that, on hearing of the death of Surajah Dowlah, he had sent to Sujah Dowlah, the neighbouring and powerful subah of Oude, proposing to render himself independent of Bengal, if Sujah Dowlah would assist him with his forces, and requesting him to protect the French party on the frontiers, until it might be necessary to recal them to Patna; that

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Sujah Dowlah encouraged his views, but was prevented by events, which more immediately concerned himself; from marching with his army into Bahar. They likewise asserted that Ramnarain had consulted his confidants on the means of destroying the English detachment. This information determined the Major to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oude.

The next day the 30 mutineers were tried and flogged; this punishment was judged adequate to their offence, because of the great fatigues they had endured: for they had marched from Rajamahol to Patna in eleven days and a half, without the intermission of one day's halt, and the distance, measured by a perambulator, is 201 miles.

A day passed in making preparations for the outset; but all the attendants of the camp, and many of the boatmen, finding they were to go farther, took fright and ran away; and it was impossible to collect others without the assistance of the government, which Ramnarain promised, but did not supply half the requisite number. However in this and the succeeding day all the boats, as well as the troops, assembled at Bankipore, a garden belonging to the company, about five miles from the city, and on the same side of the river. The next day the detachment moved six miles farther to Dinapore, and

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the day after, which was the first of August, joined the troops which Ramnarain pretended to have sent forward in pursuit of Mr. Law, with whom they halted at Moneah, a considerable town fifteen miles from Dinapore, situated at the confluence of the river Soan with the Ganges, where Hybuljung, their commander, refused to proceed any farther. The troops of the detachment, with their ammunition, crossed the Ganges, and marched on the other side, whilst the bullocks, baggage, and attendants, crossed the Soan, and proceeded along the southern side of the Ganges until they came opposite to Chuprah, when it took three days to ferry them over; for the bed of the river is in this part three miles broad, and the officer of the frontier failed to furnish the boats and other assistances he had promised. At Chuprah the company have a house established to collect saltpetre, of which great quantities are made in this, and some

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of the neighbouring districts. Here intelligence was obtained, that the several chiefs in this part of Behar had enlisted forces to assist Ramnarain; and spies reported that they had left Mr. Law's party at Benarez, which is by the road at least 140 miles beyond Chuprah, and that they were supplied there by Bulwaning, the Rajah of the district, who was dependant on Sujah Dowlah the subah of Ouda. Farther pursuit was evidently vain, but certain of producing immediate hostilities with Sujah Dowlah, whose territory commenceth at the river Dewah, which disembogues into the Ganges 18 miles to the west of Chuprah. The Major, therefore, resolved to wait here for farther orders, and on the 12th received a letter from Colonel Clive, instructing him, as a scheme of Meer Jaffier's, to return to Patna, and endeavour, in concert with Mahmud Amy Cawn, to wrest the government from Ramnarain. The troops, leaving the baggage to follow, embarked early the next morning; and such is the strength of the stream at this season of the year, that they arrived at Patna by noon, although the distance along the course of the river is 44 miles. It appeared to the Major that the only means of executing his instructions would be to assault the citadel, in which Ramnarain always resided, and at this time only with 2000 men; but Mahmud Amy represented that their force was not sufficient to invest it so closely as to prevent Ramnarain from escaping by some of the secret passages, and proposed to defer the attempt until he himself should be joined by 1500 of Ramnarain's troops, whom he had engaged to desert.

But by this time Ramnarain had taken the alarm, probably by information from his friends at Muxadavad, of the orders sent to Major Cooté and Mahmud Amy, which, confirmed by the hasty return of the detachment from Chuprah, frightened him so much, that he now spared no attentions to the Major, and received his visit with much affectation of complacence. Two days after, the Major received a letter from Meer Jaffier, fraught with suspicions that Mahmud Amy had borne false witness against Ramnarain, as a pretext for levying forces, with the intention of seizing the government for himself. Enough has not been discovered of the secrets

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of Jaffier to account for this abrupt change and contradiction of an opinion, which had hitherto been the greatest anxiety of his mind. His letter, however, precluded all farther intentions of hostility; and on the 22d a conference was held by appointment in the citadel, to discuss and reconcile all differences. Major Coote and the two brothers, Mahmud Amy and Meer Cossim, came each with strong escorts, and Ramnarain was attended by all his principal officers. The two brothers, with the calmness peculiar to the manners of Indostan, accused him of a design to assassinate them, which indeed had been reported in the city; then of his intention to rebel against Meer Jaffier, in proof of which they urged his connivance at the passage of the French troops through Behar, the oaths he had taken from the officers of his army, his correspondence and proposals to Sujah Dowlah. Ramnarain solemnly denied all these accusations, and produced a letter he had just received from Sujah Dowlah, which indicated no such intentions as were imputed to their correspondence: he then said, it was true, that he had been attached to the late Nabob, because his fortunes had been raised by the princes of his family; but now that Surajah Dowlah was no more, and none of his family remaining worthy or capable of the government, on whom should he so naturally wish to depend as on Meer Jaffier, whom their common patron, Allaverdy, had raised to rear his own person and dignity. He then called a bramin, and in the presence of his officers, and a crowd of attendants, solemnly swore allegiance and fidelity to Meer Jaffier, and friendship and goodwill to Meer Cossim and Mahmud Amy. The two brothers returned the compliment, by taking an oath on the koran that their heart was clear of all ill-will to Ramnarain, and should continue so. They then embraced him, and all the three, Major Coote, as the mediator of this reconciliation. Nevertheless, neither side believed the other, but each wished to gain time, and to wait events: for Ramnarain knew that the orders from Muxadavad would prevent Major Coote and the brothers of Meer Jaffier from acting against him at present; and they knew that he, disappointed of the assistance

ance of Sujah Dowlah, would be submissive until he was better prepared to assert independence.

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Before this conference Meer Jaffier had determined to recall the detachment; but Major Coote did not receive the orders to return until the beginning of September, and in the interval the troops remained, uninterrupted by any alarms, in the company's factory adjoining to the city. All proceeded in the boats, which left Patna on the 7th of September, and arrived in seven days at Muxadavad, although the distance is 300 miles.

The confederacies of ambition are as liable to be broken by success as disappointment. Meer Jaffier had many relations; and not only they, but all others who were his adherents or dependants, before his accession to the Nabobship, thought they had the best right to partake of the change of his fortunes; and those, who without previous connexion had acquiesced to the revolution, thought their title better. But the donations to the English had exhausted the treasury, and none of the officers of the government could be removed without infringing the declarations by which Jaffier had obtained the general submission to his sovereignty, and which Clive had ratified. Some money had been distributed amongst the army of the government, but much less than they expected; and their discontent acquired presumption by the complaints of the whole populace of Muxadavad, who had beheld with detestation the gold and silver of the capital ostentatiously carried away by foreigners. A large sum still remained due of the first half of the treaty-moneys, and the term of the first payment of the second half was approaching, for it fell in October; and the committee at Muxadavad were continually pressing the treasury for the balance already due.

There is no prince in Indostan, who does not try every means to avoid the payment of money, stipulated at a distant period; and Meer Jaffier imagined his liberalities to individuals, who were the heads of the English nation, would relax their strictness in the public terms. But Colonel Clive had neither asked nor stipulated for the presents he had received; and having refused every other offer from the various interests which composed the government, thought their obligations

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obligations mutual, and maintained the independency of his command. Neither Jaffier nor his son had suspected this sternness in his character. He not only insisted on the payments of the treaty-moities, as they became due, but, when tampered with to approve changes in the army and administration, which Jaffier wished to make in order to gratify his own favourites, Clive let him understand, that he would permit none, as deeming them dangerous to the public tranquillity, and contrary to declarations, sanctified by his own. Jaffier felt these restraints with abomination, which turned his head to notions of emancipating himself from the ascendance of the English; but, warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the English would find the same resources against himself, as he with the English had derived from them against Surajah Dowlah. Roydoolub, as the head of the Gentoob line, was first to be destroyed; but, dreading the sagacity of Clive, Jaffier determined to set nothing in motion which might awaken his suspicions, whilst he remained at Muxadavad; and in the interval, both he and his son Meerum carried themselves to him with every appearance of openness and confidence, and Clive often partook of the familiarity of their private amusements.

On the 14th of September, the day after the detachment from Patna arrived at Muxadavad, Clive went away to Calcutta, leaving Watts, Maningham, and Scrafton, to transact the company's affairs with the Nabob and his ministers. The detachment from Patna was stationed in the factory at Cossimbuzar; the rest of the troops, which had served at Plassy, were sent down the river, and quartered at Chandernagore, as a more healthy situation than Calcutta.

We shall now return to the affairs of Coromandel and the Decan.

END of the SEVENTH BOOK.

B. O. O. K

B O O K VIII.

THE presidency of Madras received no intelligence concerning the success of the armament to Bengal, before the 15th of February, between which day and the 22d, advices arrived, by various vessels, of the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack of the Nabob's camp, and of the treaty made with him on the 11th of that month, in which conjuncture Colonel Clive gave hopes that he should soon return with a great part of the troops. On the 21st Admiral Pocock arrived, as we have said, from Vizagapatam, landed the remaining soldiers of the Company's troops, received 100, the same number of sailors, and sailed the next day to rejoin the squadron in Bengal.

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February.

According to the principle adopted on the departure of the armament, the presidency had continued to avoid all hostilities in the Carnatic; but the failure of Lieutenant Rumbold's negotiation with the Jemautdars of Madura, in November, raised no improbable apprehensions, that the influence of the government of Pondicherry would, if it had not already, soon insinuate itself into their councils, unless immediately interrupted by some exertion; and the dangerous consequences which would ensue, determined the presidency to revoke the restraint they had laid on Captain Callaud not to engage in any military operations from Trichinopoly; and in the end of the year, they allowed him to employ such means as he should think expedient, for the reduction of Madura, and permitted him to command the expedition in person; they likewise sent several officers,

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officers, with some stores and ammunition, which the garrison of Trichinopoly could not spare without diminishing its own complements: they went by sea to Devicotah, from whence they were to proceed through the Tanjore country.

Captain Calliaud, whilst waiting for these supplies, went to Tanjore, as well to obtain troops from the King, as to make peace between him and Tondiman; for Monacjee in the beginning of the year had taken the fort of *Killanelly*, which had been so long the object of contention between them; but found the difference, as before, irreconcilable; nevertheless, both, proffered every assistance in their power. On the 23d of March, he set out from Trichinopoly, with 150 Europeans, including artillery-men, 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, and on the 25th arrived at *Anawashul*, a town belonging to Tondiman, 20 miles from Trichinopoly, where they were joined by 1000 of his horse, and 100 of his Colleries. On the 29th they arrived on the frontiers of the lesser Moravar's country, who being likewise frequently called the *Nellicotah* Polygar, we shall in future distinguish him from the greater Moravar by that title. Here they expected 500 horse from Tanjore; but none were arrived, or near. Scouts sent forward reported, that all the roads and paths in the country before them were obstructed with trees fresh cut down and strewed across the way, and that numbers of Colleries were every where ready to dispute the passage. Messengers were sent to enquire the reason. The Polygar said, that being at enmity with Tanjore, and knowing that Calliaud had asked the king for a body of horse, he had bared his woods, being determined not to admit any Tanjorines into his country, Calliaud, being by this time convinced that the King, notwithstanding his promises, did not intend to send any, made a merit of rejecting what he was not likely to obtain, and assured the Polygar he would not accept of their assistance; on which all obstacles were removed, and the troops, after a halt of three days, entered his country on the 4th of March. In seven days more, of which they halted during the third at *Mangalum*, they arrived at *Paraluchy*, the last town they had to pass in the districts of the greater Moravar, having

having received every kind of hospitality in the countries of both Polygars. Excepting the feet of a few missionaries, this track had never before been trodden by any Europeans. At Mangalum, Calliaud met the brother of the Nellicotah; and at Paralachy, the principal man of the greater Moravar: and learnt from them that the two Polygars and Tondiman had entered into a league to attack the king of Tanjore with all their forces united, on the very next attempt he should make against the territories of either of the three. The troops having halted a day at Paralachy, continued their march to Tinivelly, through the open country, in districts belonging to this government.

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The Pulitaver, with the Polygars of his alliance, had taken the field in the middle of January, as soon as Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville; their force amounted to 10,000 men, and the cavalry of Madura under the command of Berkatoolah, to one thousand. This army moved by slow stages to the eastward, the Collieries plundering day and night on either hand, and at length encamped before *Panialumcrutch*, at this time the principal residence of Catabominaigue, the chief of the eastern Polygars, and demanded his assistance; who, dreading the destruction that would follow his refusal, complied, and joined them with 3 or 4000 men. But the Polygar of *Etiaporum*, the next in importance, made some pretence to withhold his troops, for which the Pulitaver was not sorry; and the army marched from Panialumcrutch directly to Tinivelly, still plundering all the way; but were deterred from attacking the town itself, by the activity of the Company's Sepoys stationed there under the command of Bussiponaigue. Returning with their plunder to the northward, they ravaged all the accessible and cultivated districts belonging to Etiaporum in revenge for his neutrality; and from hence sent off a detachment with their booty, amongst which were 5000 beeves, to Nellitangaville. In this while Mahomed Iffoof the commandant, and Moodilee the ruler of these countries, not being certified which way Calliaud would direct his march, expected that he would come in somewhere near Madura, and remained at Chevelpetore, under the hills to the west,

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until they received intelligence that the enemy were marching from Panialumcrutch towards Tinivelly; on which they moved to intercept their return, and besides other Polygars of less note were accompanied by Vaniah of Sevagherry, a very large Collery fort situated at the foot of the hills about 20 miles south of Chevelpetore; but the enemy had followed their plunder from Etiaporum, and were arrived at Nellitangaville before Iffoof could intersect their return: he nevertheless, when thus far, remained in the districts mid-way between Chevelpetore and Tinivelly, as the best position to watch their future movements, until he received orders from Captain Calliaud to repair to, and wait for him at this town; in consequence of which, he proceeded and arrived there on the 28th of February. The enemy no sooner saw him removing to a greater distance, than they again came out, and proceeded to Alwar courchy, a town about 20 miles to the westward of Tinivelly, where Moodilee had lately thrown up a mud fort, on which he had mounted three pieces of cannon, and placed in it 150 Peons and Sepoys under the command of his nephew, Algapah. The enemy attacked the fort, which, after more resistance than might have been expected, surrendered, and Algapah was sent a prisoner to Nelletangaville. Intelligence of this loss was brought to Tinivelly on the 4th of March, in the evening, and at 8 o'clock, Mahomed Iffoof marched with the greatest part of his own force, and all of the Polygars his allies. At 7 the next morning they came in sight of Alwar courchy, and were surrounded on all sides by the enemy's army, of which the cavalry of Madura were most to be apprehended. The fight continued in a variety of skirmishes, until the evening, when the enemy quitted the fort and the field. The Polygar of *Outamalee* had both his legs struck off by a cannon ball, and the general of the Pulitaver's men was likewise killed; of their troops 2 or 300 were supposed to be killed or wounded; of Mahomed Iffoof's only six Sepoys were killed and 30 wounded; however, the action was esteemed a complete victory, and to fix it as such in the opinion of the country, he marched forward to *Shonganpetty*, a fort in the hills belonging to the Polygar of Vadagary, situated about 16 miles to the north-west of Alwar courchy.

The guard abandoned the fort before it was attacked; and Mahomed Iffoof, leaving 100 Sepoys to garrison it, dismissed the Polygars, and returned with the renter's and the Company's troops to Tinivelly, where Calliaud with his detachment arrived on the 17th.

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The force now assembled at Tinivelly was formidable, but could not proceed to action for want of money, which the renter Modilee, from whom it was expected, was not able to furnish; and the shroffs had for some time been deterred from supplying him by their apprehensions from the animosity which existed between him and Mahomed Iffoof. Captain Calliaud with much difficulty reconciled their differences, at least to appearance, and so far as to induce the shroffs to lend 200,000 rupees, which were immediately disbursed in discharging the arrears due to the troops, and other military expences. The Polygar Catabominaigue was at this time celebrating a great wedding in his family at Panialumcrutch; to which, as usual, the whole country round was invited, and Moodilee as a principal guest. He went, and having long been in habits of acquaintance and business with the Polygar, fixed him in the interest of the company, and concluded an alliance with him against the confederates with whom he had lately united, as well as all other enemies. In return, the Polygar requested that some compensation might be made to his dependant of Etiaporum, for the ravages which his country had lately sustained in consequence of his refusal to join the rebels; and Calliaud, having seen the effects as he marched through, remitted a part of the fine due on the hostages of Etiaporum, who still remained unredeemed with Tondiman. Whilst these affairs were adjusting, the southern monsoon setting in on the coast of Malabar, broke over the western range of mountains with the utmost violence, and descending, with the cataracts it had formed, into the plain, deluged the whole country to the eastern sea: the storm, rain, and inundation, continued without intermission for two days and two nights: the harvests, just ripe, were swept away, and with them the habitations of the cultivators: the rains continued several days after the winds had abated; it required many days labour and sunshine to drain and dry the ground, and more time to repair the

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devastation which the agriculture of the country had suffered; during which an epidemic sickness broke out, and carried off many of the distressed inhabitants by sudden deaths, which the patient simplicity and superstition of their character imputed to the visitation of a goddess, *Lacheme*, coming; they knew not whence, from the North. The shroffs, who had lent money to Moodilee on the mortgaged harvest, would not suffer him to depart until they saw the country recovering; which obliged Captain Calliaud to remain at Tinivelly some time longer, in order to superintend and encourage the various operations which were necessary to restore the cultivation.

The Presidency, whilst waiting the result of this expedition, had, howsoever unwilling, been obliged to engage in hostilities in the Carnatic. The Nabob, in the beginning of the year, had demanded of his brother Nazeabulla, the governor of *Nelore*, a subsidy of 100,000 rupees above the usual tribute; which the country could afford to pay, having suffered little from the distresses of the war, to which the rest of the Carnatic had so long been exposed; but Nazeabulla equivocated and apologized. Ichlas Khan, the brother of the Nabob's buxey or general, marching at this time with 500 horse, and other troops, to collect the tributes of the northern Polygars, advanced as far as Serapely, a fort 12 miles south of *Nelore*, and proposed an interview with Nazeabulla, who accepted the visit, giving his oath on the Koran; but requested Ichlas Khan to come with few attendants, lest quarrels should arise between them and his own. The visit produced no change in Nazeabulla's excuses for not paying the money, and Ichlas Khan left the city in the evening without harm; but, after it grew dark, his escort was attacked by an ambuscade of matchlock-men in the bushes near the road, and one of them was killed. The Nabob imputed this outrage to the instigation and example of his other brother Maphuze Khan at *Madura*, and of an adventurer Meerfaeb, who was in possession of *Ela-vanasure*, and plundering wherever he listed. The anguish which the Nabob expressed at this second rebellion rising in his own family, determined the presidency to comply with his earnest request to re-

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duce Nazeabulla; but his troops were not ready to march from Arcot before the 1st of April, although the outrage happened on 21st of February; during which Ichlafs Khan was waiting for them with his detachment at Kalaftry, the towh of the polygar Damerlah Venketappah-naigue, 70 miles to the s. w. of Nelore. The force from Madras was only 100 Europeans, the company of 56 Coffrees, and 300 Sepoys; with one eighteen-pounder, three six-pounders, four cohorns, and one howitz. Lieutenant Colonel Ford, of Adlercron's regiment, was appointed to command the expedition. The Sepoys and bullocks proceeded by land. The Europeans and Coffrees, with the artillery and stores, embarked on the first of April, in a ship and a sloop, which anchored the next afternoon opposite to the mouth of the river Kandeler, seven miles to the North of Kistnapatam, a town of considerable trade, from whence they expected the usual assistances of the port; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the threats of Nazeabulla; abandoned the town on the appearance of the vessels, which were employed seven days in effecting the disembarkation with two massoolas they had brought from Madras. During this interval the Sepoys and bullocks arrived; but coolies and more bullocks were necessary before the detachment could move from Kistnapatam, and the Nabob's army from Arcot was not near enough to supply them before the 22d of the month.

The next day Colonel Ford marched, and on the 25th joined the Nabob's army at Serapely, which was commanded by his brother Abdullwahab, and had been increased by the troops of the polygars Bangar Yatcham and Damerlah Venketappah, and all together amounted to 10,000 men, of which 3000 were cavalry. On the 27th the army encamped before Nelore. This town stands about 500 yards to the south of the river Pennar, extending about 1200 yards from east to west, and 600 on the other sides. The walls were of mud, and only the gateway and a few of the towers of stone. The parapet was six feet high, with many port-holes for small arms, made of pipes of baked clay, laid in the moist mud, whilst raising, and afterwards con-

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consolidating with the mafs; the common method of forming thefe defences in India: the ditch had no water, and was in many parts much choked by drifts of fand. Nazeabulla, on the approach of Abdulwahab, had gone away with 1500 horfe, and left the city to be defended by a refolute officer, with a garrifon of 4000 Peons, who were instructed and affifted by 20 Frenchmen, fent from Mafulipatam. The Englifh troops encamped along the river in face of the town, the Nabob's and the Polygar's at a diftance higher up.

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On the 29th, the eighteen-pounder, with the field-pieces, together with the cohorns and howitz, began to fire from the mound of a tank at the diftance of 300 yards; but by miftake againft the ftrongeft part of the wall, on which, in four days, they made no impreffion. In the night of the 2d of May, all the artillery was moyed to a battery erected about 200 yards to the left, and 100 nearer the wall, which in this part was vifibly in a ruinous condition. The 18-pounder fired briskly during the next day, and by the evening made a breach which appeared practicable; and hitherto only one man had been wounded by the enemy's fire, which had been very few cannon-shot, but continual from fmall-arms. The next day Abdulwahab fummoned the governor, who answered with civility, that he could not deliver the fort to any one without a pofitive order from Nazeabulla, whole falt he eat. It was therefore refolved to ftorm the next morning; but, during this interval the garrifon had been diligently employed in counterworking the breach. On each fide they cut a broad trench through the rampart, and another on the ground within, which joined at right angles with thofe from the rampart, and enclosed a fpace of fome yards fquare; thefe trenches were to be defended by men armed with long pikes, whilft numbers ftationed, fome along the ramparts, fome in various pits dug for the occafion, and others in the adjacent houfes, were to annoy the affailants, when on the breach, with ftones, arrows, and fire-arms, to which their own pikemen, being intrenched breast-high, would be little expofed. At fun-rife the Englifh troops advanced to the affault. The 300 Sepoys marched firft; the company of Coffrees next; the Europeans in the rear. The enemy fired
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briskly as the line was approaching, and more especially from the tower on the left of the breach, that Col. Forde ordered a six-pounder from the battery, which, at the distance of a hundred yards, kept up a constant fire on the parapet of this tower, more indeed with the hope of intimidating, than the expectation of doing any detriment. The first few Sepoys who got up the breach were immediately stopped by the pikes from advancing either forwards, or on either hand, and had scarcely discharged their muskets before they were all wounded; on which those immediately behind ran down in confusion, and the whole body in an instant broke; but dispersed to the right and left of the rest of the line. The Coffrees, led by Ensign Elliot, took their place without trepidation, and having mounted, maintained their ground on the breach gallantly, endeavouring, after they had fired, to break down the pikes with their muskets, and even to push into the trenches: but in vain, for, in a few minutes, four of them were killed, and thirteen, with Lieutenant Elliot, wounded; on which the rest were called down. The Europeans, who during this contest had remained thronged at the foot of the breach, now mounted, every man as he stood nearest, without regard to rank, order, or command. This assault continued half an hour, during which Capt. Hunt was shot with an arrow, Callender and Richard Smith, and Mr. Alexander, the commissary, were bruised with stones, and with them four of the soldiers killed, and 27 wounded on the breach, and the enemy still as active as ever; on which Colonel Forde, who was at the foot of the wall, ordered the retreat, which was made with more hurry than became troops who had hitherto behaved with so much courage; for every man, instead of waiting for his officers and colours, ran as fast as he could to take shelter in the battery, and all passed the field-piece without stopping to bring it away, until Captain Richard Smith, who, in rotation of duty, brought up the rear, halted with a few of his own company, and afterwards, with the assistance of some of the Nabob's horsemen, who were near, dragged the field-piece to the battery: during which two of his serjeants, and two of the horsemen, were wounded from the walls. The Nabob's army, during

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ing the assault, advanced in several bodies against different parts of the town, but their appearance no where withdrew the attention of the garrison from the defence of the breach.

The vent of the eighteen pounder being run, it was impossible to renew the attack until other battering cannon arrived from Madras; but Colonel Forde had already been informed by the presidency, that the French troops were acting in the field, and threatened designs which might render it necessary to recall his detachment. By the 13th the wounded were sufficiently recovered to march; and no determination being as yet received from the presidency, Colonel Forde, in compliance with the repeated requests of Abdulwahab, crossed the Pennar with the whole army in pursuit of Nazeabulla, who, it was said, still continued in the neighbourhood: on the 15th they halted at Sangam, a pagoda of note 30 miles west of Nelore, where they were informed that Nazeabulla had quitted the country, and was gone to the French at Condavir; on which the army returned the next day towards Serapely, but by another road, leaving Nelore to the left. On the way Colonel Forde met several letters, signifying the encreasing apprehensions of the presidency; and on his arrival at Serapely, received express orders to return with the utmost expedition to Madras.

The government of Pondicherry, with the advices of the declaration of war against Great Britain, received orders to refrain from any military operations of risque, until the great armament preparing in France should arrive; which injunctions they had implicitly obeyed: but when they saw Madras dividing its force, although not stronger than their own, on services at such distance from each other, as Nelore and Tinivelly, they thought they too might attempt some acquisition without much danger. However, they began with great caution. On the 6th of April, the day after the English troops embarked for Nelore, a body of 200 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, which had for some time lain encamped to the westward of Pondicherry, marched under the command of Mr. D'Auteuil, who had lately returned from France; they proceeded, giving out some other objects,

objects, to cover their real intentions, which were to fall upon Elavanafore by surprize.

This place is situated about 60 miles west of Pondicherry; it consists of a fort and a pettah both standing on a plain, and neither having any difficult defences; the districts are of no great extent, but extremely fertile. Before the truce between Mr. Saunders and Godeheu, it was taken possession of by an adventurer named Meer Allumodean, but more generally known by the name of Meer Saheb, who procured his confirmation from the Nabob, then at Trichinopoly. Under this sanction, he maintained a much greater force, especially of horse, than the incomes of his government could afford, and supported them by plundering the neighbouring districts, pretending that the managers of them were attached to the French. In an excursion immediately after the truce in 1755, he plundered all the French districts between Seringham and Pondicherry, when the presidency of Madras rebuking his proceedings, he made retribution to the French government, who permitted him to keep a small fort he had taken from them in the neighbourhood of Elavanafore, named Oullagellinoor. This cession raised suspicions in the Nabob, who proposed that the English detachment, which escorted him soon after from Trichinopoly to Arcot, should attack Elavanafore in the way; and again that the English army should proceed against it, in the beginning of the last year, immediately after, it had retreated from Velore. On the other hand, Meer Saheb, knowing himself reprobated by the Nabob, and seeing nothing to be got by uniting with the French, thought the mutual enmity between the two his best protection, and paid no respect to either; but increased his force, and continued his depredations on the possessions of both. Besides driving off the cattle, which he afterwards sold to the owners, it was especially his custom to seize on persons of substance, whom he confined until they had paid heavy ransoms. In the month of September, he, in one excursion, swept away 5000 beeves and 6000 sheep, indifferently from the country round; and in the beginning of the present year, again

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plundered the neighbourhood indiscriminately. The Nabob then pretended to suspect him of being in league with Maphuze Khan at Madura, and Nazeabulla at Nelore; but as soon as it was known, that the government of Pondicherry intended to attack Elavanafore, he requested the presidency of Madras to protect him, rather than suffer such valuable districts to fall into the hands of the French.

Mr. D'Auteuil advancing by forced marches appeared before Elavanafore on the 10th; and, whilst they were encamping, Meer Sahib sallied with all his cavalry and most of his foot, and had well nigh routed the whole of the French force, when he was shot through the body: his troops immediately ceased the fight, but escorted him with much attention back to the fort. D'Auteuil, on this trial, sent to Gingee for reinforcements and cannon; and, in the mean time, prepared to make a regular attack: on the 16th arrived 250 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, and the battering cannon; but on the same day Meer Sahib died of his wound; on which his brother, with the families of both, went away in the night, and the garrison after their example likewise abandoned the fort before the morning.

Reports had prevailed in this part of the country, ever since the French troops had taken the field, that they intended to fall upon Trichinopoly, which, by the absence of the troops with Captain Calliaud, was left with a garrison very inadequate to its extent; and even Capt. Jos. Smith, who now commanded in the city, apprehended and warned the presidency of this danger. But the force which had taken Elavanafore was unequal to the enterprize; and D'Auteuil moved back from Elavanafore to Chilambrum, where he arrived on the 1st of May. From hence he marched and encamped on the skirts of the woods of Warriorepollam, and summoned the polygar to pay his tributes on the same pretensions as Maissin had demanded them two years before. The polygar as usual endeavoured to gain time by discussions, on which the French attacked one of his barriers, but were repulsed with loss: however he was frightened

frightened by the attack, and agreed to pay 40,000 rupees; but took some days to produce the money.

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In the mean time, Captain Calliaud, whilst regulating the affairs of the renter at Tinivelly, acquired intelligence, that the confederates were treating with the Mysoreans at Dindigul for aid against the English and their adherents, the Pulitaver offering to pay down 500,000 rupees, and the Jemautdars of Maphuze Khan to give up the districts of *Sholavanden*, in which are comprized a strong pass, and the only road, between Madura and Dindigul: Nevertheless it was not intended that the country, when conquered, should be given either to the Mysorean or Maphuze Khan: it was to be restored to a descendant of the ancient kings, who lived in concealment in the country of the greater Moravar: and Maphuze Khan was to have a suitable establishment in Mysore.

This news encreased the necessity of attacking Madura as soon as possible; but the arrangements at Tinivelly were not finished until the 10th of April, on which day, Captain Calliaud began his march from thence, with 180 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, six field-pieces, and 500 horse: Mahmood Isfoof commanded the Sepoys, and Moodilee what horse were levied by himself. Six companies of Sepoys were left for the defence of Tinivelly, and the same number in the fort of Palamcotah. On the same day, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck set off from Nellitangavile, with 500 horse, leaving Maphuze Khan with the Pulitaver. Skirting along the hills, they halted one evening near the fort of the Polygar Vaniah, of Shevag-herry, which stood 60 miles s.w. of Madura, and 20 below Chevel-petore. The Polygar, having been attacked by Mahomed Isfoof, sent out his Colliers, who, in the middle of the night, fell upon this body of cavalry, and with their screams and fireworks dispersed the whole, and took 40. of their horses. The fugitives re-assembled in the morning, and arrived at Madura on the 17th; from whence Nabey Cawn Catteck immediately went to the greater Moravar, in order to prepare supplies of provisions for the city. On the 20th, the English army arrived at Secundermally, and lodged themselves in the pagoda; from whence Mahomed Isfoof, with a party of Sepoys,

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poys, was detached the next day to reduce the fort of Sholavanden. It is situated 10 miles north-west of Madura, and, although intended to command the pass, was of little strength; and the garrison of 200 peons abandoned it as soon as Mahomed Iffoo appeared; but excessive rains, which raised the river *Vigee*, prevented him from returning to Secundermally, before the 26th. In this interval, Calliaud received letters from the presidency, advising him of their apprehensions that the French intended to attack Trichinopoly; with orders to hold himself in readiness to march to its relief on the first notice. By this time, he was likewise convinced, that the reduction of Madura was an enterprize of much more difficulty than had been represented to him, and scarcely feasible without battering cannon, of which he had not brought any from Trichinopoly; and, excepting the one which Mahomed Iffoo himself had deposited in Madura, there was not a single piece in the whole country, of which Europeans would make use. However, not to lose any of the precarious time left him to act, he resolved to attempt the city by surprize. Bamboos were provided, as if for some other service, and no one was suffered to go in or out of the pagoda until the ladders were made. On the night before the 1st of May, all the troops, except a few to guard the baggage and artillery, marched out of the pagoda, and at three in the morning arrived at the watercourse which runs within 300 yards of the western side of the walls.

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The inward wall of Madura is 22 feet high, including the parapet, which rises six above the rampart: at the distance of every 100 yards or less (for exact symmetry has not been observed) are square towers. The fausse-bray is 30 feet broad; above which the outward wall rises only five feet, but descending to the bottom of the ditch is 11 on the outside. Midway, between every two towers of the inward wall, is a similar projection in the outward, with loop-holes which command the ditch, and flank the intermediate part of the wall, in which are none: but the whole parapet of the inward wall has loop-holes, so have some of its towers, and the rest embrasures for cannon. The spot chosen to be attacked was the first tower on the left hand of the western gateway, being the only part.

part where the fausse-bray was clear of the thick thorny bushes, which had not injudiciously been suffered to over-run it in every other; but the garrison, trusting to this defence, had entirely neglected the ditch, which, by continual drifts after rain, was almost choked up to the level of the plain. The party allotted to the attack were 100 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys; the rest of the troops remained in the watercourse, ready to support the event. Calliaud led the party himself, to whom the method of attack was carefully explained, and strict silence enjoined. The foremost men carried the six shorter ladders intended for the outward wall; the next, the six longer, for the inward; as soon as twenty of the party had got into the fausse-bray, it was intended that they should immediately take over the longer ladders, which they were to plant, as received, against the tower, but not a man was to mount, until all the six ladders were fixed, and then no more than three at a time on each ladder.

The first ladders were planted, and Calliaud, with the first 20 men, had got into the fausse-bray, had taken over one of the longer ladders, and had planted it against the tower, when their hopes were interrupted by one of those accidents which from their triviality escape the most attentive precaution. A dog, accustomed to get his meals at the messes of some of the soldiers, had accompanied them all the way from Secundermally into the ditch, and, probably from anxiety, at not being able to follow his masters into the fausse-bray, began to bark; which was soon answered by the barking of another dog on the rampart, and the yelps of both awakened the nearest centinel, who, crying out "The enemy," raised the guard at the gateway, which repaired immediately to the tower. The soldiers in the fausse-bray, finding the alarm taken, instead of continuing to get over the rest of the ladders, endeavoured to mount on that already planted, but crowded on it so many together, that it crushed under them. This communicated the confusion to those in the ditch, and no one any longer did what he ought. In the mean time, the garrison increasing on the rampart hung out blue lights of sulphur, and discovering the whole party began

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began to shower on them arrows, stones, lances, and the shot of fire-arms. On which Calliaud ordered the retreat, which was effected with little loss, only one man being killed, and another wounded; both were Sepoys, standing on the glacis.

The troops, after taking some refreshment, marched from the watercourse, and proceeding along the southern face of the town took post in a ruined village, about 600 yards from the south-east part of the walls, which in this quarter were of a much slihter construction than any where else. The division with the artillery and baggage from Secundermally joined in the evening. On the 3d in the morning; a battery consisting of three six-pouuders began to fire on the walls, and continued the two succeeding days, without making any impressiion; on which Calliaud sent away a company of Sepoys, with a sufficient number of bullocks, to bring two eighteen-pouuders from Trichinopoly.

The presidency of Madrafs, whilst anxious concerning the success of the expeditions against Madura and Nelore, had received advices, on the 28th of April, from Bengal, by the Revenge, Protector, and Marlborough, belonging to the company, with the welcome news of the capture of Chandernagore, but without a single platoon of the troops which had been sent in the armament; and, the season being now changed, none were to be expected before September. Intelligence of this disappointment was soon conveyed to Pondicherry; and it now appeared, that the French had waited to determine the operations of their own troops by the force which might be sent back from Bengal to Madrafs. They immediately barred all their garrisons, and, retaining none but invalids in Pondicherry itself, enrolled the European inhabitants to man the walls: all these parties hastened to join D'Autueil's camp before Arielore, who, sending forward a detachment of 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Seringham, followed himself with the main body on the 12th of May; his whole force consisted of 1000 Europeans, battalion and artillery, 150 Hussars, 3000 Sepoys, 10 field-pieces, with several howitzes and cohorns.

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The two eighteen-pounders intended for Madura were sent off from Trichinopoly early in the morning of the 12th, under the escort of two companies of Sepoys; but had not proceeded three miles, before a strong party from Seringham crossed the Caveri, and marched to circumvent them; which being perceived from the town, Captain Joseph Smith re-called the guns, and marched out with a considerable part of the garrison to protect them, on which the enemy returned to the island. On the 14th the van of their main body, with D'Autueil, arrived, and with the garrison of Seringham encamped at the Pagodas of Warriore. It was some time that Captain Smith had expected this visit, and he had made all the preparations which the means in his power admitted to receive it: he had filled the ditch round the town with water by the usual sluices from the Caveri, nevertheless several rocky parts remained fordable: the parapets both of the outward and inward walls, wherever decayed, had been repaired: Tondiman and the king of Tanjore, on his application, had sent, the one 300 Colliers, the other 300 matchlockmen: the Peons entertained by the Nabob's governor, were four hundred: but all these men, excepting the Colliers, were only fit for night-watches, nor for that, without being watched themselves: the Company's were the only troops which could be relied on; they were 150 Europeans rank and file, of which 50 had lately been sent from Fort St. David, 15 artillery men, and 700 Sepoys; but of the whole few had seen much service, for the best had been taken away by Captain Calliaud. This force would scarcely in any time, of outward danger have been sufficient to guard the walls, of which the circuit was 6400 yards; much less with the additional ward of 500 French prisoners, who were confined within the town, and from whom more danger was apprehended than from the enemy without: for it was known, and it could not be prevented, that they maintained a correspondence with their countrymen at Seringham; and indeed the hopes of their breaking loose during the attack, had been the principal inducement to the present attempt against the city. More troops were continually

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tinually coming up to Warriore; and on the 15th, the day after the first arrived, the enemy began to throw shells into the town: during the night several parties at different times and places advanced to the ditch, not with any intention of scaling the walls, but only to keep the garrison from rest by repeated alarms. These alerts and the bombardment were continued during the four succeeding days and nights; and on the 20th, M^r D'Autueil, thinking the garrison sufficiently harrassed, summoned Captain Smith in the name of the king of France, to surrender the town, and spare the effusion of blood, warning him that he should resent in the severest manner any ill usage which might have been inflicted on the French prisoners. Captain Smith answered, that he should maintain the town for the king of England; and that the prisoners had always been treated with more lenity than their practices deserved. Some hours after, spies brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a general assault in the approaching night, and at one in the morning the greatest part of their force advanced towards the west face of the town; but a few discharges of cannon made them retreat, and the continual vigilance of the rounds, witnessed by their lights and a variety of military musick, deterred them from any farther attempt.

By this time several of the neighbouring Polygars had joined the army before Madura, and were of service in supplying the camp with provision, as well as by cutting off such as were going to the town, and Captain Calliaud had entered into a negotiation with some of the Jemautdars, to deliver up the city, or to assist in surprizing it: Colonel Smith, on the first appearance of the enemy's troops on the other side of the Coleroon, had dispatched express messengers to him, with the intelligence, which he received on the 11th at three in the afternoon. At six, he began his march, with 120 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, leaving the rest under the command of Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Iffoo, whom he empowered to conclude with the Jemautdars.

The troops marched without tents, baggage, or artillery; a few bullocks carried the spare ammunition, and servants belonging to the commissary

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military were sent forward to provide the meal at the different places of halt. On the 25th at day-break they arrived and halted at the village of Eliapore, nineteen miles from Trichinopoly. On the road Calliaud had received advices from Captain Smith, that D'Autueil, apprized of his approach, had quitted his first station at the Pagodas of Warriore, and had disposed his troops in a line of communication which extended from the Faquieres tope, round the Five rocks, the Golden, and the Sugar-loaf, to the French rock; by which all access on the southern aspect of the city was precluded. It had also been discovered that several spies belonging to D'Autueil had mingled with and accompanied the English troops, on which Calliaud ordered them to be narrowly observed by his own, but without appearance of suspicion, intending to make them the instruments of deceiving those by whom they were employed. The troops having taken sufficient rest, and a full meal, marched from Eliapore at two in the afternoon, and at six arrived at Aour, a village in Tondiman's Woods, about twelve miles from Trichinopoly; where they stopped half an hour. Calliaud then bent his march, as if he intended to come out upon the plain, between the Five rocks and the Sugar-loaf, opposite to the middle of the enemy's line, and advanced in this direction six miles. It was now 8 o'clock, and quite dark, when the French spies, fully persuaded of the intelligence they were carrying, went off to inform D'Autueil where they supposed the English troops intended to force their way. Half an hour after their departure, none of them appearing again, Calliaud entirely changed his rout, striking on the east along the skirts of Tondiman's Woods, until he came opposite to Elimiserun. The ground, from the woods to this place on the south, beyond it to the Caveri on the north, to the west of it as far as the French rock, and a greater space to the east, is a plain mostly laid out in rice fields, which throughout India, are divided into areas of no great extent; each enclosed by a separate bank, and kept overflowed with water until a fortnight before the harvest is cut down, until which time they remain, as these now were, a heavy swamp of mud. The French, supposing all this part of the country impassable to a body of troops, had not thought

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it necessary to station a watch either at Elimiserum, or on the bank of the Caveri; and the information which Calliaud had obtained of this neglect suggested the advantage he was now taking of it. The troops entered the rice fields at ten o'clock, the Europeans marching first; the Sepoys were observed by the English serjeants of their companies, and their own Subadars or captains were men of duty: but no discipline could be exerted, where the success intirely depended on silence and darkness; and the spirit of the soldier himself determined, whether he should give out, or persevere in gaining his toil-some way, after so much fatigue already endured. At 2 in the morning two companies of Sepoys were sent off, with orders to push for the town between the French and Sugat-loaf rocks; lest the enemy should be led to suspicions of the real march, if no alarm were given to any part of their line: but, contrary to expectation, these Sepoys passed close under the French rock without being challenged by a single centinel; for all the troops stationed hereabouts had been drawn to the main body, guarding the ground to the south, indicated by their spies. At 4 in the morning, the two companies arrived at the Madura, or southern gate of the town, where they were immediately recognized and admitted. It was near the dawn of day before the main body with Calliaud reached *Chuckleyapollam*, on the bank of the Caveri, having employed near seven hours in wading through the rice-fields, although the distance was only seven miles; two more still remained; but the sight of the city inspired the whole line with new alacrity: and their commander, who from the multiplicity of his attentions had endured more fatigue than any of them, now marched at their head, supported by two grenadiers. Captain Smith, apprized, drew out half his garrison, with two field-pieces, ready in case of need to protect them. Every man was received with open arms; the meal and every refreshment was ready for the welcome and exhausted guests; and with the rising sun, a discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon announced their exultation, with the news, to the French troops on the plain. On a review it was found, that 300 of the Sepoys had dropped behind,

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but of the English, only two or three had failed. Mr. D'Artueil could scarcely credit what it was intended he should understand by the report of the cannon; but was soon convinced by some prisoners picked up by his hussars. The very same evening he recrossed the Caveri with his whole army, into the island of Seringham, and the next day passing the Coleroon, proceeded towards Pondicherry.

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Intelligence of the French army marching from Arielore to Tritchinopoly, was brought to Madras on the 15th of May, just after the presidency had heard of the repulse of their own troops in the assaults of Nelôre and Madura. Howsoever averse the presidency had hitherto been to encounter the French troops, until they knew what reinforcements they might expect from Bengal and Europe; the importance of Tritchinopoly, and conviction of the danger to which it was exposed, now superseded this reluctance; and they resolved to enter the French territories, as the most probable means of drawing their army back; or even to follow it to Tritchinopoly; but as the troops from Nelôre were not yet arrived, those in Madras, waiting for them, did not take the field until the 26th of May, when 300 men, being the whole of Adlercron's regiment, and 30 of the King's artillery, four field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, marched under the command of Colonel Adlercron himself; but by various delays arising from attention to the modes of warfare in Europe, they did not reach Chinglapet until the 31st, although the distance was only 30 miles; Captain Polier joined them here from the garrison, with his own company of 100 Swiss, and 300 Sepoys; but two days after came the welcome news that Tritchinopoly was relieved.

Whilst the enemy was approaching, Ensign Banatyne, who commanded in Carangoly, marched from thence with 300 Sepoys, and took the fort of Outramalore by escalade, in which he left 40 of his Sepoys; but two days after, the fugitive garrison, which likewise consisted only of Sepoys, returned, with 500 more, sent by the Kellidar of Vandiwash; on whose appearance, the English Sepoys evacuated the fort. [This declaration in favour of the French de-

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termined the presidency of Madras, as the army was abroad, to employ it in the attack of Vandiwash. But, waiting for the troops from Nelore, and the Nabob's from Arcot, Col. Adiercron still advanced slowly. On his approach, the garrison in Outramalore retreated to Vandiwash; where the army arrived on the 5th of June at night, and early the next morning attacked the Pettah, which they carried, after a slight resistance from 300 Sepoys, whom they pursued towards the fort, until obliged to retreat by the fire from the walls; nor could they remain in the pettah itself, because the principal streets led strait to the fort, and were enfiladed by one or other of the towers. However, the success cost no lives; although 10 Europeans were wounded. By this time, the French troops, as much alarmed by the motions of the English, as the English had lately been by theirs, were returning fast from Tritchinopoly; some were already arrived at Pondicherry, others had halted at Trivadi, others were advanced to Gingee; all preparing to march to the relief of Vandiwash: on the other hand, neither the battering cannon, nor any of the reinforcements, had joined the English camp; and there was no probability of making any impression on the fort before some of the French troops would arrive to its succour; on which Colonel Adiercron resolved to quit the enterprize, but set fire to the pettah before he retired; and on the 7th, the army arrived at Outramalore.

By this time the presidency, stralghtened in their treasury, were tired of the expence of a campaign which had produced so little effect; and their present propensity to caution, as well as parsimony, was increased by unexpected intelligence that the French had seized the company's factories at Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which are situated near the Sea on different branches of the river Godaveri, in the province of Rajahmudrum. To these losses were added apprehensions arising from various reports, that Mr. Bussy intended to attack the more important factory of Vizagapatam.

In this cloudy hour the presidency injudiciously ordered Adiercron to return immediately with the army to Madras, although a part of the French troops were arrived and encamped under the walls

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walls of Vandiwash. They were commanded by Saubinet, an officer of enterprize, who no sooner saw the English army retreating from Outramalore, than he advanced and took possession of this place; and, as soon as he heard that they had repassed Chinglapett in their way to Madras, detached early in the morning of the 15th, 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, to retaliate on Conjeveram the fire which they had set to Vandiwash. Conjeveram is the largest open town in the Carnatic, and the most populous; besides the resort it attracts by the great quantities of grain produced in the vast plain that surrounds it, it is still more frequented from the reputation of its pagoda, and of the college of Bramins, who possess it, and are acknowledged the supreme council of the Indian religion in Coromandel: both the English and French had, during the late wars, kept troops in the pagoda; but its space and proper attentions had still preserved the priests and the holy places from contamination or pollution. There were at this time in the pagoda two companies of Sepoys, under the command of Serjeant Lambertson. The French troops arrived at noon, and, contrary to their expectation, were assailed by the fire of musketry, concealed on each side of the street, which obliged them to beat up the houses as the line advanced; and the English Sepoys, who knew their ground, continually escaped from one shelter to another, renewing their fire, until they retreated into the pagoda. The enemy, exasperated, then advanced against the gateway, where the serjeant was ready to receive them again, placing his Sepoys, some on scaffolding along the walls, and others amongst the open masonry of the stories which compose the vast tower over the gateway. The two field-pieces were of little service to dislodge them from such defences, and the serjeant had obstructed the porch with large trees, laid with their branches outwards. On this resistance, Saubinet thought it prudent not to persist, for his time was limited, and eight of his Europeans were killed, more wounded, and of the Sepoys in proportion. They therefore marched to a distant quarter of the town, from whence detachments were sent to collect whatsoever plunder could be conveniently carried away. In the evening they

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they set fire to the town : at midnight they marched away, and the next day arrived at Outramalore.

The terror spread by this incursion was of much more detriment than the mischief done at Conjeveram ; for all the inhabitants of the open and fertile country along the Paliar, abandoned their labours and occupations, and the renters as usual amplified the losses they were likely to sustain in the collection of the revenues. The presidency of Madras, sensible and vexed at their error, immediately ordered the army to march back, and re-cross the Paliar. Col. Lawrence, although he had resolved from the time he was superseded by Colonel Adlercron, never to act under his command, on this occasion offered to join the camp as a volunteer ; and Adlercron accepted the proposal with good will. The army marched from the Mount on the 19th. The French, on their approach, retired from Outramalore to Vandiwash, and intrenched strongly, within half a mile of the eastern side of the fort, summoning reinforcements from all their garrisons in the rear. The English, likewise waiting for detachments and the Nabob's cavalry from Arcot, did not advance to Outramalore until the 29th, when an uncommon sickness broke out in the camp ; men being suddenly seized, and dying in 12 hours, and as many died as recovered. The mortality continued four days, but the camp having moved on the fifth five miles beyond Outramalore, fewer men fell down the next, and in two days more the sickness entirely ceased. On the 11th of July they encamped within sight of the enemy, whose hussars hovered round the line, but came not near enough to receive any harm. By this time the strength of the two armies, although different, was nearly equal ; the French had 800 Europeans, of which 100 were hussars, and 1500 Sepoys ; the English 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, but no horse, excepting a few troopers, to serve as scouts. On the 16th, 500 of the Nabob's horse arrived from Arcot ; and the next morning 300 of them, with five companies of Sepoys, advanced towards the enemy's camp, followed by a picquet of 100 Europeans, with a field-piece, and at the same time the whole line drew out, ready to meet a general action, if the enemy would give the opportunity ;
but

but they recalled their advanced posts into their intrenchments, and only sent out their hussars, who, as before, ventured nothing. This trial convinced Col. Lawrence that nothing but the certainty of advantage could bring them to action; and enough being done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in consequence of fear, he thought it best to put an end to the expence of the campaign. The army marched away on the 26th, and the enemy made no motion to harass them. On the 28th, they arrived at Conjeveram, where 500 Europeans, with 1500 Sepoys, remained in cantonments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Forde; the rest returned to the garrisons and stations from whence they had been drawn. Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force that Madras and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained 40 days within a few hours march of each other, and separated, without a man wounded on either side. Nevertheless, both were right, according to their different views and circumstances, in refraining from action.

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The garrison of Madura was so much elated by the departure of Captain Calliaud with the best of the troops, and by the cause in the danger of Trichinopoly, that the Jemautdars, who had made proposals to him, would not continue any communication with Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Issof; who ordered up six of the 12 companies of Sepoys from Tinivelly and Palamcotah, and moved the camp from the s. e. to the n. e. of the town on the other side of the river Vigee, in order to cut off the communication of the garrison with the river, from which they drew their water, as all in the tanks of the town and plain was putrid.

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The four sides of Madura front nearly to the four cardinal points. The river passing from the n. w. washes the walls at the n. e. angle; the bed, unless immediately after heavy rains, lies in dry flats of sand, on some of which are buildings; the channels between are shallow. The English camp extended on the northern side of the river, opposite the angle; and within point blank of part of the walls on the east and north sides; for nothing was feared from the decayed artillery of the town. The

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The gate-way of the north side, from whence the garrison got their water, was near the N. W. angle, and about 80 yards from the river; on the side of which, opposite to the gate, they threw up a retrenchment, in which they kept a guard to protect the water-carriers. Lieutenant Rumbold, with the Europeans, passed the river under cover of a field-piece, and having dislodged the guard from the post on the other side, kept possession, strengthened it with better retrenchments, and stationed two companies of Sepoys to maintain it. This immediately obliged the enemy to open another gate, it was that to the south, and to get their water from the tanks within and without the town, which soon threw many of them into fluxes.

Rumbold and Mahomed Iffoo remained three or four days without doing any thing more, hoping to put the enemy off their guard, and then, taking a night when the wind blew very strong, advanced with a large party of Sepoys, carrying bundles of straw mixed with more effectual combustibles, which they piled and set fire to against the outward doors of the gateway; which were soon consumed, and the party suffered very little, being concealed by the thickness of the smoke, and still more protected by the indifference of the garrison, who knew their own security; for, when advanced with a petard through the windings of the gateway to the second door, which opened immediately into the city, the troops, to their great surprize, found the front of it bricked up with a strong wall; upon which they retired without delay. By this time, the Sepoys from Trivelly were advancing; and Captain Calliaud, being convinced that the French army were not likely to return again to Trichinopoly, had detached a platoon of 30 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, and an 18 pounder, which were likewise on the road to Madura. The garrison hearing of the approach of these reinforcements, resolved to make a vigorous effort before their arrival. Intelligence was received of their intention, and to be prepared against it, the ground on each side of the camp was sluiced by cutting the mound of a large tank at some distance in the rear; and Mahomed Iffoo undertook to defend the
post

post on the other side of the river with the usual guard of two companies of Sepoys, and the addition of a field-piece. On the 9th of the month the enemy made the sally at noon-day. They were 300 Sepoys, 200 cavalry dismounted, and 200 more on their horses. The riders came round from the west, and crossing the river, kept galloping on this side the camp, but without venturing to pass the swamp; but the foot issuing from the north gate, which they had unbricked, advanced straight forward to the watering post. A shot had scarcely been fired, before the two companies of Sepoys, either from panic or spite, for Mahomed Issooof was a severe commander, abandoned him, and dispersed, all but ten men, with whom he retreated to a choultry, on an island in the river, to which they were followed by part of the enemy, whilst the rest seized the gun. Lieutenant Rumbold on the danger advanced with the company of Coffrees, and one of Sepoys, leaving the four other companies, and the field-pieces for the defence of the camp. He made his way good to the choultry, where he found the small party of defenders reduced to their last cartridge, having killed more than their own number of the enemy, who retreated as soon as the reinforcement came up. On the 11th of June, arrived the detachment from Tritchinopoly; when Rumbold mounted the eighteen pounder they had brought on the recovered post. It fired three days, until most of its ammunition was spent, but without being able to make a practicable breach; and in the mean time the enemy threw up a retrenchment with a deep ditch before the breach, and strengthened the ditch with palisades; so that nothing could be done by assault without more force. The presidency had foreseen this; and notwithstanding their other alarms, still continued intent on the reduction of Madura, as the most dangerous advantage of which the French were likely to get possession, if not immediately recovered; of which sense nothing could be a greater proof than their insufficient efforts; for the attempt required a complete army. They therefore left it to the discretion of Calliaud, to proceed again to the attack, with such a force as should not leave Tritchinopoly exposed again to too much risque. Some days passed in waiting the

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return of a detachment of 50 Europeans, which had come from, and had been lately sent back to Fort St. David; and as soon as they returned, he took the field with 90 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, an eighteen-pounder, and 200 horse supplied by the king of Tanjore; more than half the Europeans were French and Dutch deserters, chosen, that none but the English soldiers might be left to guard the French prisoners in the city. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, and awed by the imperious temper of Mahomed Illoof, had quitted the camp, and followed Calliaud when he marched to the relief of Trichinopoly; from whence he now again returned with him to Madura. The detachment set out on the 25th of June, and arrived on the 3d of July. The Sepoys called from Tinivelly had joined a few days before; but Mr. Rumbold had nevertheless been obliged to reduce his operations to preventing the garrison from getting water from the river, and provisions from the country.

Calliaud, seeing the dexterity with which the enemy had counteracted the battery of Rumbold, resolved to prevent them from opposing the same obstacles to that which he intended to erect, by keeping them in ignorance of the part he should attack, until the first shot was fired. The gabions, fascines, and platforms, were prepared in the camp; and as soon as all were ready, the troops allotted marched on the 9th at night to the watercourse which runs to the west of the city, and raised the battery against the curtain between the gateway and the tower which had been attempted by escalade of the 1st of May. It mounted two eighteen-pounders, with four field-pieces, was finished before the morning, and at day-break began to fire. The parapet of the fausse-bray was soon beaten down, and the inward wall, although strong, was by noon shaken so much, that the parapet of this likewise fell entirely, and the wall itself was sufficiently shattered, to permit a man to clamber to the top: but, in this short time, the garrison had staked the rampart behind with the trunks of Palmeira trees set on end: a few shot knocked down some, nor could any of them have been firmly fixed, and to leave the enemy no more time to prepare farther defences, Cal-
liaud

liaud resolved to storm immediately. Of the Europeans, only the artillery-men were left at the battery: all the battalion-men, who were 120, marched, followed by the company of Coffrees, and they by 400 Sepoys. Calliaud led the Europeans, and Mahomed Iffoo the Sepoys. The garrison had disciplined 300 of their matchlock-men as Sepoys; who, although much inferior to these troops, were improved far beyond their former state; these were posted on the western gateway, which, projecting beyond the fausse-bray into the ditch, flanked the tower attacked; and a multitude were crowded on the ramparts behind and on each side of the breach. The troops, although galled, advanced resolutely through the ditch and fausse-bray, and four of the most active scrambled up the breach to the rampart, but were immediately tumbled down dead, or mortally wounded. This repressed the ardour of those who were following: an officer threw out imprudent words, and the infirmity visibly caught the whole line, notwithstanding the exhortations and activity of Calliaud, who was in the fausse-bray directing the assault. Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top, pretending the impossibility, although the danger was as great in the fausse-bray below; for, besides the shower of other annoyances, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with mere powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants, and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable. Nevertheless, Calliaud continued the assault half an hour; when finding that no command was any longer obeyed, and that much loss had been sustained, he ordered the retreat. Four of the bravest serjeants were killed, and as many wounded, and 20 other Europeans were either killed or desperately wounded; of the Coffrees 10; of the Sepoys 100 were disabled, but few of this body were killed, and fewer died afterwards of their wounds.

The presidency received intelligence of this repulse on the 25th, and on the same day two Peons, escaped from Vizagapatam, brought news, that Mr. Buffy had taken that settlement, in which were 150 European soldiers. These evils were aggravated by the circum-

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stances of the times & for there is no country in which the slightest successes and mischances of war weigh so much in the opinions both of friends and enemies, as in Indostan, and a large body of Morratões had encamped a few days before on the western frontiers of the Carnatic, threatening the Nabob to enter and ravage the province, if their demands were not complied with.

February.

The *Nana* Balagerow, after his return from Sanore, in the last year, remained at Poni, in appearance attentive only to the affairs of Delhi, and the northern countries of Indostan, to which he detached a very large force in October; but when he saw Salabadjing and Mr. Bussy proceeding with their respective armies, the one to Auréngabad, the other to the ceded provinces; he took the field himself with 60,000 horse, and proceeded to the Southward, passed the *Kristna*, and having purified his army in the streams of the *Beamraw*, a sacred river in *Viziapore*, they set off from hence in the middle of February, and marched rapidly towards *Mysore*, carrying terror and destruction wherever they came. Most of the forts on the way surrendered on the first summons, and such as held out, were invested, or at least watched by detachments, whilst the main body pursued its course without interruption to the capital *Seringapatam*. It was some apprehensions of this invasion, which had recalled the General, *Hyderally*, from *Dindigul* in the beginning of the year; who nevertheless was not sufficiently prepared to resist the invasion, and the *Delaway* or Regent, being much frightened, they negotiated, and agreed to pay *Balagerow* two millions of rupees.

April.

The terms were concluded in the middle of April, and *Balagerow*, on his return to the northern division of *Mysore*, continued to reduce the forts he had left in his rear; although many of them were, at this time, in the dependance of this kingdom. The principal of these, and indeed the strongest in the whole country, is *Serah*, which is likewise called *Sirpi*. It is situated on a great mountain, 120 miles north of *Seringapatam*; the Governor resisted in the beginning, but the bribes and batteries of the *Morratoe* induced him in three weeks to surrender. The rainy season was now approaching, when the *Kristna* overflows, and becomes impassable;

and

and it was a maxim with Balagerow, never to remain to the southward, with that obstacle between himself and his capital. He accordingly marched away from Sirpi, with the greatest part of his army, 45,000 men, but left 15,000 horse, as many foot, and a large train of artillery, under the command of a general named Balaventrow, to execute the other purposes of the campaign, who, after receiving the submissions and fines of a variety of petty Polygars under the subjection of Sirpi, proceeded 40 miles to the s.s.e. and encamped between two forts called the greater and lesser Balabarum, of which the greater refused to make any submission, but the kellidar of the other paid 50,000 rupees. From hence they proceeded 20 miles farther east, and, after a siege of 10 days, took Ouscotah. This fort, although far distant from the territory of Cudapah, belonged to the Nabob of that province. Proceeding, they summoned the fort of Colar, situated 20 miles beyond Ouscotah, and being refused, left it in their rear, and sat down before Mulliavaukel, twenty miles farther on. This fort stands on the highest rock of a large mountain, and is impregnable by open force. Balaventrow therefore tried money, which in four days gained the place. They were now within 30 miles of the great range of mountains which bound the Carnatic to the west; and on the 27th of June encamped before the fort of Cudapanatam, sixty miles n. by w. from the city of Arcot, and commanding the entrance of one of the passes into the Carnatic. Balaventrow, whilst preparing to attack the fort of Cudanapatam, sent forward letters from Balajerow, with his own, to the Nabob, and the presidency. During the expedition to Seringapatam, Balajerow had likewise written several to the presidency, in which he complained, that the government of Bombay had given him no share of the plunder of Gheria; and held out his intentions of visiting the Carnatic on his return from Mysore, in order to settle, as he said, the affairs of the province; but these were deemed expressions merely designed to intimidate, insomuch that the presidency, in answer, invited him to come and assist them in expelling the French, as the only means of restoring tranquillity to the country. They were therefore not a little surprized to find in the letters now received from

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Balagerow and his agent, to themselves, and in stronger terms to the Nabob, a peremptory demand of the *Chout* or tribute due to the king of the Morratocs from the Nabobship of Arcot, which Balagerow asserted had been settled by Nizamalmuluck at six hundred thousand rupees a year, four for the Carnatic, and two for Trichinopoly and the southern countries; but that he had received nothing for six years; that is, since the death of the Nabob Anwarodean Khan: the sum he required was four millions of rupees.

The city of Arcot was struck with consternation by the arrival of the Morratocs at Cudapatam, and the Nabob himself apprehended the incursion of some of their parties even into the town, on which the presidency invited and advised him to send the women and children of his family to Madras; but his mother, the widow of Anaverdi, having some prejudice against the air of the sea coast, chose to remain at Arcot; the rest arrived on the 10th of July, passing without danger, as the English army were then before Vandiwash. In the mean time a correspondence by letters and agents was carrying on between the Nabob and Balaventrow. Cudapatam, after a breach, surrendered on the 15th of July; when a strong detachment of Morratocs immediately came through the pass and invested Ambore, from which they levied a contribution, and their parties scoured the valley of Vaniambaddy, quite up to the gates of Velore: but Balaventrow himself, with the main body, remained at Cudapatam, and sent an officer of distinction and great prudence named Armetrow, to negotiate with the Nabob: he arrived at Arcot on the 20th: he demanded 400,000 rupees as arrears from the Nabobship in general, with the reserve of collecting from the forts and Polygars of the Carnatic in proportion. After much discussion, he consented to take 200,000 in ready money from the Nabob, and his rescripts on the forts and Polygars for 250,000 more. These terms, considering all circumstances, were moderate; and the Nabob thinking that the presidency would be as well satisfied with them as himself, requested they would furnish the money out of the rents he had assigned to the Company for the expences of the war. But the presidency wished to annul a claim, which if admitted under their

their sanction, might never be relinquished. They had, however, no alternative but to pay or fight; and no contemptible means of resistance were tendered to them at this very time. The Morratoc Morariow, in consequence of his submissions to Balajerow in the preceding year at Sanore, had joined and accompanied him with 6000 horse in the expedition to Seringapatam. They parted after the reduction of Sirpi, and Morariow returned to his own country without having got any thing by the campaign, not even the pay of his troops, which Balajerow regarded as military vassals to the Morratoc sovereignty. The Nabob of Cudapah had been summoned to pay the chout, and had refused; on which Balaventrow had taken Ouscotah, and the Nabob armed. The neighbouring Nabobs of Sanore, Canoul, and Condanore, all, as well as Cudapah, Pitans, took the alarm, and Morariow, whose territory is contiguous to theirs, pretending to fear as much as they, proposed that all together should make an alliance with the English, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Mysoreans, not only to oppose Balaventrow at present, but to prevent the invasions of Balajerow to the south of the Krishna in future. All consented, and Morariow, taking the lead, made the proposal to the Nabob and the presidency in the most explicit terms; Cudapah did so likewise; and both proffered to march immediately and give battle to Balaventrow at Cudapanatam, if the English troops would join them there. The presidency could spare no troops, and was as much afraid of them, as of the Morratocs, entering the province; and in this dilemma resolved, if possible, to procrastinate with Armetrow until the arrival of supplies, or intelligence from Europe, should give some certainty to their conduct; and invited him to come to Madras, who, on the offer of the Nabob to accompany him, consented: they arrived on the 8th of August, and the next day conferred with the governor, who represented the merit of the English nation in preserving the Carnatic from the dominion of the French, from whom the Morratocs would never have received any tribute, since they had paid none for the northern provinces; in the reduction of which he proffered to join Balaventrow with a body of English troops. But both these arguments admitted the claim; and Armetrow perceiving the evasion,

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evasion, demanded a positive answer. The next day arrived a vessel from Bombay, dispatched with letters from England, which had been sent over the desert of Arabia, and were dated the 5th of January; they gave intelligence, that four ships of the line, with a frigate, under the command of Admiral Stevens, were sailed for India. This news produced no change in the temper of Armetrow, whom the utmost entreaties of the Nabob could hardly prevail on not to depart that evening. A consultation was held in the morning, when it was finally deemed expedient to pay the money; but on condition that 3000 horse should immediately join the English troops at Conjeveram, and proceed with them to attack the French army, which still remained at Vandiwash. A second conference passed, in which Armetrow was as before inflexible, asserted the chout as a right, would receive nothing with any condition; when the money was paid, he was ready to treat for the loan of a body of horse. Various messages and explanations, however, detained him until the 14th, when in the middle of the night he ordered his retinue, 300 Morraatoes, to be in readiness to march in the morning: on which the presidency resolved to pay the money without reserve; and he staid two days more to receive it, part in coin, and part in bills on the shroffs. During the embassy, Balaventrow went with 3000 horse from his camp at Cudapanatam to the pagoda of Tripetti, which stands 120 miles N. E. of that place; they passed through the straits of Damalcherry, and when arrived within ten miles, he, at the request of the renter who farmed the offerings, halted his troops; and, proceeding himself with a few attendants, paid his devotions with much reverence one day on the top of the mountain, and the next, in the temples below. During the march and return of this pilgrimage, he restrained all the troops which accompanied him from committing any violences in the country through which they passed: but several parties from the camp were at this time ravaging the skirts of the province of Cudapah.

With the other advices from England came orders for recalling Col. Adlercron and his regiment; but according to permission from
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the war-office, most of the common men enlisted in the Company's troops; and there being no conveyance ready to carry away the rest, no alteration ensued in the strength of the army.

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The French army at Vandiwash, as soon as the English cantoned themselves in Conjeveram, employed their Sepoys and horse to ravage the country. A detachment immediately took possession of Outramalore, and from thence plundered the districts of Salawauk: a much larger, with two field-pieces, marched into the districts of Chittapett, where they were surprized and beaten by 200 Sepoys and 500 horse from the fort. This routed body being reinforced, divided into two, one of which plundered as far as Timery within five miles of Arcot, and the other to Cavantandalum within ten of Conjeveram; but these incursions were so sudden and transitory, that no motions were made by the troops there to repel them. However, 100 Sepoys were sent from the fort of Arcot, to assist Chittapett, who were attacked and made their way through a stronger party of the enemy's. The month of August passed in these alarms, which were then succeeded by one of more consequence. Of the three feasts which are annually celebrated at Tripetti, that which falls in the beginning of September is held in much higher devotion than either of the other two, and more money is collected in proportion, since the number of pilgrims is much greater. In the beginning of June Nazeabulla, the rebel governor of Nelore, returned from Masulipatam, accompanied by eighty French soldiers. He, however, remained quiet until the Nabob's troops under the command of Abdulwahab, had marched away to Arcot, and those of the two Polygars, Damerla Venkytapah and Bangar Yatcham, had withdrawn to their homes. He then took the field, but confined his operations to incursions into the opener country of the Polygars, until the middle of August, when he marched suddenly with his whole force, and sat down before the fort of Cadawah, situated within twelve miles of Tripetti, and belonging to the Nabob. This motion left no doubt of his intention to collect the revenue of the approaching feast, which had for some years been assigned to the company. On the first advices of the danger, the presidency

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ordered a detachment of 100 Europeans, with two field-pieces, their artillery-men, and 300 Sepoys, to march with all expedition from Conjeveram, under the command of Captain Polier; and at the same time ordered the two Polygars to act in concert with this detachment, which set out on the first of September.

On the 6th, four of the company's ships from England anchored in the road of Madras. It was some time that the Triton, a frigate of twenty guns, belonging to the Company, and commanded by Commodore James, had been stationed to cruize off Pondicherry, in order to intercept any of the enemy's vessels, or give the intelligence of the coast to all the English ships they might meet; and they were likewise instructed to take out of the first from England the recruits they might bring; which were to be immediately landed at Fort St. David, as the safest and most expeditious means of restoring to that garrison the men which had lately been taken from it to serve in the expedition to Madura, and in the campaign of Vandiwash. The cruizers discovered the four Indiamen between Pondicherry and Fort St. David, joined them off of Alamparah, and took on board all the recruits, which were 200; but having fallen 30 miles to leeward, it was the 7th at 10 at night before they anchored again in the road of Fort St. David. At the dawn of day they discovered 11 ships at anchor, extending from the east to the south, and none at more than three miles distance. The cruizers immediately got under weigh, and were soon convinced that the strangers, although they shewed English colours, were French ships. Nevertheless, Commodore James resolved to disembark the recruits in the Revenge, sending as many as the three boats of the ship could carry to the outside of the surf, where they were received and landed by the massoolas of the shore, which always begin to ply at day-break. The boats returning, took the rest of the recruits, but before they could reach the ship again, the foremost of the enemy's squadron were come so nigh, that it was necessary to fly, and leave the boats to the shore. The Triton not sailing so well as the Revenge, and being under other restrictions of service, had not ventured the delay of landing the recruits she had taken on board, but had advanced on her way,

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way, although slowly, waiting for her comrade, which soon joined her, when both, under such a cloud of sail as amazed the enemy, stood before them; but were nevertheless so pressed by two of their prime sailers, which kept without, that they were obliged to sail through the road of Pondicherry itself; where a ship of force was riding, which, instead of cutting her cable, and beginning an engagement, suffered the cruizers to pass, whilst she was weighing her anchor at the capstone to pursue them. As soon as they were beyond Pondicherry, the enemy, afraid of falling to leeward of their port, ceased the chase, and anchored in the road. The cruizers then hailed, and agreed, that the *Revenge* should proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal, and the *Triton* to Madras, where she anchored early the next morning.

The council was immediately summoned, and their determinations were soon taken. All the scribes in the settlement were not adequate to the orders and advices which it became immediately necessary to issue. The main body of the army at Conjeveram was ordered to come into Madras, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tripetti: Calliaud with the Europeans to return from Madura, whether taken or not, to Trichinopoly; if taken, to bring away likewise Mahomed Iffoo, with 1000 Sepoys. Instructions were sent to the English garrisons in Carangoly, Chinglapet, and Arcot; and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country subject to, or in the interests of, the Nabob: advices to the presidency of Bengal, and the squadron there; to Bombay and all the factories on the Malabar coast. A vessel was dispatched to cruize off Ceylon, with intelligence for the ships daily expected from England. Another was sent to anchor off Cobelong, 20 miles to the south of Madras, in order to make signals on the first appearance of the French squadron now at Pondicherry.

The Council at Fort St. David, not observing, or not discerning, the motions of the cruizers, fancied the ships they saw arriving, were the men of war expected from England, with some of the company's ships under their convoy, and in this persuasion sent one

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of the agents in a massoola to compliment the admiral, and to deliver a letter from the presidency, in which, "the admiral was requested to cruize off Ceylon, in order to encounter or intercept the enemy's, and to protect the English ships expected on the coast in that track of navigation; and it was confidently supposed, that Mr. Watson, with the ships under his command, would arrive from Bengal, in the other track, by the middle of September, when every success might be expected from the junction of the two squadrons, and even Pondicherry itself brought to risque." The agent did not perceive the mistake until too near to escape, but had time to conceal, as he thought, the letter between two planks of the seat: he was received on board with civility, and with the massoola carried to Pondicherry:

Several anxious days passed in expectation that the French ships would bear down from thence, and scour the road of Madras, where the loss of the China ships would have been of much evil consequence to the Company's commerce. Several days more, before even an imperfect account could be obtained, what the French ships were, what force they brought, and what their proceedings after their arrival; and it was long after, before the motives of their conduct at this time were discovered.

The squadron consisted of four ships of 60 guns, two of 50, three of 36, 30, and 22, and two of 16 guns, with a bomb-ketch; in all 12 vessels, most of which sailed from France in the end of December, but being separated by a gale of wind, the last did not arrive at Mauritius until the 25th of June. They brought from France the regiment of Lorraine, with 50 of the King's artillery, the whole under the command of the Marquis de Soupires, of the rank of marshal de camp, which answers to that of Major General with us. They sailed on the 1st of July from Mauritius to the isle of Bourbon, where they took on board Mr. Bouvet, who was appointed to conduct the squadron to India; he was governor of this island, and one of the ablest navigators belonging to France. On the 15th, they arrived at Foule Point on Madagascar, where they remained the rest of the month taking in provisions, of which their own islands were not

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not able to furnish a sufficiency. From hence they sailed on the 1st of August, and on the 9th of September, the day after their arrival at Pondicherry, landed 983 men of Lorrain, of which 63 were sick; the 50 artillery-men, and 60 volunteers from Bourbon, with their equipages; besides which had been embarked in the ships, 20 pièces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls. M. Soupires, who by his commission took the direction and command of all military operations, summoned a mixed council, of the military, the marine, and the civil government, in which he proposed that the ships and troops should immediately invest and blockade Fort St. David; but the letter from the presidency of Madras to the English Admiral had been discovered in the Massoola, and raised such a consternation in the French squadron, by the apprehensions of seeing every hour a force superior to their own, that Mr. Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and should sail immediately back to the islands: no arguments could change his resolution, nor would he wait to disembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, because they served as part of the ballast in the different ships, which it would require fifteen days to shift and reinstate in a condition fit for sailing. Thus was much detriment prevented by the accident of discovering the letter, which, at the time it happened, was deemed a great mischance.

The sudden departure of the French ships diminished in some degree the apprehensions which had been raised by their arrival. The army from Conjeveram was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madras; the detachment with Polier, which had returned as far as Tripassour, to march back and protect the coast at Tripetty, until concluded: and Calliaud was permitted to continue before Madura, if any chance remained of getting the place.

This officer, very infirm before, fell dangerously ill immediately after the repulse of the last attack, and was obliged to retire to the neighbouring village of Trivalore, where he remained until the 4th of August, before his health was sufficiently restored to endure the fatigues of the camp; however, this time was not entirely lost. The greater and lesser Moravars, at his solicitation, sent their troops as far

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as Coilguddy, ready to act on call. The Polygar Catabominague came himself with 1000 Colleries. Myanah, who was the fugitive governor of Madura when Maphuze Khan came into the country, quitting the recesses of Nattam, and disclaiming all farther connexions with the rebels, came to the camp, with a large retinue; some troops, and, as a proof of his sincerity, brought his family; by his influence the assistance of most of the Nattam colleries was secured. Nabey Cawn Catteck, the ancient colleague of Myana, kept himself concealed in the woods of Moravar, without making any efforts to assist the garrison; and what perhaps was equal to any one of these advantages, 50 Europeans, and a nine-inch mortar, had arrived at the camp from Trichinopoly.

With the other defections, the Jemautdars in Madura had reason to doubt of the assistance they expected from Maphuze Khan with the western Polygars of Tinivelly, and from the Mysoreans at Dindigul.

Five hundred horse and a thousand foot remained with Maphuze Khan at Nellitangaville, when Berkatoolah left him and came away to defend Madura; which Calliaud at the same time was marching to attack with the main body of the English troops from Tinivelly. As soon as Calliaud was out of sight, Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver took the field, and were joined by other Polygars, which all together made up a camp of 10,000 men. This army marched from Nellitangaville in the latter end of April, and advanced beyond Alvar Courchy within 15 miles of Tinivelly, but were deterred by the Sepoys left there from attempting the town; nor did they immediately plunder or terrify the inhabitants of the open country, because the harvest, from which they intended to collect money, would not be reaped until the middle of June; however, they published their mandates that all who were accountable to the renter Moodilee should then become accountable to them. In the mean time Maphuze Khan negotiated with the king of Travancore for assistance, with the proffer of Calacad and all the other districts to which the king had ever made any pretension, and more; but, lest this should fail, he, with his usual uncertainty renewed his negotiations.

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ations with the English, and sent off an agent with letters to Calliaud, proposing to rent the country from them on the security of substantial shroffs. Lieutenant Rumbold received these offers whilst Calliaud was returned to the relief of Tritchinopoly, and, thinking them worth attention, sent a Jemautdar of Sepoys named Ramanaig, with an intelligent Moorman, to confer with Maphuze Khan in his camp. They were accompanied by an escort of 50 Sepoys; but just before their arrival, Maphuze Khan had received information, that the six companies of Sepoys, of the twelve left at Tinivelly and Palamcotah, were ordered to join the camp at Madura; which changed his schemes, and instead of negotiating, he surrounded the two deputies and their escort with his horse, and threatened to put them all to the sword, if they did not send an order to the Sepoys in garrison at Palamcotah to deliver the fort to him. The deputies with their escort stood to their arms, and said, they would rather die; but, just as the fight was going to begin, one of Maphuze Khan's Jemautdars, named Ally Saheb, declared his detestation of the treachery, and joined the Sepoys with the horse of his command; on which the rest recollected themselves, and retired; but Ally Saheb, having still some suspicions for the safety of the deputies and their escort, marched with them to Palamcotah, and delivered them safe into the fort. Soon after the six companies of Sepoys began their march from Tinivelly to Madura, and the harvest began, on which the enemy's army entered the town, where Maphuze Khan proclaimed his dominion, which his agents and dependants exercised with much violence and injustice. Even the shroffs, or bankers, did not escape; although the necessity and neutrality of their occupation protects their persons and property throughout Indostan from the violence either of the despot or the conqueror. The main body of his army invested the fort of Palamcotah, which the Sepoys within easily defended, and with loss to the enemy; but there was danger from scarcity of provisions; to prevent which, Buffaponiague, the commander of the Sepoys, solicited the assistance of the Polygar Catabominaigue, who stipulated the cession of some lands convenient to his districts; which being promised, he took the field with his own

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own troops, and those of his dependant of Etiaporum. On their arrival the garrison sallied, and in a slight skirmish obliged the enemy to raise the siege: after which, the two Polygars returned to their homes, and Catabominaigue from his, came and joined the English camp before Madura. Maphuze Khan continuing at Tinivelly, neither sent money or troops to the Jemautdars, but suffered the incomes to be dissipated, notwithstanding Berkatoolah had continually represented to him, that the scarcity of provisions in Madura was daily increasing from the want of money to pay for them, and of parties in the field to facilitate their importation.

Berkatoolah was at the same time equally disappointed of the arrival of the Mysoreans, which had long been promised from day to day, and more lately with assurance that Hyderally himself was come to Dindigul to command them in person; but, on more diligent enquiry, it was discovered that Hyderally was still at Seringapatam, and that the troops at Dindigul did not exceed the usual garrison. Thus deserted, he resolved to treat with Calliaud, and proffered to deliver the city, if the English would pay the arrears due from Maphuze Khan to the troops within; but made no stipulation for those who had been their former comrades, and were now either with Maphuze Khan, or any where else out of the town. The arrears he stated at 1,600,000 rupees, but, on account of sums levied in the country, offered to abate 400,000: these proposals were signed by himself and four of the principal Jemautdars. Calliaud, after treating them for some time with contempt, proposed his own; which were, to pay 100,000 rupees for the arrears of the troops, 20,000 as a present to Berkatoolah himself, 8000 to each of the four Jemautdars who had signed with him, and 2000 to each of the commanders of the three companies of Sepoys; in all 150,000. Many days and messages passed in chaffering concerning the money; during which the Polygars kept their watches so strictly in the country round, that no provisions could be carried in, and the inhabitants were reduced to rice alone, and that without salt; on which all, not occupied in military services, left the town, and were permitted to go away unmolested. At the same time the former battery was strengthened,

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ened, and enlarged to the capacity of receiving all the artillery, which were two eighteen-pounders, 10 field-pieces, and a nine-inch mortar. Every day the distress increased; and in the beginning of September, horsemen daily came over to the camp. On the 7th Calliaud informed Berkatoolah that his battery was ready, and would open the next morning; after which, no terms of composition would be received. The negotiator was a relation of Berkatoolah, whom Calliaud had attached by generosities, and Berkatoolah believed: his representations in this decisive moment prevailed; and he returned on the morning of the 8th with the treaty signed: the sum agreed was 170,000 rupees, 20,000 more than the first offer; and at noon Calliaud with the troops were received into the town. This important acquisition was made on the very day that Mr. de Soupires with the French forces landed at Pondicherry:

The presidency received the news on the 16th. It was the only advantage which had been gained during the losses and distresses to which the company's affairs in Coromandel had been exposed since the departure of the armament to Bengal: it would have been deemed of the highest importance even in fortunate times; and at present was the more acceptable, because scarcely within expectation; for, had the surrender been protracted until the arrival of the French squadron had been known to the garrison, little chance would have remained of gaining the place; which continuing in the possession of enemies confederated with the French, would have greatly influenced many subsequent events, by means which were now entirely precluded.

In the mean time the French at Pondicherry were holding councils what to do with their new force. It having been determined not to attack Fort St. David, from apprehensions of the English squadron, Trichinopoly would probably have been the object, if Mr. Soupires had not been instructed to refrain from any distant enterprize, which might impair the force under his command, before the arrival of a greater which was following from France; when both united might attempt any thing. It was therefore resolved to

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act in the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, and to begin by the siege of Chittapet. The French troops, which had taken the field before the arrival of the squadron, were still remaining in their camp at Vandiwash, and on the 21st appeared in sight of Chittapet, where, on the 25th, they were joined by 300 of the regiment of Lorrain, and a train of artillery from Pondicherry.

The advance of the French troops created no little consternation in the city of Arcot, and incidentally became the cause of much confusion there. The Nabob had left the government of the city to his brother Abdulwahab, assisted by the councils of his mother, of Sampetrow, who had been the Duan or minister of his father, and of Ebrar Cawn, the Buxey or general of the troops. Many of the cavalry levied for the expedition to Nelore, had lately quitted his service for want of pay; some had enlisted with the French at Vandiwash, others with Mortizally at Velore. The desertion continuing, one Dana Sing, a straggling Jemautdar, came in the beginning of September, and encamped near the suburbs of Arcot with a hundred horse, intending to increase the number, by enlisting such as left the Nabob's service, and then offer the whole to the best bidder. These practices are so common in Indostan, that a body of cavalry may encamp between two opposite armies, and remain unmolested by either, whilst undecided which to join; and Dana Sing, relying on the customs he knew, prosecuted his business without reserve, and even with the knowledge of the English commandant in the fort, whom he sometimes visited. But malicious persons, who were in possession of the confidence of the commandant, began to insinuate, that the former as well as the present desertions were the effects of collusion and treachery, between the troops and Abdulwahab with the others to whom the Nabob had entrusted the government. Their artifices awakened his suspicions, which began to see the phantoms of plots and conspiracies, after which the slightest incidents became proofs to his credulity, and unluckily one happened, which might have raised mistrust in a more sagacious mind. The Nabob's mother had in appanage the fort of Chitore, situated in the mountains, about 20 miles from the pagoda of Tripetti, and governed

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governed it with the adjacent domain, without the interference of any other authority. Being old and infirm, she was so much frightened by the reports and approach of the French troops, that she packed up her treasure and valuable effects with some of Abdulwahab's, intending to send them to Chitore. The same malice which had already prejudiced, easily persuaded the commandant, that both the mother and son intended to make their escape from the city, and take refuge with some or other of the Nabob's enemies. Every person and every circumstance were now suspected of treason; a party of Sepoys seized Sampetrow, another the Jemautdar Dana Sing; and both were put into confinement. Ebrar Cawn was obliged to depart from the city, the very interpreter and the news-writer of the Morattoes were likewise compelled to go. The first carriages which were proceeding to Chitore, were likewise stopped and brought to the fort, and with them several female attendants belonging to the Nabob's mother, over whose palace a strong guard was set, to prevent her escape; and all letters were intercepted. Abdulwahab, suspecting as much mischief as he was suspected of, went off with 40 horsemen in the night, it was the 24th of September, nor thought himself safe until he reached Chitore; the next day his house was searched, and the most valuable of his effects, with all his papers, were seized. For three days and three nights all the Sepoys of the garrison were marching and countermarching, taking and changing posts, as if the town had been invested, and in danger of being forced by an army of 40,000 men; whereas, luckily, it was not necessary to fire a single musket; nevertheless the commandant could not be persuaded of this security, and obliged the Nabob's mother to quit the city on the 27th, under a strong guard from his garrison, which escorted her to Covrepauk. The Presidency heard these tidings with amazement, and finding by the intercepted letters that no evil designs had been intended by any of the aggrieved, made candid apologies to all; and immediately sent another officer to take the command of the fort. The Nabob and his mother were convinced and appealed; but Abdulwahab, either from pride, or some hopes of obtaining an

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independent establishment, would not return from Chitore, but levied troops, and corresponded with the Morattoes.

On the first of October, Mr. Soupires encamped the rest of the Lorrain regiment at Valdoor, as a body of observation ready either to intercept any succours which might be sent from Fort St. David, or to march to the Paliar, if the main body of the English force at Madras should take the field to interrupt the siege of Chittapet. The kellidar, on the first motion of the French troops, saw his danger, and asked in pressing, but manly terms, the assistance of the presidency. It was then almost too late, for the English had no force at hand, sufficient to make their way through the first division which had set down before his fort; nevertheless stratagem and activity might have conducted some. Unfortunately the Nabob Mahomedally bore a deep grudge against the kellidar, for offences which power rarely pardons. He had received his appointment from Murzafajing, which had been confirmed by Nazirjing, and by his successor, the present Subah, on the conditions of the ancient governors of forts in Indostan, appointed by the Mogul to restrain instead of strengthening the hands of the Nabob, against whom the kellidar is obliged, in many instances, to shut his gates. Nizar Mahomed never quitted this idea of his own dignity, keeping his court, constituting officers, and levying troops, without asking the Nabob's consent or approbation; and some months before aggravated his offence by receiving a commission from Salabadjing, appointing him, in addition to his own, and with equal privileges, governor of the neighbouring fort of Polore, from which his districts had been often molested. The patents were ushered into Chittapet with much ceremony, and proclaimed to the garrison and vassals with ostentation, immediately after which the kellidar took the field with the greatest part of his force, and marched against Polore. The Nabob, stung and exasperated, reproached the presidency with the proceedings of their ally, whom, having formerly served in Bengal under the Nabob Allaverdy, he accused of a strict connexion with his successor Surajahdowlah, from whom he alleged the kellidar had lately received a large sum of money, to be employed in conjunction with the French at Pondicherry,

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cherry, to the distress of his own government and the English affairs in the Carnatic. The presidency reprimanded the kellidar for the intemperance of his conduct against Polore, who immediately retired, and apologized with a frankness scarcely compatible with dissimulation; and from this time, which was the end of the last year, he continued to inform them of his wants, transactions, and apprehensions. Nevertheless, the Nabob's representations, (such is the infirmity of human nature, which enters even into public councils) left suspicions: otherwise means would, in all probability, have been contrived to have thrown 100 Europeans into the fort at this juncture; nor would they before have neglected to supply it with some pieces of cannon, which the kellidar had often solicited. The fort of Chittapet is built of stone, and is extensive, being within the ditch 540 yards from north to south, and 430 on the other sides: it has round towers at the angles, and in each of these a high cavalier; besides which, it has only 10 square towers, three on the longest, and two on each of the other sides. But all these towers are much more spacious than in the generality of the forts of Coromandel; and the gateway on the northern side is the largest pile of this construction in the Carnatic, being capable of containing on its terraces five hundred men drawn up under arms. The fausse-bray is skirted by a straight and slight parapet without projections into the ditch, which is supplied with water, but with the usual negligence of Indian fortifications, was at this time in some parts fordable. Adjacent to the western side of the fort, nearly of the same extent, is a pettah, enclosed by a mud wall with round towers. The French carried the pettah by assault, in which they established their breaching battery; erecting likewise two others without, to enfilade. The principal battery, as soon as completed, was rendered useless by an excessive fall of rain, and as soon as repaired, the kellidar sallied, killed part, and drove the rest of the guard away, dismounted the cannon, and carried off the ammunition and tools.

The

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The news of this success determined the presidency to support the kellidar; they ordered the commandant at Arcot to send a reinforcement of Europeans and Sepoys with a supply of ammunition, requested the Nabob to send what horse he had ready, and Armetrow, with his detachment of Morattoes, to join and accompany the reinforcement; and, moreover, promising to bear the expence, solicited Balaventrow to detach a larger body of Morattoes, to harass the enemy's posts, and intercept their convoys. But the Nabob's horse seeing no ready money, would not expose themselves; Armetrow was gone to pay his devotions at Tripetti; and Balaventrow, with the main body of his army had left Cadapanatam, and was advanced several marches towards Viziapore. In this interval the French troops which had been kept back at Valdore, arrived before Chittapet, and with the former force were sufficient to invest it on all sides, and prevent the introduction of any succours.

By the 13th, the breach was practicable, when the French summoned the kellidar, who answered, that he waited the assault. In the ensuing night a party, in which were the grenadiers of Lorraine, concealed themselves near the great gateway, where the ditch was fordable, and at dawn of day the main body advanced from the battery to the breach, when the signal was thrown up for the other party to escalate, which succeeded beyond their expectation, meeting few to oppose them; for the greatest part of the garrison were assembled with the kellidar at their head at the breach, which they defended manfully, until he fell dead, shot by two musket balls: at the same instant the escalate had gained the terrace of the gateway, from which they proceeded along the rampart, driving all before them until they came in flank of the breach, where their fire and onset confounded the resistance against the main assault, which a few minutes after gained the rampart likewise, when the conqueror spared neither the prostrate nor the fugitive, excepting the English soldiers, who were nineteen, to whom quarter was offered, which they accepted. None other of the garrison escaped, excepting such as jumped from the walls, and gained the plain;

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plain; amongst whom were about 50 of the English Sepoys. Fire was set to the dwelling of the kellidar, probably because the women had barricaded their apartments; and an event is told concerning the fate of his principal wife, which, to save a disgrace to human nature, we shall not repeat. Thus fell Nizar Mahomed, a victim to his good faith, although suspected of treachery, and with the utmost gallantry, although scarcely believed to be brave. The presidency much regretted his fall, because owing in some measure to their own neglect, by which their other allies might be rendered diffident of their assistance in the hour of danger and distress.

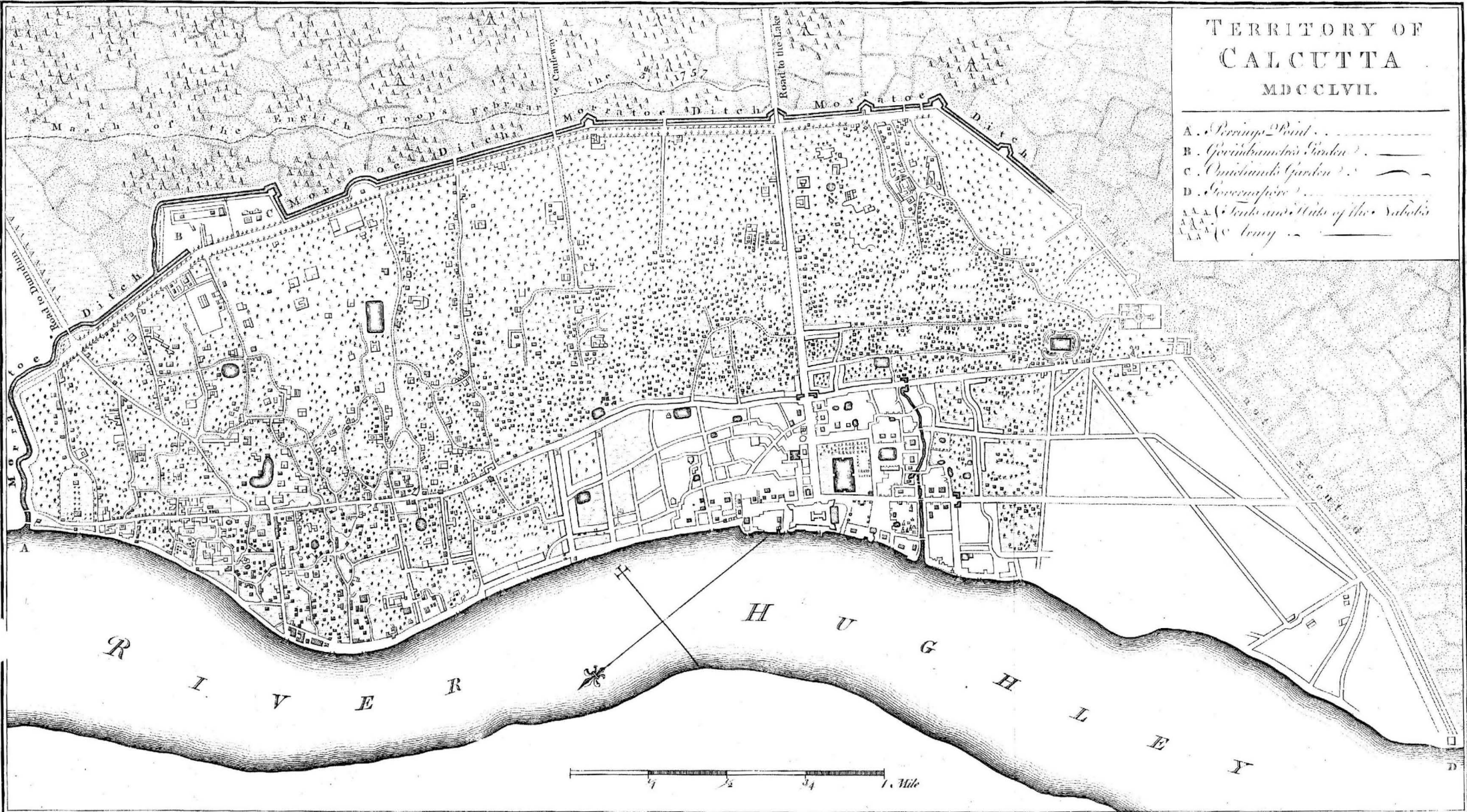
Nazeabullab, on the approach of the detachment with Polier, broke up his camp before Cadawah, and retired to Nelore; where he stopped all the votaries passing from the northward through his territory to the feast at Tripetti, of which the income by this interception was considerably diminished; as soon as concluded, the detachment returned to Madras, where they arrived on the 25th of September, but in the way Polier sent off two companies of Sepoys to reinforce those already at Conjeveram. The fall of Chittapet alarmed the presidency for all their out garrisons; and precautions were taken in proportion to their importance. Carangoly standing 15 miles s. w. of Chinglapet, on the south side of the Paliar, and near the late acquisitions of the French, was garrisoned by 300 Sepoys; but as its walls were in a ruinous condition, they were ordered to retreat, on imminent danger, to Chinglapet, and to repair thither if Chinglapet were threatened before them. What districts were beyond Carangoly, and occupied only by slight parties of the enemy's troops, were consigned to the recovery and management of Murzafabeg, a partizan recommended by the Nabob, who was to account for nothing, and maintain them as he could, out of the revenues he might collect. Stores, ammunition, and some Europeans were sent to Arcot; and Timery, Covrepauk, Cavantandelum, and two or three other, but smaller forts, were ordered to act in respect to Arcot, as Carangoly to Chinglapett. But the French army, fearful of venturing too far from Pondicherry, and still more of crossing the Paliar,

1757: Paliar, as the rains were approaching, unexpectedly, turned from
October. Chittapet to the south, and went against Trinomalee.

During these operations and alarms in the Carnatic, the arrival of the French squadron had created equal apprehensions in the southern countries. Calliaud received the intelligence from Devi Cotah and Fort St. David several days before the advices from the presidency could reach Madura, and without delay began his march back to Tritchinopoly, with all the Europeans; but left Mahomed Iffoof with the Sepoys and the rest of the camp, to defend Madura and its dependencies, and to recover and protect, as far as the force and occasions allowed, the districts of Tinivelly: for the timidity of Modillee could not stand the field; and dreading still more to be left alone with Mahomed Iffoof, he again accompanied Captain Calliaud; who the day after he left Madura, met at Nattam the first letters of the presidency ordering both himself and Mahomed Iffoof to return immediately to Tritchinopoly; nevertheless several arrangements, necessary on a new acquisition of such importance, induced him to continue Mahomed Iffoof ten days longer at Madura. On the 20th, he himself arrived with the Europeans, 250, at Tritchinopoly, where he was soon after informed, that the whole of the French force had taken the field; and although in the interval he received orders countermanding the return either of himself or Mahomed Iffoof, he now preferred the first idea of being ready to make head at Tritchinopoly, with a strong force, until the season, intelligence, or the chance of war, might determine what might justly be apprehended from the operations of the enemy. Accordingly Mahomed Iffoof with a thousand Sepoys, followed him and arrived at Tritchinopoly on the 8th of October. In the mean time Berkatoolah had been sent with proposals to induce Maphuze Khan to quit the Tinivelly country, but the arrival of the French force had elevated him with such hopes, that he rejected all terms excepting the government both of Madura and Tinivelly at certain tributes, which he never intended to pay. This answer Mahomed Iffoof received before he left Madura; as also certain intelligence that Hiderally, the Mysore general, was at length arrived with a considerable force at Dindigul: and, as the setting

TERRITORY OF CALCUTTA MDCCLVII.

- A. *Private's Road*
- B. *Government's Garden*
- C. *Orchards & Gardens*
- D. *Government's*
- AAA (*Tanks and Wells of the Nabob's Army*)



setting in of the rains in the Carnatic had by this time removed all apprehensions of immediate danger to Trichinopoly, notwithstanding the reduction of Chittapet, Calliaud resolved that Mahomed Iffoo should return again to Madura with the troops he had brought, as soon as they were refreshed and furnished with some additional equipments. They accordingly set out on the 20th of October.

On the 16th, the same day that the presidency received the news of the loss of Chittapett, arrived a vessel from Bengal with authentic advices of the revolution in that province produced by the success at Plassy: the succeeding days and vessels brought to the company, and to individuals, some part of the treasure which had been poured into Calcutta by that extraordinary event, and the reputation of a credit, adequate to the utmost wants of the English affairs in Coromandel: but this unexpected prosperity was somewhat clouded by the certainty of not receiving back any part of their troops in this season of necessity. Nor were any of the ships of war to be expected; for Admiral Pococke, on hearing of the French squadron, had taken the resolution of remaining in the Ganges until January, for the protection of Calcutta, and in expectation of being joined there by the ships coming from England; soon after, arrived the Queenborough frigate, dispatched by Commodore Stevens in August, from St. Augustine's bay in the island of Madagascar, with information of his intentions to proceed with the four ships under his command, to Bombay, from whence they could not reach the coast until the beginning of the next year; but the approach of the tempestuous season lessened this disappointment, as it was known that the French themselves expected no more ships of force during this interval.

The French army from Chittapet appeared before Trinomalee on the 18th. This place, notwithstanding the gailant defence of Berkatoolah in 1753, is more famous for its sanctity than strength: it is situated 30 miles s. s. w. of Chittapet, and 30 w. of Gingee, a craggy mountain, about two miles in circumference, and rising in the middle to a great height, hath, besides others, on the highest

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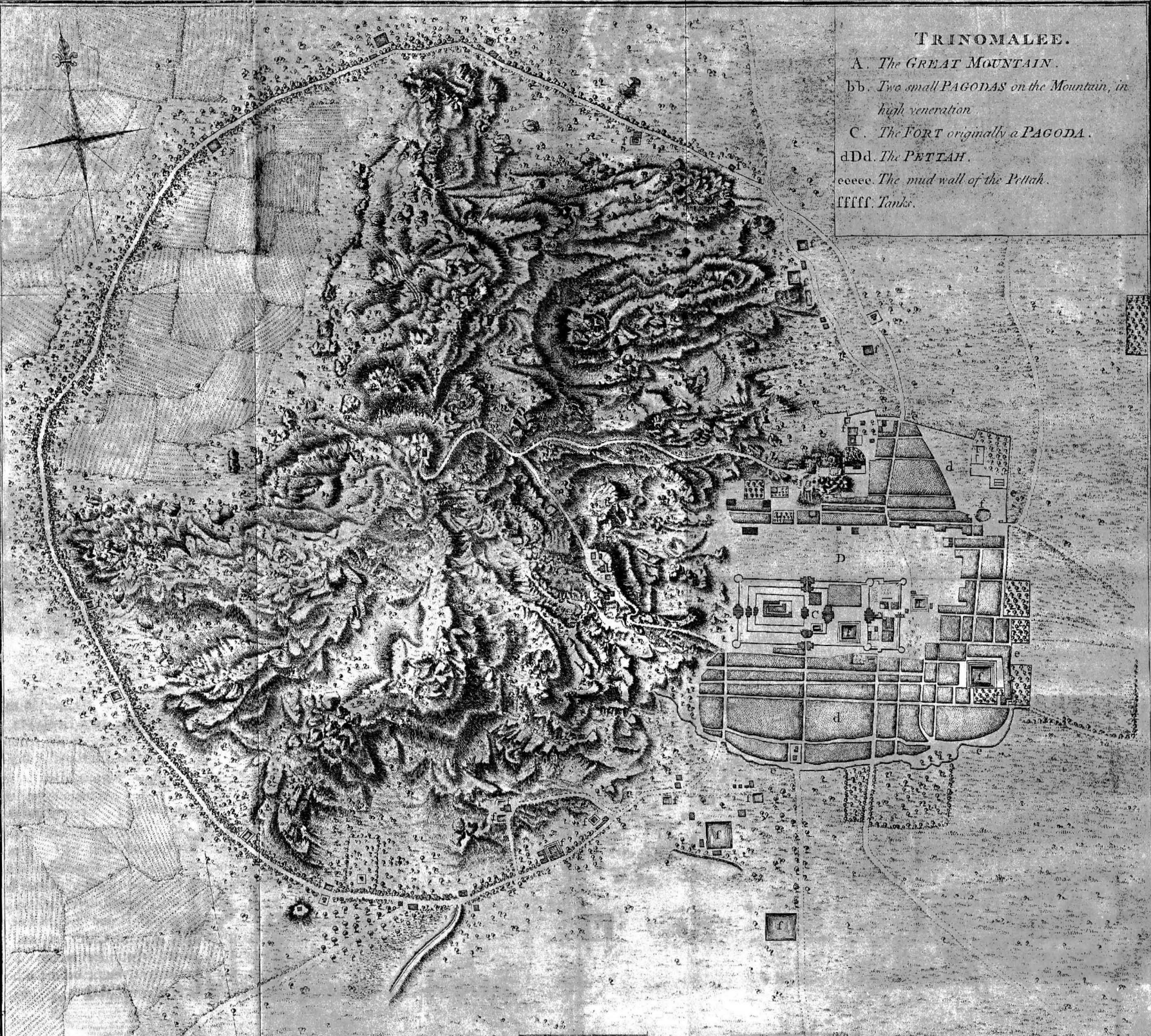
rock, a small chapel, which is held in extreme veneration, from a persuasion, that whosoever, except the appointed Bramins, should presume to enter it, would immediately be consumed by a subterraneous fire, rising for the occasion. On the eastern side is a large pettah, surrounded by a slight mud wall; it was this Berkatoolah defended; from which are the only paths leading to the chapels, and in the innermost part, immediately under the mountain, is a spacious and well-built pagoda, the residence of a multitude of Bramins and their families, as well as of the images to which the whole mountain and pagoda are consecrated. The mountain, pettah, and a space of arable land to the westward, is enclosed by a bound hedge, such, although not so thick set, as that of Pondicherry. The Nabob's governor and garrison abandoned the pettah on the appearance of the French army; which then separated into various detachments against various places. The neighbouring keldar of Polore surrendered on the first summons, and the stronger fort of Arni, redeemed the attack, which was threatened, although not intended, for a sum of money. On the 4th of November the strongest of the detachments commanded by Saubinet appeared before the fort of Thiagar, otherwise called Tagadurgam. This stands 30 miles south of Trinomalee, in the high road to Volcondah and Trichinopoly. It consists of two fortifications, on a high mountain, one above, but communicating with the other, and a pettah on the plain to the eastward, which has not only the common defence of a mud wall, but is likewise surrounded at a small distance by an impenetrable hedge; from which the cannon and musketry of the French detachment could not remove the matchlock men who defended it, concealed themselves, and hitting every thing that appeared in sight: after two days trial, Saubinet received orders to return to Pondicherry, and all the other detachments were recalled at the same time. They had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trinomallee, and Gingee, and established rentets in the districts which depended on them.

November.

As soon as the rains abated, the garrisons of Outramalore and Chittapet sent out parties to attack the districts and smaller forts dependent

TRINOMALEE.

- A. The GREAT MOUNTAIN.
- bb. Two small PAGODAS on the Mountain, in high veneration.
- C. The FORT originally a PAGODA.
- dDd. The PETTAH.
- eeeee. The mud wall of the Pettah.
- fffff. Tanks.



pendant on Carangoly and Arcot, and slight skirmishes ensued with various success. The harvest ripening in the beginning of November, Murzafabeg took post with 300 Sepoys levied by himself, and other force, in the fort of Trivatore, which, standing midway between Outramalore and Arcot, was the most central situation to protect the districts under his own management: the fort, being strong enough to resist a sudden assault, parties detached from it frequently beat away those of the enemy, sent to levy money from the villages for the redemption of their grain in the field, until the enemy invested the fort with 800 Sepoys, joined by some Europeans, with three field-pieces. Captain Richard Smith commanding at this time in Arcot, on notice of the danger, detached five companies of Sepoys with a platoon of Europeans, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, who, halting near Trivatore during the night of the 13th of December, fell upon the besiegers at day-break the next morning, beat up all their posts, and took their field-pieces, with which he returned the day after to Arcot; but left one of his companies of Sepoys to reinforce Trivatore. On the 28th, 500 Sepoys came again and took possession of the pettah, but were driven away by the garrison on the last day of the year. At the same time another party from Outramalore blocked up two companies of Sepoys, placed in the mud fort of Cavantandelum, which stands about 10 miles to the N. of Outramalore, and about midway between Salawauk and Conjeveram. Ensign Banatyne marched with five companies from Carangoly, and beat the enemy away; but deeming the post untenable, withdrew the guard. Thus ended the year in the districts of the Carnatic near the Paliar.

The Morattoe, Balaventrow, immediately after the conclusion of Armetrow's negotiation, and his own devotions at Tripetti, marched with the main body of his army from the pass of Cudapanatam, into the country of Cudapah. The Nabob of this province had assembled his force, 6000 horse, and had been joined by those of Canoul, with 3000 more, all reputed, although not really, Pitans. This army waited for the enemy near the city of Cudapah, which stands about 150 miles N. and by W. of Arcot,

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December.

and is an open town. The Morratocs, contrary to their usual warfare, were as eager for a decisive battle as the Pitans. It was fought on the 24th of September with much fury, and ended with the death of the Nabob of Cudapah; the city fell a prey to the conquerors, who plundered every thing, and found a valuable booty. Balaventrow soon after received, with the request of the presidency, an order from Balajerow, to assist the English, and immediately detached 1000 horse to Arcot; but they did not arrive until Chittapet was taken; and the subsequent motions of the French threatening no forts of importance, which it was in the power of the English force to protect without risking a general battle, the presidency spared the expence of taking this cavalry into their pay; which however did not join the French, but remained with Armentrow at Arcot until the 5th of December; when he proceeded with them and his former escort to Velore, where they remained quietly until the end of January, waiting the orders of Balaventrow.

The only attempt made by the French troops, after the retreat of their army into Pondicherry, was against Palamcotah near the Coleroon, which they invested, in the beginning of December, with 100 Europeans, some field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, from the garrison of Chilambarum, but, having no battering cannon, they were only able to get possession of the pettah, from whence they collected the revenues of the lands dependant on the fort, which, as we have said in a former part of our narrative, were an appanage of the Nabob of Cudapah, and were commanded by one of his near relations. The death of the late Nabob did not alter the dependance, and as he had been for some time on friendly terms with the English, 30 Sepoys, with as much ammunition as they could carry, were sent from Fort St. David, and found means to get into the fort.

November.

Whilst Mahomed Isoof was waiting the decision of his return from Trichinopoly to Madura, Hyderally had marched from Dindigul, took the fort of Sholavander without resistance, and entered the districts of Madara without opposition. He continued several days under the walls of the city; but, finding it much stronger than he expected, contented himself with plundering the country, sending
ing

ing off the cattle and other booty to Dindigul. On the approach of Mahomed Iffoof, he took post with a part of his army near the issue of the pass of Nattam, in order to intercept his march. Mahomed Iffoof without hesitation attacked, and, with the advantage of superior discipline, and the execution of his field-pieces, obliged the Mysoreans to give way; who, decamping the ensuing night, crossed the country to Chevelpetore. By this time, the mischief they had done having left nothing more to get worth the expence of remaining in the country, Hyderally collected his detachments, and returned to Dindigul. Mahomed Iffoof, on his arrival at Madura, enlisted 400, the best of Berkatoolah's cavalry; the whole of which were remaining encamped 15 miles from the town, waiting for the second payment of the agreement, having as neutrals, neither given molestation to the Mysoreans, or received any from them. He, at the same time, sent invitations to those with Maphuze Khan, and whatsoever other bodies were acting as independent plunderers in the Tinivelly country. As soon as the Mysoreans were gone, he began his march to Tinivelly, with a very considerable force. Passing along the districts of Etiaporum; the Polygar redeemed his hostages, which were in the camp, paying 18,700 rupees, the balance of his fine. The army arrived at the town of Tinivelly about the middle of November, from whence Maphuze Khan on their approach had retired to Nellitangaville. He had, during his residence there, made various attempts to get possession of the fort of Palamcotah; but had taken Calacad, and given it to the king of Travancore. Mahomed Iffoof, with a part of the army, marched immediately against this place, which the Travancores abandoned without resistance, and, being followed by him, retired behind their walls in the passes of the mountains, at the foot of the promontory. At the same time, the appearance of other detachments drove away the guards which Maphuze Khan had placed in Papancolam, Alvarcouchy, and Bermadais; and those stationed by the Polygar of Vadagherry, in Tirancouchy. All these places lie to the n.w. of Tinivelly, about Nellitangaville; and parties of Sepoys were left to maintain them. Mahomed Iffoof had returned

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to.

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to Tinivelly by the end of November; and on the 28th of this month, a Jemautdar of horse, lately enlisted, endeavoured, with some of his troops, to break through his guards to the apartment in which he was, as usual, laid down to sleep in the afternoon. Mahomed Iffooof starting up joined his guards, and more coming, all the intruders were cut down on the spot, but killed some of their opponents. At this time he received intelligence that the French garrison in the pagoda of Seringham had sent a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys with artillery, to Hyderally at Dindigul, who, on their arrival, it was said, was preparing to return against Madura: the news, although premature, was believed, and determined Mahomed Iffooof to be there before them. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, he began his march from Tinivelly, leaving there and in the other posts, a sufficient force to make head against Maphuze Khan and his allies, and on the 4th arrived at Chevelpetore, where he remained waiting for more certain advices concerning the Mysoreans, until the end of the month; and in the mean time, sent a strong detachment to repair the fort of Sholavanden. Before this time, no farther expectation remained of Moodilee's abilities to manage the revenues; and he was called to Madras, in order to exhibit and explain the details of his administration; but remained sick and settling his accounts in the woods of Tondiman. Calliaud had sent Lieutenant Rumbold in the month of August to communicate the state of the country; but this officer died on the way at Fort St. David in the month of September: and the presidency, as soon as the rains were set in, ordered Calliaud himself to come. He arrived on the 14th of November, under the safeguard of a passport from Pondicherry, and having communicated his knowledge and opinions, returned on the 4th, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 12th of December: his representations convinced the presidency, that the disturbances would never cease, nor any revenue be collected, adequate to the military expences, whilst Maphuze Khan maintained his force, pretensions, and alliances in these countries. It was therefore proposed to the Nabob, who still continued at Madras, that Maphuze Khan should be assured

fured of receiving an annual income, sufficient for his decent maintenance, out of the revenues, provided he would quit the country with his cavalry, and disband his other troops. By this plan, if nothing should be got, nothing would be lost; and the French, frustrated of all connexions, would find it impracticable to get footing in these provinces. The Nabob approved the proposal, and sent an agent to treat with Maphuze Khan.

Thus ended this busy anxious year in the Carnatic and its dependencies, during which almost every day brought the solicitude of some suspended event, or the expectation of some important mischance; but unremitting caution and vigilance, directed by knowledge and sagacity, supplied the defect of force. The only error committed by the presidency was their neglect of Chittapet, which was severely atoned by its loss. The only advantage obtained was the acquisition of Madura; but this much more than compensated all the detriments of the year. Thus the English councils. To those of Pondicherry no blame could be imputed, because they were restricted by the most positive orders from France, and even ventured more than they were authorized to risque.

Mr. Buffy, the commander of their forces in the Decan, had during this year employed them with much more activity, because uncontrouled in his operations. His army, continuing their march from Hyderabad, arrived at Bezoara on the Kristna in the end of November of the preceding year, from whence, instead of going to Masulipatani, they struck to the north-east, and proceeded by a frequented road, through the province and city of Elore, from whence they arrived on the 19th of December at the city of Ramundrum, situated on the Godaveri, about 30 miles from the sea, and a day's march from the English factory at Ingeram. On their approach, Ibrahim Cawn, whom Mr. Buffy had raised to the government of this and the province of Chicacole, dreading the punishment of his ingratitude during the distress of Charmaul, quitted the country, and went away to Aurengabad; but the Rajah Vizeramrauze, confident in the proofs he had given of his attachment, met their army accompanied by several other Indian chiefs, with their forces, which, with his own, amounted to 10000 men; he

was

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was received with every mark of respect, and employed the favour in which he stood to the gratification of an animosity, which had long been the leading passion of his mind. The tradition of these countries says, that many centuries before Mahomedanism, a king of Jaggernaut, in Orixá, marched to the south with a great army, which subdued not only these provinces, but, crossing the Kristna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram; these conquests he distributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial servants, from whom several of the present northern polygars pretend to be lineally descended, and to govern at this very time the very districts which were then given to their ancestor. All who claim this genealogy, esteem themselves the highest blood of native Indians, next to the Bramins, equal to the Rajpoots, and support this pre-eminence by the haughtiest observances, insomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution: their women never transfer themselves to a second, but burn with the husband of their virginity; and, although this cruel practice is not unfrequent in most of the high families and casts throughout India, yet it is generally optional: but with the women of these antient Polygars, the most indispensable of necessities.

The first in rank of these Polygars, who all call themselves Rajahs, was Rangarao of Bobilee: the fort of this name stands close to the mountains about 140 miles N. E. of Vizagapatam; the districts are about twenty square miles. There had long been a deadly hatred between this Polygar and Vizeramrauze, whose person, how much soever he feared his power, Rangarao held in the utmost contempt, as of low extraction, and of new note. Districts belonging to Vizeramrauze adjoined to those of Bobilee, whose people diverted the water of the rivulets, and made depredations, which Vizeramrauze, for want of better military means, and from the nature of Rangarao's country, could not retaliate. Vizeramrauze used his utmost influence and arguments to persuade Mr. Buffy of the necessity of removing this neighbour; and Mr. Buffy proposed, that he should quit his hereditary ground
of

THIAGUR

A. The FORT.

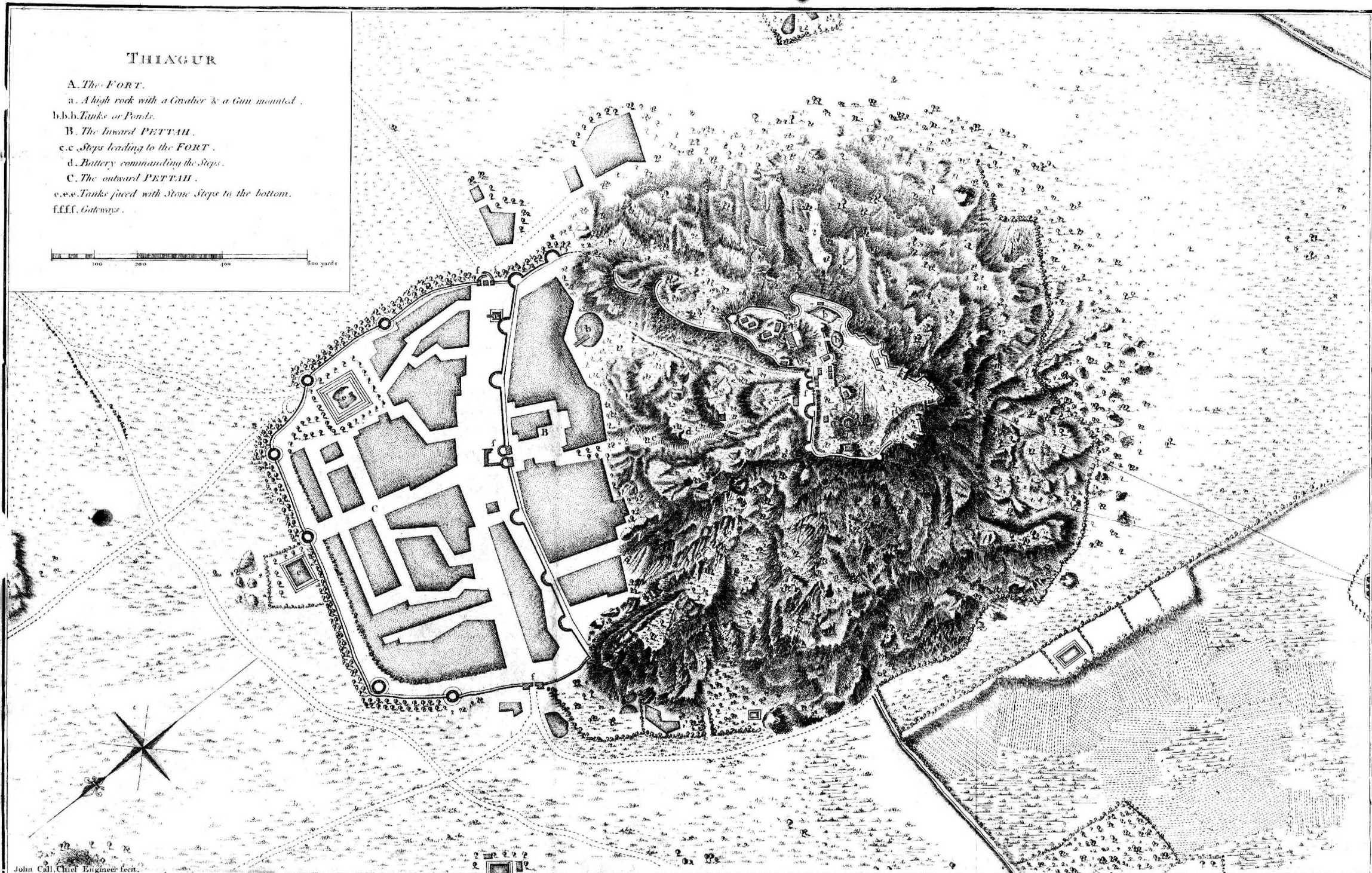
a. A high rock with a Cavalier & a Gun mounted.
b.b.b. Tanks or Ponds.

B. The Inward PETTAH.

c.c. Steps leading to the FORT.
d. Battery commanding the Steps.

C. The outward PETTAH.

e.e.e. Tanks faced with Stone Steps to the bottom.
f.f.f.f. Gateways.



Book VIII. NORTHERN PROVINCES.

of Bobilee, in exchange for other lands of greater extent and value, in another part of the province; but Rangarao treated the proposal as an insult. Soon after, it became necessary to send a detachment of Sepoys to some districts at a distance, to which the shortest road lay through some part of the woods of Bobilee: permission was obtained; but, either by some contrivance of Vizeramrauze, or the predetermination of Rangarao, the detachment was sharply attacked, and obliged to retire with the loss of 30 Sepoys killed, and more wounded. Vizeramrauze improved this moment of indignation; and Mr. Buffy, not foreseeing the terrible event to which he was proceeding, determined to reduce the whole country, and to expel the Polygar and all his family.

The province of Chicacole has few extensive plains, and its hills increase in frequency and magnitude, as they approach the vast range of mountains that bound this, and the province of Rajahmundry, to the N.W. The hills, and the narrower bottoms which separate them, are suffered to over-run with wood, as the best protection to the opener vallies allotted for cultivation. The Polygar, besides his other towns and forts, has always one situated in the most difficult part of his country, which is intended as the last refuge for himself and all of his own blood. The singular construction of this fort is adequate to all the intentions of defence amongst a people unused to cannon, or other means of battery. Its outline is a regular square, which rarely exceeds 200 yards; a large round tower is raised at each of the angles, and a square projection in the middle of each of the sides. The height of the wall is 22 feet, but of the rampart within only 12, which is likewise its breadth at top, although it is laid much broader at bottom; the whole is of tempered clay, raised in distinct layers, of which each is left exposed to the sun, until thoroughly hardened, before the next is applied. The parapet rises 10 feet above the rampart, and is only three feet thick. It is indented five feet down from the top in interstices six inches wide, which are three or four feet asunder. A foot above the bottom of these interstices and battlements, runs a line of round holes, another two feet lower, and a third within two feet of the rampart.

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These holes are, as usual, formed with pipes of baked clay: they serve for the employment of fire-arms, arrows, and lances; and the interstices for the freer use of all these arms, instead of loop-holes, which cannot be inserted or cut in the clay. The towers, and the square projections in the middle, have the same parapet as the rest of the wall; and in two of the projections, on opposite sides of the fort, are gateways, of which the entrance is not in the front, but on one side, from whence it continues through half the mass, and then turns by a right angle into the place; and, on any alarm, the whole passage is choked up with trees, and the outside surrounded to some distance with a thick bed of strong brambles. The rampart and parapet is covered by a shed of strong thatch, supported by posts; the eaves of this shed project over the battlements, but fall so near, that a man can scarcely squeeze his body between: this shed is shelter both to the rampart and guards against the sun and rain. An area of 500 yards, or more, in every direction round the fort, is preserved clear, of which the circumference joins the high wood, which is kept thick, three, four, or five miles in breadth around this center. Few of these forts permit more than one path through the wood. The entrance of the path from without is defended by a wall, exactly similar in construction and strength to one of the sides of the fort; having its round towers at the ends, and the square projection with its gateway in the middle. From natural sagacity they never raise this redoubt on the edge of the wood; but at the bottom of a recess, cleared on purpose, and on each side of the recess, raise breast-works of earth or hedge, to gall the approach. The path admits only three men abreast, winds continually, is every where commanded by breast-works in the thicket, and has in its course several redoubts, similar to that of the entrance, and like that flanked by breast-works on each hand. Such were the defences of Bobilee; against which Mr. Bussy marched, with 750 Europeans, of whom 250 were horse, four field-pieces, and 11000 Peons and Sepoys, the army of Vizeramrauze, who commanded them in person.

Whilst the field-pieces plied the parapet of the first redoubt at the entrance of the wood, detachments entered into the side of the recess with

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with fire and hatchet, and began to make a way, which tended to bring them in the rear of the redoubt; and the guard, as soon as convinced of their danger, abandon'd their station, and joined those in the posts behind; the same operations continued through the whole path, which was five miles in length, and with the same success, although not without loss. When in sight of the fort, Mr. Buffly divided his troops into four divisions, allotting one, with the field-piece, to the attack of each of the towers. Rangarao was here, with all his parentage, 250 men bearing arms, and nearly twice this number of women and children.

The attack commenced at day-break, on the 24th of January, with the field-pieces against the four towers; and the defenders, left fire might catch the thatch of the rampart, had pulled it down. By nine o'clock, several of the battlements were broken, when all the leading parties of the four divisions advanced at the same time, with scaling ladders; but, after much endeavour for an hour, not a man had been able to get over the parapet; and many had fallen wounded; other parties followed with as little success, until all were so fatigued, that a cessation was ordered, during which the field-pieces, having beaten down more of the parapet, gave the second attack more advantage; but the ardour of the defence increased with the danger. The garrison fought with the indignant ferocity of wild beasts, defending their dens and families: several of them stood, as in defiance, on the top of the battlements, and endeavoured to grapple with the first ascendants, hoping with them to twist the ladders down; and this failing, stabbed with their lances, but being wholly exposed themselves, were easily shot by aim from the rear of the escalade. The assailants admired, for no Europeans had ever seen such excess of courage in the natives of Indostan, and continually offered quarter, which was always answered by the menace and intention of death; not a man had gained the rampart at two o'clock in the afternoon, when another cessation of the attack ensued; on which Rangarao assembled the principal men, told them there was no hopes of maintaining the fort, and that it was immediately necessary to preserve their wives and children from the violation of

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Europeans, and the more ignominious authority of Vizeramrauzer. A number called without distinction were allotted to the work; they proceeded, every man with a torch, his lance, and poignard, to the habitations in the middle of the fort, to which they set fire indiscriminately, plying the flame with straw prepared with pitch and brimstone, and every man stabbed without remorse, the woman or child, whichsoever attempted to escape the flame and suffocation. Not the helpless infant, clinging to the bosom of its mother, saved the life of either from the hand of the husband and father. The utmost excesses whether of revenge or rage, were exceeded by the atrocious prejudices which dictated and performed this horrible sacrifice. The massacre being finished, those who accomplished it returned, like men agitated by the furies, to die themselves on the walls. Mr. Law, who commanded one of the divisions, observed, whilst looking at the conflagration, that the number of the defenders was considerably diminished, and advanced again to the attack: after several ladders had failed, a few grenadiers got over the parapet, and maintained their footing in the tower until more secured the possession. Rangarao hastening to the defence of the tower, was in this instant killed by a musket-ball. His fall increased, if possible, the desperation of his friends; who, crowding to revenge his death, left the other parts of the ramparts bare; and the other divisions of the French troops, having advanced likewise to their respective attacks, numbers on all sides got over the parapet without opposition; nevertheless, none of the defenders quitted the rampart, or would accept quarter; but each fell advancing against, or struggling with, an antagonist; and even when fallen, and in the last agony, would resign his poignard only to death. The slaughter of the conflict being completed, another much more dreadful, presented itself in the area below: the transport of victory lost all its joy: all gazed on one another with silent astonishment and remorse, and the fiercest could not refuse a tear to the deplorable destruction spread before them. Whilst contemplating it, an old man, leading a boy, was perceived advancing from a distant recess: he was welcomed with much attention and respect, and conducted by the crowd to Mr. Law, to whom he presented the child with these

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these words: "This is the son of Rangarao, whom I have preserved against his father's will." Another emotion now succeeded, and the preservation of this infant was felt by all as some alleviation to the horrible catastrophe, of which they had been the unfortunate authors. The tutor and the child were immediately sent to Mr. Bully, who, having heard of the condition of the fort, would not go into it, but remained in his tent, where he received the sacred captives with the humanity of a guardian appointed by the strongest claims of nature, and immediately commanded patents to be prepared, appointing the son lord of the territory which he had offered the father in exchange for the districts of Bobilee; and ordered them to be strictly guarded in the camp from the malevolence of enemies.

The ensuing night and the two succeeding days passed in the usual attentions, especially the care of the wounded, who were many; but in the middle of the third night, the camp was alarmed by a tumult in the quarter of Vizeramrauze. Four of the soldiers of Rangarao, on seeing him fall, concealed themselves in an unfrequented part of the fort until the night was far advanced, when they dropped down the walls, and speaking the same language, passed unsuspected through the quarters of Vizeramrauze, and gained the neighbouring thickets; where they remained the two succeeding days, watching until the bustle of the camp had subsided; when two of them quitted their retreat, and having by their language again deceived those by whom they were questioned, got near the tent of Vizeramrauze; then creeping on the ground they passed under the back part, and entering the tent found him lying on his bed, alone, and asleep. Vizeramrauze was extremely corpulent, inasmuch that he could scarcely rear himself from his seat without assistance: the two men, restraining their very breath, struck in the same instant with their poignards at his heart; the first groan brought in a sentinel, who fired, but missed; more immediately thronged in; but the murderers, heedless of themselves, cried out, pointing to the body, "Look here! We are satisfied." They were instantly shot by the crowd, and mangled after they had fallen; but had stabbed Vizeram-
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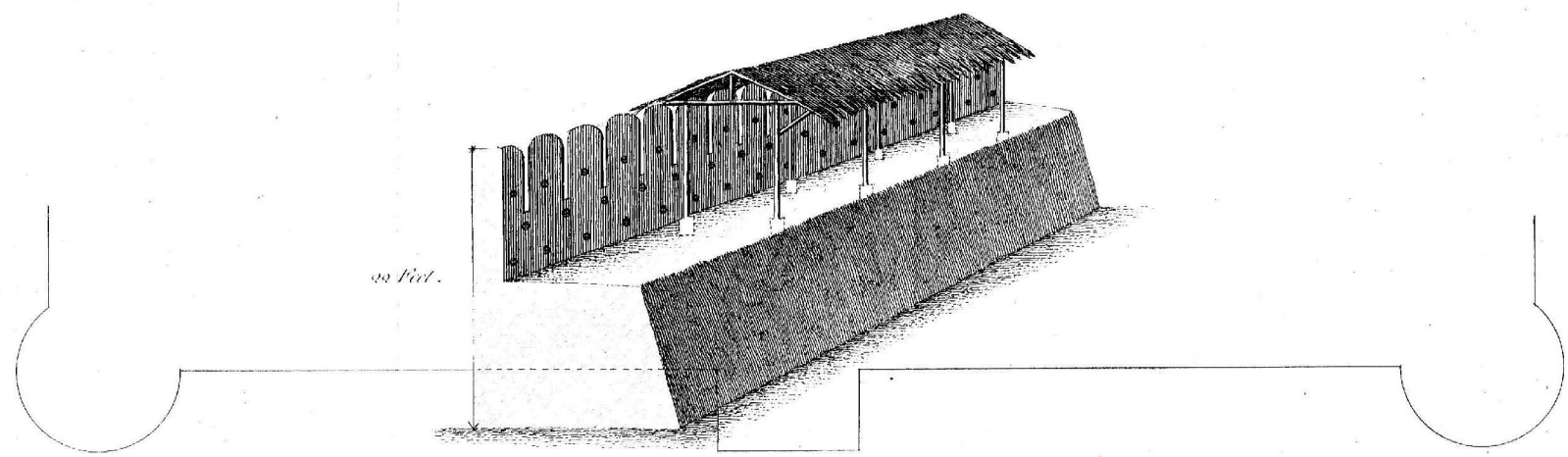
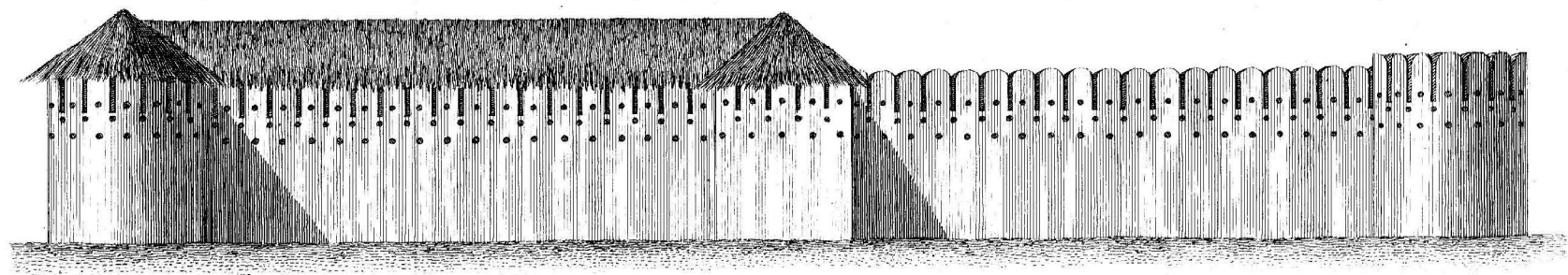
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rauze in 32 places. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the forest were bound by the same oath to perform the deed, or perish in the attempt.

The army hastened to quit this tragic ground. They proceeded through the hills to the north, summoning the tributes of a variety of polygars, who, terrified by the fate of Bobilee, paid without resistance; nor did they meet any opposition, until they arrived at the districts of Gumfeer. This country is much more extensive than that of any other of the ancient Polygars; it commences about 40 miles to the North-west of Ganjam, extending about 50 miles in that direction, and 20 in breadth; it is even more impenetrable than the country of Bobilee, its forests consisting entirely of bamboes, which grow closer, and resist the axe and fire better than any other vegetation; relying on which, the inhabitants do not think it necessary to erect redoubts for the defence of their paths, but obstruct them with frequent and temporary barriers of bamboes, wrought in a variety of entanglements. The polygar of Gumfeer refused his tribute, of which the arrears amounted to 180,000 rupees; and Mr. Buffy, intending for other views to remain awhile in the northernmost parts of the Chicacole province, resolved to employ some of the time in reducing this country. Day by day the troops were employed with excessive toil and fatigue in rooting up, cutting down, and endeavouring to burn a way through the forest. The whole district is esteemed one of the hottest regions of Indostan, and is peculiarly subject to strokes of the sun; by which seven Europeans were in one day killed; several barriers were forced, or past, and the Polygar, beginning to think himself in danger, made proposals, which Mr. Buffy was equally willing to accept, having lost 30 Europeans, and a much greater number of Sepoys, in the little progress which the army had made; this accommodation was concluded in the middle of April.

Some time before, Mr. Buffy had received letters from Surajah Doulah, the nabob of Bengal, requesting his assistance to expel their common enemy, the English, out of that province; the Nabob offered to defray all the expences of the French army, and promised further

ELEVATION of a POLYGARS FORT in the Northern Provinces, as it appears towards the field, Part of the covering is left off in order to shew the form of the Battlements; The curtains are not more than half the length they ought to be in order to comprize the whole Front on the paper



Drawn and communicated by Edward Cotsford Esq^r, March 1776.

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further explanations: which Mr. Bussy supposed would be brought by some principal officer of his court, furnished with the means of conducting the army through the province of Orixa; in which expectation he resolved to remain near the frontiers of this province, and the army marched from Gumfeer to Ganjam; which is the last town in Chicacole. It is a sea-port much frequented by coasting vessels, and the French had at this time a factory there: the army remained in the neighbourhood until the 10th of May, but, instead of further overtures from Surajah Dowlah, received intelligence, that the English had taken the French settlement of Chandernagore; which convincing Mr. Bussy of the imbecility of the Nabob, who had suffered them to gain such an advantage in his country, he relinquished all ideas of further connexion with him; but resolved immediately to make retaliation on the English settlements in the northern provinces.

In consequence of his orders the Europeans he had left in garrison at Rajahmundrum, when joined by more from Masulipatam, marched against the factories of Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which stand near the sea on three different arms of the Godaveri. The natives here weave excellent cloths at cheap rates, and the three factories annually furnished 700 bales for the Company's market in England. Ingeram only had soldiers, and only 20, and all the three factories surrendered on the first requisition. The reduction of Vizagapatam, as being nearer, Mr. Bussy reserved to himself; but being sure of his prize, remained in the city of Chicacole until he had settled the affairs of this government. On the 24th of June the van of his army appeared before Vizagapatam. A river coming from the north and turning short eastward to the sea, forms an arm of land, a mile and half in length: and 600 yards in breadth. Nearly in the middle of this ground stands the fort, of which the construction by repeated mistakes was become so absurd, that it was much less defensible than many of the ancient barons' castles of Europe. The face towards the river was choked by houses. A whole town lay within 300 yards to the north; a village at the same distance to the south, and several buildings on each of these sides stood much nearer the walls;

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walls; towards the sea, the esplanade was clear, excepting a saluting battery, where a lodgment might be easily made; after many injudicious additions of works round the fort, which only made it worse, it was found necessary to throw up an entrenchment to the north, beyond the town, in the shoulder of the peninsula, quite across from the river to the sea, with a battery at each extremity, and another on a hillock near the center, but this was commanded by a sand-hill directly opposite, and within point-blank. The access across the river from the south, was sufficiently secured by batteries, which commanded not only the passage, but the entrance of the river itself, through which all embarkations from the sea must gain the shore, as the surf prevents even a boat from landing on the beach: indeed the whole scheme of the defences seemed to have been calculated only to oppose the attempts of pirates and polygars. The garrison consisted of 150 excellent Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; the English families in the town were 50 persons. On the same day that the van of Mr. Bussy's army appeared in sight, the Company's ship Marlborough anchored in the road, on board of which was the chief engineer of Madras, proceeding to Bengal. He landed, and having the next morning reviewed the works, with Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the troops, both gave their opinion that the extent could not be defended, even with a much greater force; and advised that all the Europeans should be immediately embarked, and the Sepoys, with two or three officers, left to make the best capitulation they could; but all the boat and fishermen had deserted in the night, and the wind blew so strong from the sea, that none but those accustomed could manage the boats over the bar, which that of the Marlborough carrying back the engineer, experienced, being twice overfet and a man drowned before she got out. At noon, cannon appeared on the sand hill; soon after, the main body of the enemy, and a summons to surrender; after two or three messages, the capitulation was signed at 11 at night. All the Europeans, whether troops or inhabitants, were to be prisoners of war; the Sepoys and natives free to go where they liked; the Company's effects, capture; individuals, Mr. Bussy said, should have no reason to

to complain: he kept his word with the utmost liberality, resigning without discussion whatsoever property any one claimed as his own. The Marlborough having anchored at the Dutch factory of Bimlapatam, 12 miles to the northward, he permitted the chief, Mr. Percival, Captain Campbell, and several others, to proceed in her to Bengal.

From Vizagapatam, the army proceeded to Rajahmandrum, where they remained some time, and then took the field, and advanced again to the northward, to awe the tributaries who shewed any tendency to disobedience; but were not obliged to exercise any hostilities of consequence. Thus ended the year 1757, in the northern provinces: during which, the absence of Mr. Bussy from the court of Salabadjing, gave his enemies the opportunity they wished, of taking measures to weaken the future effects of his influence over that prince, in the administration of his government.

Nizamally and Bassalut Jung were the two brothers of Salabadjing, who, as well as himself, were prisoners in the camp of Murzafajing, when the death of this prince in Cudapah, with the influence of Mr. Bussy in his army, raised Salabadjing to the throne of the Decan. The early sagacity of Mr. Bussy then foresaw, that the two brothers would be made the ensigns of faction and revolt, if they were admitted to any participation in the councils of the government; since by their birth, their employments, if any, must be great. He therefore advised Salabadjing to allow them incomes sufficient for all indulgencies, but to give them no appointments of trust and power, and to oblige them, under pretence of distinction, to accompany him wheresoever he moved. In this restraint, tempered by all exterior attentions, they continued, and seemed satisfied, until the open rupture between Mr. Bussy and Salabadjing's administration of Sanore; when Shanavaze Khan resolved to raise them into public importance, as his own future patrons, with the very views, of which the apprehension had led Mr. Bussy to prevent their promotion. Balazerow was, as we have seen, encamped at that time before Sanore; to whom Shanavaze Khan communicated his intention, suppressing the motive, and requested him to urge the advice to Salabadjing,

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with the document of his own example; who always employed his brothers, or his son, in the most important expeditions, which he could not attend himself. Balagerow knew that his own policy could not be the rule of a different state, and weaker understanding; but saw the views of Shanavaze Khan, and wishing for the very divisions they would create in the administration of the Decan, gave the advice; and Salabadjing, always easily led, appointed Nizamally, the elder of the two brothers, to the government of Berar, the most extensive in the empire, but of which more than half had been dismembered by the conquests of the Morattoo-Janogee; and to Bassalut Jung he gave the country of Adoni, which lies south of the Kristna and north of Mysore; Bassalut Jung went from Sanore to his government, but Nizamally not until after the reconciliation of Charmawl.

The brothers being then established, Mr. Bussy could do no better than appear indifferent to the arrangements he could not reverse without renewing the immediate effect of unappeased animosities, before he was in a state to encounter them. He therefore went away, as we have seen in November, to the ceded provinces, as the most certain means of providing money, without umbrage, for future contingencies. On the 17th of December, Salabadjing began his intended march from Golcondah to Aurengabad. The army consisted of 10,000 horse, and 15,000 foot, with the French detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, whom Shanavaze Khan could find no pretence to prevent from accompanying Salabadjing. They arrived at Beder in the beginning of January, when Balagerow was taking the field at Pond. And Shanavaze Khan desiring to gain his concurrence to the designs he had formed, resolved to loiter in this part of the country, hoping that the approach of Balagerow might give opportunities of an interview between them. He accordingly led the army against a considerable Rajah named Chundersain, whose territory lay near Calberga, 40 miles to the south of Beder, and whilst hostilities were carrying on against the Rajah he summoned Bassalut Jung to join the standard of the Subahships with the forces from his government of Adoni; which added another delay until their

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their arrival. But advices being received that Balagerow was marching straight to the south, and intended to cross the Krishna, the Subah's army renewed their march to the northward, when in the beginning of February news arrived, that the Affghans had taken Delhi, that a large detachment of their army were plundering Agra, and that parties from this detachment were on the road to Brampour; which, from some conclusions of which we are ignorant, determined the Subah's council to proceed no farther to the north, whilst the Pitans were supposed to have any intentions of advancing to the south; so that they did not approach Aurungabad until the beginning of May. In this interval Seid Lascar Khan, who had been Duan of the Decan, and had given the northern maritime provinces to the French, died at Aurengabad; his treasures were reported to be great, and with all his effects reverted, according to the institutions of the government, to the sovereign; but they were deposited in the fortress of Doltabad, of which the governor was his near relation, and had always been obsequious to his will.

This place is called, and deemed impregnable, standing on the summit of a mountain, which is surrounded with two other inclosures, of which that on the plain contains a large town: notwithstanding the necessity of communication to admit troops and provisions, each has its particular governor; but the two lower forts are so overtowered by the upper, that they rarely resist the will of the governor there, who, until the late confusions of the empire, was always especially appointed by the Great Mogul.

Shanavaze Khan had succeeded Seid Lascar in the office of Duan, of which one of the most beneficial duties is to take possession for the emperor of the estates of all who die, holding, or having held, any office in the government: he therefore proceeded several days before the army, with a large detachment and some artillery, and summoned all the forts; the lowest, after a slight resistance, and much parley, surrendered on the third day; the governors of the two others being leagued together held out a month; but having neglected to lay in a stock of provisions, and being surrounded by the whole of Salabadjing's army, they at length yielded to money;

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and Shanavaze Khan immediately changed the garrisons, and placed one of his own dependants in the command of all the forts, with the unwilling compliance of Salabadjing, and the approbation of the Emperor's Duan, Mahomed Husein, whom Shanavaze Khan had lately gained over to his views. He found in the fort a great treasure belonging to Seid Lascar Khan, of which 700,000 rupees were publicly avowed, and more suspected. In the end of September a body of 6000 Morattoes from Poni, under the command of Vizvazrow, the eldest son of Balagerow, arrived near Aurengabad, with pretensions of which we are ignorant: their march had been expected, and gave Shanavaze Khan a pretence to call up Nizamally from Berar with the troops of his government, who arrived at the same time as Vizvazrow; the Morattoe chiefs dependant on the Subahship, and several others, had been likewise summoned, and were come up, so that the whole force under the standard of the Subah was near 40,000 horse, besides the foot. The Morattoes, notwithstanding their inferiority, proceeded to hostilities, but confined them to skirmishes, in which they were always repulsed by the artillery of the French detachment; nevertheless Nizamally assumed the merit of these successes, and working at the same time by his emissaries amongst Salabadjing's troops, instigated them to clamour, and insult him in his palace for the arrears of their pay, of which 22 months were due. During this tumult Shanavaze Khan, as if afraid of the resentment of Salabadjing, took refuge in the fort of Doltabad.

Salabadjing was terrified, without money, and, by the means of Shanavaze Khan, without credit; and Nizamally taking the advantage he had prepared, proffered to interfere and appease the troops, provided he was intrusted, whilst necessary, with the administration of the government, and the disposal of the great seal of the Subahship. This instrument ratifies all treaties, confirms all governments, authenticates all grants and boons of consequence, and warrants all assignments of the revenue: it therefore always remains at least in the dwelling of the prince, and generally under his own eye, excepting at Delhi, where it is usually confided to the Vizier. Salabadjing, being without resource, consented: and Nizamally immediately be-
came

came invested with sovereign power, but left the appearances to Salabadjing, whom he affected to consult; and abrogated none of his indulgencies, which this prince was naturally inclined to prefer to the cares of his state. Nizamally immediately gave additional honours and jaghires to his brother Bassaulet Jung, and with a subtle affectation of indifference concerning the seal, committed it to his care. Both the next day introduced Shanavaze Khan to Salabadjing, who received him with the exterior ceremonials of good-will and favour. The officer who commanded the French detachment had neither experience nor force sufficient to counteract the progress of this plot; but redoubled his attention in guarding the person of Salabadjing, which perhaps saved his life. It was the general opinion that the expedition of the Morratocs with Vizvazrow had been concerted by Shanavaze Khan, as the leading means of accomplishing this revolution.

It happened in the middle of December; Mr. Buffly received intelligence of it at Rajahmundrum in the beginning of January, and immediately began his march, with all his force, to release Salabadjing from these bonds. We shall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

THE first news of the French squadron was brought to Calcutta on the 17th of September, by the *Révenge*, which had escaped from them on the 8th, in the road of Fort St. David. Other advices followed, with information of the troops they had brought, and of the expectations at Pondicherry of a much greater force in the beginning of the ensuing year; in consequence of which the presidency of Madras repeated with much sollicitude the request they had often made, that the troops with Clive might be immediately returned to the coast: but they could not now be sent away, without risking the accomplishment of the treaties with Meer Jaffier, if he should require their service in the field; and the loss of Calcutta itself, if a French force should arrive in the river, whilst they were employed in a distant part of the Nabob's dominions. This apprehension rendered the French prisoners, and even their vagabonds in the province, an object of sollicitude. The prisoners amounted to 200, of whom

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50 being men of better condition, were not confined. The party which served with Sinfray at the battle of Plassy, had escaped into the districts of Berbohin, where the timidity of the natives suffered them to remain without molestation; and other stragglers from various parts had increased the number to sixty Europeans. Thirty had gone away in boats from the French factory at Dacca, under the conduct of the chief, Mr. Courtin, and proceeding along the rivers, had entrenched themselves near the mountains in the northern part of the district of Rungpore, which adjoins on the west to Purneah. It was suspected that some of the prisoners, who were at large, were corresponding, not only with both these parties, but also with Mr. Law's in Oude, and with the army of Mr. Bussy in Chicacole. It was therefore resolved to send away all the higher sort to Pondicherry; and in the beginning of October, thirty-four, of whom two were Jesuits, were embarked in a ship hired for the purpose, and called the *Restitution*. From reliance on their parole the ship was manned, as usual, by lascars, or mariners of the country, with only three Englishmen to command them. As soon as they were at sea, the Frenchmen, as they easily might, overpowered the crew, and carried the ship to Masulipatam, where they declared themselves free, and the ship a lawful prize.

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Before Colonel Clive left Muxadavad, the Nabob had summoned Ramramsing, the Rajah of Midnapore, who was head of the spies, to come there, in order to settle the accounts of his districts, on which, as usual, a considerable balance stood due from him in the books of the Treasury. Ramramsing had always been in close connexion with Roydoolub, who, to remove suspicions, advised him, at least openly, to obey; but Ramramsing sent his brother and nephew, whom the Nabob immediately put into prison; and prevented the disapprobation of Clive, by representing, what was true, that Ramramsing had been the enemy of the English, having carried on for Surajah Dowlah the correspondence with Mr. Bussy and Mr. Law; and that he had forwarded whatsoever Frenchmen had escaped to the south, through Qrixa to Chicacole. Roydoolub had no doubt that this proceeding of the Nabob's was a preparation for his

his designs against himself, but concealed his persuasion, and wisely refrained from claiming the English guarantee until the danger should come nearer. These coincidences prevented Clive from entertaining any suspicions of the real motives of Jaffier's conduct towards Ramraming, before he returned to Calcutta; but Ramraming, as soon as he heard of the confinement of his brother and nephew, assembled his force, which consisted of 2000 horse and 5000 foot, and wrote to Colonel Clive, that if he were attacked he should seek refuge wherever it was to be found; which his country well afforded by the jungles or thickets with which it is covered, and the mountains to which it adjoins. He however proffered to pay a lakh of rupees as a present to Meer Jaffier, and even to make his obeisance to him in person if Clive would warrant his safety. Clive immediately recommended the reconciliation to the Nabob, who at the same time received intelligence, that the people of Purneah, under the command of Ogul Sing the Gentoo, whom Surajah Dowlah had appointed to govern this province after the defeat and death of his cousin Seid Hamed, had taken up arms, and proclaimed a brother of Seid Mahomed, on hearing that the Nabob had given the government to his relation Coddum Hussein, whom they dreaded for his character of rapaciousness and tyranny.

Both these insurrections arising under the standard of Gentoos, drove the Nabob from all the dissimulation with which he had intended to conceal his purposes, until he had cut off Roydoolub, and the other principal heads of the nation; and in his vexation he openly, perhaps not unjustly, imputed both rebellions to the practices of Roydoolub. He immediately commanded 6000 horse and foot to march with Coddum Hussein to Purneah, and 500 horse with Cojee Hoddee to Midnapore: both divisions were to set out on the 6th of October, and Cojee Haddee proceeded; but the troops appointed to Coddum Hussein, abetted by their officers, refused to move until they had received their arrears, and clamoured other discontents. The city was in agitation. Roydoolub assembled his force, and would no longer visit the Nabob; who a few days after received intelligence from.

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from Colonel Clive, to whom it had been sent by an express-boat from the English resident at Chuprah, signifying that "his spies had met messengers on the road, who said, that they had delivered letters from the widow of Allaverdy to Ramnarain, the governor of Behar, and were carrying others to Sujah Dowlah the Nabob of Oude, requesting him to march, and join Ramnarain against Meer Jaffier." This, if true, was the most powerful confederacy which Jaffier could have to fear, and bore strong marks of originating from Roydoolub, from his attachment and respect to Allaverdy's widow, which he openly continued, notwithstanding the elevation of Jaffier. Clive foreseeing the animosity which the intelligence would occasion, suppressed his own suspicions; but ordered the troops at Cossimbuzar to join the Nabob on the first call; and promised to march himself, if necessary, with the main body from Calcutta and Chandernagore. These proffers abated the tumult of the Nabob's troops; and the mediation of Mr. Watts produced an interview between the Nabob and Roydoolub, on the 17th of October, when each swore oblivion of former distrusts, and future friendship; and upon this apparent reconciliation, the Nabob ordered his whole army to assemble on the plains of Geriah, six miles from the city.

A few days after, a fresh insurrection appeared in another part of the province. The two sons of the Nabob Suffrazé Khan, whom Allaverdy had spared when their father fell, defending his diadem, remained on the accession of Jaffier in the city of Dacca, where they had lived 16 years, without shewing either abilities or inclination to raise disturbances. Nevertheless they immediately became objects of suspicion to Jaffier, who in the first days of his government brought back the elder, Haffizally Chan, to Muxadavad: there seemed little occasion to fear him, for his letter to Clive on this occasion was written with the humility of a beggar: but the other, Ammannee Chan, either from nature or despair, exerted more resolution. The governor sent to Dacca by Meer Jaffier came very poor; and so much money of the revenues had been drawn to Muxadavad, that the force he kept up even in the fort did not exceed 200 men, who were ill paid, and
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the troops of the districts were, as usual, a rabble fit only to distrain upon the unarmed and timorous inhabitants; this weakness of the government, and the attachment of a few friends, encouraged Ammannee Chan to tamper with a part of the garrison in the fort, and they agreed to seize the governor, when Ammannee Chan was to declare himself: the day fixed for the execution was the 22d of October; but two days before, one of the conspirators revealed the secret to the governor, who immediately seized Ammannee Chan with several of his adherents; and asked assistance of the English factory, who sent 60 Buxeries, which was half their force, and wrote to Calcutta for a company of Sepoys, which were immediately detached, and marched across the country. This conspiracy could not be imputed to Roydoolub, but it increased the perplexities of Jaffier.

Of the troops which were ordered to march with Coddum Hussein, only 3000 had moved, who were waiting at Rajahmahal for the rest, and their arrears. Three months pay were due to the whole army, of which not less than 10,000 men, horse and foot, were under the immediate command of Roydoolub, who had influence with the commanders of many more; and notwithstanding the late oaths of reconciliation, kept his house under pretence of sickness, nor would suffer any of his troops to march from the city. These examples, and perhaps his instigation, encouraged the Nabob's troops to refuse likewise, unless they were paid in full. The Nabob distributed some money, and, as another means to recall their obedience, pitched his tent and displayed his standard in the camp, and went to reside there on the 7th of November, waiting for the main body with Clive. He left his son Meerum to command in the city.

Meerum, as soon as his father was gone, spread the report of advices he pretended to have received from Patna and Delhi. The Nabob's relations at Patna gave information, that Ramnarain the governor had encamped to the west of the city with his whole force, 12000 men; that Sujah Doulah, the subah of Oude, had likewise taken the field with his army from Lucknow, together with Mr.

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Law's party of Europeans, and intended, in conjunction with Ramnarain, to march into Bengal. The letters from Delhi said, the ministry there disapproved of the accession of Jaffier to the Nabobship; that Mirza Mundeë, the son of Surajah Dowlah's younger brother, an infant, ought to have been proclaimed, and that Roydoolub had proposed he should be appointed by the Mogul, with assurances that he should be able to carry the nomination into execution with the assistance of the English. Many probabilities stood against the authenticity of the intelligence from Patna, and the advices from Delhi bore still stronger marks of fiction. On the 10th in the morning the whole city was in consternation, and the troops in their different quarters in tumult. A band of ruffians sent by Meerum, had in the night entered the palace of Allaverdy's widow, with whom lived the widow of Zaindee Hamed, and her infant grandson Mirza Mundeë. They murdered the child, and gave out that they had likewise slain the two mothers. In the morning the three biers were carried publicly to burial, amidst the silent grief and abhorrence of the people; for the two women, exclusive of the high condition from which they had fallen by the death of Surajah Dowlah, were the most respectable of their sex for their virtues and the nobility of their sentiments. The cause was disbelieved. Roydoolub asserted that all the accusations against himself were the inventions of his enemies. The English troops at Cossimbuzar turned out to keep the peace and preserved it. On the 13th Scrafton visited and reproached Meerum, who, amongst other vindications, still preserving a secret, said, "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooley to stir up the Jemautdars against my father?" A few days after it was discovered that the two women had not been murdered, but had been taken out of the palace, and put into boats, which set off immediately for Dacca; and their pretended biers were exhibited, in order to prevent any interruption to the removal of their persons.

Nevertheless, the death of the child left detestation sufficient to extort farther apologies. The Nabob declared, that he neither commanded nor even had any knowledge of the deed, until it was perpetrated

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petrated, and both he and his son avowed that the intelligence from Delhi was communicated by the Seats. The Seats positively denied the assertion; on which a new reconciliation was proposed with Roydoolub, who, accompanied by Scrafton, visited Meerum on the 17th, and oaths of friendship and confidence were again renewed; and Roydoolub sent the greatest part of his troops to the camp. The Nabob, receiving no reproaches from Scrafton, thought all resentments sufficiently quieted, at least for a while, and marched away from the plains of Gheria on the 17th, in order to oblige the detachment loitering at Rajahmahal to cross the Ganges, and attack the rebels in Purneah.

The rainy season in the lower parts of the country had this year been less unhealthy than usual, and only 40 men had died of the English troops quartered at Chandernagore and Calcutta; but the intemperance produced by the distribution of the prize-money of Plassy, had spread such sickness, after the rains ceased in September, that two thirds of the rank and file were in the hospital at the end of October. Their recovery retarded the departure of the whole until the 17th of November, when they embarked and proceeded from Chandernagore.

In this interval Colonel Clive had prevailed upon Ramransing to come to him from Midnapore. To avoid the Nabob's troops with Cojah Haddee, who, at Clive's request, were halting at Burdawan; he embarked at Piplely with a party of European soldiers, which had been sent thither to escort him to Chandernagore, from whence he proceeded with the army to Muxadavad. The Rajah of Berboin, on hearing that the English troops were preparing to take the field, sent parties to surround and seize the Frenchmen with Sinfray; but they got warning of his intentions, and of sixty, thirty-six escaped. The other twenty-four were made prisoners, and conducted to Cossimbuzar, and from thence sent to Calcutta. Four of them were agents of the French company, who had been taken and had given their parole at Chandernagore.

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The troops with Clive arrived at Muxadavad on the 25th of November. Meerum, dreading his resentment for the murder of the infant Mirza Munde, had released the brother and nephew of Ramransing from their imprisonment before his arrival, and received Ramransing himself, whom Clive introduced to him, with much courtesy; to Clive he demeaned himself with every simulation of humility. Roydoolub, when pressed by Clive to march with him, continued his pretext of sickness, adding the better plea of the public business, which required his presence for some days longer in the city; but his apprehensions of the Nabob and Meerum were at this time encreased by new suspicions, which they pretended to entertain of him.

Mirza Sallee, the renter of the province of Orixá to the Murratoe Janogee, having been deficient in his payments and accounts, came to Muxadavad a little before the death of Surajah Dowlah, to whom he proposed some project for restoring that province to the government of Bengal. A Murratoe named Subut then obtained the government from Janogee, and he likewise had lately been at Muxadavad, where he contracted a connexion, supposed to be more intimate than it was, with Roydoolub; he was at this time at Janogee's court, but sent forward his agent, named Chemnesaw, to manage, until he himself should come. Chemnesaw arrived at Cutteck in the beginning of November, and received the visit of the English resident there with much insolence, and his attendants talked publicly that a body of six thousand Murratoes were coming with Subut himself, who intended to march into Midnapore, and demand of Meer Jaffier the cession of all that country to the south of the river Piply, which anciently used to be rated as a part of Orixá. These discourses induced the English resident, and gave pretence to the friends of Meer Sallee, to represent Subut and Roydoolub as engaged with one another, Roydoolub to give the Murratoe the country he wanted, and the Murratoe to assist Roydoolub in time of need against Meer Jaffier. Meerum pretended to believe the plot; but Clive gave no credit to the imputation, and seeing that Roydoolub's mistrust of the Nabob was the principal cause of his unwillingness

ness to be near him, acquiesced to the delay he required, and promised to effect an entire reconciliation between them.

On the 30th Clive marched from the city, taking all the Europeans at Cossimbuzar. They were 250, and not 10 of them ill, having been preserved by the excellence of the climate here from the effects even of equal intemperance with those below; of whom more than 100 of those which came with Clive were unable to proceed any farther, and were left to garrison the factory. The Sepoys, in whatsoever quarters, had been preserved by the usual regularity of their lives from all extraordinary illness. The whole force was 550 Europeans, including the artillery-men, and 1500 Sepoys. On the 3d of December they arrived at Rajahmahal, and encamped within half a league of the Nabob's army. He visited Colonel Clive the next day, when the whole line was drawn out to receive him, and performed their exercise and some evolutions, which he admired, and ordered 10,000 rupees to be distributed amongst the soldiers.

Coddum Hussein, with 2000 horse and 5000 foot, had some days before crossed the Ganges opposite to Rajahmahal, where a river coming from the north leads into the midst of the Parneah country. The rebels, more dispirited by the approach of the English troops, than the appearance of the Nabob's, quitted their intrenchments, which were strong, and dispersed before they were attacked. Soon after Ogulsing was taken prisoner, on which all the other officers either submitted or fled the country; and in less than a fortnight, by the 9th of December, Coddum Hussein was in quiet possession of the government.

The extinction of this rebellion, the submission of Ramraming, and no appearance of the renewal of disturbance at Dacca, left the Nabob without any farther apprehensions for the tranquillity of Bengal, and determined him to march immediately to Patna, fully bent on removing Ramnarain, who was still standing on his guard, but had been disappointed in his expectations, if he ever entertained any, of being joined by Sujah Dowlah, whom his own affairs detained in his own country. Clive, seeing the time he had waited for, refused

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fused to accompany the Nabob to Patna, before all that remained to be paid and settled of his agreements with the English should be discharged and fulfilled. In aggravation of this dilemma, it was impossible to satisfy the English claims immediately, without the assistance of Roydoolub, through whose office, as duan, all money, bills, and patents, must pass; and on this ground Clive represented to the Nabob the absurdity of their variance, and proposed a serious reconciliation, of which he himself would be the guarantee. The necessity of marching to Patna prevailed, and the Nabob, at least in appearance, acquiesced; and on the notice, Roydoolub recovered, left the city, and arrived in the camp on the 23d. of the month. He was the next day introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, who received him with every demonstration of cordiality. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Omarbeg, came to the tent of Clive, and Mr. Watts assisted at the conference. Before other business, the Nabob and Roydoolub made a solemn renunciation of all their former suspicions and animosity. On the state of the account of the treaty monies, there was now due near twenty-three lacks of rupees. Orders on the treasury at Muxadavad were signed for the immediate payment of twelve and a half lacks, and rescripts given on Omarbeg, as Phoufdar of Hughly, and on the Rajahs of Burdwan and Kishnagur, for the remaining half of the 23 lacks. These rescripts are called tuncaws, and entitle the holder to receive to the amount from the treasuries of the districts on which they are given, as the revenues come in. Tuncaws were likewise given on the same districts for the next payment, amounting to 19 lacks, which would fall due in the ensuing April. The Nabob ordered Roydoolub to issue under the seals of the Nabobship and Duanny the patents empowering the company to take possession of the ceded lands south of Calcutta, with the authority of Zemin-darry; which, being feudal lordship of land, does not extend to life; but to imprisonment on any occasion, and to the scourge, even for the evasion of debt, especially to the government: but the Nabob reserved to himself the annual sum of 222,958 rupees arising on these lands, and allowed by the Mogul government, as on many others

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others in the provinces, as a jaghire, or pension for his expences without account. All these points were adjusted without dispute, or even the appearance of dissension; but it was still more necessary to settle the object of the present expedition. The Nabob's intention to remove Ramnarain, in order to give the government of Patna to one or other of his more immediate dependants, would inevitably be productive of long disturbance and confusion; for it could not be doubted that Ramnarain, knowing the Nabob's enmity to him, would, on the approach of the army, offer any terms to Sujah Dowlah for his assistance, unless prevented by assurances he could rely on, that it was not intended to displace him. Obnoxious, as Clive knew the proposal would be, he made it; adding to the obvious arguments, the necessity to which the English troops might at any time during the campaign be reduced, by the arrival of a French force in the river, to return on sudden warning to defend Calcutta; when the Nabob and his army might be left fighting with their own enemies in Behar. He then, as before in the case of Ramramsing and Roydoolub, offered his mediation if necessary, promising to preserve every right of the Nabob's demands and authority. The Nabob again having no valid alternative to propose, consented that Clive should write a letter to Ramnarain, advising him to come and pay his respects to the Nabob on the road; and assuring him of safety and favour. All these material points being settled, it was resolved to march forward without delay. Thus ended the conference with seeming amity, but real grudge in the Nabob to Roydoolub and Clive, and not without suspicions in them of him.

On the 2d of January, three days after the conference, the army began to move from Rajahmahal. At the Nabob's request the English led the van. Roydoolub, with his, amounting to 10000 men, and the artillery of the government, followed next; and the Nabob with the main body, amounting to 40000, brought up the rear: each had their fleet of boats; and for the convenience of provisions and encampment, as well as to prevent the occasions of quarrel amongst the respective soldieries, it was agreed that the three divisions should always make their halts at the distance of one day's march from each

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each other. They followed the same road as Major Coote had marched. The progress of the troops of the government was continually interrupted by halts to bring on their baggage and repair their artillery; and the English were obliged to wait, as the Nabob did not like they should be far before him. On the 29th he received letters from Delhi, advising that the patents of his confirmation in the Nabobship had been made out, and titles granted to his son and several others of his family; and the Seats informed Colonel Clive, that he likewise was created a munsubdar or commander of 6000 horse, with several names. All the advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ramnarain to be taking measures for his defence, and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna; but he had not then received the letter from Clive: as soon as it reached him, he wrote an answer, without any stipulation, or sign of mistrust, that he should proceed without delay to wait on Clive and the Nabob. Accordingly on the 22d he embarked in his boats, whilst his retinue of cavalry marched along the road, and on the 25th visited Clive. The next day he proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to the Nabob, who received him with the attentions usually testified to his rank in the state, and requested him to follow in the rear, in order to facilitate their communications on business; but in reality to mark his inferiority to the province. This intention escaped not the observation of the camp, but even produced reports that the Nabob had placed him there, out of the reach of succour, in order to destroy him; and Clive himself, not receiving either letters or intelligence from him for several days, had the same suspicions, and wrote for explanation to Omatbeg and Roydoolub; from whom, as well as Ramnarain, he received letters on the 3d of February, which satisfied him of the safety of Ramnarain's person, but did not remove his apprehensions that the Nabob meant him ill in other respects. On the 4th the English troops halted at Jaffier Cawn's garden, two miles from the Kelah or fort which stands at the east end of the city of Patna. Early the next morning, a large body of the Nabob's troops were perceived marching to the left, and passing beyond the English towards the city, and Clive received private

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vate information that Coja Haddee, who commanded them, was ordered by the Nabob to suffer no troops, excepting his own division, to enter the gates until the Nabob himself should arrive there. This arrangement was intended to give a notion to the capital of the province, that the English troops were as subservient to the Nabob as his own. Clive waited until Coja Haddee's division were in possession of the gate, and then marched up, demanding admittance, Coja Haddee being attached, to Roydoolub, and knowing his respect and reliance on Clive, mentioned the general order he had received from the Nabob; but said, that it could not be meant to extend to his friends, the English, and admitted the troops with more pleasure than reluctance. Clive, satisfied with having established the point of honour, did not stop, but continued his march through the city to the English factory, which stands on the farther side, very near the western gate. The next day, being the 6th, he received a letter from the Nabob, with inconsistent excuses for the forced march of Cojee Haddee's division, and requesting Clive to encamp at Bankapoor, which is five miles beyond the English factory, where the company have a large garden. Clive had before determined to do so; and the troops proceeded thither immediately. The day after, another letter desired him to move to Dinapoor, five miles farther, because the Nabob himself intended to encamp at Bankapoor. This design of removing the English troops to such a distance, and of keeping the whole of the Nabob's army between them and the city, raised suspicions, which corresponded with other intelligence. Promises, delays, distresses, relief, were to be alternately employed, and bribes as the last resource, to draw Clive to an acquiescence to the Nabob's designs, which continued invariably to deprive Ramnarain of the government of Patna, and to confer it on his own brother Meer Cossim, when the other offices and departments of the province would be shared amongst the favourites and dependants of his former fortune. Roydoolub, who had always suspected, was now convinced that such were the Nabob's intentions, and, seeing his own destruction blended with Ramnarain's, united their councils, whatever might have been their former connexions, without reserve.

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Both by their emissaries, for they dared not write, and the order of encampment prevented visits, explained their ideas of the Nabob to Clive, and artfully insinuated dangerous intentions even against the English. Clive knew not what to apprehend, but did not entirely reject the opinion of treachery; and to prevent it, crossed the whole of his army with the boats and stores into a large island in the Ganges, which lies opposite to Bankapoor, where they were separated from immediate communication with the shore. He at the same time sent Mr. Watts to the Nabob, to discover the meaning of his last request, and to complain seriously of his conduct to Ramnarain, whom he had kept in the camp instead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promises at Rajahmahal. Mr. Watts perceived no symptoms of treachery in the Nabob, but likewise no willingness to conclude the business of Ramnarain, which he said he should defer until he saw colonel Clive. On the 12th, the Nabob came into the city; and Ramnarain likewise, but without any marks of authority. The Nabob kept his army on the eastern side, instead of encamping them, as he had proposed at Bankapoor, to the west. On the 14th, Clive visited him, and this was the first time they had met, since they parted at Rajahmahal. The Nabob imputed the delay of Ramnarain's appointment to Roydoolub, who had the accounts and arrangements to settle. It is probable that Roydoolub, finding Clive less impressed with resentment against the Nabob than he wished, thought this delay would not fail to exasperate him; which the Nabob now turned on himself, and had well nigh made a quarrel between them, if Clive had not recollected the necessity of suspecting the views of all, and of entering into none beyond what was conducive to the public welfare.

Much more time would probably have been wasted in the conflict of these intrigues, if news had not arrived from the westward, which renewed the former apprehensions of the approach of Sujah Dowlah from Lucknow, who was now to be accompanied by a great body of Morattoe horse, and as before by the party of Europeans with Mr. Law, who were remaining under his protection and support

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port at Allahabad; and with these reports, arrived in the camp the Morratoe Subut, who, instead of proceeding directly to his government of Orixá, came from Nagore with a commission from Jonagee and Balagerow, to demand the arrears of chout due to the Morratoe nations from the province of Bengal, which amounted to 24 lacks of rupees. The vicinity of an army of Morratoes at this time in the Doab, not only protected Subut from indignity, but obliged Meer Jaffier to suppress any manifestation of his former suspicions of the union between him and Roydoolub; and the same dread rendered the English as necessary to him as when he took the field at Muxadavad; and on the 23d, he performed the ceremony of disposing of the government of Patna, sitting in full Durbar, attended by all his courtiers. A suit of dress with jewels on a golden plate was laid before him, which he ordered to be carried away immediately with an escort to his son Meerum at Muxadavad, whom he called Nabob of Patna. Then another suit of the same presents, which he gave with his own hand to Ramnarain, pronouncing him deputy to Meerum in the Nabobship. The appointment of Meerum was merely nominal, not derogating from the authority of Ramnarain, which continued responsible to the Nabob alone, but rendering him liable to some additional presents; and the bargain for Ramnarain's appointment had been settled at seven lacks of rupees, which were exacted under the pretext of a balance remaining due on the adjustment of the accounts of the province. Other sums, unknown, but supposed not inconsiderable, were likewise collected by the Nabob; for the chiefs of all the districts, as well Moors as Indians, were summoned, as usual in such visitations, to pay homage, and none came empty-handed; and those against whom were any real or fictitious causes of complaint, were severely fined. Of these Comgar Cawn and Sundersing, two petty rajahs in that part of the mountains which lie between the province of Behar and the district of Berboin in Bengal, had been fighting for three months, and only laid down their arms on the approach of the Nabob. Both were summoned to attend the Durbar. Comgar Cawn, who was most in fault, evaded; and Sundersing would not come until he received

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assurances from Clive of being treated with justice. Pulwaning, another of these Indian chiefs whose districts lye at the s. w. extremity of the province amongst the mountains along the banks of the Caramnassa, was a notorious plunderer, and had incurred the resentment of Ramnarain: he likewise refused to appear until he had received the same security. These attentions to the mediation of Clive grated the Nabob's mind, which returned to its former antipathies, on intelligence that neither the Morratocs nor Sujah Dowlah were likely to prosecute their intended project of invading Behar. Clive, nevertheless, did not relax the rein.

All the salt-petre provided by the European settlements in Bengal is made in the country on the other side of the Ganges above Patna. The farm was always monopolized, and had long been in the hands of Cojah Wazeed, the great merchant of Hughley. Disputes had often risen between his servants and those of the English factory at Patna; and two months before they had come to blows, when two of the factory's servants were killed. This accident gave Clive the plea of asking the Nabob to grant the farm to the English company, as the only means of preventing such disputes in future. He offered the highest terms at which the farm had ever been rated; but the Nabob knew, that he could not exact on any pretence from the company the additional presents, which the renter, whilst his subject, could not refuse. This motive of his repugnance was, however, below his dignity to acknowledge, and after many objections he consented, reserving the receipt of 20,000 maunds, or 1,600,000 pounds weight a year, for his own use. The agents of the Dutch East-India company protested against the grant; which Clive answered by producing a letter, in which they had asked the farm of Surajah Dowlah for themselves. However it was agreed to supply them with the quantity they used to purchase.

The obtainment of this favour did not induce Clive to any remission in the authentic demands. The troops were in the fourth month of the campaign, and only the pay of two, amounting to two lacks, had been supplied. Although the Rajahs of Burdwan
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and Kishnagur had accepted the tuncaws given on their districts, they had hitherto paid nothing; and Omarbeg, as Phousdar of Hughley, declared that he had no means of satisfying any part of the 6,500,000 rupees charged on him, excepting by giving a quantity of salt, which when sold might produce two lacks. On this, Clive wrote to Roydoolub that he should send his troops to ask their money of him, and signified to the Nabob that he might spare the English five out of the seven lacks he was to receive from Ramnarain. The Nabob replied, that this very sum was appropriated to pay the Mogul's tribute at Delhi, but offered bills on Ramnarain for two lacks, payable at 50,000 rupees a month, which Clive was contented to receive.

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The to and fro of these official discussions had brought the time to the 18th of March; and the Nabob having now nothing to fear from foreign enemies before the end of the rainy season in September, resumed his first views of giving the government of Patna to Meer Cossim, but, still afraid to venture whilst the English troops remained in Behar, resolved to outstay them, and became as anxious to send them away as he had been to bring them with him. Knowing their want of money, he thought the more he should delay to supply it, and postpone their other business, the sooner they themselves would become desirous of departing, to save expence to no purpose.

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Clive, suspecting this cunning, insisted that Roydoolub should immediately give security for the deficiency of the Hughley tuncaws; but Roydoolub was on the point of making a visit of devotion to Guyah, a town of great sanctity and pilgrimage, situated at the foot of the mountains, 60 miles to the south of Patna. He set out on the 19th of March, and Clive resolved to remain until he returned; but on the first of April sent forward the main body of the English troops on the road to Bengal, with orders to proceed slowly. They were augmented by 1000 Sepoys, who had been levied in the Bodgepore country, where the natives are much hardier than in Bengal, and even more than in any part of Behar. On the 7th, Roydoolub returned

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returned from Guyah, and by this time the Nabob had taken the resolution of going to pay his devotions likewise, at a famous *durgar*, or tomb of a saint, near the town of Bahar, which is situated 40 miles to the south-east of Patna: by this journey he said no time would be lost, as it would require ten days to adjust some affairs and accounts in dispute between his brother Meer Cossim and Ramnarain: he hoped in this interval that the English troops would have been far advanced on their way, and Clive have joined them, in which case he intended to return to Patna, and remove Ramnarain. But Clive resolved not to separate himself from Ramnarain until he saw him out of danger, and advised Roydoolub likewise, although in the field, to keep at hand. A momentary instant of general satisfaction and compliments occurred on the 14th by the arrival of messengers from Delhi, with the authentic patents of the honorary titles conferred on the Nabob, his relations, and Clive: they likewise brought *funnuks*, or the commission for the Nabobship, but deficient in some essential formalities, which were withheld until the Nabob should have remitted a sum of money to Delhi: the *funnuks* were, nevertheless, proclaimed as fully valid, and few knew the contrary. The next day, the Nabob proceeded to Bahar; and, seeing that Clive still remained at Patna, instructed his brother Meer Cossim to dissemble, who accordingly pretended to be perfectly satisfied with the adjustment of his affairs with Ramnarain, and promised to leave Patna and come to Muxadavad as soon as he had settled his more private concerns; and the Nabob himself, instead of returning as he had intended from Bahar to Patna, proceeded from thence on the 24th straight across the country to Bhar on the bank of the Ganges, about 35 miles below Patna, where the main body of his army and their fleet of boats were assembled; on which Clive left the city, carrying Ramnarain with him, to take leave of the Nabob. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Ramnarain, met by appointment on board of Clive's budgerow. The Nabob expressed perfect satisfaction in Ramnarain's integrity and fidelity, assured him of being continued in the government, and permitted him to set out the same day on his return:

return; he then ordered a part of his army to march on to Muxadavad, and kept the rest to amuse himself with in huntings along the hills; but consented that Roydoolub should accompany Clive, in order to discharge the deficiencies of the balances of money due on the treaties. Thus ended this political campaign, in which an army of 50,000 men had marched 300 miles out of their own province, and continued four months in the field, without firing a musket; but produced the full accomplishment of all that Clive intended, who maintained his decision over all interests, by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality, or the proffers of private advantage.

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The French party which had escaped from Dacca to Rungpore, had raised a mud fort not far from the foot of the mountains, on the bank of the river Testa, in which they maintained themselves unmolested, until Cossim Ally, the Phousdar of the country, received the Nabob's orders to attack them; when they were surrounded by a great number of his people, who in less than a month reduced them to famine; on which they embarked in their boats, and went down the river, intending to regain the Great Ganges; but were followed and harassed so much, that they landed again, but on the other side of the river, and marched to the neighbouring town of Dinagepore, the capital of a Rajah, who with much timidity was a good man, which Mr. Courtin knowing, refrained from any violence to his people; who were all as timorous as the Rajah himself, and maintained the party with provisions, until an officer at Mr. Courtin's request came from Cossimbuzar, to whom they surrendered prisoners, and were received with some terms of indulgence. Their number was reduced from 30 Europeans to 11, and from 100 to 30 Sepoys.

The small number of troops left in Calcutta after the army took the field with Col. Clive was not sufficient to keep up the necessary guards with sufficient strictness; which encouraged the French prisoners to attempt their escape. The building of the gaol was not sufficient to hold them; and, as the enclosure had very high walls, they were permitted

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permitted to remain in the area; taking advantage of this liberty, they dug under the wall in a part unfrequented and covered with bushes, and in the night of the 18th of December, all of them, being 90, escaped through the hole, and before morning most of them had crossed the river, and not one was immediately retaken. Some were suspected to have gone to the Danish factory opposite Hughley; but the agents there would not permit the search. A month after fifteen were stopped in Midnapore; and in the month of March, 30 more at Cutteck, going through Orixá, to join their countrymen in Chicacole.

The Squadron with Mr. Pococke sailed for the coast of Coromandel, in the beginning of February; the condemnation of the Kent, and the dispatch of the sloop to England, had reduced it to three ships of the line, and two frigates of 20 guns. Their departure, frequent although vague reports from sea of French armaments, the expectation of sending a great part of the English force into the field again with the Nabob, and above all the recent remembrance of calamity, had determined the presidency to provide for the future safety of Calcutta, by raising a fort capable of the utmost defence; and all the natives which could be hired were continually employed in the work. The spot was chosen 1200 yards to the south of the old fort; but not so near the river.

Various reports had been brought to Muxadavad, during the campaign of Patna. In February, soon after Ramnarain joined the camp on the road, it was said that the Nabob had caused him to be assassinated; but, at the same time, came other news, that the Rajah Sunderling, by the instigation of Roydoolub, had fallen on the Nabob's quarters in the night, and had killed him in his tent. However improbable, Meerum believed both reports, and assembled all the forces quartered round the city: this alarm was soon quieted by authentic letters from the camp; but the same principles of suspicion and animosity had driven Meerum to greater excesses of apprehension, on the approach of Colonel Clive and Roydoolub returning from the campaign.

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The Cossimbuzar river from January to June is too shallow for boats of burthen, which obliged the English troops, with their fleet, to keep along the great river, until they came to Bogwongola, and from whence they marched across the island to Muxadavad, where Clive arrived on the 15th, and found the whole city in the utmost consternation; and, on the same day, he received advices of great importance from the coast of Coromandel; to which our narrative now returns.

END of the EIGHTH BOOK.

B O O K IX.

THE new year opened in the Carnatic with as little activity as the last had closed. The French troops remained in Pondicherry waiting the arrival of their expected armament from Europe, during which, Mr. Soupire, as he says in a memoir he has published, entered into a negotiation with two Jemautdars of the English Sepoys to surprize Tritchinopoly, by means of the French prisoners. Four hundred were in confinement in the city, and 50 or 60 had at various times been received into the English service, and in the end of December, soon after Calliaud returned from Madrafs, two of the enlisted Frenchmen accused one De la Forge, who had been accepted as a surgeon's mate, that he had tampered with them to concur in a project, by which the foreigners in the service of the garrison were to murder the English guards in the night, then open the prisons, arm the prisoners, and with their assistance, overpower the rest of the troops. Four other Frenchmen avowed the same conversation with De la Forge, who, with much obstinacy, denied that he had ever spoken one word to any one of them: he was however hanged two days after his trial. This might have been the first opening of Mr. Soupire's scheme, although he says nothing of it; but nothing was discovered of his conspiracy with the Sepoys, which he seems to have protracted until the end of April.

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Ensign Banatyne at Outramalore, receiving intelligence that 200 of the French Sepoys at Carangoly had deserted on some dispute

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with the renter, and that the rest were inclined to mutiny, marched on the night of the 25th of January, with 500 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, and an hour before day-break made an assault by escalade on a part of the wall, which was in a ruinous condition; but they were repulsed with the loss of 11 Sepoys killed, and 2 Europeans wounded. Slight as this was, no action of equal enterprize passed in the contending districts until the end of April, although the mutual incursions were as frequent as before; but being always levelled at defenceless villages, they carried the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war; and each side losing as much as it gained by these depredations, the French officer at Vandiwash proposed a conference to put an end to them, and Banatyne was permitted to treat with him.

The reports which the French government spread with much diligence, of their approaching superiority on the coast of Coromandel, encouraged even the most insignificant chiefs, which held under the Nabob, or the company, to question or insult their authority. In the vast plain which occupies the Carnatic, from the latitude of Puliacate to the river Coleroon, are many tracts of sandy ground spread amongst the richest districts of the country. These soils having always been neglected by the labourer, and left to nature, propogate abundance of useless vegetation. In some, which with care would rear the cocoa-nut, the eastern palms prevail, a few of which, rising to their full growth, spread their seeds with the wind, which in a succession of time cover the whole extent with plants, that strangling one another by their multitude, remain stunted, and create the stubbornest of thickets. Others of these tracts, instead of bearing the palm kinds, will only produce a strong and spreading shrub, which rises to the height of eight or nine feet, and forms one continued coppice. Many of these wilds are from 15 to 40 miles in circumference, and all of these extents are possessed by petty Polygars, with their clans of half-savage subjects, whose occupation is to rob the neighbouring villages in the night, and in the day to take all kinds of venison and game, in which they are so expert; that they rarely fail, on the shortest notice, to produce the quantity demanded

demande by any person in authority. By these obeisances, and sometimes a small present of money, and now and then ridding the country of a tiger, they compensate their thefts, which are rarely attended with bloodshed or violence; when they are, troops march, their hamlets are burnt, and prisoners taken, the chief himself in preference, who atone severely for the misdeeds, whether of themselves or their fellows. Two of these Polygars, between whose woods the fort of Trepassoor is situated, ventured in the end of January to make incursions, not only into the districts dependant on this fort, but even into those of Pondamalee, within 15 miles of Madras, and carried off large quantities of grain and cattle from the villages; on which the commandant, Jemaul Saib, who had returned from Tinivelly to Madras, was ordered to march against them with four companies of Sepoys. The one, named Rangapah Naigue, immediately asked pardon, and made restitution and atonement: but the other, Wardapah Naigue, stood on his defence, until Jemaul Saib had penetrated into his woods, and burnt several of the hamlets concealed in them; on which, he submitted likewise, and the Sepoys were withdrawn.

The army of the Morattoes under the command of Balaventrow, which, in the preceding year, had defeated the Nabob of Cudapah, who fell in the battle, found notwithstanding this victory, that they could not easily complete the reduction of the country; for Abdull Nabey Cawn, the cousin-german and nearest relation of the deceased Nabob, threw himself with a strong force into the strongest fortress of the province called *Sidout*, near the town of Cudapah and the late field of battle; and others of the Pitan Captains stood on their defence in their respective holds, the sieges of which would employ more time than the extent of Balaventrow's expedition. He therefore sent agents to negotiate with Abdull Nabey; but likewise detached parties to harass the districts adjacent to the forts which held out; during which he marched himself with the main body of his army across the province of Cudapah to the eastward, and, when arrived on the confines of the Carnatic to the n. w. formed three divisions, one of which went against the Polygar Bomrauze; the other entered the districts

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districts of Damarlah Venketappah and Bangar Yatcham-naigue; and with the third he appeared himself before Nelore. The Nabob, in settling the treaty of tribute in the preceding year with Armetrow, the deputy of Balaventrow, gave, in the general assessment on his vassals, an order on each of these Polygars to pay him 70,000 rupees, and the pretence on which Balaventrow now commenced hostilities against them was, that the assessment meant only the rate of the actual year, whereas they owed, he said, for the six before; and the reason he gave for attacking Nelore was, to prevent Nazeabulla from marching against the Nabob, with a large body of French troops, which he heard were advancing to join him from Mr. Buffy's army; but Nazeabullah, having without hesitation paid him a sum adequate to his expectations, he a few days after wrote to the Nabob, recommending a reconciliation between them. His detachments plundered the fair towns of Venkati Gherri and Calastri; and all the three Polygars were so frightened, that, in expectation of the assistance of the English, each of them gave bonds and security for the payment of their tribute to the Nabob, which were not equal to the demands of Balaventrow; immediately after this the Morattoes left their country, as the Polygars believed, from respect to the remonstrances of the presidency, but in reality pursuant to orders received at this time from Balagerow: they returned into Cudapah, where Balaventrow concluded at Sidout a treaty with Abdul Nabey Cawn, by which it was agreed, that the country should be equally divided betwixt them: and the Morattoes were put in possession of Goramcondah, a strong fort and pass midway in the range of mountains, which bound the province of Cudapah to the west. A part of the army was left to guard the share of the Morattoes in the province, and Balaventrow, with the rest, re-crossed the western mountains, and marched towards Sirpi, ordering at the same time the detachment with Armetrow at Velore to join him there.

The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab, having gathered 1000 horse, and 2 or 3000 foot, moved in the beginning of the year from Chitore to Chandergherri. This place was anciently the capital of the Carnatic, at present an open town in ruins. It is situated about

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10 miles from the famous pagoda of Tripetti, which Abdulwahab endeavoured to persuade the company's renter to deliver up: but the renter referred him to Madras, and he was deterred from the hostilities he intended, by the march of Jemaul Saheb against the polygars of Trepaffore. Not knowing therefore what to do with his troops, who clamoured for pay, he sent them under the command of his principal officer to Mortizally of Velore, who was preparing to attack the fort of Tripatore, at the bottom of the valley of Vaniambady. We are ignorant on what pretensions these hostilities were founded, but they were undertaken with much earnestness: for, besides his own, and the troops of Abdulwahab, the Phousdar likewise engaged the body of Morattoes then in his town with Armetrow. The whole force was 4000 horse and 6000 foot; but the fort of Tripatore was of difficult approach; and on the 8th of February, the day after the batteries were opened, a cannon-ball killed Armetrow; which being perceived by the garrison, they sallied, routed the besiegers, and took their cannon. The Morattoes immediately after this defeat quitted the country, and joined their main body in Mysore; and the troops of Mortizally and Abdulwahab returned to their homes.

Mr. Pocock, with the ships of war from Bengal, arrived at Madras on the 24th of February; they had been absent 17 months on the expedition. The two frigates were immediately detached to cruize off Pondicherry. Some days after, arrived the Queensborough frigate, which Admiral Stevens had dispatched with advices to Madras, from whence she had been sent to Bengal, and now returned from thence. On the 24th of March, Admiral Stevens himself arrived from Bombay with 4 ships of the line; and on the 17th of April the squadron sailed to the southward.

The Mysore general Hyderally, after his retreat from Madura in the end of the preceding year, continued at Dindigul, waiting the arrival of a body of French troops, with which he intended to return to the attack; and in the interval Mahomed Iffoof marched with his army from Chevelpetore to the city of Madura, and set to work to repair the fortifications. As the French troops in the Pagoda of Seringham could

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could not be diminished without danger from the garrison in Trichinopoly, Mr. Soupire sent the force he intended for Hyderally from Pondicherry; and from the restraint laid on all his military operations, they were no more than 300 Sepoys and 75 Europeans, who arrived at Dindigul in the end of January. They were commanded, by Mr. Astruc, the same officer who had been defeated by Major Lawrence before Trichinopoly in the year 1753, from which time he had continued a prisoner on his parole until the month of October of the preceding year, when he was exchanged. On his arrival at Dindigul, he found Hyderally pressed by urgent affairs to return to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, which broke the scheme of attacking Madura; soon after the interview, Hyderally departed, and Mr. Astruc returned to the pagoda of Seringham, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and, having been long ill, died on the 22d; he was a gallant and worthy man.

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The agent sent by the Nabob to Maphuze Khan arrived at Nelli-tangaville on the 23th of February, and found him there, encamped in paltry tents, with 50 horse, ostentatious of his poverty, pretending much discontent against his allies, and much attachment to the Nabob; but when terms of reconciliation were proposed, nothing less would satisfy him than the government of the whole country as an appanage in fee; indeed he was never master of his own opinion, and at present not of his will, for the western polygars, elated by the rising superiority of the French in the Carnatic, took the field, and obliged him, who depended upon them for his subsistence, to lend his name, and to appear with them in person as the pretension of their hostilities: the army was composed of the troops of the Pulitaver, of Vadagherri, of the three minor polygars, Cotaltava, Nadacourch, and Savandah; and from the eastern side, of Etiaporum; the dependant of Catabominaigue, who himself continued firm to his new connexion with the English. The confederates had likewise persuaded the Polygar of Shatore under the hills, whose fort is only fifteen miles to the south of Chevelpetore, to enter so far into their views as to admit a body of the Pulitaver's Colliers into his fort, with whom and his own he made depredations into the adjacent

adjacent country, whilst Mahomed Iffoof, apprehensive of the arrival of Hyderally and the French, kept his force collected in Madura. As soon as the news of Hyderally's departure was confirmed, Mahomed Iffoof took the field and marched against Shatore. The polygar on his appearance made submissions, turned out the Pulitaver's men, and paid a fine in money; but as soon as the English troops returned to Chevelpetore, he renewed his depredations; on which Mahomed Iffoof attacked the fort again, which the polygar, after a slight resistance, abandoned; and one of his relations was appointed in his stead. In the mean time, the confederates had, in various attacks from Nellitangaville, taken all the posts between this place and Tinivelly, and many of the men placed to guard them were put to the sword: at Tirancourchy, which was taken by assault in the night, 27 horsemen, and a greater number of Sepoys, were killed. The confederates, elated with these successes, threatened all who did not join them, and attacked the polygar of Outamalee, because he had refused. They likewise prepared to take possession of Tinivelly, and boasted that they would reduce the fort of Palamcotah. But the approach of Mahomed Iffoof from Chevelpetore stopped their progress, nor had they courage to give him battle; but, having strengthened the posts they had taken, retreated to Nellitangaville, sending, however, detachments to harass and interrupt his operations; but without success; for all their parties which ventured to meet, or could not avoid the encounter of the Sepoys, were beaten, and by the end of April all the posts which had been taken were recovered. Mahomed Iffoof then resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to begin with the polygar of Vadagherri, although the most distant, because the most powerful of the alliance. His villages in the plain were in flames, and the troops had begun to penetrate into the wood which encloses his fort, when Iffoof received advices and instructions from the presidency at Madras, and from Captain Calliaud at Trichinopoly, which called him and the troops under his command to services of much greater necessity and importance. At day-break, on the 28th of April, a squadron of 12 sail were descried standing in from various points of the compass for the road

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of Fort St. David, where the English frigates, Triton and Bridgewater, chanced to be at anchor. It was soon perceived that the strangers were French; and two or three of the ships being to the north of the road, whilst the rest were advancing from the south, precluded the escape of the frigates, as the wind blew from the offing. The captains therefore, prudently resolved to run their ships ashore, in order to preserve the men, which they effected without losing any.

The French squadron was commanded by the Count D'Aché. After some change in the ships, which were first appointed, he sailed from Brest on the 6th of March of the preceding year, with the Zodiac of 74 guns, the Belliqueux of 70, the Superbe of 64, belonging to the navy of France, and a 50 gun ship, with a frigate belonging to the East-India Company. On board of these ships was embarked the regiment of Lally, consisting of 1080 men, 50 of the royal artillery, a great number of officers of distinction, and the count de Lally, Colonel of the regiment of his name, lieutenant general in the French army, and now appointed Governor-general with the most extensive powers over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The ships had scarcely got clear of the land, when a squall of wind carried away the main-top-gallant and the mizen-top-mast of the Belliqueux, on which she made the signal of distress, and was obliged to anchor near the shore in bad ground. The Zodiac immediately tacked, and worked close-hauled to assist her, and the squall continuing, carried away the main and fore top-mast of this ship likewise. These accidents induced Mr. D'Aché to return immediately into the port of Brest, as affording the speediest means of repairing the damages. In the short interval between the final orders for the departure of the Squadron, and the advices of its return into Brest, the French ministry at Versailles had received such sinister accounts of the French affairs in Canada, that they changed the destination of the ships Belliqueux and Superbe, and appointed them to America; and ordered Mr. D'Aché to remain at Brest, until joined by other ships of equal force; which, however, the navy of France, in this time of distress, was not able to spare from its other necessities. But the French East India Company had several ships, built expressly to serve when

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when required, as men of war, of which four had sailed in December, with the regiment of Lorraine; and three were now added to the two Mr. D'Aché already had under his command; and he was to take the others at the Isle of France. The delays of assembling the Company's ships from Port l'Orient retarded his departure from Brest until the 4th of May. The ships carried with them a malignant fever, at that time reigning in the port. On the 23d of July they anchored at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, having lost 300 men of all kinds by the fever, which continued even in this climate, although healthier than most in the world: having waited two months in expectations of this benefit, the squadron sailed on the 25th of September; and after a passage of 85 days, still infected with the sickness, arrived on the 18th of December at the Isle of France. Here they found the ships which had carried the regiment of Lorraine, returned from Pondicherry. Taking their crews and such of the ships as he chose, Mr. D'Aché formed the squadron, with which he now appeared on the coast. They sailed from hence on the 27th of January. It would be useful to know their route, in order to avoid it; for their passage was very long, not making the coast until the 25th of April, when the Diligent was sent forward to Karical to get intelligence of the English squadron; and returning on the 27th without any, struck on a sand-bank, which detained all the ships the rest of the day in getting her afloat. On the 28th they appeared, as we have seen, before Fort St. David.

Every success was expected to follow the arrival of this armament in India. The ships were to drive the English squadron off the coast, the troops with those already at Pondicherry were to demolish the English settlements; and such was the confidence of not meeting an enemy in the field, that the instructions formed at Versailles ordered Mr. Lally to open his operations by the siege of Fort St. David, before which the ships anchored, in order to land the troops as soon as those from Pondicherry could march to invest the place. The wreck of the two English frigates confirmed these presumptions; and Mr. Lally went away in the Count de Provence of 60 guns, attended by a frigate called the Diligente, to proclaim his

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commission, and give the necessary orders at Pondicherry; he landed at five in the afternoon, and was received with all the distinctions annexed to his authority. In the mean time the other ships worked in, and anchored off Cudalore, two miles to the south of Fort St. David.

The English squadron having in ten days worked as high to windward as the head of Ceylon, stood in again for the coast, which they made on the 28th, off Negapatam, and proceeding along shore, discovered at nine the next morning the French ships riding off Cudalore, which immediately weighed and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out signals to recal the Comte de Provence and the Diligente; but they not weighing in obedience to the summons, the squadron stood out to sea E. by N. the wind blowing from the S. E. Mr. Pocock, on the first sight of the French squadron, had thrown out the signal for chace, which implies, that every ship is to push with crowded sail, and without regard to each other, in pursuit of the enemy; until countermanded by a different signal. At half an hour after twelve, his ships were within a league of the enemy, who were formed, and waiting for them in a line of battle a-head; when Mr. Pocock hauled down the chacing signal, brought to on the starboard tack, hoisted his colours, and made the signal for the line a-head, and to be formed at the distance of half a cable, or 100 yards, one ship from another. The Tyger failing ill, and the Cumberland much worse, were at this time so far a-stern of the other ships, that it was ten minutes past two before they got up to their allotted stations in the line; which being now formed, the Admiral made the signal to bear down, each ship in the exact direction to the antagonist she was intended to encounter, according to the disposition of the two lines; and this was explained by continuing the distinctive signal of the line of battle a-head, joined to that of bearing down.

The French line consisted of nine sail, all, excepting the Zodiac, capable of carrying more guns than they mounted, and she having changed her lower battery of 32 pounders for 24 at Brest, had not been able to replace them at the Isle of France. The Vengeur of 54 led, followed by the Bien Aimé of 58, next the Conde of 44, and

and next the Duc of Orleans of 50: These were the van: In the centre was the Zodiac of 74, on which M. D'Aché hoisted his flag. The four ships which formed the rear, were the Saint Louis of 50, immediately after the Zodiac, then the Moras of 44, the Sylphide of 36, and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns closed the line.

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The English line, having only seven ships to nine, were to chuse their opponents accordingly. Mr. Pocock in the Yarmouth of 64, was the centre, and steered for the Zodiac, the centre of the enemy's line. In consequence the Tyger of 60 guns, which led the English van, bore down for the Vengeur; the Salisbury of 50, for the Bien Aimé; and the Elizabeth of 64, in which Admiral Stevens hoisted his flag, and was the ship a-head of Mr. Pocock, neglecting the Condé, bore down for the Duke of Orleans, which ranged immediately a-head of M. D'Aché. In consequence, likewise, the Cumberland of 66, which was to be next a-stern of Mr. Pocock, should have steered for the Saint Louis, the Newcastle of 50 for the Moras, and the Weymouth of 60, neglecting the Sylphide, for the Duc de Bourgogne.

This was understood. It is likewise generally understood, that when the Admiral brings to, and throws out the signal to engage, every ship is to do so likewise, at the same distance from its respective opponent, as the admiral lies from his. But the Cumberland, from some unaccountable defect, was so unmanageable, that in bearing down, she could not be got to wear clear of the Yarmouth, that is, to keep on her left hand, but at every endeavour flew up on the Yarmouth's weather-quarter, or to the right.

But another mischance happened, which was effected by this of the Cumberland. The signal for the line of battle a-head, which was kept flying on board the admiral, whilst bearing down for the enemy, was mistaken by the Newcastle and Weymouth to mean that the ships were to go down a-stern of one another, instead of continuing on the left of each other, until they should haul the wind to present their broadsides on the signal for engagement, when this change would place them exactly right in the line of battle a-head. In consequence

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sequence the Newcastle kept behind the Cumberland, and the Weymouth behind the Newcastle, and as the Cumberland had not got into the line (or into the wake of the Yarmouth) when the signal for engagement was thrown out, the other two ships were still farther off from the enemy's, and the last the farthest.

Mr. Pococke saw the mistakes and embarrassments, and, whilst bearing down, threw out signals to rectify them, which were not understood by the Newcastle and Weymouth, and could not be obeyed by the Cumberland. Nevertheless, it was necessary to go on; for the whole of the enemy's line began to fire hotly, as soon as the English ships came within random shot, and with the chance of much advantage, as the English ships bearing down presented their heads, and were exposed to be raked fore and aft until they formed the line, and presented their broadsides for battle: but luckily the enemy's fire continued without aim. Mr. Pocock did not return a single shot until his ship hauled up with her broadside opposite to the Zodiac's, when the three ships of the van were likewise got into their proper stations: he then, at 55 minutes past three, threw out the signal, and the fire instantly became general throughout the line, for the three ships of the rear, although out of certain aim, were within reach of chance execution. In five minutes the Sylphide bore away under the lee of the Zodiac, although she had only received the distant shot of the Newcastle and Weymouth; but she had only been admitted into the line to impose by shew. In fifteen minutes the Duc de Bourgogne, the last of the enemy's rear, quitted her station likewise, and went off in the same direction as the Sylphide, although she had only been exposed to the fire of the Weymouth, and was not much damaged. About the same time the Conde, the third and weakest of the enemy's van, received a shot which disabled her rudder, and obliged her likewise to quit the line. The English and French admirals, Pocock and D'Ache, as with a spirit of duel, kept close and directed their fire entirely against each other, and the engagement had likewise been fierce between the two vans, and continued so after the Conde bore away. The Cumberland still flung up so close to the quarter of the Yarmouth, that she had not room to wear,
and

and get into her station, and at length backed her topfails to obtain it by falling astern; which succeeded, but not until she had dropt below her opponent the Saint Louis, and at a considerable distance from the Yarmouth which she was to second; during this operation, the Newcastle and Weymouth, in order to keep their proper distances, backed likewise, and both fell below the Moras, the last remaining of the enemy's rear; and were thus likewise left without any ship to fire at. But after the Cumberland had set sail, and gained her proper station, the Newcastle still kept back, and failed to close the line, on which the Weymouth hailed her to do so, which not being attended to, she hauled the wind, set sail, and, passing to windward of the Newcastle, came properly into the line, a-breast of the Moras, during which the Cumberland was well engaged with the Saint Louis, and took off the fire of her forward guns, which she had for some time employed against the quarter of the Yarmouth. Mr. Pococke had continually thrown out signals for the rear to get in order, and now continued them for the Newcastle. A great explosion of powder had blown up in the Zodiac, another in the Bien Aimé; the Moras, although by much the weakest of the enemy's ships, had fought with as much activity as any of them; and when attacked by the fresh and superior fire of the Weymouth, stood it with great loss for 10 minutes, when she quitted the line, shattered and admired. Mr. D'Aché continually made the signals of the fugitives to rejoin the line. The engagement had continued an hour and a half, when the Tyger, which led the English van, having lost her fore-top-sail-yard, could not keep her station, but fell slanting a-head of her opponent, the Vengeur, on which this ship, favoured at the same time by a small change of the wind, hauled up, and began to get to windward of the Tyger's quarter, over which she would then have had every advantage, and with sufficient resistance against the Salisbury behind; and by this time the Comte de Provence, with the Diligente, were advanced from Pondicherry within a league of the battle. Nevertheless Mr. D'Aché finding that the ships which had bore away did not return, made the general signal, and bore down towards them, intending afterwards to take up the Comte de Provence, and with her

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to wait the renewal of the engagement, if the English chose. But the rigging in the greatest part of their line was so excessively damaged, that the French outtailed them three feet to one; on which Mr. Pocock hauled the flag of battle down, and summoned his captains. They were Latham of the *Tyger*, Somerset of the *Salisbury*, Kempenfelt of the *Elizabeth* with Admiral Stevens, Harison of the *Yarmouth* with Mr. Pococke, Brereton of the *Cumberland*, Leg of the *Newcastle*, and Vincent of the *Weymouth*.

The loss on board the English squadron was 29 killed, and 89 wounded, in all 118. In the *Yarmouth* 7 were killed and 32 wounded, in the *Salisbury* 8 and 16; the *Cumberland* 7 and 13; none were killed, and only 5 wounded, in the *Weymouth* and *Newcastle* together; the rest fell nearly equal in the *Tyger* and *Elizabeth*. The killed and wounded in the French squadron amounted by their own accounts to 500. In the *Zodiac* alone more than in all the English ships, being 35 and 115, including 60 scorched by their own gun-powder; 40 were killed in the *Bien Aimé*; 32 in the *Moras*, 13 in the *Vengeur*, 13 in the *Saint Louis*, 12 in the *Duc d'Orleans*, 6 in the *Duc de Bourgogne*, 3 in the *Sylphide*, the *Conde* 6 or 7: the wounded in all the ships, excepting the *Zodiac*, were only twice the number of the slain. The disparity of the total loss was more than four to one, and far exceeded the disproportion of the numbers on board: the French squadron having with the troops 5000, and the English 3200. The frigates on either side suffered nothing, having been kept at a distance to repeat signals.

The *Yarmouth* with the ships of the van had received so much hurt in their rigging, that none could haul the wind. The immediate resource was, to have anchored; but when the engagement ended, the squadron had got out of sight of land, into 25 fathom water, and the wind blowing fresh had raised such a heavy swell, that the tumbling of the ships at anchor would have rendered the various operations of setting up masts, yards, and shrouds, always difficult at sea, almost impracticable. It was therefore resolved to repair under sail. The ships accordingly stood in for the land s. w. the wind still at s. s. e. but the current was strong and the unweildy *Cumberland* falling

falling continually to leeward obliged the others to abide by her; so that, before the morning, when they came to an anchor in shore, they were a league to the north of Sadras, and 35 miles to the south of Pondicherry, off of which the engagement began. The French Squadron had suffered so much less aloft, that they anchored at 10 at night in the road of Alamparva, 15 miles to windward of the English. The *Bien Aimé* during the fight had the flings of her sheet anchor shot away, which dropping, run out the cable, which was immediately cut; another shot unperceived had grazed the upper coil of the cable bent to the best bower, with which the ship came to anchor at Alamparva, but on the first strain this cable parted; a small anchor was immediately dropped, but would not hold; there was no other ready; and before the sails could be set, the ship was driven into the surf, and stranded without the possibility of recovery; but all the men were saved, and afterwards most of the cannon and stores.

The first hour of Mr. Lally's arrival at Pondicherry was distinguished by the excessive vivacity of his character. Before the night closed, 1000 Europeans and as many Sepoys were on their march to Fort St. David, commanded by the Count D'Estaing, who landed with him: but such was the hurry to be in motion, that they proceeded without provisions, and their guides led them astray, and brought them into the bounds over the plain to the west, where they did not arrive until seven in the morning: the guard at the redoubt of Chimundelum retreated before them to the garden-house, where was another; and both together retired to the fort, after five or six were killed. They were followed almost to the glacis with so much presumption, that seven or eight of the enemy were killed by the cannon from the ramparts, of which indeed abundance were fired on their appearance. Nevertheless, many prest by hunger remained ransacking the houses near the esplanade for immediate victuals; on which two companies of Sepoys under the command of an European officer were sent against them from the fort, who fired away all their ammunition at too great a distance to do or receive any harm. Several smaller parties of Sepoys were likewise detached

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to surprize straggling plunderers, and before noon brought in six Europeans, from whom an account of the enemy's force was obtained. In the afternoon was heard the first firing of the two squadrons, which were then almost out of sight, and soon after disappeared.

The next day Mr. Soupire came up with more troops, some heavy cannon, and a convoy of provisions; and on the first of May, Mr. Lally himself, escorted by two companies of Hussars, arrived at the garden-house, and immediately detached the Comte D'Estaigne across the river of Tripopalore to reconnoitre and take post near Cuddalore. This town remained in the same condition as when attacked twelve years before by the troops of Dupleix; inclosed on the three sides towards the land with a rampart and small bastions, which had neither ditch or any other advanced defences; to the sea it was open, but the approach on this side was flanked by the two bastions at the extremities. M. D'Estaigne carefully reconnoitred the walls to the land, and concluded that the other side had the same defence; and not a man in the French army knew enough of the place to assert the contrary. The garrison of Cuddalore consisted of four companies of Sepoys, and a few artillery-men, under the command of a lieutenant with an ensign; who were reinforced in the evening of Mr. Lally's arrival by 30 Europeans and some Lascars from Fort St. David.

There were in the fort 150 French prisoners; and on Mr. D'Estaigne's arrival, it was demanded of him to send in provisions for their daily sustenance during the impending siege. Mr. Lally, on the day after his arrival, proposed a conference on this subject, as well as on the surrender of Cuddalore, and the commandant Major Polier went to him; after much discussion, and several messages during this and the subsequent day, it was agreed that Cuddalore should be delivered up at sun-rise on the 4th, provided a battery of heavy cannon were at that time ready to open, when the English garrison there might, with their arms and field-ammunition, retire to Fort St. David; and that the French prisoners should be released, with liberty to proceed to any of the neutral ports to the south, where

where they were to remain until the fate of Fort St. David should be decided; on which their own was to depend.

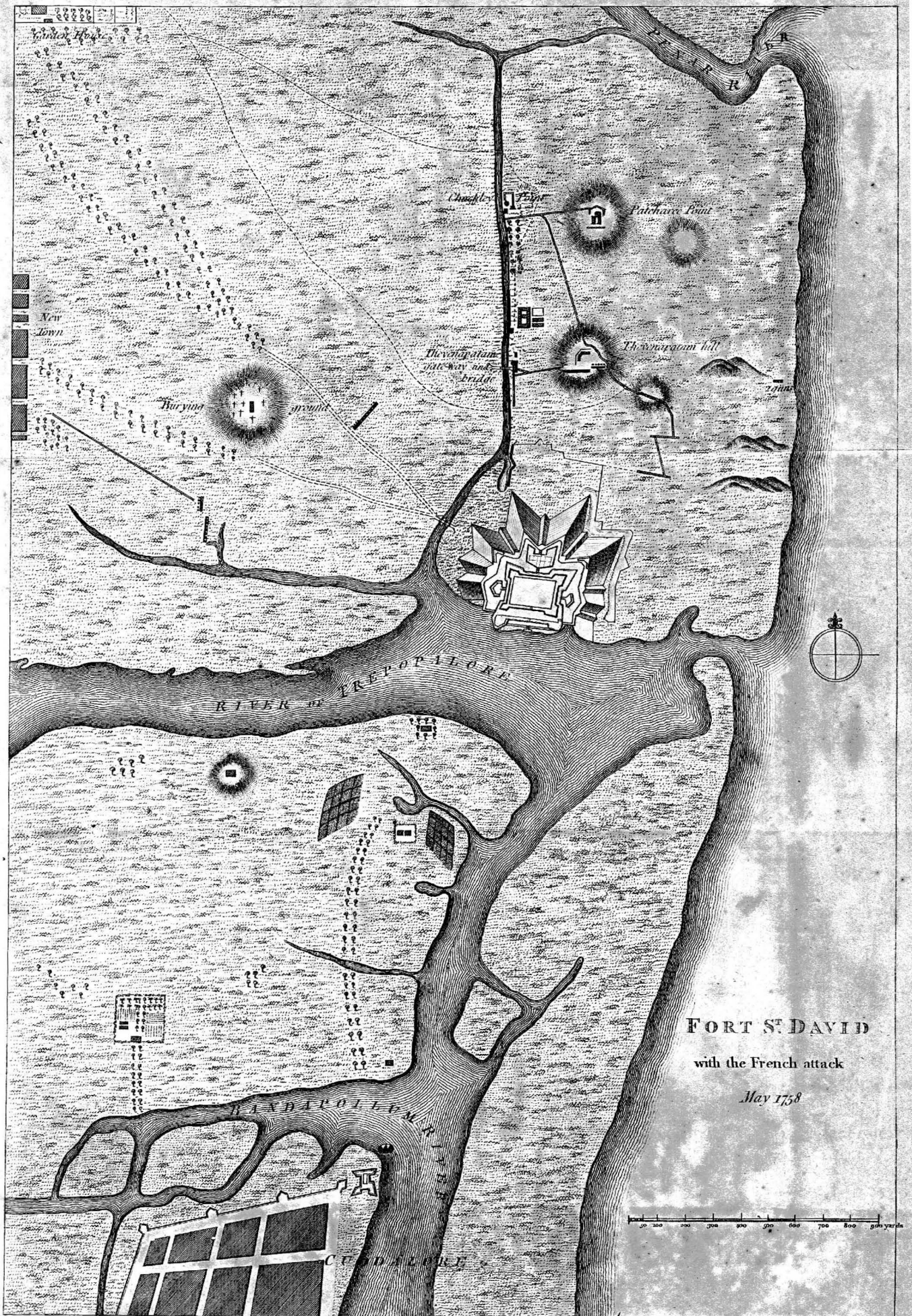
The impatience of Mr. Lally's temper had already spread discontent through the settlement he was sent to govern. Not finding the same means and facilities for military operations as he had been accustomed to in the armies of Europe, he resolved to create them, as it were, in spite of nature. The different casts of the Indian religion being appropriated to specific and hereditary vocations, many of them are entirely prohibited from servile offices and hard labour; and of those allotted to such occupations, each must abide by that alone to which he was born. The husbandman would be dishonoured by employing his mattock excepting in the field he is to sow; and even lower races have their distinctions, insomuch that the cooley, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder: distinctions likewise prevail amongst the soldiery, for the man who rides, will not cut the grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time would the Sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball: hence the numerous train of followers and attendants which always accompanies a camp in India. Another embarrassment likewise arises from the want of horses proper for draught, which is but ill supplied by the feeble bullocks of the country; nor are sufficient numbers even of them properly trained to be purchased on emergency. Excepting in the siege of Pondicherry by Mr. Boscawen, these defects had not been much felt in the hostilities between the two nations, because mutual; and six field-pieces generally decided a battle; two of battering cannon, the fate of a fortress: but another warfare was now to ensue, for the reduction of Fort St. David required a regular siege. The hurry with which Mr. Lally had obliged the first division to march against Cuddalore, left no time to collect the necessary number of coolies and other attendants in Pondicherry; on which he ordered the deficiency to be supplied by the Indian inhabitants of the town, a number of whom were pressed, and employed without distinction, in carrying burthens, and other such services. The violence created terror; the disgrace, indignation. Mr. Deleyrit, and the council, who still retained their functions, but under
the

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the controul of Mr. Lally, represented the inconveniencies which might arise from alienating the attachment of the natives; but their remonstrance drew his resentment on themselves, mixed with suspicions, that they only wished to protect those who were subservient to their own emoluments and advantages in the government. The strain of this exertion only diminished the effect; and the cannon and stores followed so slowly, that as soon as the troops had taken possession of Cuddalore, Mr. Lally returned to Pondicherry, in order to accelerate their arrival by the same means which had already been employed with so little success.

The squadron with Mr. D'Aché were six days in working up from Alamparva to the road of Pondicherry, where they anchored on the sixth of May. The troops were immediately landed, and as fast as they came on shore marched off for Fort St. David; and the heavy artillery and ammunition, for want of means by land, were embarked, to be landed at the mouth of the river Panar, which lies about a mile to the north of Fort St. David. The park of artillery was formed at the Garden-house. Mr. Lally returned to Cuddalore on the 14th, and in the ensuing night the engineers began to erect a battery for two 24 pounders, on the north bank of the river of Bandapollam; they were only intended to fire plunging-shot into the fort, being 1000 yards distant from the walls: nevertheless the garrison fired abundantly during this and the succeeding night to interrupt the work.

Three considerable rivers, coming from the westward, gain the sea in the space of four miles within the bounds of Fort St. David; the bed of the Panar lies about 1800 yards to the north of the river of Tripapolore, and the two communicate by a canal which runs nearly parallel to, and about 1000 yards distant from, the margin of the sea. Fort St. David stands in the angle where the canal joins the river of Tripapolore; which passeth close to the south face of the fort, and there sends off to the south an arm that soon joins the river of Bandapollam, when both united in one channel continue along the eastern side of Cuddalore, separated from the sea by a mound of sand. The waters of Tripapolore and Bandapollam protected the
 . fort



FORT ST. DAVID

with the French attack

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0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 yards

fort from the regular approach of trenches on the south ; but on the west and north the ground presented rather more advantages than obstacles to an enemy.

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By many additions and improvements Fort St. David was now become a fortification armed at all points ; but the original defect of want of space in the body of the place still remained ; being only 140 feet from w. to e. and 390 from n. to s. The four bastions at the angles mounted each 12 guns. The curtains, as well as the bastions, were surrounded by a faussebray with a brick parapet. The out-works were, a horn-work to the north, mounting 34 guns ; two large ravelins, one on the east, the other on the west ; a ditch round all, which had a cuvette cut along the middle, and was supplied with water from the river of Tripapolore ; the scarp and counter-scarp of the ditch faced with brick ; a broad covered way excellently pallisaded, with arrows at the salient angles commanding the glacis, and the glacis itself was provided with well-constructed mines. All these works, excepting the horn-work, were planned by Mr. Robins, but the horn-work was raised before his arrival in India with much ignorance and expence, the whole being of solid masonry, and the rampart too narrow to admit the free recoil of the guns. The ground to the north of the fort, included by the sea, the rivers of Panar and Tripapolore, and the canal which joins them, is a plot of sand, rising in several parts into large hillocks, which afford good shelter against the fort. On the edge of the canal, 1300 yards to the north of the fort, stood an obsolete redoubt, called Chuckly-point. It was of masonry, square, mounted eight guns ; and in the area were lodgments for the guard : the entrance was a pallisaded gate under an arch, but the redoubt was not enclosed by a ditch. About 200 yards to the right of this stood another such redoubt, on a sand-hill called Patcharee. Four hundred yards in the rear of these redoubts was another sand-hill, much larger than that of Patcharee, on which the Dutch had a factory-house called Thevenapatam ; but the house had lately been demolished ; and a fascine battery of five guns was raised on the hill. In a line on the left of this hill, and on the brink of the canal, was a gateway, with a narrow rampart and battlements, which commanded
a bridge

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a bridge immediately under it, leading over the canal. The garrison in Fort St. David consisted of 1600 natives, Sepoys, Lascars, and Topasses; 619 Europeans, of whom 286 were effective; 83 pensioners or infirm; and 250 were seamen, the crews of the Triton and Bridgewater, which had run ashore on the appearance of the French squadron.

Intelligence was obtained on the 15th that the enemy intended on the ensuing night to attack all the posts on the sand; on which they were reinforced, to the number of 80 Europeans and 700 Sepoys. At sun-set, the French troops marched from Cuddalore to the garden-house, and at nine o'clock from thence in three divisions, which halted at some distance from the canal, waiting the signal to attack. The division on the right was to force and take possession of the gateway opposite to the hill of Thevenapatam; the center was to ford the canal, and march against Chuckley-point; and the division to the left crossing the canal where it joins the river Panar, was to come down and storm Patcharee; but the center and the left were not to begin their attack before the right was engaged. The signal was made by a rocket at ten o'clock, and at the same instant a strong fire commenced against the fort itself, from five guns on the ramparts of Cuddalore, the two on the battery on the bank of the Bandapollam river, and from two heavy mortars on the west. This annoyance was intended to distract the attention of the garrison, and succeeded, for they returned it with much violence, although with more uncertainty. The division on the right advancing to the attack of the Thevenapatam gateway, was unexpectedly stopped by the want of the bridge, which had been destroyed, and the canal hereabouts was not fordable; nor could the center division find the ford they expected. The posts on the sand were now alarmed, but the two divisions, nevertheless, stood on their ground, waiting for intelligence from the division on the left, which was led by the Count D'Estaing, who soon after sent word that he had crossed with ease at the head of the canal; on which the center moved up thither, and crossed after him, whilst the third division continued before the gateway, to keep the troops there and at Thevenapatam from reinforcing the two points. They

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They were both attacked at the same time with numbers sufficient to assault all round at once, and in half an hour both were carried; two officers and all the Europeans were made prisoners, but most of the Sépoys ran away. The two divisions together then marched against the battery on the hill of Thevenapatam. This attack commenced at one in the morning, and was resisted with much spirit until three, when the enemy got possession of the battery; where, likewise, the Europeans were taken, and the Sepoys escaped. The fire from the fort deterred the enemy from continuing at Thevenapatam; and they retired to the two points, which they supported with 400 men, sheltered behind the hillock of Patcharee. None of the Sepoys who had fled returned into the fort, but escaped along the sea-shore across the river Panar.

At day-light a detachment from the fort took possession of the battery again; on which the enemy immediately reinforced the troops at the points with 5 or 600 men from the camp at the garden-house; which sufficiently indicated another attack on the battery, and to avoid it the detachment was prudently recalled, together with the guard at the gateway on the canal. At night the enemy broke ground, carrying on a trench of communication between Chuckley and Patcharee points; and although the excessive heat of the weather ought to have referred this service to the night, it continued through the two succeeding days, and by the night of the 19th the work was advanced to the hill of Thevenapatam, extending in the whole 800 yards. Five mortars from the west opened at the same time as the trenches were begun; but no cannon were fired excepting those on the ramparts of Cuddalore, from which one shot on the 18th killed Lieutenant Davis, two serjeants, and five black men. On the 20th, the enemy opened another trench leading from the west side of the hill of Thevenapatam to the gateway on the canal, and repaired the bridge there: they likewise established two twelve pounders amongst the ruins of some fishermen's huts on the beach, which commanded the entrance into the river of Tripapolore from admitting any boats from the sea. These guns were sheltered from the fort by two hillocks of sand, but had no communication with the enemy's lines, and were left to the guard.

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guard of the artillerymen alone, who being few, the garrison detached 60 Sepoys and some Europeans at 11 the next day, to attack them; but the sally only produced a little skirmishing.

By this time, all the black artificers and menials had quitted the fort; and of the whole body of Sepoys, only 200 remained; the want of them laid the strain of duty much heavier on the Europeans; of whom little service was derived from the seamen, as not being subject to the same controul as the soldiery. On the 22d, an English ship anchored, and for want of boatmen to carry a letter to her, the fort warned her danger by firing shot at her, on which she failed out of the road. The enemy continued until the 26th, employed in constructing four batteries, and in pushing on their trenches, which they carried from the hill of Thevenapatam obliquely towards the north-east angle of the glacis; during which, the five mortars to the west, and the guns from Cuddalore continued the only annoyance. The fort continued to lavish away their fire night and day on every thing they saw, heard, or suspected; by which 20 carriages of their own guns were disabled, and the works themselves shaken. About midnight of the 26th, a battery of seven guns, added to that of the five mortars to the west, was opened, and kept up a constant fire. The next night some of the sailors broke open the treasury, not to take the money, but some arrack, with which they got exceedingly drunk, and, according to their regulations, could only be punished by confinement.

By the 30th, the enemy had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis; and in the same day finished and opened the three other batteries; one of three guns, with five mortars, against the angle of the north-west bastion; another of six guns and four mortars on the hill of Thevenapatam, facing the front of the horn-work; the third of four guns, about 300 yards to the south-east of Thevenapatam, and nearly opposite to the angle of the north-east bastion. The former battery to the west continued to enfilade the north face; and the defences on this side had already suffered so much, as well from the shock of their own firing, as from the shot
and

and shells of the enemy, that they could barely return the same number of guns; and the encreasing want of powder left none to spare against the shot from Cuddalore, and the two guns on the bank of the river of Bandapollam. The enemy's bombs had likewise ruined the reservoirs and the only well of good water in the fort, and that in the ditch was too brackish to be drunk.

All hopes were now turned to the squadron; the garrison knew by letters, which had escaped the enemy, of the success of the late engagement, and no conjectures could account for the long delay of their return. Mr. Pococke, as soon as he anchored of Sadras on the 29th of April, dispatched a boat with advices to Madras, and requested, that all the recovered seamen in the hospital, and as many Lascars as could be spared, might be sent to restore the loss which had been sustained. About 100 of each were sent the next day, the Lascars by land, the seamen in massoolas. It was six days before they got on board; and on the 7th of May the squadron weighed; but, proving after three days trial, that they could not advance against the wind and current by working in shore, they put to sea, and in fifteen days got to the windward of Fort St. David, into the latitude of 9. 30.; but the wind at this time rose so strong from the west, that the Cumberland could not bear up against it, without encreasing her leaks so much, that it became necessary to let her drive; and as the other ships were obliged to keep her company, the squadron, instead of reaching Fort St. David, fell to leeward as far as Alamparvah, where they anchored on the 26th of May. Here they obtained no intelligence, for the place belonged to the French, who suffered no boats to go off, and those belonging to ships cannot land through the surf. The wind having abated, the squadron weighed anchor again the same day, and plied to the southward with the land and sea breezes, which were so faint, that they only gained four leagues in two days, when on the 28th they discovered the French squadron at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, which had remained there ever since their arrival, waiting the recovery of their sick and wounded, of which conditions, but principally of their sick, near a thousand were incapable of duty. The

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appearance of the English Squadron spread no little alarm. Mr. D'Aché immediately convened a council of his captains, with the governor and council of the town, who resolved, that it was most expedient for the ships to remain moored as close as possible to the shore, that they might receive the assistance of the guns along the strand: but this resolution was not valid until approved by Mr. Lally; who instantly went from the camp to Pondicherry, ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans to follow him as fast as they could march. He arrived early in the morning of the 30th, convened the usual council, and tendered the detachment, with the same number of Sepoys and Lascars, to serve on board the ships, and protested against the disgrace of not meeting the English Squadron in the open sea. This reinforcement changed the former resolution. Mr. Lally returned to the camp in the evening; and the next day Mr. D'Aché, with the eight principal ships, now manned with 3300 men, weighed anchor, but, instead of bearing down on Mr. Pococke, who could not work up to him, kept the wind, plying for Fort St. David.

The besiegers during this day kept up an incessant fire from 21 pieces of cannon and 13 mortars, which every hour became superior to that of the fort; not for want of mounted artillery, but of ammunition, of which such quantities had been lavished away when no adequate effect could be expected, that the garrison was obliged to spare it now, in the hour of need and real use. On the 1st of June the fire continued with such increasing superiority, that the sailors, and even the artillery men, at times, quitted their guns. At noon, the French Squadron were perceived working towards the road, and by the close of the evening, the enemy had carried on their trenches to the foot of the glacis opposite to the salient angle of the N.E. bastion, where they began to erect a battery, and all the embrasures in the fort which commanded this spot were ruined, and their guns either dismounted or withdrawn: so that the enemy might soon make a lodgement in the covered way; but could get no farther until the ditch was drained or filled up. Nevertheless, it was apprehended, that the French Squadron might land a great number of men, with whom the troops

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on shore would make a general assault, which the garrison or defences were not deemed in a condition to resist. On which, Major Polier, and Mr. Wynch, the temporary governor, thought it necessary to hold a council of war, in which it was unanimously decided, that they ought to capitulate on the best terms they could make, and articles were prepared; however, the defence was continued through the night, and until ten the next day, in the solicitous, but disappointed expectation of seeing the English squadron: a flag of truce was then hoisted, Major Polier and one of the company's agents went out, and returned at four in the afternoon, with the articles altered by Mr. Lally, which it was agreed to accept. At six in the evening, a company of French grenadiers were admitted into the fort, and the garrison marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis, where they grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves and their ensigns to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient speed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was stipulated they should remain, until an equal number of French prisoners were delivered there, when the English were to be sent to Madras, or Devi Cotah, at the option of Mr. Lally. He rejected the proposal, that Fort St. David should not be demolished during the war, and, in consequence of instructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground. The French officers, on contemplating the works, were surprized at the facility of their conquest, not having lost twenty men by the fire of the place, although more by sickness, and strokes of the sun, in the trenches. The French squadron anchored in the road the evening after the surrender, when Mr. D'Aché landed, and having conferred with Mr. Lally, weighed anchor on the 4th, and stood to the southward, in order to cruize off Ceylon.

The army before Fort St. David consisted of 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys. In order to complete this amount, and to leave in Pondicherry a force sufficient to make head against any motions from Madras, Mr. Lally had drained all the out-posts and garrisons in the Carnatic, to a fourth of

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their ordinary guards; and had recalled the whole garrison of Seringham, having agreed to deliver over this place to the brother of Hydernaig, who arrived with a party of Mysoreans from Dindigul, and took possession of it on the 17th of May, when the French troops marched away for Fort St. David. They consisted of 100 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys: but one half of the Sepoys deserted on the road, for fear of the unusual services to which they heard those in the camp were applied; having for the first time been employed in throwing up earth in the trenches; on which the rest, with the Europeans, were ordered to halt at Chilambarum, where they were joined during the siege by 200 Europeans from the camp. This force was intended to succour Karical, in case the English squadron should make a descent there. As soon as Fort St. David capitulated, Mr. D'Estaign was detached, with some more troops and cannon, to join, and proceed with them against Devi Cotah; but this officer, on good intelligence, left the cannon at Chilambrum, and on the 4th appeared with the troops before Devi Cotah, which the garrison abandoned on his approach. It consisted of 30 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys; they marched away through the Tanjore country to Tritchinopoly,

As soon as Devi Cotah was taken, the army returned with all expedition from Fort St. David to Pondicherry, and on the evening of the 7th, Mr. Lally made a triumphant entry, which had been concerted, into the town, and proceeded to a magnificent *Te Deum*, which was followed by a sumptuous entertainment; immediately after which, he renewed his bickerings with Mr. Deleyrit and the Council, because the public treasure was almost exhausted; not without accusations that they had diverted it to their own emoluments.

The English squadron saw the French set sail from the road of Pondicherry; but, kept back by the Cumberland, lost, instead of gaining ground, and fell to leeward again as far as Alamparva, off which place, Mr. Pococke received on the 5th a letter, dispatched by the English agent at Sadras, informing him of the loss of Fort St. David. At this time the squadron had not more than
 five

five days consumption of water on board: and the only port to the southward, where it could be supplied with sufficient expedition, was the Dutch settlement of Negapatam; which, being 100 miles to windward, they were not likely to reach in less than 10 days; Mr. Pococke, therefore, bore away, and anchored the next day in the road of Madras.

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Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, on the return of his troops from Terpatore, where Armetrow was killed in February, had paraded them again about Chandergherry in the same hopes as before of intimidating the renter of Tripetti; but, still continuing himself afraid of the English Sepoys stationed at Trepaffore, refrained from hostilities, and tried proffers of money, which the renters refused, and advised him to a reconciliation with his brother. The possession of Tripetti had always been the object of every adventurer who saw any chance of success; because its revenue, equal to 30,000 pounds a year, arising from the contributions of devotion, is always more certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic; and the acquisition was soon after attempted with more earnestness than the schemes of Abdulwahab. Before the departure of Balaventrow from the country of Cudapah, two officers of distinction, named Ragava Cherry and Balakissen Saustry, arrived with a commission from Balagerow, to superintend the chout or tribute to the Morratocs from the Carnatic; in consequence of which they asked Balaventrow for a body of troops to proceed by military execution. He refused, alleging, that he had already settled this business with the Nabob of Arcot, who had given no new occasion of offence; and, on his departure to Sirpi, instructed his successor not to permit any hostilities. The two officers, disappointed, levied 500 horse and 1000 foot, of those who had been in the service of the late Nabob of Cudapah, but disbanded after his death; and proceeded with them to the country of the Polygar of Matlavar, which extends along the river *Kandeler* to the n. w. of the districts of Tripetti, and a part inserts itself between the counties of Damerla Venkatipy Naigue, and Bangar Yatcham, as far as a pass in the mountains called Cara Canambaca, which is within twenty miles of the pagoda.

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pagoda. The renter posted 7 or 800 peons in the pass, who kept the adventurers and their force at bay, although joined by the troops of Matlavar, until the beginning of May; when they forced their way through; and, on the 5th, attacked the town of Tripetti, where the renter stood his ground, with only 300 Sepoys and 500 Peons; but had secured them under the cover of garden-walls from the impression of the enemy's horse, when Ragavacherry exposing himself intemperately in endeavouring to encourage them, was shot dead, on which all his followers ran away, although only 10 men, besides himself, had been killed: he fell near the place where Mahomed Comaul was killed, five years before, in the same attempt.

This was the only event of any risk, which had happened in the Nabob's territory, since the arrival of Mr. Lally; for the great draughts of men which had been made from the French forts on the frontier to carry on the siege of St. David, had reduced their garrisons to the incapacity of attempting any thing beyond transitory excursions to plunder. But the English presidency now concluding that the French army would march against Madras immediately after their success at St. David, delayed no longer to give their final orders for the retreat of their own garrisons with the dependant out-guards, from Carangoly, Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Covrepauk, and Arcot, which had previously sent in their artillery and stores, reserving only as much musket-ammunition as was necessary for the march. Arcot and Covrepauk were delivered to the Nabob's troops, of which a body were remaining in the city; Conjeveram and Chinglapet to the peons of the respective renters; and the partizan Murzafabeg, leaving only a few of his men in Trivatore, went with the rest into Carangoly. The English garrisons having united at Chinglapet, came in together on the 7th of June, the day after the return of the squadron: they amounted to 250 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys; but the garrisons of Pondamelee and Tripassore, consisting only of Sepoys; were not withdrawn, because they protected a valuable district from the incursions of the adjacent Polygars, and might at all times retire to Madras, before any detachment from the French stations on the other side of the Paliar,

Palihar, could arrive to cut off their retreat. Frequent debates had been held in the council concerning the expediency of withdrawing the garrison of Trichinopoly, which it was resolved to postpone until the last extremity; but in the interval the commandant Mahomed Iffoo was ordered, after leaving a sufficient force in Palamcotah, to move towards Madura, and even to march to Trichinopoly itself on the first summons from Captain Calliaud. This officer, on the 16th of May, the day after the French garrison had quitted the pagoda of Seringham to the Mysoreans, summoned them to surrender it, and detached his second, Captain Joseph Smith, with a party, to take post in Jumbakistna. The Mysoreans replied by firing cannon from Seringham against this place, which were answered the next day by a bombardment from two mortars; and in the ensuing night they abandoned Seringham, leaving a considerable quantity of military stores, and eight pieces of cannon, which the French had left to them: they returned from whence they came, to Dindigul. Calliaud immediately took possession of the pagoda, and garrisoned it with 500 Sepoys.

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Mr. Lally, notwithstanding his wrangles, consulted Mr. Deleyrit and the jesuit Lavour concerning the future operations of the field. Madras seemed the immediate and most important temptation; for, notwithstanding the utmost exertions, many of the essential parts of its fortifications still remained incomplete; and the defence of Fort St. David had raised in Mr. Lally a contemptible opinion of the English troops in India: but Pondicherry could not immediately furnish money to support the campaign, nor means to transport by land the vast quantity of artillery and stores necessary for the siege, which could not be conveyed with any certainty in the ships of the French squadron, whilst the English kept the sea. The Nabob's country to the north of Chittapett and Vandiwash, by the retreat of the English garrisons, presented a much easier conquest, and the chance of no inconsiderable revenue, with the advantage of pressing Madras itself by a variety of distresses; but Mr. Lally could not brook the slow, although certain means of collecting money, which would have arisen from this expedition. Yielding therefore to the
advice

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advice of father Lavour, he preferred another, from which they expected to get more, with equal ease, in a much shorter time.

The king of Tanjore, when besieged by the army of Murzafajing and Chundafahel with the French troops in 1751, had compounded the arrears of his tribute, and had given Chundafahel a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, before the approach of Nazirjing's army obliged them to retreat out of his country; the bond was in the possession of the government of Pondicherry; and an incident in the capture of Fort St. David concurred to suggest the expediency of marching into the Tanjore country, and demanding this money sword in hand. The French had found in Fort St. David a prisoner of greater consequence than they expected: his name was Gatica: he was uncle to the deposed king of Tanjore, whose pretensions the English asserted in 1749, when they entered the country, and took Devi Cotah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded this place to them in propriety, stipulated by a secret article, that they should prevent this pretender from giving him any molestation in future; to ensure which, it was necessary to secure his person; but he withdrew himself out of their reach; however, being in possession of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephew, they detained him a prisoner, but under an easy confinement, within the fort, where he remained until fated by the fall of the place to be employed by the French, with the same views as nine years before by the English: and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much ostentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehensions of the king, that the pretender himself would appear and accompany the French army, whom nevertheless they did not proclaim in his stead.

How much soever Mr. Lally agreed in the preference of this expedition, he differed even to animosity both with Mr. Deleyrit and the Jesuit in another measure of still greater importance. He had brought from France the strongest prejudices against the character of Mr. Bussy, whom he believed to have continually amused his nation with phantoms of public utility and danger, in order to secure the continuance of his station, in which he was supposed to have already

ready

ready gained an immense fortune : a few days after he landed, he had sent the Marquis of Conflans to act as second in the army of the Decan ; but now, thinking that the capture of Fort St. David had established his own reputation beyond the imputation of jealousy, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Buffy, to come without delay to Pondicherry, pretending that he wanted his advice ; and, suspicious of the intimacy which had always subsisted between Moracin and Mr. Buffy, he likewise, and on the same pretence, recalled Moracin from the government of Masulipatam.

Six hundred men of Mr. Lally's regiment, with 200 Sepoys, under the command of Mr. Soupire, formed a camp of observation between Alamparva and Pondicherry : only 50 able, with the invalids of the army, were to be left in the town ; and, to calm the apprehensions which were entertained by the inhabitants, of a sudden descent from the English squadron, it was resolved to recall their own under the walls. The injunction reached Mr. D'Aché off Karical on the 16th ; and he anchored the next day in the road of Pondicherry. On the 18th Mr. Lally took the field ; but, as before, unprovided with the necessary attendants, bullock-men, and market-people ; for the unusual compulsions, which had been practised during the siege of Fort St. David, deterred the natives of such occupations from engaging in the services of the camp ; and the inhabitants of the country removed their cattle, from dread of the hussars, who had been permitted to drive in what were necessary for the victualling of the army, without paying the value. The march between Pondicherry and Karical, where the troops were to rendezvous, is intersected by no less than sixteen rivers ; six before you arrive at the Coleroon, which are generally fordable, excepting in the rains, but the Coleroon is never so ; the others, as all in the kingdom of Tanjore, are arms of the Caveri, most of which near the sea change their extensive surfaces on beds of sand into deep channels of mud, which, even when fordable, cannot be entered without much toil and trouble ; to avoid which, such of the heavy artillery, and cumbrous stores as were not to be supplied at Karical, were sent in two vessels by sea. Notwithstanding this relief,

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the troops gained their way with much inconvenience. The regiment of Lorraine left their tents at Cuddalore, for want of bullocks and coolies to carry them. The whole army had been 12 hours without food when they arrived at Devi Cotah, and, contrary to their expectation, found none there excepting paddy, which is the grain of rice before it is divested of the husk, in which state it is only fit for the food of cattle; but the operation is tedious, and requires the implements used by the natives; and the soldiers, hungry and fatigued, having searched the huts in the fort for other victuals without finding any, set fire to them, which was with much difficulty prevented from catching two magazines of gunpowder.

The troops, after seven days march, arrived at Karical on the 25th. The distance from Pondicherry, although only 75 miles in the direct line, is 100 by the road; and here, for the first time during the march, they got a regular meal. Here a bramin, sent by the king of Tanjore with proposals, was waiting for Mr. Lally, who sent him back with his own, demanding immediate payment of the five millions and six hundred thousand rupees, with all the interest: and, to convince the king that he would derive no benefit from the usual delays and prevarications of Indian negotiations, he immediately sent forward a detachment to take possession of the opulent town of Nagore.

This place is situated on a river about four miles to the north of Negapatam, and carries on a very considerable commerce; but the merchants had removed their money and jewels, and offered little for the redemption of their warehouses; on which Mr. Lally farmed out the plunder and ransom of the town for 200,000 rupees to Fischer, the commander of the French hussars; stipulating, that if the profit exceeded 100,000 rupees, a proportional addition was to be made to the public fund. Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproach of those pecuniary views, which he continually imputed without distinction to every one in the service of the French company; but this agreement gave them no slight pretence to retort peculation on himself, as going shares with Fischer in the profits of Nagore. Whilst this business was transacting, he applied to the Dutch

Dutch government at Negapatam to supply his wants of money, ammunition, and provisions; who, awed by his force, furnished him with 20,000 pounds weight of gunpowder, and promised to assist his commissaries in purchasing whatsoever their territory could supply, but declared themselves unable to lend any money, not having enough for their own use. The Danish settlement of Tranquebar, from the same dread of his violences, promised the same assistances, and furnished six small field-pieces, with 10,000 weight of gunpowder.

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The army marched from Nagore on the 28th, and, having proceeded six miles, halted at a considerable pagoda called Kiveloor; where Mr. Lally, believing the report of those who meant only to please him, imagined the bramins to be very rich, and that the images they worshipped were of gold; in this persuasion, he ransacked and dug the houses, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treasures were found; and the idols proved to be only of brass. The bramini returning from the king met Mr. Lally at Kiveloor, and offered the usual complimentary presents, but no terms of accommodation adequate to Mr. Lally's expectations, who therefore dismissed him without accepting the presents, and the next day marched ten miles farther to Trivalore, where stands the most famous pagoda in the country. Here the army found as much paddy laid up in granaries as would have supplied them with rice for three months, but for want of the means to beat it out, could scarcely procure from it sufficient for the meal of the day. All the bramins had abandoned the pagoda, but some were afterwards discovered, prying and asking questions in the camp, probably from anxiety concerning their temples and divinities; but Mr. Lally judged them to be spies employed by the king, and rashly ordered six of them to be executed, who were blown off from the muzzles of the field-pieces.

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As soon as the French troops arrived at Karikal, the general Monacjee advanced from the city of Tanjore and encamped within ten miles of Trivalore, with 2500 horse and 5000 Sepoys, disciplined as well as they could be without the direction of Europeans. This was half the force of the kingdom. The king on the first alarm had solicited aid from the Nabob, the English presidency, Trichinopoly, from

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Tondiman, and even from the two Moravars, although he was at this very time in enmity with all the three Polygars. The presidency and the Nabob were in no condition to send any assistance from the Carnatic, but they authorized Capt. Calliaud to act as occasion might require from Trichinopoly, where the commandant Mahomed Iffoof, in obedience to the orders sent to him on the first appearance of the French Squadron, arrived on the 16th of June with 2000 Sepoys from the Tinivelly country. This reinforcement enabled Calliaud to succour the king without too much impairing his own garrison; but the continual and authentic intelligence which he obtained of the duplicity of the king's councils, created no little perplexity in the option between sending succours which might be betrayed to the enemy; or by withholding them, give the king a pretext to make terms with them, which in this conjuncture must be dangerous to the English affairs: he however, at all risques, as soon as he heard the French army were in motion from Nagore, detached 500 Sepoys with 10 European artillery-men, and 300 Colliers collected from the neighbouring Polygars dependant on Trichinopoly, deeming this reinforcement in the present instant sufficient to keep up the king's hope of more; and waiting to assist him hereafter, according to his conduct with the enemy, which he caused to be narrowly watched. The exhortations of the presidency had likewise induced Tondiman and the two Moravars to suspend their resentments so far as to let their Colliers also take service with the king, who hired 4000 of them; and they were sent, as they arrived, to Monacjee's camp, as were afterwards those supplied by Calliaud. The French army remained at Trivalore until the 12th of July, during which their cavalry swept the country round of all the cattle, of which Mr. Lally sent large droves to be sold at the towns on the sea-coast; which precaution was imputed to him as a project of private gain; but not much was got by it, for Monacjee had detached his Colliers to maraud in the rear of the French army, who cut off every thing which moved to and from the camp with slender escorts, and recovered great numbers of the cattle, which they too drove away, and sold for the lowest prices to any who would buy them. However,
some



TANJORE

Reduced from an exact Survey.

Scale of Yards

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800

some of the Colliers were killed, and all who were taken prisoners Mr. Lally ordered to be linked to draw the guns, which did not deter the others from repeating their attacks, wherever booty appeared, or even from insulting the camp itself every night with their rockets. On the 24th, the army came in sight of Monacjee's, drawn up in good order behind a water-course, from which the Tanjorines were soon driven by the fire of the French artillery, and retreated towards the city, but still continued without the walls.

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The French army arrived within six miles of the city on the 18th in the morning, when a message was received from the king, desiring a conference with persons authorized to treat; on which Mr. Lally halted the army, and sent in a captain, Maudave, and a Jesuit, St. Estevan. They insisted on the first demand of 5,600,000 rupees, with the interest; the king offered 300,000: the deputies returned, and were sent back again with the demand of one million in money, 600 bullocks for the carriage of the artillery and stores, and 10,000 pounds weight of gun-powder; but this article the deputies wisely agreed to suppress, as exposing the distress of the army: the king seemed inclined to add something to his first offer of money, but said, that the supply or sale of beeves to those of a different religion was contrary to his own; the deputies returned again to the camp, and the next morning to the city, with positive orders to insist on the gunpowder, which when they proposed to Monacjee in a conference before they were to visit the king, he exclaimed with indignation, that all negotiation was at an end, and that he should not introduce to his master men who were only sent to insult him. The deputies returned without delay to the camp, which immediately moved, and in the evening took possession of the pettah, or suburbs, which at this time extended along the eastern side of the city; the artillery, of which only two were battering cannon, and the cohorns and howitzes, for the army had brought no mortars, fired during the night at the pagodas and other edifices which arose above the walls; and this was all the annoyance they could use at present, since the two pieces of battering cannon could not be exposed against the superior fire of the town, without more to cover them; a detachment

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tachment was therefore sent to bring up three twenty-four-pounders from Karical, which were all that this place could spare; and the two vessels laden with the cannon and mortars from Pondicherry were still far to leeward: several other detachments, which all together employed half the infantry and all the cavalry of the army, were at the same time sent abroad to bring in the cattle of the adjacent country; and a body of Colleries, who had probably deserted from the Tanjorines, were likewise hired for the same employment. The abundance was much greater than the consumption; and the surplus were driven away as before to be sold on the sea-coast. The vast detriment which the country was likely to suffer by the continuance of these desolations induced the king to renew the negotiation on the 22d, and the next day he paid 50,000 rupees; and the Jesuit St. Estevan, with Kenedy a lieutenant-colonel, were sent to remain as hostages for the re-payment of the money, in case a treaty should not be concluded, and hostilities be renewed. But the Colleries in the French army could not be restrained from continuing their depredations, which the Tanjorine horse revenged, by giving no quarter to any they fell in with: quarrels likewise ensued with the market people and dealers, who, with the king's permission, came from the city to sell provisions and other necessaries in the camp; and the discussion of these broils and violences interrupted the more important negotiation, until the arrival of the three pieces of cannon from Karical, which came up on the 29th; and Mr. Lally, having at this time received intelligence, that the king was pressing the English at Trichinopoly to send another and stronger reinforcement, resolved to renew hostilities, although his hostages still remained in the power of the king, who, frightened by the arrival of the cannon, conferred in earnest, and concluded the treaty, of which the terms were founded on Mr. Lally's declarations, that he intended to march immediately from Tanjore against Trichinopoly, for which service the king agreed to lend 300 of his best horse, to furnish 1000 coolies and mattock-men, and to supply the army with provisions during the siege; to deliver two respectable hostages, and to give in money 500,000 rupees, of which 200,000 were

were to be paid as soon as the army removed ten miles from Tanjore, 150,000 were to be sent with the two French hostages as soon as it arrived before Trichinopoly, and the remaining 150,000 were to be paid after the siege, when the king's hostages were to be surrendered, and the cavalry returned. The contingencies involved in these terms shewed, that neither side had much expectation they would be completely executed, and Mr. Lally seems to have accepted them, only because he should get some money in hand; the king because some chance might save the rest. Two hundred of the coolies were sent to the camp during the discussion of the articles, which were not intirely adjusted until late in the evening of the 31st, when Mr. Dubois the commissary of the army, who had conducted the negotiation in the city, returned to the camp, accompanied by the two Tanjorine hostages, and 40 of the cavalry, being all, it was said, who were immediately ready; the delay of the rest confirmed Mr. Lally in his suspicions that the king meant only to amuse him, and induced him to shut up those who were come in a pagoda near the encampment: they not knowing what to suspect from this treatment, dreaded the worst, and sent information to the city, in consequence of which the king stopped the rest of the cavalry; and his coolies in the camp being frightened by the rumours concerning the horsemen in the pagoda, run away in the night. The next morning Mr. Lally sent Dubois to reproach the king and Monacjee for their supposed breach of faith, who retorted their own suspicions, and this altercation producing the real state of the mistakes, Dubois proffered to bring back one of the Tanjorine hostages as a conviction of security to the cavalry which had remained behind, who were then to proceed to the camp. But Mr. Lally regarded this stipulation as an indignity, and a confirmation of the king's insincerity, and summoned his council of war, who conformably to his exposition were unanimously of opinion that no reliance could be had on any professions of peace, and that it was necessary to attack the city without delay, and with the utmost vigour. In consequence of this resolution, Mr. Lally wrote a letter to colonel Kenedy, ordering him to denounce the utmost vengeance

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not only on the country and city of Tanjore, but likewise on the king and his whole family, whom he threatened to carry as slaves to the island of Mauritius. In the evening the army moved from the suburbs, and formed a regular camp about a mile and a half to the south-east of the town.

The expressions in Mr. Lally's letter to Kenedy, determined the king, who had hitherto fluctuated in irresolution, to defend himself to extremity, and he now repeated his solicitations with the utmost earnestness for assistance from Trichinopoly. Captain Calliaud, by the accounts he continually received of the king's negotiations, had hitherto thought it unsafe to trust any more troops in his power, whilst making engagements to assist the French in the reduction of Trichinopoly: but, being convinced by this last rupture, that he had renounced all designs of accord or reconciliation with them, detached on the 6th of August 500 of his best Sepoys, with two excellent sergeants and 27 cannoneers, who in order to avoid the encounter of the French troops, proceeded in a round-about road along the bank of the Coleroon.

A deep water-course, running within 400 yards parallel to the south side of the city, furnished a much more commodious trench than any which are opened in sieges, determined Mr. Lally to make the attack under the advantage of this cover. The south face of the city is much the narrowest aspect, extending only 480 yards. Two batteries were erected on the nether edge of the water-course, the one of three guns opposite to the middle of the face, but turned to breach between the cavalier of the eastern angle and the next tower. The other, of two guns, was 200 yards to the right.

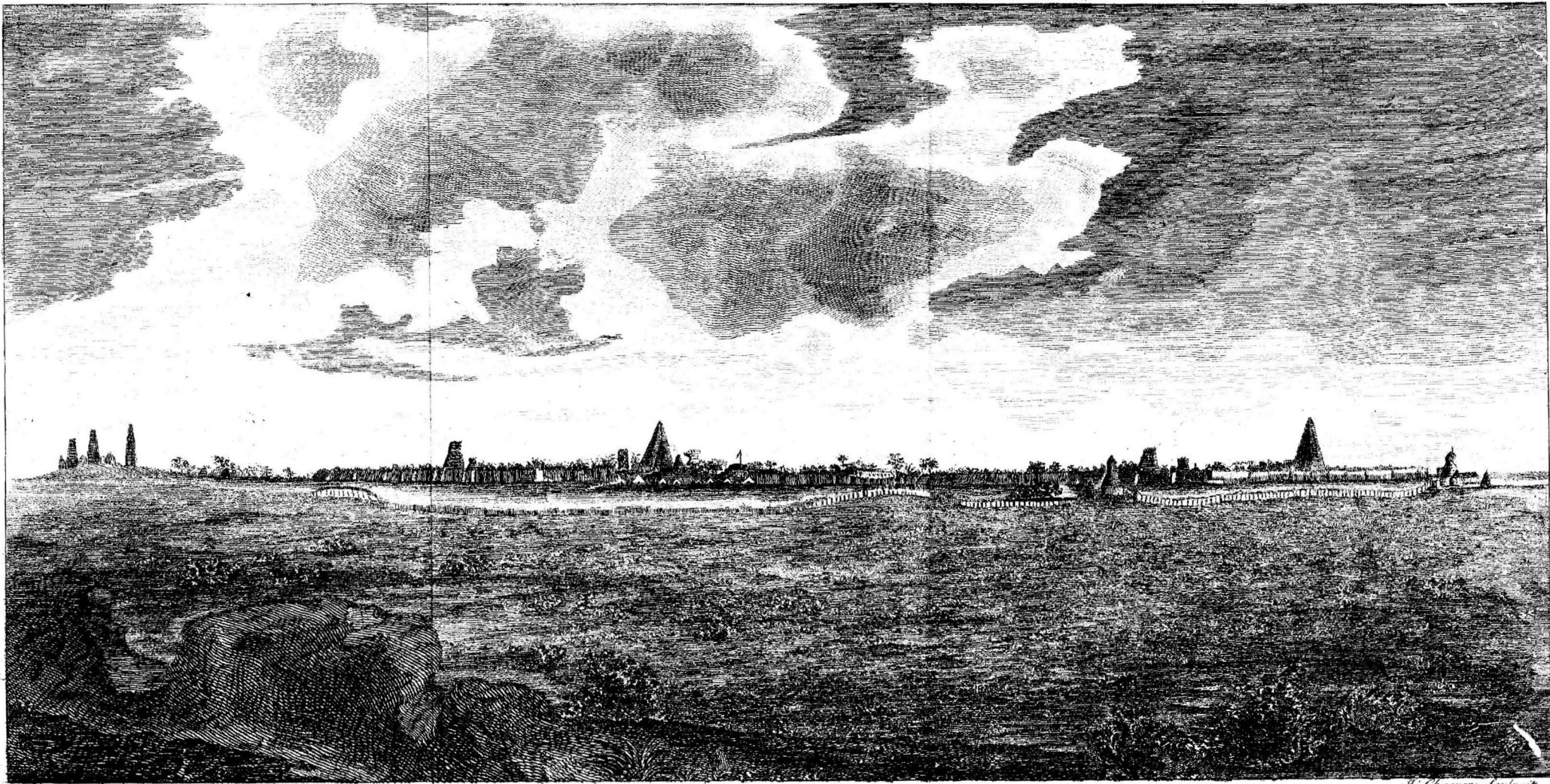
Both opened on the 2d of August. It was the 7th in the evening, after five days firing, before the batteries had produced a breach six feet wide: but by this time there remained only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, and not 20 cartouches a man for the troops; and, notwithstanding the numbers of cattle which had been seized, there were not provisions for two days remaining in the camp, and the great distance

from which any could be procured through the perpetual interruptions of the Tanjorine cavalry and Colleries, precluded the hopes of any immediate supplies. On the 8th in the morning advices were received, that another engagement had passed between the two squadrons, immediately after which, the English anchored before Karical, where they were threatening a descent; but that no tidings had been obtained concerning the French squadron since the fight. This intelligence aggravated the general anxiety, as the distresses of the army in their present situation, could only be relieved from Karical; and Mr. Lally despairing of succeeding in the assault of the breach, summoned his council of war, in which, of 12 officers 10 were of opinion to raise the siege; but two, Saubinet, and Mr. D'Estaigne, advised the immediate assault, the success of which appeared to D'Estaigne indubitable; who added, that the city would furnish more ammunition than would be expended in the storm, and that he had no apprehensions the English would make a descent upon Karical, whilst the French squadron kept the sea. Doubtless both D'Estaigne and Saubinet knew the ditch was fordable, when they advised the assault; otherwise, in the state we have known it since, the approach would have been utterly impracticable. In consequence of the resolution to retreat, the sick and wounded were sent away on the same day under the escort of 150 Europeans, and dispositions were made to decamp on the night of the ensuing day, which was the 10th of the month; in the mean time the guns in the batteries were fired every now and then in order to keep the garrison in awe.

Monacjee soon received intelligence of the resolution to raise the siege, and imputed it to despondency; the detachment from Tritchinopoly arrived in the middle of the same night, and he proposed that they should march immediately with his own troops to attack the French camp by surprize, conformably to a scheme for which he had taken measures; but they were so much fatigued, that he deferred the enterprize for 24 hours, until the morning of the 10th, during which the camp received no intelligence of this design, but remained in negligence and security, as before an enemy they despised, and supposed wishing their retreat too much to interrupt it.

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After midnight 4000 cavalry, led by Monacjee himself, the two detachments from Trichinopoly, consisting of 1000 Sepoys and 50 Europeans, with 5000 of the king's Sepoys, and all the Colleries, marched out of the city, and keeping at a sufficient distance, arrived at the different posts from which they were to make their attacks, and remained in them, undiscovered. At the first dawn of day, 50 horsemen appeared advancing, as from the city, at a leisurely pace, towards the camp; they were challenged by the advanced guard, and said they were come to offer their service to the French general, to whom they requested to be conducted; and no danger being apprehended from their number, a party from the guard accompanied them towards Mr. Lally's quarters, who slept in a choultry about half a mile in the rear, but to the left of the camp. When within 100 yards, the troop halted and their leader went forward, and Mr. Lally having perceived their arrival, arose and came out of the choultry to speak to him; but before they met, one of the horsemen, who it is supposed was intoxicated with opium, left his rank, and galloped up to a tumbril at some distance, into which he fired his pistol, and a spark of the wad blew it up and the man; the explosion gave the alarm through the camp; and the guard at the choultry, which consisted of 50 men, immediately advanced to protect Mr. Lally. In the same instant the captain of the troop, who had not dismounted, pushed forward towards him, and made a cut at his head with his scymetar, which Mr. Lally parried with his stick, and a Coffee servant who attended him shot the Tanjorine dead with a pistol; the whole troop had now set off at full-gallop to charge the guard, who received them in regular order, and with a fire of such execution as stopt all except two or three from breaking through them; those, however, who remained on horseback, joined again and endeavoured to make a second charge, but in so much confusion, that the second fire of the guard put them to flight with the utmost precipitation; and most of them galloped into a tank, which they did not perceive time enough to avoid: but twenty-eight were left dead in the space of thirty yards; Mr. Lally himself was trampled down and stunned in the scuffle, but only two of his guard were killed. Whilst the troops in the camp were getting



J. Cheevers Sculptor

A VIEW of TANJORE from the WEST.

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ting under arms and expecting a general attack from the quarter where the first alarm had been given, the great body of Colliers were discovered advancing with their lances and rockets in the rear, 3000 horse at the same time in the front, and the whole body of Sepoys, with 1000 more horse on the right; much confusion and trepidation prevailed in every part of the camp for near an hour, but the troops were recalled to their wonted steadiness and discipline, by the example and activity of Saubinet and the Count D'Estaigne: the English Sepoys penetrated amongst the tents, and had seized three field-pieces, which they were obliged to abandon, after having 75 of their body killed and wounded in endeavouring to carry them off; they, however, brought away an elephant and two camels. The French suppose that 400 of the enemy were killed, and allow their own loss to be no more than 10, which is improbable. It does not appear that any attack was made on the two batteries in the water-course, although it should seem that the troops on duty there were the most exposed.

As soon as the Tanjorines had retired, the French army continued their preparations to decamp during the ensuing night; and, for want of draft and carriage bullocks, spiked and dismounted the five pieces of battering cannon, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed as much of the baggage as time and means permitted. At midnight the whole were in motion, marching in two lines, with an interval between, which was occupied by palanquins, baggage, tumbrils, and other carriages; two field-pieces were in the front, rear, and on each side of the lines. Monacjee, with all his cavalry and a large body of Sepoys, was abroad, and several times obliged the march to halt, and recur to their field-pieces; the Colliers threw rockets, but disappeared at the approach of day. But the rest of the Tanjorine army continued, as during the night, to follow and hover round until noon; when the French troops arrived and halted at Covilonil, 15 miles from Tanjore: the road was without a single pond or stream until they came to the town; when nothing could withhold the troops and animals of the army from breaking their ranks and restraints to gain the first water they saw. The next day they reached Trivalore; this

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march was 20 miles, and more fatiguing than the former, having two rivers to pass, over which the artillery and carriages were transported with much difficulty; but the enemy, instead of taking the advantage, discontinued the pursuit before they arrived at the first: during the whole march the troops had no other food than the cocoa-nuts they gathered on the way, of which many got none; however, they found at Trivalore some provisions sent from Karical; but all were so exhausted and fatigued, that they could not proceed any farther until they had been allowed three days refreshment and repose. On the road Mr. Lally received information that the French squadron was at Pondicherry, and that Mr. D'Aché had signified to the council there his determination to return without delay to the Isle of France; on which he immediately dispatched the Count D'Estaigne with the strongest remonstrances to stop him. On the 18th the army arrived at Karical, and saw the English squadron at anchor off the mouth of the river.

Many wants and insufficient means had detained the squadron near eight weeks in the road of Madrás after their unsuccessful endeavours to reach Fort St. David during the siege. On the third of July, three of the company's ships arrived in the road; they had left England in the preceding year, but not arriving in the bay, until the northern monsoon was setting in, proceeded to Bengal; from whence they were dispatched in April with money, merchandize, and stores, but without any of the recruits they brought from England, or any troops in return for those which had been sent with Clive. The southern monsoon, which had begun when they sailed, obliged them to make the outward passage towards Achin, and they came in from the southward to Negapatam: in consequence of the intelligence they received at this place, they put out again to sea and kept out of sight of land until they stood in for Madrás. Chance always maintains its share in all events. Had not the unnecessary anxiety of the council at Pondicherry recalled Mr. D'Aché's squadron from Karical in the middle of June, but permitted him to have continued the cruise he intended, these ships would have been taken, and would have supplied the want of money, which had been the principal cause of the fruitless

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fruitless and disgraceful expedition to Tanjore. It was the 25th of July before the English squadron was sufficiently equipped to sail, and on the 27th they appeared in sight of Pondicherry, where the French squadron lay at anchor, and with much hurry got under sail before night. The next morning the two squadrons were out of sight of each other: on the 29th, the French anchored at Karical; on the 31st, at day-break, they sailed for Negapatam, and at nine again saw the English squadron; but the wind blowing fresh, the three smaller of the French ships could not work their lower tier, on which Mr. D'Aché tacked and stood away, and the next day again saw nothing of the English. The day after, the 2d of August, they anchored again at Karical, where Mr. D'Aché received intelligence, which was not true, that Mr. Lally had been defeated before Tanjore; and, what was much less probable, that the English squadron intended to disembark a great part of their men, in order to cut off the retreat of the French army to Pondicherry. At two in the morning lights appeared in the offing, on which the French squadron got under way, and plying to windward perceived the English at day-break out at sea, about four miles to leeward of them. Both squadrons immediately formed their lines; and Mr. Pococke perceiving the ship which led the enemy's van (it was the Count de Provence) to be the stoutest next their Admiral, ordered the Elizabeth, Admiral Stevens, to take the same station in his own line, instead of the Tyger, to which, as in the last engagement, it had been allotted. The land-wind blowing from the s.w. the English line stretched with their heads to the s.s.e. At eleven o'clock the wind where they were, died away, and left them quite becalmed. But the enemy continued to have a light breeze from the land, with which they stood on, their line extending east and west, and passed the rear of the English line nearly at right angles, without firing a single shot, although they had the fairest opportunity of raking and disabling the Cumberland and Newcastle, which were the two sternmost ships, and, as all the others, lay helpless in the calm with their sterns towards the enemy.

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At noon the sea-breeze sprung up from the s.w. which gave the wind to the English ships. Both squadrons formed their lines anew to the wind, with their heads w.n.w. and as soon as this was done in the English line, Mr. Pococke at 20 minutes past 12 made the signal to bear down:

The enemy's line consisted of eight sail; the Sylphide, which appeared in it in the last engagement, was kept out to repeat signals; the Comte de Provence, which had not been in it, supplied the place of the Bienaime, which was stranded in the surf. The Elizabeth stood for the Comte de Provence, and hauled up abreast of her before the rest of the line were in their proper form; for it is impossible that several ships can correspond instantaneously in the same operations. Mr. D'Aché immediately made the signal for engagement, and the Comte de Provence had given her broadside upon the Elizabeth before Mr. Pococke threw out his signal, at twenty minutes past one, when his whole line was completely formed in closed order at the proper distance from each other, and as the line admitted, from the enemy, who were not so regularly drawn up, curving inwards from the extremities: the two admirals, as in the former engagement, were in the center of their respective lines. The fire was in both as hot as possible: but the French fired high, the English only at the hulls, and both with much certainty, for they were near, the sea smooth, and the breeze light. In ten minutes the mizen of the Comte de Provence took fire, which obliged her to bear away, and cut away the mast. The Duc de Bourgogne took her place against the Elizabeth. A little after the wheel of the Zodiac's rudder was carried away by a shot from the Yarmouth, to repair which she passed under the lee of the Duc d'Orleans, and no sooner returned again into the line, than one of her lower-deck guns in the gun-room burst, and beat through the deck above. This mischance was soon followed by a greater, for the bulk-head of her powder-room took fire; whilst extinguishing it, the rudder gave way again, and the ship fell foul of the Duc d'Orleans, her second ahead; and both, whilst disentangling, were exposed almost defenceless, to the hottest fire from their opponents the Yarmouth and Tyger: the Condé and the Moras were

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were by this time beaten out of the line, and at eight minutes after two, the *Zodiaque*, as soon as disengaged, bore away, as in fifteen minutes more did the other five ships not yet gone, all crowding all the sail they could carry, and even cutting their boats adrift, to make more way. Mr. Pococke then threw out the signal for a general chase; but in less than ten minutes all the enemy's ships were got out of certain shot; and at six o'clock their hindmost were five miles from the foremost of the English ships, which then ceased the chase, and after getting together again hauled the wind, and at eight anchored off Karical, about three miles from the shore. Mr. D'Aché steered for Pondicherry. Notwithstanding the irregularity and short continuance of this fight, the French suffered as much in it as in the former engagement, although they had then 1200 more men on board; for their killed and wounded amounted to few less than 600, of whom 33 were killed, and 151 dangerously wounded in the *Zodiaque* alone. In the whole of the English Squadron only 31 were killed, and 166 wounded; both squadrons suffered in proportion to the manner in which the enemy fought; the French lost in men and slaughter, and all the English ships were so much damaged in their rigging, that, if a fresh wind had arisen during the engagement, several of their masts must have gone by the board, for want of the shrouds, stays, and other securities, which the enemy's shot and langrain had cut away. Both Mr. Pococke and D'Aché were wounded by splinters, and Commodore Stevens received a musket-ball, which lodged in his shoulder, and was seen to be shot with aim by a French officer.

Three days after the engagement, a snow called the *Rubys*, from the island of Mauritius, anchored in the road of Negapatam, of which, as soon as Mr. Pococke received information, he detached one of the ships of his Squadron, whose boats cut the snow out of the road, within gun-shot of the Dutch flag, and the fort did not fire to protect her, but afterwards remonstrated against the offence. A few days after a Dutch ship of 500 tons from Batavia, with 30,000 pounds in dollars on board, anchored in the road of Pondicherry, which Mr. D'Aché immediately seized as reprisal for the supposed connivance

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connivance of the government of Negapatam, in not protecting the Rubys according to the rights of a neutral port.

The retreat of the English garrisons into Madrafs, and the insubordination of the Nabob's troops at Arcot, left the country to the south of the Paliar without any other protection excepting from the troops maintained by Murzafabeg; who endeavouring to cover a greater extent than his force was adequate to, was no where strong enough to oppose the enemy; and, in the end of June, a French officer returning with his escort of Sepoys, and a party of horsemen, which he had levied at Vellore, surprized the fort of Trivatore, in which he left his Sepoys, who being joined by the peons from the French districts, all together made incursions on the harvests of Conjeveram and Salawauk; to repress which, the presidency sent out again four companies of Sepoys, two to Conjeveram, and two to Chinglapet; which were not sufficient to repress half the mischief. However, an advantage was soon after gained by other means, which more than retaliated the loss of Trivatore. Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, had given the fort of Trinomalee with its dependencies, which Mr. Soupires had reduced in the preceding year, to Rajahsaheb, the long-neglected son of Chundasaheb, who to prove himself worthy of this change in his fortunes, levied a body of 300 good horse and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded with them in the beginning of August, escorting a convoy of provisions to the French army in the Tanjore country; but this expence and subtraction obliged him to leave Trinomalee ill-guarded. Kistnarow, the Keldidar of Thiagar, which had been attacked without success by the French troops, and whose districts were still continually harassed by them, took the opportunity, and assaulting Trinomalee in the night, carried it, and put all the garrison to the sword. It was taken on the 10th of August, and it was not until the 14th that the presidency received intelligence of the agreement which the king of Tanjore had made on the 1st of the month, to assist the French army in the attack they intended against Trichinopoly; on which they resolved to take the field, but with no other views or hopes than that the rumour might recall the king, or at least stop the defection.

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defection of other allies. The usual tardiness of preparations detained the troops in the town until the 18th; when Colonel Lawrence marched with eight field-pieces, 620 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys. On the 24th, they encamped on the other side of the Paliar, about eight miles beyond Chinglapet, when having received intelligence of the retreat of the French army from Tanjore, they returned themselves to Madras, where they arrived on the last day of the month. Whilst abroad, a party of the Nabob's troops from Arcot, encouraged by their march, joined those of Abdul Hay, the renter of Salawauk, and, after an awkward attack, which lasted eight days, retook the fort of Trivatore by assault, and put many of the garrison, which consisted of 500 men, to the sword.

Mr. D'Aché retired from the last engagement with a conviction that the English remained to windward with the intention of falling suddenly upon his ships, whilst moored and repairing in the road of Pondicherry; and it was supposed that they had two fire-ships, although they had only one, which had been of no service in the last engagement: however, these notions determined him to anchor opposite to the town, as near the shore as possible, under the protection of the line of guns to the sea; and the council, in complacency, it is said, to his ideas, recalled the detachment of 600 Europeans encamped with Mr. Soupires at Gingee, who came in on the 14th, on the same day that the troops from Madras took the field. Neither the remonstrances of the Count D'Estaigne, sent forward by Mr. Lally, to protest against the dispute which would follow this apprehensive conduct, nor Mr. D'Estaigne's offers of embarking any number of troops on the squadron, and of accompanying them himself, as a proof of his confidence of success, availed to induce Mr. D'Aché to sail, and try the risque of another engagement. Mr. Lally moved with the army from Karical on the 24th: they were two days in passing the Coleroon at Devi Cotah, and obliged at last to leave their artillery and carriages there: when Mr. Lally went forward with a small detachment, and arrived on the 28th at Pondicherry, where he immediately summoned a mixt council of the administration and the

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army, who concurred in remonstrating to Mr. D'Aché the necessity of meeting the English squadron again, or at least of deferring the departure of his own whilst they remained on the coast. Mr. D'Aché returned the unanimous opinion of all his captains, that the one was impracticable, and the other too dangerous to be risked: however, after some mediations, he consented to leave 500 of his sailors and marines to serve on shore; and on the 3d of September sailed with all the ships for the Isle of Mauritius.

The detachments which had been sent from Trichinopoly to assist Tanjore, and the attack impending on Trichinopoly itself, if Mr. Lally should succeed in his views at Tanjore, had obliged Captain Calliaud not only to withdraw the guards of Sepoys stationed in the distant villages, but even to call in the garrison he had placed in the pagoda of Seringham, although under the guns of the city. The brother of Hydernaig, with the party of Mysoreans who had lately been driven out of it, had returned from Dindigul, reinforced with more, and were waiting at some distance to the west; and as soon as Seringham was evacuated by the English troops, they came on, and took possession of it again: but Calliaud, as soon as the French army retreated from before Tanjore, sent out parties to attack them, who with little effort dispossessed and drove them away. No probability then remaining of any intermediate danger, Calliaud resolved, as soon as his detachments returned from Tanjore, to dispossess the reigning Rheddy of Terriore, and to restore his cousin, the expelled Rheddy, who had long solicited this assistance, which could not with prudence be afforded, whilst the French garrison were remaining at Seringham. The vicissitudes of these two competitors had been peculiar. The French found the Rheddy, now expelled, in possession when they overran Terriore in 1753; and then deposing him, appointed the Rheddy now reigning, whom they removed in 1755, and reinstated the first: but, being afterwards dissatisfied with his conduct, expelled him in 1756, and again reinstated his rival; who, from this last appointment had kept possession. The plunder of the adjacent villages between Terriore, and the straits of Utatoor, was the only detri-
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ment to be apprehended from him ; but the expelled Rheddy was much befriended by the Polygars of Arielore and Woriorepollam, whose long aversion to the French it was at this time more especially expedient to encourage, by indulging their sollicitude for the reinstatement of their friend.

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Accordingly Captain Joseph Smith marched, with his company of 70 Europeans, the company of 50 Coffres, two field-pieces, with their artillery-men, and ten companies of Sepoys, commanded by Mahomed Iffoof. The deposed Rheddy, with some of the Colleries, or natives of Terriore, who abided by his fortunes, accompanied the detachment, and, if nothing more, were to serve as guides through the wood. Messengers were sent forward with a letter, ordering the Rheddy within to come out, and meet Captain Smith ; and they were instructed to take notice of every thing that occurred in the path through which they should be led ; but the guards at the barrier stopped them, and sent on the letter by men of their own, who returned with a letter from the Rheddy, which they delivered to the messengers, who brought it to Captain Smith on the march. It contained vague apologies for his not coming out of the wood, and endeavoured to gain time, which Captain Smith resolved not to lose. The troops arrived in sight of the barrier at four in the afternoon of the day after they had crossed the Coleroon, and immediately formed for the attack.

The wood of Terriore stretcheth 20 miles along the foot of the western mountains, and extends from them 10 miles into the plain ; the wood is in most parts seven miles through, and encloses an open ground about three miles square, of which the farther side, as of the wood itself, adjoins to the hills : and in this area are the habitation of the Rheddi, which is a spacious building, a town, gardens, arable lands, and immediately under the hills a very large tank, computed seven miles in circumference. It was known, that the path before them had defences in various parts, and that the whole of the fighting men would be in these stations. Captain Smith therefore sent off four companies of Sepoys, with Ramanaig, a Jemautdar, on whom Mahomed Iffoof had reliance, to enter the wood at a considerable distance

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distance on the right, under the conduct of the guides, who undertook to lead them to the town, through a secret path, of which there are several in the wood, known only to the inhabitants, who call them the rogues' path-way. The first barrier was a winding passage between two thick-set hedges of thorn, leading into the straiter path of the wood; but choaked at both ends with brambles laid for the occasion. Nevertheless the enemy abandoned this post, although very defensible, without resistance.

The Coffres led, followed by the Europeans; they by one of the six-pounders, with limber-boxes only; and the Sepoys marched in the rear, excepting a few who remained to guard the other six-pounder, the spare ammunition, and the baggage, which were left at the skirt of the wood; the line proceeded more than a mile in the path without interruption, but at length was fired upon from a breast-work of brick on the right; from which the enemy were soon dislodged, and retired through the bushes to the next; but as they were intent in carrying off their wounded, the musketry galled them a good deal as they were going away. Moving onward, the line soon received a smart fire from a second breast-work like the first; but the Coffres soon obliged the enemy to quit this station likewise, when they retired to their main body; a few of the line were wounded in driving them from these defences. The Coffres continued to move on in front, and had out-marched the rest of the line, when by a sudden turning in the road, they came unexpectedly at once within pistol-shot of the enemy's principal post. This was a strong wall of brick, fourteen feet high, divided into a rampart and parapet, and in the parapet were several tiers of loop-holes; it stretched across the path, and some yards beyond it on each hand, and had a return of the same construction at each extremity, but falling back, instead of projecting to flank the main wall, and in the return on the left stood the gateway; this work was surrounded by a strong hedge of thorn, which continuing on the sides, joined the main wood to some distance in the rear. As soon as the Coffres appeared at the turning, the enemy testified their numbers, and their
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courage, by shouting, the din of instruments, and a strong fire of their matchlocks, which, with the surprize, panic-struck the Coffres: they ran back in the path, and were immediately followed by numbers of the enemy issuing from the thickets on the left. There was no time to enquire the cause. Captain Smith immediately led on the Europeans, who soon drove the enemy back into the wood, who did not escape through the barrier of thorns before the wall. Both were now attentively examined; and, whilst some endeavoured to tear up the hedge in front, others tried to get round the flanks of it into the wood; but none succeeded, and several were wounded. The field-piece was then advanced, and fired until all its ammunition was expended, without taking any effect on the parapet, or intimidating the enemy; whose matchlocks had wounded five of the six artillerymen serving the gun, and more of the other Europeans, who likewise had expended most of their cartridges. It was now seven o'clock, and began to grow dark, when all the blacks, whether Coffres, Sepoys, or Lascars, took advantage of this protection, and slunk away back into the path, out of the reach of danger, excepting Mahomed Iffoof, one servant of Captain Smith's, and one Tindal, or corporal of the Lascars. A supply of ammunition had been sent for from the skirt of the wood as soon as the troops came to the wall; but from the distance it could not be expected for some time. During which, Captain Smith ordered the Europeans to fire their muskets now and then against the parapet, as well to convince the enemy that they were determined not to relinquish the attack, as to divert the chance of their discovering the party with Ramanaig, whose arrival, too long delayed, had for some time created much doubt and anxiety. At eight o'clock more ammunition came up, when the firing of the field-piece and musketry renewed again with great vivacity, and was equally returned by the enemy. Soon after, firing was heard in the rear of the wall, and the sound of Ding Mahomed echoed from every part of the wood; this is the successful shout of the Sepoys, and signifies the faith of their Prophet. They were already in the path, advancing at full pace; the troops of the rampart were flying, and met their fire; after which all resistance ceased; and

and Ramnarain, breaking down the gate, let in his friends without. There remained three miles of the path to the town, but impeded with no more defences, nor were the thickets on either hand so close. The troops were gathered, the Sepoys and Coffres who had kept back came on, and all proceeded to the town, which they found abandoned. The reigning Rheddy, and all his people, had escaped into the hills, excepting a few men who could not remove, having been blown up with gunpowder intended to load a field-piece, which they were dragging to the wall in the pass. The delay of Ramnaig's party had been caused by the timidity of his guides, who, on some fright, left them soon after they entered the wood, to find their way as they could. Of 70 Europeans 4 were killed and 28 wounded in the attack; Mahomed Iffloof was shot through the arm, but, binding up his wound, continued on the ground until all was over. A great number of scaling ladders were found at the Rheddy's house, which had been prepared, and were lying in readiness for the French to escalade Trichinopoly, when they should see the opportunity. The natives of this district have little resemblance with any others in the Carnatic; they have large bloated heads, pot bellies, and small limbs. The climate is very unhealthy to strangers, imputed to the nature of the water. The detachment continued in the town a week; and during this short stay Captain Smith, all his officers; and most of the other Europeans, fell ill. Three companies of Sepoys, with three good serjeants, were left to protect the reinstated Rheddy; and the main body of the detachment returned to Trichinopoly.

Mr. Lally felt severely, although he did not acknowledge, the disgrace of his retreat from Tanjore. It exasperated the natural asperity of his disposition, and inflamed all his prejudices and animosities, which, continually expressed in the keenest sarcasms his redundant wit could suggest, had rendered him odious to all ranks of men, to the natives as to the colony, to the squadron as to his own army, in which he seems to have allowed capacity with zeal to no one, excepting the Count d'Estaigne. On the other hand, no imputations were spared by the wounded, or their friends, which could

could aggravate his mortifications; not even cowardice itself, although the supposition arose only from the stun which he received in the onset of the Tanjorine horsemen. Being naturally suspicious, and equally inquisitive, he did not remain ignorant of these reports and opinions; but for the present stifled his resentment, in hopes of tracing them to principals worthy of notice, whom he suspected to be the first in the government, from their adherence to Mr. Bussy. These reproaches, however, stimulated his activity to enter immediately into action; and, on his arrival at Pondicherry, whilst arranging with Mr. D'Aché, he ordered Saubinet to march with the 600 Europeans who had encamped with Soupire's, and were fresh men, and retake Trinomalee. But before we open this new campaign, it is necessary to review the events of Mr. Bussy in the Decan; and continue the affairs of Bengal to this period; as each were at this time approaching to an immediate relation with the operations of both nations in the Carnatic.

The force with which Mr. Bussy marched from Rajahmundrum in the beginning of the year, to rejoin Salabadjing at Aurengabad, consisted of 500 Europeans infantry and artillery, 200 Europeans mounted as Hussars and dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10 field-pieces. They struck directly across the country, passing through Elore, and proceeded in a high road, which had never before been marched by a body of European troops. The distance by the perambulator is nearly 400 miles; which it is said they accomplished in 21 days. On their arrival at Aurengabad, they encamped on the western side of the city, and in the midst of four armies: Nizamally's from Berar; the army of the Subahship, of which Nizamally had likewise assumed the command; of Bassaulet Jung from Adoni; and the Morattoes, now commanded by Balagerow in person, who had come as usual to take advantage of the confusions in the government, but had suspended hostilities.

The approach of Mr. Bussy and his force, which was equal in efficacy to any of the armies, suspended all intrigues in attention to his conduct. He immediately visited Salabadjing with much ceremony, and treated him with every mark of respect and allegiance;

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the next day he went to Balagerow, who met him half-way in a tent pitched on purpose, and then conducted him to his camp, where they had a long conference. Shanavaze Khan had already asked permission to exculpate himself in person; but Mr. Bussy commissioned Hyderjung his principal agent to receive his communications, in order, if possible, to discover his real practices or intentions. The father of Hyderjung was governor of Masulipatam when the French factory in that city was confiscated in 1750 by the orders of Nazirjing, of which he evaded the rigour; and afterwards, when the city itself was surprized by the armament sent from Pondicherry by Mr. Dupleix, is supposed to have connived at their success. With these pretensions, his son came, and tendered his service to Mr. Bussy at Golcondah on his first arrival there with Salabadjing from the Carnatic, when Hyderjung received a command in the French Sepoys, in which he distinguished himself; but still more by his sagacity and address, until by degrees he became the principal confidant of Mr. Bussy, who, to give him weight and dignity, obtained for him high titles from Salabadjing, and even a patent of nobility from Delhi. From this time, his retinue and household were established with sumptuousness; and he was allowed to keep a constant court or durbar in order to extend his informations; and Jaghires with other emoluments, sufficient not only to defray his expences, but to establish his fortune, were likewise conferred on him, as well by Salabadjing as Mr. Bussy: his penetration soon perceived that Shanavaze Khan, naturally timid, was frightened by the arrival of the French army; but that he had been the secret spring of all the mischief, in which he had engaged, from a persuasion that the operations of the war declared between the two European nations would have confined Mr. Bussy to the protection of the ceded provinces until its conclusion; before which he had no doubt of establishing his own arrangements in the government of the Decan, too firmly to be shaken. But, as more danger in the present circumstances was to be apprehended from the more audacious character of Nizamally, who, besides the respect which was paid to his birth, had acquired some reputation amongst

amongst the troops, Mr. Buffy resolved for the present to take Shanavaze Khan in his hand as far as he would go, by which he would at least be more narrowly watched, if not prevented from suggesting resources to Nizamally, and abetting them with his public influence, which, from his long services, and a persuasion of his attachment to the family of Nizamalmuluc was considerable. In conformity to this conduct, Mr. Buffy, by appointment, visited Nizamally, but with a very strong escort, which, when he entered the tent, was so disposed, as to be certain of avenging any attempt on his person. The interview continued with calmness until Mr. Buffy advised Nizamally to deliver back the great seal of the government to Salabadjing; when Nizamally answered with much heat, “that he with his brother Bassalet Jung had been obliged to take it from him by the clamours of his own troops, who having been long disappointed of their pay, with an army of Morattoes in sight, could not have been restrained from open revolt, if he and his brother had not immediately furnished a part of their arrears, and given their own obligations to pay the rest: it was therefore unjust to deprive them of the means of reimbursing the money they had advanced, and still more, to disable them from providing for the discharge of their future engagements, the failure of which would, from the same cause, expose them to the very dangers which they had averted from Salabadjing.” The next day Salabadjing visited Nizamally in his camp, and demanded the seal in form, but received the same answer. Whether from real or pretended indignation, Nizamally the day after sent for Shanavaze Khan, and reproached him publicly as the author of this advice: the next day, which was the 14th of February, as Bassalet Jung was passing on his elephant near the palace of Salabadjing, a musket in the crowd went off, and the ball passed through the housings on which he was sitting: the man was immediately seized, and being questioned, said, he had been hired by Shanavaze Khan and Hyder Jung, with the promise of 5000 rupees, to shoot Bassalet Jung. The story was carried, with as much incoherence as it was passing in the city, to the camp of Nizamally, who, pretending to believe the life of his brother in danger, mounted

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his elephant, and advanced with what troops were ready to the nearest gate; but after several messages which assured him that Bassaulet Jung was safe, he returned in the evening. The day after Bassaulet Jung went to the durbar of Salabadjing, spoke standing, and with expressions of unusual disrespect flung down the seal. It is so rare in the manners of Indostan that any indecorum of words or gesture passes amongst equals, and still more from an inferior, that the officers present in the durbar formed sinister conjectures of these animosities amongst the brothers; and although the few, who reason before they believe, imputed the musket-ball to chance, and the confession of the man to subornation, yet the troops even in Salabadjing's camp were persuaded that he had been employed, if not by Shanavaze Khan, at least by Hyder Jung. Mr. Buffy saw the general odium to which this prejudice, if not removed, would expose himself and all his nation, and suggested a means of reconciliation. The seal was sent back to Bassaulet Jung, but an officer, who was a dependant on Hyder Jung, was appointed to keep it in a sealed bag, and to be present whenever it was used. This compliment, such as it was, satisfied the officers of Bassaulet Jung's court, and appeased the public; and other advantages were gained by it; for Bassaulet Jung consenting, it placed him in such a relation with the administration of Salabadjing, that he was either likely to relinquish, or would not be able to conceal his intrigues with his brother Nizamally. A few days after this reconciliation, Salabadjing sent a deputation of his principal officers to Nizamally, requesting him to relinquish the government of Berar, and to accept as a compensation a monthly allowance of 20,000 rupees. Nizamally rejected the proposal with disdain, and published it amongst the troops, who with equal indignation cried out, that "Nizamally was a son of Nizamalmuluck as well as Salabadjing." This expression of their attachment precluded the employment of force, and, as the only means left to reduce him to compliance, the principal officers of his army were tampered with, and several of them were gained by promises and money to give assurances that they would not support him in asserting the government of

of Berar against the will of Soubah, provided he received some other dignity which he might accept without dishonour; but by this time Nizamally himself was content to dissemble, and remain quiet, waiting for events. Such was the state of affairs in the city and camps of Aurungabad towards the end of March, when the various agitations, which had hitherto kept every interest in constant vibration, began to subside: and this temporary tranquillity had been much wished for by Mr. Bussy, in order to accomplish another scheme he had for some time been preparing.

No reliance could be placed on the integrity of Shanavaze Khan's conduct, whilst in possession of such a refuge and resource as the fortress of Doltabad; but no offers were likely to induce him to relinquish it, for Balagerow had in vain attempted to purchase it from him: and the direct proposal from Mr. Bussy to Shanavaze Khan himself, would reveal the secret, and defeat the intention. Mr. Bussy therefore employed Hyder Jung to treat with the governor of the fort, who, after a variety of arguments and overtures, at length consented to betray his trust on the receipt of a sum of money in hand, and the promise of a more profitable employment: but to save the appearance of his honour, dictated the manner. A day or two before the execution of the scheme, Mr. Bussy, as if having leisure to take some amusement, sent his compliments to the governor, requesting his permission to pass an hour in the upper fort, from which the prospect is extensive and magnificent: and the governor invited him to dinner. Mr. Bussy arrived, escorted by 300 Europeans, who were admitted into the second fort, to which the governor, under pretence of respect, sent down all the garrison of the upper, excepting fifty men, with whom he remained himself above to receive the guests. Mr. Bussy went up, accompanied by forty men, many of whom were officers. The dinner was served in the hall of the killidar's house, and when ready, Mr. Bussy, with the officers, went into the hall, and his body guard remained at the door: but the killidar, as if from politeness, admitted none of his own officers or soldiers, and from the menial servants who waited, little resistance was to be apprehended. On the invitation to sit down, Mr. Bussy told the killidar, that he

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could not partake of his hospitality, being obliged by the necessity of his affairs, to make him a prisoner, and take possession of the fort; but that no violence was intended against his person, provided neither he nor his garrison attempted any resistance. The killidar, as if surprized, surrendered his poignard; he was then conducted into the area, and signified his condition and the risque to his soldiers, who in deference to his danger gave up their arms. On the signal, the French troops below got under arms; by which time messengers sent by the killidar came down and informed the garrison there of what had happened above; and such was the military reputation of the French troops drawn up before them, that the few whose indignation exhorted their comrades to revenge their lord and defend themselves, found fewer to second their resistance. Nevertheless, some skirmishing ensued, but subsided on the death of two or three of these leaders; immediately after which, the garrisons were turned out of both the forts; and the defences of the town below were too weak to require heed.

No reconciliation, and every mischief, was to be expected from Shanavaze Khan after this provocation, and Mr. Buffly had taken measures to prevent the effects of his revenge: a party of Salabadjings troops surrounded his tent in the camp in the very hour that the governor of Doltabad was arrested; and as the connexion between him and Mahomed Hussein the king's duan had lately grown into strict intimacy, another detachment at the same time secured his person likewise; they were both made prisoners before they knew why, or the loss of Doltabad. The news excited universal astonishment, and terrified those in whom it raised the most resentment: for Nizamally recovering from his first emotions, pretended that the possession of Doltabad was a matter in which his interests were not concerned.

Balagerow was halting about 50 miles from the city, towards his own country, and immediately returned and encamped again near the army of Salabadjing; not with any intentions of hostility, but with the hopes of obtaining the fort of Doltabad from Mr. Buffly; with whom, after several complimentary messages, he had an interview;

view; "What advantage, he said, can you Europeans derive from the possession of this post, situated in the center of Indostan? If you hold it with your own troops, it will only serve to weaken your army every time you quit the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. If you leave it to the care of Salabadjing's, his enemies, who are yours, will find means to get it, as Shanavaze Khan lately did. Would it not be better to give it me? If I obtain it by your means, you have too much experience of my character to doubt of my gratitude; and the confusions which reign in the court of Salabadjing, the situation of your northern provinces, and the war in which you are engaged with the English in the Carnatic, may soon give me opportunities of rendering important services to your nation." Mr. Buffy replied, that his principal motive for taking possession of Doltabad had been to secure a certain refuge for the personal safety of Salabadjing against all the accidents of war, and all the convulsions of his government. Balagerow, although disappointed, manifested no umbrage, but continued in his camp, waiting from events some better opportunity of renewing his plea.

Many had conjectured the motives of his return, and the enemies of Salabadjing expected an immediate rupture between them; and Nizamally, encouraged by this hope, solicited his alliance, promising to give him Doltabad if ever in his power. But Balagerow gave no encouragement to his proposals; on which, he with much hypocrisy pretended to be at length convinced of the misdemeanors of his late conduct, and assured Salabadjing and Mr. Buffy that he should cheerfully accept and abide by their determination of his fortune. His professions, although doubted, were accepted; because the seduction of some of his connexions, and the imprisonment of the most dangerous, had greatly weakened his means of mischief; but, not to shock by too sudden an humiliation the public respect to his birth, it was agreed to give him the government of Hydrabad, which, although much abridged of its ancient domain, still remained a very considerable province of the Decan. Nizamally affecting to be perfectly satisfied with the lot, visited Salabadjing, received the investiture in public, and made ostentatious preparations to proceed to the

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the capital of his government. The day of his departure was fixed for the 11th of May; and Salabadjing, having no suspicion that he had any other intentions, went two days before to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father Nizamalmuluck, which stands somewhere about 20 miles from Auréngabad.

In the morning of Nizamally's departure, he held a public durbar to receive the compliments of taking leave from the principal officers of the government: amongst them went Hyder Jung, whom he received with marked distinction: and, when he dismissed the assembly, beckoned him, with several of his own officers, to follow to an inward tent, where they again sat down, and discoursed a while with much seeming confidence on public affairs, until Nizamally rose suddenly, as if urged by some sudden necessity; but made a motion with his hand to Hyder Jung not to move, signifying that he should return immediately, and in the instant disappeared behind a curtain which opened to other apartments. Hyder Jung, notwithstanding the injunction, was rising to make his obeisance; when two officers, who were sitting one on each hand of him, pressed him down by the shoulders, and a domestic, who stood ready behind, plunged a dagger into his heart: the struggle was heard, but it was some time before the attendants of Hyder Jung were apprised of his death; for no servants are admitted within the centres who guard the tent of audience, and the greatest part of the retinue remain at a still greater distance, in the place where their master has alighted. Letters all of the same tenor to Salabadjing, Balajerow, Bassaulet Jung, and even to Mr. Buffy, had been prepared previous to the assassination, describing it as the unfortunate consequence of high words and affront, which had risen between Hyder Jung and some officers in the durbar, after Nizamally had retired: the letter to Mr. Buffy brought the first intelligence which he received of the event, and was interpreted to him by Zulfacar Khan, the very brother of Hyder Jung. The general was immediately beaten, and in a few minutes the whole French army were in battle array, with Mr. Buffy at their head, mounted on his elephant, uncertain what to expect, and surmising a combination against himself of all the powers by which he was

surrounded; but Jaffer Ally Khan, who at this time had the principal command in Salabadjing's army, immediately sent him assurances of his attachment, and soon after came up with a large body of troops, who ranged with the French, and others were following; the first care was to send a detachment to strengthen the escort of Salabadjing, and protect his return from his father's tomb: Mr. Bussy had no doubt that Shanavaze Khan and the emperor's Duan Mahomed Hussein had abetted, if not advised, the assassination of Hyder Jung: their confinement had hitherto been gentle, having only centinels round the enclosures of their tents, in which they resided with their families; but Mr. Bussy now supposed, that they would endeavour to escape to, or might be rescued by, Nizamally; to prevent which, as well as to have sureties against the assassination of his own person, he sent a strong detachment to bring them immediately to his own camp, intending to confine them in the fortress of Doltabad, until more certain information was acquired, or tranquillity restored. The detachment consisted of Salabadjing's troops, and French Sepoys. They found a multitude of armed men at the tents, who refused them admission, which they immediately attempted by violence, and were resisted with great resolution, animated by the principals, who supposing their deaths determined, joined and encouraged their adherents; after which no quarter was given; neither did the conflict cease, until Shanavaze Khan with one of his sons, Mahomed Hussein, and most of those who defended them, were killed on the spot. Before the evening closed, an officer deputed by Balajerow came to Mr. Bussy, with assurances of his detestation of the murder of Hyder Jung.

Nizamally had been waiting in the utmost agitation the consequences of his deed, and seems to have expected a very different result; for the news of Shanavaze Khan's and Mahomed Hussein's death was observed to strike him with dismay. At midnight he quitted the camp, accompanied by the choice of his cavalry; and fled with the utmost speed and perseverance that their horses could endure to gain Brampour, which is one hundred and fifty miles N. of Aurungabad. It is said they reached it in 26 hours, which is impossible.

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impossible. Respect to Salabadjing had withheld Mr. Buffy from attacking Nizamally in his camp, which his force would have easily beaten up and dispersed.

May.

The next day Salabadjing returned, and immediately held a general council of his principal officers, at which Mr. Buffy was likewise present; after many opinions all insensibly joined in the necessity of punishing Nizamally; and this led to a general resolution of marching directly with the whole army to Brampour. Mr. Buffy, who knew the characters and connexions of those who composed the council, suspected the sincerity of several in this advice, foreseeing that nothing would render him more unpopular in the Decan than the imputation of engaging the Soubah in a war with his brother, to avenge an offence more particularly committed against himself; he had, moreover, at this time received intelligence from Pondicherry that Mr. Lally was daily expected to arrive there, whose orders might not be consonant to the difficulties or importance of his own situation: he therefore endeavoured to revoke the resolution; but Salabadjing himself insisted, and rested the necessity on the assertion of his own authority. The whole army was in motion the next morning, and advanced with diligence for three days towards Brampour, during which Mr. Buffy convinced Salabadjing, naturally averse to endeavour, of the inutility of the pursuit, since it was evident that Nizamally with the insufficient force he commanded would be continually removing out of his reach. The army having halted a day began their march back, thinking that they were returning to Aurungabad; but it was the intention of Mr. Buffy to lead them by degrees to Golcondah; and in this view he suggested the expediency of moving towards the frontiers of Berar, in order to suppress any commotions which might be attempted in that province by the adherents of Nizamally. The army thus proceeded to the south, leaving the city of Aurungabad at a distance to the west: but, halting continually to support the regulations of the government, advanced so slowly, that they did not reach the banks of the Gunga, which passeth about midway between Golcondah and Aurungabad, until the 11th of June, in which interval Mr. Conflans arrived with

June.

his .

his commission to act as second in the command of the French army, and brought a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Buffy, dated the 10th of May, which announced, although it did not order, his recall. The passage of the Gunga would decide the continuance of the march to Golcondah, of which the army still remained uncertain; but by this time Mr. Buffy had gained the concurrence of Bassaulet Jung by promising him the government of Hydrabad, which had been intended for his brother Nizamally, together with the office of Duan to the soubahship: his approbation silenced the discontent of many others, and the army shewed no aversion to go on: and as it was daily expected that the river would begin to rise, Mr. Buffy making use of this pretence, arranged, that the tents, family, and domestic retinue of Salabadjing, should pass the first, and then immediately followed himself with the whole body of the French troops, in the midst of whom he ordered the tents of Salabadjing to be pitched. Having thus secured possession of this important pledge, he gave out his intentions, which he had hitherto concealed, of not advancing any farther towards Golcondah, before he was joined by the troops he had left to garrison the fortrefs of Doltabad; they were 150 Europeans, and 400 Sepoys, to whom Mr. Buffy, on his return from the pursuit of Nizamally, had sent orders to come away, leaving the fortrefs to an officer nominated by Salabadjing, and to join him where he now was, on the Gunga; his dread of some evil chance befalling them, if left far behind, was the cause of this precaution; they were already on the way, marching expeditiously, and a few days after arrived safe at the camp; which then moved forward, and the whole passed the river just before the rains set in, which, as usual, fell and continued with great violence, and rendered the transport of the artillery so difficult, that the army did not arrive at Hydrabad until the 15th of July; on which day Mr. Buffy received a letter written by Mr. Lally on the 13th of June, ordering him to repair to Pondicherry without delay, with all the troops which could be spared from the defence of Masulipatam and the northern provinces, and to take up Mr. Moracin in the way, who had received the same orders. In this letter no respect was preserved to the convenience or inclination

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nation of Salabadjing, whose connexions in the present conjuncture Mr. Lally considered as a chimera of no effect, and who was thus deprived, even without apology, of the only support in his government, on which he had been accustomed to rely with confidence. He took leave of Mr. Buffy with the utmost despondency, called him the guardian angel of his life and fortune, and foreboded the unhappy fate to which he should be exposed by his departure. Mr. Buffy assured him, that he should soon return; and such was his wish and expectation; for although he knew the prejudices which Mr. Lally entertained against himself, his conduct, and the whole connexion of the French nation with the Subah of the Decan; he imagined, that his representations in personal conference would convince Mr. Lally, that this alliance, and the assistances which might be derived from it, would be the surest means of acquiring and maintaining the superiority of the French nation over the English on the coast of Coromandel. The whole French army, for none were left with Salabadjing, marched from Atrungabad on the 18th of July, the third day after they arrived there. On the third of August they reached Revoor on the left bank of the Kristna, about 20 miles from Masulipatam, where Mr. Moracin joined them. Here Mr. Buffy delivered over the command of the army and the government of all the ceded provinces to Mr. Conflans, taking with him 250 of the best of the Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, and 500 Sepoys. They proceeded through Ongole to Nelore, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were received by Nazeabullah as friends and allies. We shall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

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War of
BENGAL.
May.

COLONEL CLIVE on the day he arrived at Muxadavad from Patna, which was the 15th of May, received advices from the coast of Coromandel of the arrival of the French squadron, and of the engagement between them and the English on the 29th of April. The confusion with which the city of Muxadavad was at this time agitated by the conduct of Meerum, required that the superiority which the French were acquiring on shore should not be publickly known, and to counteract such opinion, Clive spread the news he received

received as a complete naval victory; two of the French ships sunk in the fight, instead of one stranded afterwards by a mischance; the rest put to flight, with no likelihood of being able to land the troops which they had brought for Pondicherry.

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The Nabob had transmitted to his son Meerum his own vexation at the attention which Clive had shewn to the preservation of Roydoolub, by taking him with him to Muxadavad, when the campaign broke up at Bar. Meerum had not been able to suppress some expressions of indignation, which were reported to Conjebeharry, the brother of Roydoolub, who acted in the city as his deputy in the office of duan; the brother, too solicitous for Roydoolub's safety, and his own, had tampered with a considerable Jemautdar in the Nabob's service, who gave his oath to act, whenever danger should require, in defence of Roydoolub's house. Meerum obtained knowledge of this agreement just as Clive and Roydoolub were approaching the city, which he immediately quitted with much appearance of fear, and went to Mootagil, one of the palaces in the neighbourhood, where he summoned all the troops and artillery of the government, giving out that he intended to march away to his father, who had not yet passed the straight of Tacriagully. The more obscure the cause, the greater was the terror raised by this abrupt resolution. The markets were deserted, the shops were shut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no business, and many principal families prepared to send away their effects. The city had been for two days in this trepidation, when Clive arrived, and on enquiry, found that Meerum affected to suspect even him of joining with Roydoolub in evil intentions against his life. He immediately wrote to the Nabob, complaining of Meerum in the sharpest terms, and said, that he would no longer remain in Bengal, sacrificing zeal to distrust; he, however, sagaciously refrained from making any mention in this letter of the late news from Coromandel, foreseeing, that it would make a stronger impression on the Nabob's mind, when received, magnified as it would come with advantageous circumstances by the report of others. The Nabob answered with much contrition; but before his letter arrived,

Meerum

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Meerum had been convinced by Mr. Scrafton, who was intimate with him, of the meanness of his suspicions, and the rashness of his conduct, and had asked pardon of Clive in the most submissive terms. Nevertheless, the news of his agitations had induced the Nabob to desist from his huntings, and his intention of passing the remainder of the Mahomedan lent at a famous durgar, or tomb, near Rajahmahal. He arrived in the city on the 30th of May; but Clive, little solicitous of an interview with him, had gone away on the 24th to Calcutta. Two thousand of the English Sepoys were sent thither, and the rest, with all the Europeans, remained at Cossimbuzar.

On the 20th of June arrived the *Hardwicke*, one of the company's ships from England, with the arrangements that had been made in consequence of the news of the loss of Calcutta. The first advices of this event were received in London in the month of August of the preceding year, when the company appointed a temporary committee of five persons (in which Clive was to preside) to manage their affairs in Bengal; but in November they resolved to dismiss Mr. Drake from the government, and nominated a council of ten, in which the four senior members were to preside alternately, each for three months: in this succession of the four Mr. Watts stood the first; the others were Mr. Manningham, Mr. Beecher, and Mr. Holwell, who was not yet returned from England. The first resolution of August had been sent in another ship, which although dispatched before was not yet arrived; so that the first intelligence of it came in the *Hardwicke*, with that of November. The novelty of this resolution subjected it to the imputation of absurdity: it was said that the powers of the country, accustomed to treat with one chief, would regard the alternate presidents of Calcutta with mockery instead of respect; but another cause operated on opinions more strongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expressed resentment at the neglect of himself in the company's orders, for no station was marked for him in the new establishment: much money remained due on the claims of the treaties; the Nabob might prove refractory if Clive should depart; and all concurred in thinking he would best defend what he had won, in case the French should make any attempt in the province.

The three leading members of the council were more impressed than any with these apprehensions, and proposed to the rest that Clive should be requested to accept of the government under the usual modes; the vote was unanimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June.

Intelligence of the fall of Fort St. David had arrived on the 20th, and left no doubt of, Mr. Lally's intention of besieging Madras as soon as the English squadron should be obliged by the monsoon to quit the coast in October, unless he should prefer to detach a part of his force to Bengal.

On the 4th of July, letters were received from Anunderauze-Gauzepetty, who had succeeded the Rajah Vizeramrauze, in his power and territory in the provinces of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole. Anunderauze, dissatisfied with the arrangements made by Mr. Bussy on the death of his predecessor, had waited an opportunity to take his revenge; which occurred soon after Mr. Bussy's departure, by the embarrassments in which he was involved at Aurengabad by the animosity of Nizamally, and the orders of Mr. Lally for his return into the Carnatic. Anunderauze, on this intelligence, marched from his residence of Vizianagarum, and retook Vizagapatam from the French garrison, of which he sent advices, offering to surrender the place, to the Presidency of Madras; and requesting them to send a large detachment, which he intended to join with his own forces, and take the four provinces, which the French had obtained from the Subah of the Decan; but finding that no troops could be spared from the Carnatic, he now made the same proposals to the presidency of Bengal, where the project seemed delusive or chimerical to all but Clive. However, nothing could be determined before the month of September, when ships might quit the river, and the intentions of Mr. Lally would probably be ascertained.

The real state of the English affairs in the Carnatic could be no longer concealed in Bengal, and required more complacency than the government of Calcutta had hitherto shewn to the inclinations of Meer Jaffier, who regarded the encrease of their distresses with secret joy as the redemption of his own liberty. He would immediately have gratified his favourite vengeance against Roydoolub, if the

1758. the discontent of his troops for want of pay had not rendered it
 July. dangerous to give them such a pretence of tumult, before they were
 satisfied. In other points of the government he was observed to
 assume a sterner air of authority, and told one of his favourites, who
 betrayed the conversation, that if a French force should come into
 the province he would assist them, unless the English released him
 from all their claims of money, territory, and exemptions.

Clive had expected this change in the Nabob's conduct, because
 he knew it to be none in his mind; and, in order to prevent him,
 at least for a while, from committing any excesses in his capital, as
 well as to exhibit the appearance of union and cordiality to the
 public, the presidency invited him, as on a visit of pleasure, and
 as a compliment to Clive on his acceptance of the government, to
 pass some days at Calcutta. Mr. Watts was deputed to give the
 invitation. The Nabob saw the drift, and hesitated, but at length
 consented as soon as his boats should come from Dacca. They are
 a magnificent fleet kept at a great expence for pomp and amusement,
 and the Nabob, with his family and women, every year pass a
 month in them at this season, when the Cossimbuzar river is highest.
 They come from Dacca, decked and adorned, and return thither as
 soon as the festival is over, to remain useless until wanted for the
 same occasion in the next year.

Scrafton, after Clive left Muxadavad, had attended to the preser-
 vation of Roydoolub in his office; but the English themselves had
 unwittingly planted an engine, which was unsuspectedly under-
 mining all his protections. Nuncomar had accompanied the army
 to Patna, and as a Gentoo very conversant in the revenues, was
 employed with confidence by Roydoolub. When the payment of
 the tuncaws given by the Nabob at Rajamahar began to fail, he ex-
 pounded to Colonel Clive the fallacy of the excuses, and proffered,
 if he were empowered to act as the agent of the English, supported
 by the authority of the Nabob's government, to find summary means
 of recovering the amount, or of substituting equivalent payments.
 Colonel Clive not foreseeing the end, employed him as he had pro-
 posed, and without the repugnance of Roydoolub. Nuncomar, as
 his

his first measure, threatened the Rajah of Nuddeah with imprisonment, who, frightened, fled to Calcutta, preferring to trust himself to the clemency of the English. This exercise of authority, neither disavowed nor disapproved, immediately placed Nuncomar in that conspicuous station of terror, which is the object of ambition in India, as the certain means of wealth: but knowing that the practices by which he was to make his fortune could not escape the sagacity and experience of Roydoolub, he now became as apprehensive of his controul, as he had been hitherto solicitous of his favour, and cast about to second the Nabob's intention of removing him from the danny. Scrafton suspected the views of Nuncomar, which deterred him from conferring either with the Nabob or his son, but he held nightly meetings with the emissary in whom they most confided, and represented that the English would no longer interfere in any arrangements which the Nabob might think proper to make in his government, provided they received the balances of the treaty monies, which he undertook to see regularly paid. His arguments were at this juncture the more welcome, because Roydoolub continued to evade the furnishing of money for the demands of the army, whose impatience had obliged the Nabob to disburse a part of his gold, which was, as usual, treasured up against extremity. The scheme would not have been void of risque, if Nuncomar and others had not estranged the powerful house of the Seats from the interests of Roydoolub, by representations, that they would be called on for money to supply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the supplies from the revenues. On the 24th Rajahbullub, formerly mentioned in the reign of Allaverdy, as father of Kiffendafs, and duan to Nowagis Mahomed, who had held in appanage the government of the province of Dacca, was appointed duan to Meerum, and on the 26th Roydoolub was ordered to deliver over to Rajahbullub the accounts and superintendance of that province, Roydoolub saw the whole extent of his danger unexpectedly and at once, and immediately requested leave to retire with his family and effects to Calcutta. The Nabob consented, but Meerum refused, until he had furnished a sum sufficient to satisfy the troops. Matters were in this state, when

Mr.

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Mr. Watts arrived on the 4th of August, with the invitation of the council to the Nabob, who desirous of appearing unconcerned in what was to follow, consented to proceed with him to Calcutta. The boats, which were now arrived from Dacca, were ordered to proceed and wait at Augadeep, where the Nabob intended to join them, after he had taken the diversion of hunting in the island of Cossimbazar, which in the middle is covered with jungles, the repair of many deer and tigers; but this amusement was only a pretext to remain within call of the city, which he left on the 6th, accompanied by Mr. Watts. Two days after his departure his son Meerum ordered a body of troops, who were clamouring for their pay, to go and demand it of Roydoolub. They surrounded and beset the enclosures of his house, which were spacious; and Roydoolub had gathered a considerable number of his own troops, amongst whom were some European deserters. Mr. Scrafton arrived at Roydoolub's house before any blood was shed, and prevailed on both sides to remain quiet, until he could inform Mr. Watts, who was then halting with the Nabob at Moncarah, 14 miles to the south of the city. The Nabob pretended to know nothing of what was passing, and authorized Mr. Watts to bring away Roydoolub. He arrived in the city just in time to save his life; for Meerum, apprehensive of prevention, had ordered the troops to seize his person at any risque; and Roydoolub had prepared a dose of poison to prevent the indignity. Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton immediately put him, with a few attendants, into his boats, and accompanied him with a party of Sepoys in others: they arrived at Calcutta before the Nabob, who waited at Hughley until Clive and most of the council paid their respects to him there. He then proceeded with them to Calcutta, where he was entertained for several days with pomp and festivity. He set out on his return to Muxadavad on the 21st of August, and arrived there on the first of September. During his absence, Meerum had continued guards over the house of Roydoolub and of his three brothers, all of whom had employments in the revenue. Mr. Hastings, who had succeeded Mr. Scrafton as the agent of the presidency at the city, was afraid of giving offence to the Nabob.

Nabob, if he should employ the English troops at Cossimbuzar to protect them, and was equally unwilling to advise Roydoolub's family to remove without this aid, lest the women should be stopped, and the insult produce a fray between their retinues, and the troops by which they were beset; but the repeated requests of Clive at length prevailed on the Nabob to permit their departure, and they set out for Calcutta on the 12th, escorted by a guard of English soldiers. The next night but one the city was alarmed by a new tumult.

On the 4th of September in this year, began the Moharram, or first month of the Mahomedan year, of which the first ten days are especially consecrated to devotion. The palaces of the Nabob and his son Meerum stood on the western bank of the Cossimbuzar river, but at some distance from each other. On the night of the 13th of September, which was the 9th of the Moharram, the Nabob went to his son's in a boat, and observed the shore crowded with a much greater number of people than usual. Returning in his palankin, he stopped to pay his devotions at the principal mosque of the city, and had previously ordered his general, Coja Haddee, to station a sufficient number of troops to keep off the populace; but, on entering the enclosure of the mosque, found it filled and surrounded by Sepoys, amongst whom were several Jemautdars belonging to Coja Haddee, who, instead of the usual respect, kept their seats within, whilst their soldiery thronged tumultuously about the Nabob, and prevented his passage. He, nevertheless, suspecting no danger, was endeavouring to get through them, until one of the spies, who, as usual, attended his person, returned out of the crowd, and told him, that Coja Haddee had armed all his own troops with some bad intention; on which the Nabob waited until all his own retinue had gathered about him, and in the mean time many more were coming from the palaces. The Jemautdars of Coja Haddee then rose and went away hastily, and their soldiers likewise dispersed.

The next morning a Jemautdar of another division of the army informed the Nabob that Coja Haddee had armed his soldiery, and assembled them at the pavilion, with the intention of killing him in the tumult of a fray, which, in the night, might appear accidental;

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between them and the Nabob's guard : presently after, another officer, who had served in the division of troops commanded by Roydoolub, came in, and said that Roydoolub had sent a bill of exchange from Calcutta for two lacks of rupees, which was to be paid by Meer Allee, one of his dependants, to Coja Haddee, who was to distribute this money amongst the troops, to induce them to rise under pretence of demanding their arrears, when they were to surround and cut off the Nabob. The Nabob, without farther examination, dismissed Coja Haddee from his service, with orders to leave the city, and appointed Mahmdee Cawn, a Pitan, to the post of Buxey, or captain general of his forces.

In this manner was the story related on the second day after the tumult at the pavilion by the Nabob himself to Mr. Hastings ; and the very day after it happened, Rajah Binderbund, one of Roydoolub's brothers, in a private conference on this subject, told Mr. Hastings, that the troops then assembled were at his devotion. This suggestion induced Mr. Hastings to believe the accusation against Roydoolub ; but Colonel Clive suspected, and ordered stricter enquiry. In the mean time, the Nabob had informed Mr. Hastings, that he had got possession of a letter written by Roydoolub to Coja Haddee, in which Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were mentioned as having consented to their project of destroying him ; but he refused to give a copy of the letter until he saw Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton. Mr. Hastings represented the implication and indignity of their coming to be confronted with such an accusation ; on which the Nabob requested him to write, and sent one of his own officers to Calcutta, to request that they might be sent, in order to settle a new scheme he had projected for discharging the monies for which he had given tuncaws on the provinces. Before this he had paid the arrears due to the troops under the immediate command of Coja Haddee, which were 1200 horse, and had obliged them to quit the province in different bands by different routs ; but Coja Haddee himself was suffered to remain in the city until the 11th of October, when he was permitted to depart, accompanied by 30 horsemen, and with assurances that he should receive no injury, provided he raised no disturbance.

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turbance. A few days after, the Nabob was informed that Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were not likely to come to him, on which he delivered a copy of the letter imputed to Roydoolub; and, although he had before said it had been intercepted, he now confessed that his son Meerum had obtained it from Coja Haddee, on a promise of reconciliation. The letter "exhorts Coja Haddee to carry the affair
 " in which he is engaged into immediate execution. Roydoolub will
 " be with him in time; has written to Meer Alli to supply the ex-
 " pences; has half engaged Seid Cossim Ally Khan, and leaves it to
 " the discretion of Coja Haddee to bring him over entirely; will
 " assuredly comply with what was agreed upon between himself and
 " Coja Haddee; has gained the concurrence of Colonel Clive by the
 " means of Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton, and has taken the dis-
 " charge of the tuncaws, and the arrears of the Nabob's army upon
 " himself." The caution of Roydoolub during the confederacy against Surajah Dowlah, in which he never ventured to write, or even to send a message, rendered it scarcely probable that he should thus throw himself into the power of Coja Haddee, on pretences he knew to be fictitious; and it was still more absurd to suppose, that, living in Calcutta without means of escape, he should dare so heinous a falsity against Clive, whose severity he had learned to dread as much as he respected his protection. Clive regarded the letter as a forgery of the Nabob's and his son in order to exasperate him against Roydoolub, whom, if he should not punish more severely, they expected at least he would turn out of Calcutta, when they might plunder him, without controul, of his wealth, as the ransom of his life. But on the other hand it appeared strange that they should produce a letter, which, if not true, might be easily disproved by a strict examination of Coja Haddee on the whole series of his connexion with Roydoolub. Their permission of Coja Haddee's departure was already a strong indication of their apprehension of this test, and a few days after came news, that he and several of his followers had been killed in a fray with the troops stationed at Rajahmahal, under the command of Daud Khan, who was the Nabob's brother. His head was brought

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brought to Muxadavad and viewed with much complacence by the Nabob and his son. Still it remained to examine Seid Cossim Ally Khan, and Meer Alli; but at this time the forces of the English presidency were so much diminished by an armament sent out of the river to the province of Chicacole, that it became necessary not to provoke the Nabob, by probing the ignominy of his conduct; of which Clive had acquired a sufficient proof, by a letter written in his own hand to Nuncomar at Hughley, offering him a title and jaghire, if he would bring the affair of Roydoolub's letter to a good end: it was therefore deemed imprudent to inflict the reproach he deserved: but Clive told him, that if he gave ear to such tales, there would be an end to all confidence between him and the English nation.

Farther letters had been received in August, from the Rajah Anunderauze; and other advices, which were not very correct, gave some account of the discords between Mr. Bussy and Nizamally at Aurengabad. Anunderauze repeated more earnestly, and with greater confidence, his request of a body of troops to drive the French out of the ceded provinces, and now proposed, as equally feasible, the reduction of Masulipatam. Letters of the same purport came at the same time from Mr. Bristol, who had been the agent at Cutteck, and had proceeded from thence to Ingeram; had visited Anunderauze on the way, and was received by him with much good-will. A few days after arrived advices from the presidency at Madras of the second engagement between the squadrons on the 3d of August, with their opinion, that the French ships were so much disabled that they must return to their islands to refit before they ventured another; that the French army was before Tanjore, and that Mr. Bussy was on his march from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, from whence he was to join Mr. Lally with the greatest part of the force under his command: that this measure indicated Mr. Lally's intention of exerting his whole strength in the Carnatic, and left no apprehensions of his making any attempt against Bengal; for which reason they expected the presidency in this province would immediately send a considerable part of their force to
enable

enable Madrafs to stand the brunt of the arduous conflict which must soon ensue.

! No one doubted that Madrafs would be besieged as soon as the monsoon had sent the squadrons off the coast, if reinforcements should not arrive before; but Clive did not entertain the surmise that it could be taken, whilst it had provisions: and as troops were known to be on the way from England, if the ships in which they were embarked should lose their passage in this year, they would probably arrive in the first months of the next. Nevertheless it was necessary, if possible, to alleviate the inequality between the English and French force in Coromandel.

But the preference which each of the Company's presidencies was naturally inclined to give to its own safety, as the only ground on which the property and fortunes of the whole community were established, suggested apprehensions, that Madrafs, in the same manner as it had been treated by the presidency of Calcutta, would, whatsoever might be the necessity of Bengal, detain, on their own service, whatsoever troops might be sent to their assistance; and, although little was to be immediately apprehended in Bengal from the French, yet the intire estrangement of the Nabob, and the hazard of all that remained due from him, were to be expected, if he saw the English force too considerably diminished, without the immediate power of recall, to oppose either his own attempts against them, or to afford the assistance he might want, whether in the maintenance of his authority against his own subjects, or the defence of his territory against foreign enemies.

In consequence of these conclusions, it was determined not to send a body of troops to Madrafs, but to employ all that could with prudence be spared, in concert with Anunderauze, against the French in the ceded provinces; which would either occasion a diversion of their troops in the Carnatic, or, if they neglected this assistance, would deprive them at once of all they had acquired by their long connexion with the Subah of the Decan: and, lest any danger during the expedition should threaten Bengal, the troops were only to obey the immediate orders of Calcutta.

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The conduct of the expedition was committed to Lieutenant-Colonel Forde, who, on the invitation of the presidency to take the command of the army in case of the departure of Colonel Clive, had quitted the King's service in Adlerscron's regiment, and arrived from the coast in the month of April. Mr. George Grey was sent to continue the course of intelligence at Cutteck, and Mr. John Johnstone was dispatched in the Mermaid sloop to make the necessary preparations in concert with Anunderauze at Vizagapatam. The force allotted for the expedition was 500 Europeans, including the artillery-men, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars: the artillery were six field-pieces, the best brass six-pounders, six 24-pounders for battery, a howitz, and an eight-inch mortar. Eighty thousand rupees, and 4000 gold mohurs, equivalent to 60,000 rupees, were the military-chest for immediate expences. The embarkation was made on three of the Company's ships lately arrived from Europe, on the Thames, a private ship of 700 tons, with two of the pilot sloops of the river. The Thames likewise carried a great quantity of provisions intended for Madras, whither she was to proceed as soon as the present service would permit. By altercations in the council, for the measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all of them, and by delays in the equipment, the vessels were detained in the river until the end of September. Their departure left the English force in the province barely equal to what they carried away.

The progress of this expedition after the departure of the armament bears more relation to the affairs of Coromandel than of Bengal. The events which immediately ensued in the provinces of Behar and Bengal, originated in the distractions which had for many years prevailed at Delhi, the capital of the empire, and from the views and operations of a variety of great interests and powers acting in the center of Indostan. The developement of these causes, and their effects, require an uninterrupted investigation of no little complication and extent. But the important and nearer contest already opened between the English and French nations in the Carnatic, continues from this time forth with such incessant energy, that our

narrative, once engaged, cannot quit their operations without impairing the perspicuity necessary to explain the strict succession of instances, by which preceding events were continually producing those which immediately followed. We have therefore determined to continue this portion of our story without interruption, until the events themselves begin to take respite; when we shall return to the affairs of Bengal.

END of the NINTH BOOK.

E R R A T A.

Page 37, line 8, *dele* Agerow, son of Ballerow.
..... 93, 20, *for* Murzafabeg, *read* Murzafa Khan.
..... 112, 6, *for* fahab, *read* faheb.

ALPHABETICAL

ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL AND PROPER NAMES
MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME,

FROM A COPY PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR, FOR AN INDEX.

When the same Name frequently occurs in the same Page, *once only* is mentioned in this List.

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