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I M P A R T I A L V I E W
O F T H E
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O F T H E
P R E S E N T D I S P U T E S
I N T H E
E A S T - I N D I A C O M P A N Y,

Relative to Mahomed-Ally-Khan, Nabob of
Arcot, and Tulja-gee, Raja of Tanjore.

To which are annexed,

Observations on Mahomed-Ally-
Khan's Letter to the Court
of Directors.

E D I N B U R G H

Printed for J. BALFOUR, *Edinburgh.*
and T. CADELL, *London.*

M D C C L X X V I I .

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A LETTER to a FRIEND.

S I R,

YOU found it impossible, you told me, to form clear conceptions of those important matters which so nearly affect the interests of the East-India Company, without looking back to the English transactions in the Carnatic, and their connections with the Moorish and Indian princes of Indostan, from the beginning of their competition with the French power in those regions. You could not take the trouble of perusing bulky volumes, and were desirous to have a short account of the most important events, that you might take a comprehensive view of the whole.

This account I have endeavoured to draw up, in the most impartial manner, from the narratives of these events that are given by persons who were engaged in them, and by those English and French writers who seem to have had the best information concerning them. To all this I intend to annex some remarks on the grounds of Mahomed-Ally-Khan's claim of the kingdom or principality of Tanjore, as this claim is set forth in his Letter, addressed to the Court of Directors ; to which is added, " A state of facts * relative to that province."

I am, &c.

* Quarto of 72 pages, lately printed.

prefides are, from their situation, called *the Decan*.

The governors of other large territories assume the same title of *Subah-dar*; and their deputies that of *Nabob*.

Indoſtan is not governed by one uniform ſyſtem of written laws; and its courts of juſtice are directed by general maxims, and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms.

Thoſe provinces which are governed by Mahomedans, of Perſian, of Turkiſh, or of Tartar extraction, are entirely ſubjected to the laws of the empire. Thoſe provinces, on the other hand, which remain under the government of their original Indian princes, or rajas, are permitted to follow their ancient civil and religious cuſtoms, upon the condition of paying a ſtipulated annual tribute to the court of Delhi.

The emperors of the Mahomedan race divided Indoſtan into large provinces, and appointed ſubahs. Theſe provinces were ſoon after ſubdivided into nabobſhips; and each nabob was accountable
to

to his subah, as the subah was to the Emperor.

Since the conquests of Nadir Shah in 1738, which weakened all the springs of government, the ancient subordination and institutions have been very little regarded. Subahs, within these forty years, have supported themselves in their governments, in opposition even to the Emperor, and have appointed nabobs under them, with as little regard to his authority; and at present, both subahs and nabobs, except in paying a certain tribute, are become almost independent of him whom they acknowledge to be Emperor.

The revenue of the Mogul is derived from his great property in lands, and from the various duties levied on commerce; but through the extreme feebleness of the government, those taxes which the Emperor had formerly been accustomed to raise by the authority of his provincial officers, and which had been immediately collected into his own treasury, are now regarded as a tribute,

which must be annually paid, not to the Emperor, but to those who have succeeded to the government of the provinces, and who have usurped all the rights of sovereignty.

The nabobs, in a word, though they receive from the Emperor a territory, called a *jaghire*, as an annual pension; yet they do not hold themselves bound to pay the revenue charged upon them by the chancery of Delhi, but only what part of it they think proper, after the deduction of what they call the necessary expences of government. Their engagements to the Emperor formerly consisted, in collecting and paying the annual revenue of the provinces; in distributing justice; in keeping up the police, each in his own district; in defending the country from the enemy; and in furnishing a certain number of troops to the Emperor, when he had occasion for them.

But the turbulence, and the weakness, of the government, is such, that force alone can oblige them to fulfil their engagements.

gagements. Hence Indostan, from being one of the best-regulated governments in the world, is now become a theatre of oppression, stratagems, slavery, and assassination.

The territory of the Decan comprehends the kingdoms of Vissapour, Narzing, and Golconda; and contains many rich and populous provinces. Among others is that of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic; the government of which is disposed of by the Subah of the Decan at pleasure; at least he claims the power of appointing the nabob, and of giving a legal confirmation to any one who is in possession of that high dignity.

The limits of the modern Carnatic are greatly inferior to those which bounded it before it was conquered by Aurengzebe.

A. D. 1710. SADATULLA, a regular and much respected nabob of Arcot, died without issue. Some time before his death he had adopted the two sons of his brother: the elder, Doast-Ally, to succeed

ceed in the nabobship of Arcot; and Boker-Ally, the younger, to the government of Velore. Gulam Haffain, a favourite, but a man of mean abilities, was appointed dewan, or prime minister, to his successor.

All these dispositions, however, had been made and executed without consulting Nizam-al-Muluck, the Subah of the Decan. This avowed contempt of his authority at once awakened his jealousy, and excited his indignation. Affairs of greater importance hindered him, at this time, from wreaking his vengeance upon the head of Doast-Ally; but he prevented his being regularly confirmed in the nabobship by the imperial court.

A. D. 1732. DOAST-ALLY had a son, Subder-Ally, whom he appointed to succeed him in the nabobship of Arcot. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Mortiz-Ally, his brother's son, and prince of Velore; and another to Chunda-Saheb, a distant relation of his
own

own family. Chunda-Saheb gave one of his daughters in marriage to the dewan Gulam Haffain. Ambition alone prompted him to form this alliance. Chunda-Saheb, well knowing that his son-in-law was more devoted to pleasure than to business, took the first opportunity of rendering him obnoxious to the nabob; and, by a well-acted scene of dissimulation, prevailed upon the nabob to install him in the office of dewan, which was then held by his own son-in-law.

Tritchhanopoly and Tanjore, though tributary to the Emperor, were, however, governed by princes of Indian extraction. The nabobs of Arcot have the charge of collecting the tribute due by these two princes to the Emperor; but it hath sometimes been necessary to send an army to compel the collection.

A. D. 1736. UPON the death of the King of Tritchhanopoly, a fierce contest arose betwixt the queen-dowager and a prince of the royal line, which produced

ced a ferment in the government, sufficient to inspire the nabob of Arcot with some hopes of becoming lord of that kingdom. He raised an army; and, to facilitate the enterprise, he gave out, that the collecting of the taxes was the only intention of his expedition. This army he sent under the command of his son Subder-Ally; but, in reality, Chunda-Saheb took upon him the whole authority, and directed every operation.

When he approached with his army, the queen-dowager, justly apprehensive of danger, refused to admit him into the city. To assure her, however, of his good intentions, Chunda-Saheb took an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her disadvantage. He is permitted to enter: he bribes the garrison, and imprisons the queen; who soon after dying of grief, the whole kingdom submits to the arms of Chunda-Saheb.

The most undiscerning easily penetrated his views; the nabob alone seemed infatuated. Neither these open acts

of perjury, violence, and treachery, nor the remonstrances of the injured, could prevail upon the nabob to check the dangerous ambition of his son-in-law.

The nabob at length attempted to do so when it was too late. Chunda-Saheb, not less a politician than a foldier, took care to secure himself in his new acquisitions, by putting the city of Tritchanopoly in a good state of defence, and by placing his two brothers in the strongest towns dependent on this principality.

The growing power of Doast-Ally and Chunda-Saheb served only to sharpen the resentment of Nizam-al-Muluck against them. He could easily have reduced them to obedience ; but, at this time, he was contriving new revolutions in the empire. His experience, his courage, his talents, and his intrigues, conspired to render him the terror and scourge of the court of Delhi ; and whilst he was preparing, in appearance, to join the Mogul against Nadir Shah,

Shah, yet it is believed that he secretly encouraged that conqueror to invade the empire.

A. D. 1739. IT was his attention to this grand object, which hindered him from executing a long-meditated revenge against Doast-Ally and his family; but what he could not effect in person, he gave in commission to the Marattoes.

The Marattoes, of whose origin and history we have very imperfect accounts, are the most hardy and enterprising soldiers in Indostan.

They came originally from the mountains between Indostan and Persia. War is their profession; and their only object, plunder and devastation. Their cavalry form the best troops in India. For the agility and exactness of their evolutions, they are excelled hardly by any troops in the world; and for undergoing the dangers and fatigue of long marches, they are equalled by none. They serve as mercenaries; and, when commanded by able generals, the throne
of

of Delhi hath trembled at their approach. They are said to be perfidious, revengeful, avaritious, and cruel: regardless of the faith of treaties, they will change sides for a lack of rupees.

Before Indostan was conquered by Aurengzebe, the Marattoes, by various predatory incursions, had reduced several towns and forts in the Carnatic. These conquests they promised to abandon, provided the nabobs of Arcot should pay them an annual tribute.

Promises were given to this purpose; but the nabobs had long neglected to pay the tribute. This omission, together with the solicitations of Nizam-al-Muluck, prompted these freebooters to make reprisals by a fresh invasion of the Carnatic. The Rajas of Tanjore and Myfore, who had suffered much under the oppression of their neighbour Chunda-Sahab, rejoiced to have it in their power to avenge themselves of one who had made frequent irruptions into their country, and, in these irruptions, had

often insulted their gods, and plundered their temples.

A. D. 1740. IN the month of May, one hundred thousand Marattoes, under the command of Rago-jee-Bonsalo, made a descent upon the Carnatic. A battle was fought, in which victory declared for the Marattoes. After the engagement Doast-Ally and one of his sons were found amongst the slain.

A. D. 1741. CHUNDA-SAHEB, alarmed at the fate of his father-in-law, took measures for his own security, by putting his chief city, Trichanopoly, in a proper state of defence. The city was closely invested; and the garrison, being cut off from supplies and reinforcements, was obliged to surrender. Chunda-Saheb, after having discovered all the presence of mind, and all the valour of an experienced general, was himself taken prisoner.

Subder-Ally, who had succeeded his father in the nabobship of Arcot, finding himself

himself much in arrear to Nizam-al-Muluck, began to dread his resentment.

Frauds and stratagems are not peculiar to European courts : they are known, and practised, both at the Indian and Mahomedan courts of Indostan. The nabob, though rich, pretended, that he could not pay his arrears. He amused Nizam-al-Muluck, by telling him, that the incursion of the Marattoes had ruined his finances ; and that it now behoved him to spend the remainder of his days at the tomb of the Holy Prophet.

But, lest this disingenuous apology and pretence should not satisfy the Subah, he found it necessary, that some measures for his own safety should be speedily adopted. Arcot, though the capital, was an open and defenceless city : he therefore took up his residence in Velore, by far the strongest and best fortified town in the Carnatic.

A. D. 1742. IN this situation, and assured, as he thought, of the friendship and assistance of its prince, Mortiz-Ally, his brother-in-law, he seemed to bid defiance to the arms of the Subah; but where crowns, treasures, and independence, are to be reaped, the ties of kindred have often been a slender security.

Mortiz-Ally, without abilities, and without personal courage, had, however, an uncommon share of avarice, cunning, and ambition. He secretly aspired at the nabobship. A conspiracy was formed, and well conducted; and the unsuspecting nabob fell a victim to his own imprudence, and ill-grounded confidence.

Mortiz-Ally encamped without the gate of Velore, and in a short time caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic. In November, he made his entry into the city of Arcot, with all the pomp and equipage of royalty.

Upon this great elevation of fortune,
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it might have been expected, that his government would have been mild and gentle: but as, in his principality of Velore, his extortions and unmilitary spirit had made him contemptible; his baseness, his treachery, and his cruelty, rendered him now the object of just, and of universal abhorrence.

The principal officers of the Carnatic, the English at Madrafs, and even the Marattoes, united to protect the son and family of Subder-Ally.

This formidable alliance, the preservation of his person, and a consciousness of his own inability to support his new acquisitions, soon determined the usurper to drop his pretensions. Disguised in the habit of a woman, and escorted by a troop of females, he quitted Arcot in the night, and regained his fort of Velore without interruption.

The young prince Seid Mahomed, son of Subder-Ally, who, during these convulsions, had been under the protection of the English at Madrafs, was brought forth, and, amid the applauses and acclamations

clamations of the people, was proclaimed Nabob in the city of Arcot.

Nizam-al-Muluck, desirous of restoring peace and good order in the Carnatic, left Golconda in the beginning of the year 1743, with an army consisting of eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry. He effected, however, this salutary purpose, without the effusion of blood.

That tranquillity might be thoroughly re-established, it now only remained, that a proper person should be chosen as guardian to the young prince. This important trust was committed to Ana-war-di-Khan *.

As this great man makes no inconsiderable figure in the history of the Carnatic, it is necessary, notwithstanding the proposed brevity of this narrative, to give a short account of his origin and character.

His father, by his extraordinary eru-

* Father of Mahomed-Ally-Khan, the present Nabob of Arcot.

dition, by a pilgrimage to Mecca, and by the sanctity of his manners, had raised himself to a very considerable rank in the army. This promotion, whilst it ennobled the father, procured at the same time to the son an easy admittance at the court of Delhi.

Ana-war-di-Khan, however, independent of the advantages he derived from his father's reputation, was qualified to hold the first employments, either in the cabinet or in the field. His military talents, and his address, gained him the confidence and esteem of Nizam-al-Muluck. He had attended the Subah upon his expedition into the Carnatic, and had approved himself an experienced and gallant commander. His active, cautious, and enterprising genius, seemed to mark him out as the fittest person to preside over provinces which had, for some time past, been torn by the violence of contending parties.

These motives, it is probable, and not a regard to the safety of the young prince,

had induced the Subah to establish him in the regency.

The ambitious, ever dissatisfied with the present, must meditate new projects of aggrandisement. Worth and innocence afford a slender defence to him who is exposed to the assaults of artifice, and of unrelenting power.

Ana-war-di-Khan saw himself indeed promoted to the regency; but his restless mind prompted him to still higher aims. The young prince remained the only obstacle to his future greatness.

In June 1744, the marriage of a relation of the prince was to be solemnized within the fort of Arcot. Some Pittan soldiers, who had been in the service of Subder-Ally, presented themselves, and demanded the arrears which, they pretended, were still due to them. The young prince, Seid Mahomed, ordered them to retire. The Pittans, apparently sorry for their insolence, returned the same day, and made an apology, which served to remove any suspicions of their real design. The evening now being
come,

come, and the greater part of the guests being assembled, Seid Mahomed went out into the court to receive and compliment Ana-war-di-Khan, his protector and guardian. The Pittans, who in the morning had apologized for their conduct, now appeared without, among the rest of the spectators, and seemed to pay the young prince the greatest respect; whilst their chief, assuming the appearance of one deeply sensible of his fault, came up to him, as if to prostrate himself before him. The young prince was off his guard; and the wretch plunged a poinard into his heart.

This tragical event armed the people with the keenest indignation against Ana-war-di-Khan, and Mortiz-Ally, uncle of the assassinated prince. Every one believed, that both were accessory to the crime. Mortiz-Ally saved himself, by retreating to his fort at Velore; and the regent Ana-war-di-Khan found means to soften the resentment of the people, by dismissing the Pittans from

his service, and by levelling their houses with the ground.

It is extremely improbable, however, that the regent could have convinced Nizam-al-Muluck, that he was altogether unacquainted with the plot against the life of the young prince. Be that as it may, it would seem that he obtained of Nizam-al-Muluck a regular commission, appointing him Nabob of Arcot,

C H A P. II.

A. D. 1744. AT this time a war broke out between Great Britain and France, the effects of which were not confined to Europe alone. The plains of Indostan were soon to become the theatre of action between these two rival powers.

Most part of the first two years was spent in mutual altercations, in undecisive skirmishes, and in making preparations for war.

Upon



Upon the 10th of September 1746, Mr de la Bourdonnais, a gallant sea-officer, with a superior force, attacked the English settlement at Madras, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and to surrender themselves prisoners of war. He agreed, however, to evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, upon condition, that the governor and council should oblige themselves to pay the sum of four hundred and forty thousand pounds Sterling. Upon these terms a treaty was concluded; and the English gave hostages for the performance of it.

Meantime these proceedings of the French company were by no means agreeable to Ana-war-di-Khan. He saw with pain the growing power of the French, and dreaded the towering ambition of Mr Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry.

Madras being within the jurisdiction of the Nabob, and having been besieged by the French, not only against his consent, but in contradiction to their express

press stipulation with him, he thought it inconsistent with the duty and regard he owed to himself, not to revenge this affront, and contempt of his authority.

Hitherto no European nation had proceeded to open hostilities against the great officers of the Mogul government, and Ana-war-di-Khan was weak enough to ascribe this to the great superiority of their national troops.

Flushed with the charms of conquest, and confident of success, he sent out an army of ten thousand men, under the command of Maphuse-Khan, his eldest son, with orders to invest the town on all sides. The Moorish troops, after being twice repulsed in two several engagements near St Thomas, made the best retreat they were able to Arcot. It was now seen, for the first time, that the Moors were not so formidable as it was formerly apprehended; and that a single battalion of disciplined Europeans were more than a match for some thousands of Indians.

Mr Dupleix was the first who taught
European

European troops to reap the laurels of victory in the Carnatic.

His genius was comprehensive, bold, and original; and his views were like his genius. By his sagacity, his dissimulation, and address, he became popular amongst the Indian and Mahomedan chiefs; and, by his vigilance, activity, and perseverance, he seldom failed to frustrate the designs of his adversaries. Vigour, steadiness, novelty, and a spirit of enterprise, strongly marked his plans. His ambition rendered him formidable to all; his pride accessible to few; and his vanity, and love of parade, led him into enormous expence. Had this great man and Mr de la Bourdonnais acted in concert, it is probable, that the French, under their auspices, would have laid the foundations of a lasting empire in Indostan, agreeably to the grand schemes which Mr Dupleix had formed: but, unluckily for France, Mr de la Bourdonnais, in conducting his operations, was obliged to follow the mandates of
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the directors in Europe. Hence the jealousies and suspicions which grew up between them soon terminated in an open rupture.

Mr Dupleix refused to ratify the treaty made between the French admiral and the English at Madras; and, upon the departure of the admiral, he commissioned Paradis, a Swiss officer, to treat the English garrison, council, and inhabitants, with great severity, and without any regard to the terms of their surrender. The Swiss executed his commission in its full extent. The principal inhabitants were turned out of the city; and their estates and effects, together with the ammunition and provisions of the garrison, were formally declared the property of the French company.

Mr Dupleix now began openly to strike at the root of the English interests in the Carnatic, and had meditated an expedition against their fort of St David.

The distressful situation of the Eng-
lish

lish determined them, as their last resource, to solicit the assistance of Anawar-di-Khan, Nabob of Arcot. The Nabob, who had not yet forgotten the disgrace brought upon his arms by his defeat before St Thomas, was, without much difficulty, prevailed upon to enter into an alliance with the English, provided they should contribute a share in defraying the expence of the war. The preliminary articles were agreed upon; and the Nabob sent an army, under the joint command of his two sons, Maphuse-Khan and Mahomed-Ally-Khan. The siege of Fort St David was raised.

A. D. 1747. MR DUPLEX, ever fruitful of expedients, was resolved, if possible, to detach the Nabob from the English interest. He had the art to persuade him, that the affairs of the English were in a desperate situation, even when the return of their squadron was every day expected; and the

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Nabob

Nabob recalled his army from Fort St David.

The reinforcement sent from England, in the beginning of the year 1748, seemed to change the face of the English affairs in India. The land-forces were commanded by Major Lawrence, the fleet by Admiral Boscawen. Never, till now, had the English appeared formidable upon the coast of Coromandel. Twelve hundred chosen men, eight hundred marines, besides a fine train of artillery, composed the regular troops. The whole forces, including the Dutch auxiliaries, and the troops in the Company's service, amounted to five thousand men.

Ana-war-di-Khan, perceiving the balance of power in favour of the English, did not long hesitate to break his engagements with the French. It was his maxim to join the strongest; and, as a proof of his willingness to oblige the English, he sent them a body of two thousand cavalry.

The

The English Company now thought themselves in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, by far the richest, the most beautiful, and the best-fortified town, belonging to the French in India. The French, however, made a noble resistance; and what they could not perform by their inferior numbers, they effected by their superior skill in conducting their defence. Admiral Boscawen, who had the care of this expedition, though a brave and experienced sea-officer, did not, at this time, sufficiently understand the operations of a regular siege. The English, therefore, after having shown great bravery and little skill, raised the siege of Pondicherry, and marched back to Fort St David.

C H A P. III.

IN recapitulating these events, it is not intended to enter into a full detail of the various intrigues, and military operations, of the French and English trading companies in India. This hath been already done, by writers of no inconsiderable reputation *. Little more is intended, than an account of the most important revolutions which have happened among the nabobs and rajas in the Carnatic, and the causes which have contributed to bring about these revolutions. But as the two companies engaged themselves in the contests of these princes, it will be impossible altogether to avoid entering upon such

* Memoires de Mr Dupleix, Orme's History of the wars of Coromandel, *et al.*

military transactions as are necessary to throw light upon the whole.

A. D. 1749. THE cessation of arms between Great Britain and France did not put an end to the hostilities of these two nations in India. Each company had now a strong military force, and each had resolved upon new adventures. An increase of territory, they saw, might still be acquired; and a colourable pretext was only wanting to draw the sword, scarce yet sheathed from slaughter.

The English, it must be acknowledged, set the example, by impolitically entering into the quarrel of two Indian princes, about the kingdom of Tanjore.

Saujohee, who, about the year 1742, had been dispossessed of his kingdom of Tanjore, applied to the English for their assistance in restoring him. The English, without duly examining the justice of his claims, espoused his quarrel, provided that, upon his restoration, he would

would cede to them a certain part of the territories of Tanjore. Devi-cottah, a large town on the sea-coast, was accordingly appropriated to the company.

The kingdom of Tanjore is in length near seventy miles, and not much less in breadth; and is esteemed one of the richest and most fertile provinces upon the coast of Coromandel.

The expedition of the English against Tanjore was equally imprudent and unsuccessful. By the violence of the southern monsoon, two ships of the line, besides an hospital-ship, were driven on the coast, and wrecked. Of these, the *Namur*, a ship of seventy-four guns, perished, with seven hundred and fifty men on board; and, to add to their misfortunes, the English found, contrary to what they were made to expect, that the Tanjorines, instead of flocking to the standard of the expelled prince, were unanimously determined to oppose him. His administration, they gave out, had been both weak and wicked.

At any rate, the company were resolved

ved to besiege the fort of Devi-cottah. Major Lawrence held the command. The siege was carried on with equal skill, vigour, and success; and the Tanjorines, though greatly superior in numbers, shamefully abandoned the fort. The next resolution was, to get possession of the pagoda of Acheveram.

All the Indian pagodas, or temples, are constructed nearly upon the same plan. The area is a large square, encompassed with walls: within this area are the temples, which seldom are raised higher than the surrounding wall. In one of the sides is a gate, upon which is erected a very high tower. The tower is decorated with four *Façades*, exhibiting, in *alto relievo*, the images, the attributes, and the heroic achievements of their gods. Many of them are surrounded with deep ditches, and are easily made forts of great strength.

The ghostly Brahmins in the pagoda of Acheveram surrendered themselves to
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the English without opposition. All they requested of them was, that they would not approach the innermost parts of the temple.

But the Tanjorines were not so easily satisfied. Stung with the warmest indignation at the pollutions and sacrilege of the English, they instantly run to arms, flew from their camp, and attacked the pagoda in the night.

The English, well aware, that if they suffered the Tanjorines to make a breach, they must every man of them be cut to pieces, made a spirited and vigorous resistance. The Tanjorines being repulsed with the loss of two hundred and fifty men, and the ardour of their zeal being a little abated, returned to their camp, without making any more attempts to recover the pagoda.

A peace was concluded between the English and the King of Tanjore. The King agreed to cede to the Company the fort of Devi-cottah, with the produce of a certain part of its territory ; to defray the expence of the war ; and to grant the
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expelled

expelled prince an annual pension of four thousand rupees.

It was not the terror of the English arms that compelled the Raja to comply with these requisitions ; it was an event which had happened some days before the peace, and which was soon to render that unhappy country once more a scene of animosities, intrigues, murders, and desolation.

Chunda-Saheb had, since the year 1741, remained a close prisoner among the Marattoes. His wife and son, during this interval, had been entrusted to Mr Dupleix, who treated them with all the tendernefs, respect, and deference, due to their high rank. The friends of Chunda-Saheb had long been negotiating with the Marattoes for his ransom ; but what they could not do, was effected by the superior activity of the French governor.

Mr Dupleix foresaw that the storm of war was beginning to thicken : and the connections which he had already established, partly by bribes, and partly by
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promises,

promises, pointed out to him the possibility of aggrandizing the French nation in India.

Ana-war-di-Khan, Nabob of Arcot, by a rigorous exercise of power, was now become odious to the people. The great lords regretted the loss of that security and peace which they had enjoyed under the former reigns, and recalled to their remembrance the assassination of the young prince, Seid Mahomed, the darling of the people, and of all who knew him. They wished to establish in the government a brother of the murdered prince: but none appeared who thought themselves able to oppose the arms of the Nabob.

Mr Dupleix, who had long been meditating projects of empire in the Carnatic, saw, in Chunda-Saheb, all those great qualities which promised him success in a competition with Ana-war-di-Khan for the nabobship of Arcot.

Chunda-Saheb, by his sword and his perseverance alone, had formerly raised himself to the first offices in the government.

ment. In him, the address and policy of the consummate statesman were united with the prowess and coolness of the accomplished general. But these qualities served only as a spur to his ambition ; and we have already seen his laurels blasted by the most flagrant acts of treachery, perjury, dissimulation, and cruelty. However, as the expected success of his arms against Ana-war-di-Khan would not be sufficient to secure to him the undisturbed possession of the nabobship, it was also necessary, that he should obtain a regular confirmation from the Subah of the Decan ; and, at this time, the succession to the subahship was itself disputed.

Upon the death of Nizam-al-Muluck, Nazar-Zing his son, and Muza-far-Zing his grandson, presented themselves as candidates for the subahship of the Decan. Each of them produced royal patents, which, it was boldly pretended, he had legally obtained from the imperial court ; and both were resolved to support their pretensions by the sword.

Nazar-Zing, who had been a rebel against his father, and who was a slave to pleasure, seemed, at this juncture, to have advantages, which, if seasonably and vigorously pursued, might have rendered him victorious in the contest. He had secured all his father's treasures, and had, by that precaution, won over to his interests the principal officers of the state. Gold and silver, in Indostan, form the surest and most lasting basis of alliance. The possessor needs only to take care of his person; and, let his cause be ever so bad, while he hath money, he may have troops.

Young Muza-far-Zing, on the other hand, had little else to oppose to his uncle's treasures and authority, but menaces, charters, and patents. He found resources, however, in an alliance which he had contracted with Chunda-Saheb. Both these princes were determined to hazard their fortunes and their lives, in the prosecution of purposes, from the success of which, they hoped to have it in their

their power to give laws even to the imperial throne.

Their first object was, the reduction of the Carnatic. This resolution they communicated to Mr Dupleix; and they solicited his assistance and protection. As a reward of his compliance, his coffers were to be filled, and the territories of the French company were to be enlarged. The temptation was too strong to be resisted; and Mr Dupleix immediately dispatched to their assistance a body of four hundred Europeans, and two thousand Seapoys.

Ana-war-di-Khan, against whom this expedition was destined, resolved to defend the entrance of the Carnatic to the last extremity; and, with an army of twelve thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry, dared to make head against the united forces of the two princes, and the French, amounting to above forty thousand men.

He formed a strong camp under the fort of Amour, and secured himself within good intrenchments.

Mr D'Auteuil, the commander of the French detachment, proposed to Chunda-Saheb to begin by storming these intrenchments. It was agreed. The French soldiers, encouraged by the hopes of rich plunder, began the onset with that impetuosity which is the characteristic of their nation. They were followed by the other troops. The nabob's artillery being well served, and well directed, did great execution. The French, twice repulsed, rally as often; but, at length, give way. Supported, however, by the Moors, with redoubled ardour they return to the charge; they gain the breast-work, and force the intrenchments.

Ana-war-di-Khan, upon his part, discovered equal valour, intrepidity, and presence of mind. He endeavours to rally his broken troops; but in vain: the centre alone, where himself was posted, and where his standard was displayed, remains unshaken. The confederate army, having now routed both wings, surround and attack the nabob upon all sides.

sides. The nabob, by his words, and still more by his example, rouses the desponding courage of the few who stood firm in his cause. The carnage becomes general and dreadful. False intelligence is brought him that his son was slain. Pride, revenge, and despair agitate his yet undaunted soul. He looks around for Chunda-Saheb, the author of all the calamities of that disastrous day. He descries him. Disdaining to survive an inglorious defeat, he rushes into the thickest of the battle. A musket-shot pierces the nabob's heart : he falls.

The victorious princes, without loss of time, set out for the city of Arcot. Upon their arrival, Muza-far-Zing, who now assumed the title and honours of Subah, gave the first proofs of his authority, by formally appointing Chunda-Saheb nabob of the Carnatic.

The news of the defeat, and death, of Ana-war-di-Khan, had reached Tanjore while the English, under the command of Major Lawrence, were in that country.

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The Raja of Tanjore, who hated the person, and dreaded the power, of Chunda-Saheb, might, at this time, have been easily induced to cede to the English much more important acquisitions than the fort and territory of Devicottah. Major Lawrence, however, contenting himself with what they had obtained, and leaving behind him a slender garrison, returned to Fort St David; where he received intelligence, that peace had, last year, been restored to Great Britain and France, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

One of the articles of this peace, favourable to the English, was the restoration of Madras; and Admiral Boscawen took possession of it about the beginning of August, in terms of the treaty.

The news of the revolution of Arcot equally astonished and mortified the English. They were now convinced, that, instead of assisting a dethroned Raja of Tanjore, the glory of England, the interests, nay the very existence of the
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company, loudly demanded, that they should have supported Ana-war-di-Khan with all their forces.

The two princes gratefully acknowledged themselves highly indebted to Mr Dupleix for his attention, zeal, and activity in effectuating this revolution in their favour: and, to testify their sense of his merit, and compensate him for his services, they bestowed on him a large sum of money; and on the French company, the principality of eighty-one small towns in the neighbourhood and territory of Pondicherry. These valuable donations, the expectation of still more important emoluments, together with the reputation which the French, by the success of their arms, had already acquired in India, easily prevailed upon Mr Dupleix to enter very earnestly and assiduously into all their concernments.

A plan of future operations being concerted and settled with the princes, it was resolved, that they should attack Tritchanopoly, to which place Maho-

med-Ally-Khan had retired after his father's death. The princes, at the head of a powerful and victorious army, might easily have driven him out of the Carnatic; but, instead of marching directly to Tritchanopoly, they entered into a quarrel with the Raja of Tanjore. He had not, they said, for a long time, paid the tribute due to them; and, from the hopes of raising great sums of money, they invested Tanjore, the capital of his dominions.

This egregious blunder in their politics served to turn the tide of fortune against them: and though, by a treaty with the Raja, after they had received from him many lacks of rupees, he had been compelled to stipulate great advantages to them, and to the French company; yet, by the artful management of the English, these engagements were, in a good measure, rendered abortive,

A. D. 1750. NAZAR-ZING, who hath been already mentioned as one of the candidates for the subahship, upon the
report

report of these commotions, began to awake from his pleasures, and to be roused from his indolence. He now no longer considered his nephew as a romantic adventurer, but as a rival from whom he had every thing to fear. With a numerous and well-appointed army, he left Golconda : he issued orders to all the nabobs and rajas south of the river Kristna to accompany him into the Carnatic : he summoned his friend Mahomed-Ally-Khan to levy all the forces he was able, and requested of the English to dispatch to him a body of European troops. His army, including the allies, consisted of three hundred thousand men, with a vast number of elephants, and eight hundred pieces of cannon. Gingee was the place of rendezvous.

This formidable army, joined by the English detachment under the command of Major Lawrence, struck the troops of the princes with so great, and so general a panic, that mutiny and desertions thinned their numbers every day. Thirteen French officers, discontented with the harsh usage they had received,

gave up their commissions at the same time. The soldiers, as from this example of their officers might well be expected, became dispirited, insolent, and outrageous.

Nazar-Zing, instead of seizing this opportunity of striking a decisive blow, made overtures of accommodation, and, as it is reported, and believed, swore upon the Koran, that, if his nephew should voluntarily submit, he would neither make him a prisoner, nor deprive him of the governments which he had formerly held under his father. Muza-far-Zing, relying upon promises and oaths which were never intended to be fulfilled, rashly submitted himself to his uncle; who immediately put him into close confinement, and laid him in irons.

The periodical rains having now begun to fall, both armies, during two months, were obliged to remain in a state of inaction. Mr Dupleix availed himself of this interval, and established a secret and close correspondence with some

some discontented leaders in Nazar-Zing's army. Of these, the princes of Canoul, Coudapa, and Savanore, were the chief. Motives of interest, not of loyalty or affection, had led them to follow the standard of Nazar-Zing. They had flattered themselves, that upon his establishment in the subahship, he would grant them, agreeably to his promise, a full remission of their arrears to government: but the late instance of his perfidy and baseness, convinced them that no confidence could be reposed in a man who had avowedly, and openly, disregarded the faith of the most solemn stipulation.

Under these circumstances Mr Duplex found it an easy matter to bribe their avarice and rapacity, and, by that means, to attach them to his own interests. A correspondence with them, as criminal as it was base and ungenerous, had been, accordingly, carried on for the space of seven months, with the utmost secrecy. These three Pittan lords, and twenty other officers of distinction,

tinction, agreed to abandon their prince in the time of action.

Upon the fourth of December both armies took the field, and a battle was fought near Gingee. The Pittans, and the other conspirators, posted themselves, according to agreement, in the rear of the army. The French, by a heavy and well-distributed fire, threw the enemy's first line into great disorder. The Pittan lords, in whose approved courage and conduct Nazar-Zing had placed his chief hope, instead of supporting the charge, were now seen drawn up in order of battle, at a considerable distance from the main body of the forces. Enraged at this perfidious conduct, Nazar-Zing rode up to the traitors, calling them dastardly cowards, who had ignominiously betrayed the interests of the Mogul, of their country, and of their prince, to a contemptible handful of Europeans. The Raja of Coudapa replied, that he knew no enemy but Nazar-Zing; and, at the same time, discharged a carabine at his prince. The
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unfortunate Nazar-Zing fell dead upon the plain. His head was severed from his body, and carried to Muza-far-Zing, who was now freed from his fetters. The young prince, elated by savage notions of power and revenge, ordered his uncle's head to be fixed upon a pole, and to be carried in procession through the confederate army.

It is a melancholy truth, that history is too often a register of crimes, frauds, and massacres. The misfortunes, even of base and worthless men, melt the feeling heart, when insult hath been added to cruelty. Ambition, though uncontrouled by reason, hath surely no right to render men more savage than wolves and tygers; and yet the annals of almost every age and country furnish little else than a satire upon human nature.

The annals of Indostan, however, have given a deeper and more gloomy shade to the picture. There, crimes have been patronized or committed by a set of men who boast of superior humanity,

manity, refinement, and benevolence. There, outrage, violence, and depredation, have found shelter, under the sanction of an authority which professes itself to be guided by the invariable distinctions of right and wrong. There, the lives and fortunes of princes have been sacrificed, to gratify the insatiable cravings of vanity, of avarice, and luxury; while crowns, sceptres, and governments, have been wrested from their rightful owners, with all the various circumstances of wanton cruelty.

But to return to our narrative : The death of Nazar-Zing will remain an indelible stain upon the character and memory of Mr Dupleix. The immense treasures of this prince were, by his arbitration, divided between the Pittan princes and the French troops. In the partition, however, his own services were not forgotten ; for, besides jewels to a very considerable amount, he is said to have received two hundred thousand pounds in money.

The Pittans were by no means well pleased with their proportion of the booty: they represented, how much their conduct had contributed to effectuate the revolution; but being overawed by Mr Dupleix, they, for the present, dissembled satisfaction.

A. D. 1751. MUZA-FAR-ZING, the new Subah, having performed the ceremonies of his instalment, and having received the homage and allegiance of the several nabobs and princes, set out for Aurung-abad.

The Pittan lords, though among others they had paid him homage, and had taken the usual oaths, prepared hostilities against him, upon his return through their dominions to Golconda. They seized a proper occasion, and began the attack with great intrepidity. The ranks of Muza-far-Zing's army were thrown into the utmost confusion at this unexpected onset; when the French troops, coming up under the

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command of Mr Buffy, changed the fortune of the day.

The Pittans, after one of their princes had been killed, and another desperately wounded, were forced to retreat.

Muza-far-Zing, regardless of the remonstrances of Mr Buffy, pursued the flying troops ; left the French battalion far behind ; rode up to the prince of Canoul, and fought him in single combat. But the prince directed a javelin with so good an aim against his antagonist, that it pierced his forehead, and entered his brain : He fell dead upon his elephant.

Salabad-Zing, brother of Nazar-Zing, was instantly, with the universal consent of the army, proclaimed Subah of the Decan.

His elevation, however, did not restore peace to the Carnatic. The claims of Mahomed-Ally-Khan, and of Chunda-Saheb, still remained in a doubtful state.

Some of the great lords acknowledged the former, and others the latter, to be

Nabob

Nabob of Arcot; while their attachment to either was, for the most part, dictated by prejudice, interest, or fear. The pretensions of Chunda-Sahib were seconded by the French; those of Mahomed-Ally-Khan, by the English: but neither the French, the English, the Rajas, nor the great lords of that country, could be well satisfied, that the claims of these two candidates, derogatory to the rights of Seid Mahomed's family, were founded in reason or equity. The objects, however, of the English and French, were opulence, consideration, dominion; and no body any longer wonders, that the remonstrances of Justice should have been drowned amid the contentions, and fierce animosities, which subsisted between these two nations.

At the beginning of the war which Mahomed-Ally-Khan and Chunda-Sahib had waged against each other, fortune seemed to declare for the latter; but after the English had, in good ear-

nest, embarked themselves in the cause of the former, the affairs of Chunda-Sahab soon became desperate, and without remedy.

A. D. 1752. His rival, having promised them what he neither intended, nor was able to perform, had now made a powerful alliance with some of the princes of the Carnatic. He was joined by the Raja of Myfore, and by Morari-Row, a Marattoe prince: but Pertaub-Sing, the Raja of Tanjore, alone, from more disinterested views than either, sent him a reinforcement of three thousand horse, and two thousand foot, under the command of Monack-jee, a general of approved courage and experience.

The reduction of the forts possessed by the French upon both sides of the river Caveri, was the grand object of this campaign. Meanwhile the part which the English had already taken in the war, had very much exhausted their funds:

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nor were the finances of Mahomed-Ally-Khan in a better situation.

At this critical conjuncture, an English hero arose, whose amazing successes revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen, and whose bold plans were soon to render him the legislator of Indostan. This was Mr Clive, who had been bred to business, and the commercial affairs of the Company, and now, happily, turned his attention to the operations of war.

Major Lawrence, who could open his eyes upon merit without feeling the stings of envy, and, what as rarely happens, could reward it, had already distinguished this young gentleman with an uncommon share of his intimacy, friendship, and confidence.

He suggested to Major Lawrence the expediency of dividing the army into two bodies: the one to act upon the north of the river Coleroon; the other, upon the south of the Caveri. The Major did not hesitate to adopt a proposal, which, though hardy, and, in appearance,

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ance, rash, yet seemed to him the most eligible, speedily to terminate a tedious, bloody, and expensive war. He himself, with half of the forces, remained to the south of the Caveri, while Captain Clive was honoured with the command of the troops destined to the north of the Coleroon.

Every thing being settled, Captain Clive, upon the 6th of April, began his march, and crossed the two rivers, having in his route experienced almost all variety of distress, difficulty, and danger. After a train of rapid successes, in which himself had performed prodigies of valour, the garrisons of Samiavaram, Munfurpett, Lalguddy, and Pitchandah, surrendered themselves to the victor.

But this harvest of victories was not confined to the north of the Coleroon; the successes of Major Lawrence, though not so brilliant, were, at least, as useful. The gallant Monack-jee, who acted under the immediate direction of the Major, at the head of his Tanjorines, reduced the fort of Coilady, where the enemy

nemy had their last, and best magazine of provisions, and military stores. Chuckley-apollam fell next into the hands of the troops of Tanjore.

These dawnings of good fortune upon the arms of Mahomed-Ally-Khan, depressed the courage of the French, and had a manifest influence on all their measures during this campaign.

Mr Law had the command of the French forces upon the south of the Coleroon. He and Chunda-Saheb, having been driven from one Pagoda to another, as their last and only resource, shut themselves up in Jumbakistna, a fort in the island of Seringham. Here, from the unaccountable irresolution of Mr Law, they underwent all the painful vicissitudes of hope, and disappointment; and were, at length, reduced to the most distressful state. By the vigilance of Major Lawrence, their provisions and reinforcements were cut off, and their correspondence with Mr Dupleix effectually intercepted. They were, however, from an equality of numbers, still

still in a condition to have made a vigorous, and, as the French themselves give out, a successful assault upon the besiegers : but it was Mr Law who commanded the troops. In vain did Chunda-Saheb represent to him the absolute necessity of making one last, bold, and desperate effort.

This obstinacy and misconduct of Mr Law had a visible effect upon both the health and temper of Chunda-Saheb. His usual firmness and equanimity gave way to an anxiety, that increased with the prospect of calamities, from which, he foresaw, it would be impossible to extricate himself.

A surrendry, or a vigorous defence, seemed now to be the only alternatives. The first would, inevitably, have put him in the power of his rival ; the other Mr Law thought impracticable.

In this extremity, Mr Law suggested to him the necessity of bribing some chief of the allied army, to allow him to escape through his quarters in the
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night. This resolution, as delicate as it was dangerous, and which could have been dictated and justified only by the strongest necessity, was, notwithstanding, instantly adopted.

Every reason forbade them to make this proposal to the Marattoe, or Myforean, general. It was made, therefore, to Monack-jee, the commander of the Tanjorine troops. He received the overture with great politeness; and, by his address, and an affected shew of compassion, he secured the confidence of the unfortunate prince. Great sums were paid him in ready money, and still more important emoluments were stipulated to him.

Chunda-Saheb was, accordingly, conducted to Monack-jee's quarters; where, instead of the escort he expected, he was immediately put in irons.

The news of this transaction soon reached Mahomed-Ally-Khan, the Marattoe, and the Myforean. The two last held a conference upon the fate of Chunda-Saheb. They agreed, how-

ever, in nothing, but that the prize should not remain in the custody of the Tanjorine general. Motives very interesting to Monack-jee prevented him from surrendering his prisoner.

This brave officer, by the intrigues of Succo-jee, the prime minister, had, for some time, lost the confidence of his prince; and, to be restored to the royal favour, he knew, that he must signalize himself by some daring exploit. The opportunity now presented itself.

Chunda-Saheb, during his usurpation of the government of Trichanopoly, had rendered himself equally dreaded and detested at the court of Tanjore. Monack-jee, therefore, the more effectually to ingratiate himself with his prince, and to raise himself in the estimation of Mahomed-ally-Khan, gave orders to strike off the head of Chunda-Saheb: one proof among a thousand beside, that bravery and humanity are not inseparable.

The executioner of this inglorious deed was a Pittan. He found the unhappy

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happy victim an old man already half dead with sickness, and bending under the infirmities of a life which had been spent in fatigue, anxiety, and danger. Chunda-Saheb, from the stern aspect of the assassin, easily discovering the purpose for which he was sent, earnestly desired to speak with Monack-jee, and then, he said, he should be willing to die. The butcher stabbed him to the heart, and severed his head from his body.

Monack-jee, sensible that the head of the murdered prince would not be an unacceptable present to Mahomed-Ally-Khan, sent it immediately to Tritchano-poly. The bloody pledge was received with every demonstration of savage triumph. He ordered it to be tied to the neck of a camel, and to be carried five times round the walls of the city, amid the insults and invectives of an hundred thousand spectators.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate prince. In his private character, he is generally allowed to have been benevo-

lent, humane, generous. His superior sagacity, conduct, and bravery, marked him for the command of armies. With these qualifications, it is probable, he might have lived and died happy, had he not aspired at a kingdom.

We wish to see the gentle arts of peace succeed to the storms and ravages of war : but neither the death of Chunda-Saheb, the reduction of his forts, nor the distress to which the French were reduced, had hitherto restored tranquillity to the Carnatic : and Mahomed-Ally-Khan had the mortification to find, that, notwithstanding his signal successes, he, as yet, was voluntarily acknowledged by none, but by the least significant chiefs of the province of Arcot. At the opening of the last campaign, he had promised, that upon the success of his arms, he would put the regent of Myfore in possession of Trichanopoly. The Myforean, now, peremptorily demanded the wages of his alliance.

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Mahomed-Ally-Khan attempted to spin out the time by evasive answers. Trichanopoly, he said, was the property of the Great Mogul, and himself no more than a viceroy. Every body saw, that a rupture was inevitable; and Mr Dupleix, availing himself of this ground of quarrel, artfully widened the breach.

Morari-row soon followed the example of the Mysorean, and, by promises, largesses, and hopes of plunder, was easily brought over to the French interests. Thus, except the English, and the Tanjorines, the other allies of Mahomed-Ally-Khan not only abandoned his cause, but entered into a war against him, which, from its duration and expence, threatened the utter ruin of all his fortunes.

Necessary preparations being made upon both sides, the two armies took the field, and within a few months the French, with their new allies, totally reduced the island of Seringham.

A. D. 1753. TRITCHANOPOLY was still in the possession of Mahomed-Ally-Khan and the English; but it was, at this time, defended by a weak garrison. The confederate army resolved to begin their operations by the reduction of this rich and populous city; and, if the attempt should be crowned with success, they were confident that the other forts upon the Caveri would surrender without making any considerable resistance.

The French, to facilitate an undertaking upon which all their hopes depended, were earnestly desirous to gain over to their alliance the Raja of Tanjore.

They saw how much the address and great military abilities of Monack-jee had contributed to the overthrow of Chunda-Saheb, and to the re-establishment of the affairs of Mahomed-Ally-Khan. Advantageous proposals were, accordingly, made to the Raja; but he rejected them. Finding every other means unsuccessful, they themselves, the Marattoes, and the Myforean, threatened

threatened him with an invasion of his dominions. This was no rhodomantade. The Raja, therefore, to prevent the imminent danger to which he was exposed, promised an adherence to a strict neutrality; but as this promise had been extorted by fear, he afterwards rejoined the arms of the English and Mahomed-Ally-Khan.

The confederate army sat down before Tritchanopoly; and, after various undecided battles and skirmishes, victory at length declared for the English, and the French were obliged to raise the siege.

A. D. 1754. THE English and French being now weary of a war carried on at the expence of so much blood and treasure, agreed to hold a conference. The deputies were appointed to meet at Sadrafs, a town belonging to the Dutch, situated between Madrafs and Pondicherry.

Those upon the side of the English, were Mr Palk and Mr Vanfittart; Fa-
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ther Lavour and Mr Kirjean, upon that of the French : but as each side had previously resolved to give up no part of their respective claims, it was impossible, that an amicable adjustment of differences should be the result of this negotiation.

The English deputies opened the conference. They began by proposing, that Mahomed-Ally-Khan should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, with the same authority as had been held by any former nabob. The French deputies, upon the other hand, insisted, that Salabad-Zing should be acknowledged Subah of the Decan, and that Mahomed-Ally-Khan should give up the city of Tritchanopoly to the Raja of Myfore.

This was, in reality, beginning the business where it should have ended ; for if the English had acknowledged Salabad-Zing to be Subah of the Decan, the French would have become arbiters of their fate in the Carnatic ; and if the French had admitted the pretensions of Mahomed-

Mahomed-Ally-Khan, it would have been equally prejudicial to all their interests.

Their proceedings, however, did not stop here. The French produced seven patents, empowering them, as they said, to intermeddle in the affairs of the Mogul government. By one of these, Mr Dupleix himself had been appointed commander in all the countries from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin.

They asked the English deputies to produce their patents. It was replied, that they had patents both from the Emperor and from Nazar-Zing, appointing Mahomed-Ally-Khan Nabob of the Carnatic: but that these patents were at Tritchanopoly.

The French, from an unguarded forwardness, allowed the English deputies an examination of their patents; which were found, upon a slight scrutiny, to want the usual seal of signature, and other marks of authenticity. This very few wondered at, as it was generally believed that they had not been issued

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from the secretary's office at Delhi. From mutual insinuations of forgery, both sides descended to the meannesses of ungenteel abuse; and the conference broke up without coming into any other resolution, than that of carrying on, with additional fierceness, an exhausting and destructive war.

Meanwhile the Marattoes, instigated by the French and the Mysorean, were committing horrid devastations in the kingdom of Tanjore. The Raja saw his grain destroyed, his cattle driven from the pastures, his country depopulated, and his best towns pillaged and burnt. Calamities so distressing and severe roused him from that neutrality which he had lately pledged to the French, and which nothing but the dread of an invasion could have extorted from him.

It deserves to be remarked, that the vicinity of this prince's territory to Trichanopoly, which then was, and had long before been the seat of the war, rendered his situation peculiarly interesting,

resting, pitiable, dangerous, and unhappy.

He was not a principal in the war. Contented with the territories which had been transmitted to him by a respectable ancestry, he did not seek to enlarge them by enforcing pretended claims. A small standing army was sufficient to have protected his industrious subjects, and to have defended his own dominions; but the asserting of the long-disputed claim of Mahomed-Ally-Khan, obliging him to augment the number of his troops, raised murmurs and discontents among his subjects, embarrassed his measures, and exhausted his revenue.

The Raja, perceiving that his dominions were likely to become the prey of the Marattoes, and being convinced that he had not a moment to lose, immediately reinstated the gallant Monack-jee in the command of the army. This general, unassisted by the English, whose interest it was to have sent him a speedy reinforcement, marched

out at the head of his troops, and, by a masterly stroke of generalship, shut up the enemy in an angle of the island Seringham. The Marattoes exerted themselves with their usual bravery, augmented by all the horrors of despair. Victory, however, was upon the side of the Tanjorines, through the superior skill of their general. Eight hundred were left dead upon the field, and most of the rest were wounded, and taken prisoners. This blow effectually checked the progress of the Marattoes towards Tritchanopoly, at that time the residence of Mahomed-Ally-Khan.

As the kingdom of Tanjore, and the neighbouring territories of the Gentoo prince of Tondeman, were, from their extraordinary fertility, esteemed the granaries of provisions for the garrison and the camp, the English found it an important object, to keep an open communication between these countries and Tritchanopoly. In spite, however, of all their precaution, the French, and their

their allies, took possession of the fort of Elimiserum, and, by that means, not only galled the reconnoitring parties, but dreadfully harassed the companies sent out upon forage. As a sufficient number of troops could not, at this time, be conveniently spared, either from the garrison, or from the camp, Monack-jee, by himself, undertook the hardy enterprise; and, having cut off or dispersed several parties of freebooters, he invested Elimiserum, and within three days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion.

Much about this time, a squadron of three ships of war, under the command of Admiral Watson, arrived upon the coast, having on board a considerable quantity of military stores, with a reinforcement of a thousand European troops. The French, too, during this season, had received an addition of twelve hundred men; but the greater part of these were undisciplined, and, consequently, ill qualified to take the field

field against the veteran troops from England. It is very probable, and allowed by the French themselves, that another campaign would have threatened their influence, wealth, and empire, in that part of the world, with irreparable ruin.

These expensive preparations, however, were rendered fruitless, by commissions which Mr Saunders, governor of Madras, and Mr Godeheu, now governor of Pondicherry, had just received from Europe, authorising and enjoining them to settle the basis of a conditional treaty, and to publish a suspension of hostilities for eighteen months : but this treaty was not to be deemed definitive, till it had received the sanction of the two companies in Europe, who had reserved to themselves the constitutional power of annulling or altering the whole, or any part of it.

The grand articles in which both sides agreed were, That the two companies should retain the possession of the towns,
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and forts which now belonged to them; that they should renounce the titles and powers peculiar to the princes of that country, and should not interfere in any differences amongst them. A treaty to this purpose was accordingly framed.

The Mysorean, notwithstanding this transaction, could not be persuaded, that he was no longer at liberty to commit hostilities against Mahomed-Ally-Khan, and the English; and when earnestly solicited to return to his own country, he told them, that he was under no obligation to regard treaties which he had not made himself; and that he was resolved not to leave Seringham till he should take possession of Trichanopoly.

Without resources in money, in ammunition, in troops, or in provisions, and abandoned by the French, this obstinate prince still flattered himself, that he was able, singly, to carry on the war with success. The fruitless and weak efforts of a very short campaign undeceived him; and, at length, after having

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ving wasted three years, absent from his own country, at the head of a numerous army, he was obliged to return without having received the least compensation for the expences he had incurred, or any security for the reimbursement of them.

Tranquillity being now re-established in the Carnatic, the presidency of Madras recommended to Máhomed-Ally-Khan, to settle with his family at Arcot. He acquiesced in their advice. Upon the 9th of July he left Trichanopoly, accompanied by the principal officers and gentlemen in the Company's service; and upon the 21st made a pompous and splendid entry into his capital.

The fruits of peace, however, were not long to be enjoyed in that unsettled country: for the conditional treaty between the English and French presidencies was unacceptable to the court of Versailles, and hostilities were ordered to be renewed.

In the year 1758, the French King
2 sent

sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies, under the command of General Lally, a soldier of fortune, and of Irish extraction, brave, honest, rash, obstinate, and inaccessible. With the land-forces he invested Fort St David, while the squadron under Admiral D'Apché blocked it up by sea. A combination of circumstances unfavourable to the English, obliged them to surrender upon capitulation. The capture of Madras remained to complete the glory of the French arms, and entirely to reduce the dominions of the English upon the coast of Coromandel.

This town, though the seat of the presidency, was utterly unprepared to sustain a siege. The fortifications were unfinished, particularly the north front; the gateways and curtains were open; the garrison were dispirited by the sudden surrender of the fort of St David, whilst a scarcity of provisions and warlike stores served to increase their fear, and sense of danger. Mr Lally needed,

or thought he needed, a supply of money and troops for such an important undertaking. He applied to the Raja of Tanjore. That prince, being resolved to draw upon himself the whole force of the French ~~sooner~~ than renounce his alliance with the English, absolutely refused him the supply. Lally, impatient of contradiction, and exasperated at the Raja's attachment to the interests of the English, marched with a body of three thousand men into his dominions ; plundered Nagarc, a trading town upon the coast ; and afterwards invested the capital. He prosecuted the siege till a breach was made ; but his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, and being distressed by the vigorous sallies of the garrison, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and to retreat with precipitation.

Nothing could have been more seasonable, nothing more advantageous, to the English at Madras, than this sudden and unexpected diversion of the French arms.

They

They employed this propitious interval in strengthening the garrison, in repairing the fortifications, in erecting batteries, and in laying up a sufficient quantity of ammunition and provisions. However, upon the 6th of January 1759, the French sat down before it. A brisk discharge of shot and shells was maintained for twenty days, while they continued to advance their trenches under cover of this fire, till they reached the breast of the glacis. Here they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, which they opened upon the last day of the month: but the superior fire of the fort obliged them to abandon it. An unsuccessful attempt was made to intimidate the inhabitants, by bombarding the town, and demolishing the houses. The mutiny and disorders which this illiberal and cruel conduct was intended to create, were, happily, prevented by the uncommon vigilance, resolution, and sagacity of Governor Pigot; and by the intrepidity of the officers, which, upon this occasion, was

exerted in the most distinguished manner.

While these operations were carried on before the town, a body of Tanjorine, together with some European, cavalry, arrived to the relief of the besieged. They hovered at the distance of a few miles from the French camp, blocked up their roads, and cut off their provisions. This unexpected event at once disconcerted the measures of Lally, and discouraged his troops. He accordingly drew off his forces that very night, abandoned forty pieces of cannon, and retreated to the territory of Arcot.

Soon after, the English strengthened the garrisons they had upon that coast, sent thither a strong reinforcement of troops, and were now in a condition to besiege Pondicherry by sea and land. Their operations being well conducted, and the garrison being cut off from all supply of provisions, Lally was at length compelled to surrender, and the city fell into the hands of the English. By this
grand

grand event the French power upon that coast was annihilated.

In the year 1762, Mr Pigot, Governor of Madras, was appointed by the authority of the court of directors, to guarantee a treaty between the Raja of Tanjore and Mahomed-Ally-Khan. By this treaty, the former was to pay to the latter the sum of twenty-two lacks of rupees in place of all arrears, and the annual tribute of four lacks in time to come.

In 1763, by one of the articles of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and France, Mahomed-Ally-Khan was declared lawful Nabob of Arcot.

It is unnecessary to give an account of Hyder-Ally's irruption into the Carnatic, and of his military operations against the Nabob in some following years. This prince was obliged to expend very considerable sums in defending his country, and getting rid of the arms of the invader. His demands of money from the Raja of Tanjore, were, on that account, very great; and, at the same time, he complained, that he
had

had not given that assistance which he ought then to have afforded him. As the Raja did not comply with his demands, and made an apology for what was thought blameable in his conduct, the matter was brought by the Nabob before the governor and council of Madras, and he prevailed with them to join the troops of the Company with his own, in an expedition against Tanjore. Orders were accordingly issued to General Smith ; the town of Tanjore was invested, and the Raja was obliged to submit to the hard conditions which were imposed upon him. This happened in the year 1771.

As these conditions were not punctually fulfilled, and the Nabob had other grounds of complaint against him, the governor and council were again prevailed with to send their troops, in conjunction with those of the Nabob, to besiege Tanjore, in the month of July 1773. It was surrendered in a few weeks ; the Raja was taken prisoner, and

and the Nabob put in possession of his capital.

Things remained in this state till the East-India Company thought proper to disapprove of the conduct of their servants at Madras, and resolved that the Raja should be restored to his dominions. The execution of this order was entrusted to Lord Pigot; and the Raja was restored about the beginning of last year. Disputes have since arisen among the members of the council of Madras, which now lie before the East-India Company, and will, in a proper time, receive their determination.

S I R,

S I R,

I Promised to close this narrative with some remarks upon the grounds of Mahomed-Ally-Khan's claim of the kingdom, or principality, of Tanjore, as this claim is set forth in his "Letter to the court of directors;" to which is annexed, "A state of facts relative to Tanjore." The letter being now laid before the public, every one must be at liberty to offer his sentiments concerning it. Whether mine are right or wrong, it is certain, that they are dictated neither by interest, nor partiality.

In that letter, and in the subsequent state of facts, there is a great display of the distinguished generosity and friendship of Mahomed-Ally-Khan to the English East-India Company, and of the signal obligations they were under to him, in all their efforts against the French power.

“ I am the first friend to the English
 “ nation, and the Company ; and I
 “ have spent the best part of my days
 “ in their friendship. In all times of
 “ prosperity and adversity, and in the
 “ battles with the Company’s enemies,
 “ I have been joined with the English
 “ nation, and I did not hesitate in offer-
 “ ing my life and fortune, and in sa-
 “ crificing my sons and friends, in their
 “ service ; and I have always used my
 “ best endeavours to add to the honour,
 “ prosperity, and advantage, of the
 “ Company *.”

“ The zeal of Anwar-ul-Dien for the
 “ English cause could only terminate
 “ with his life ; for on the 23d of July
 “ 1749 he was slain in battle, bravely
 “ fighting for his allies and friends †.”

“ His life” [that of the present Nabob]
 “ was often in danger ; his troops, on
 “ various occasions, cut to pieces ; his
 “ country depopulated, his revenues ex-
 “ hausted, in fighting *our* battles ‡.”

* Letter, p. 2.

† State of Facts, p. 18.

‡ lb. p. 24.

Many other passages of the like import are to be found in the letter, and the state of facts ; and it is argued, upon the whole, that, in point of gratitude, the English ought now to shew him their distinguished favour.——Be it so ; but not to the extent of expelling a neighbouring prince from his dominions, and bestowing them upon the Nabob of Arcot. After all, was not the friendship which he and his father always expressed to the English nation intimately connected with their own interest ? His father was, undoubtedly, a prince of approved courage, and great abilities. These he had occasion frequently to exercise, in defence of his power and dignity : but never were they more illustriously displayed than in the last war, which he sustained against the combined power of his enemies, and in the fatal battle of Amour, where he bravely fell, fighting in *his own* cause.

His son, the present Nabob, was, at that time, in a very perilous situation. Deprived of the resources of treasure,
and

and unable to keep the field, he shut himself up in the strong town of Tritchanopoly. His rival Chunda-Saheb is declared Nabob of Arcot by the Subah Muza-far-Zing, at the head of a victorious army; and almost the whole country submits to him. The French too were united on the same side; and the fortunes of the present Nabob were then at a very low ebb.

But he was not wanting to himself, and bravely maintained the struggle. The English soon discerned their true interest, heartily embarked in his cause, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour; and the tide of fortune, in a short time, turned in his favour.

The English, and their East-India Company, carried on the war at great expence, by sea and land; and the French being entirely subdued, Mahomed-Ally-Khan, in the definitive treaty between the two nations in 1763, was declared to be the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic. Their attachment to him was steady, as was his friendship to

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them.

them. Mutual interest cemented this union. Immense sums were, undoubtedly, expended by him in the course of the war : but it is more than ridiculous to affirm, that “ he supported *the* “ *whole expences of the last war* upon the “ coast of Coromandel, against the “ common enemy *.” The contrary is well known ; and such exaggerations serve only to hurt any cause in which they are employed.

In short, let the amity betwixt the Nabob of Arcot and the East-India Company remain inviolable. *Esto perpetua !* but may it never be a sanction to dishonourable and unhallowed acts of ambition, avarice, and oppression ! If the unfortunate Prince of Tanjore doth not merit the severe usage he hath met with, let no other consideration prevail with the Company to declare against him.

But, if not in gratitude for his past services, yet from a due regard to his

* State of Facts, p. 19.

just claims, the Nabob, it is said, may well hope, that the English will concur with him in his designs against the Raja of Tanjore. This prince, and his father, we are told, have frequently refused obedience to his orders, given assistance to those who invaded his country, and have failed in the payment of that annual tribute which was required of them : so that, upon account of these, and other acts of flagrant disregard and disobedience, Tuljagee, the present Raja, hath fallen under a forfeiture of all his rights to him as his feudal lord *.

Matters of fact are here combined with a claim of right. The former would require a large discussion ; the latter admits of an easy reply.

It is evident, that, during the contests between the English and the French, the Raja of Tanjore was in a very singular and dangerous situation, and likely to be crushed by the weight

* State of Facts, p. 19. *et al*,

of these two contending powers. As his territories lay in the midst between Madras and Pondicherry, they were open to the incursions of the armies upon both sides, and many a time suffered severely from these incursions. Whatever might have been his own sentiments and wishes, he was obliged to exercise much policy, in order to guard against those imminent dangers with which he was often threatened. Yet it cannot be denied, that he rejected many tempting offers from the French, and effectually assisted the English upon several very signal occasions. But all this is now to be forgotten; and the present Raja's defects and miscarriages, whatever they were, and those of his father, are now to be brought into judgment against him.

But did not his father generously support the interests of Mahomed-Ally-Khan against his rival, even when that rival was in possession of the Nabob's throne? Did he not then join his troops to the English forces, and with them

them maintain the conflict in his favour, till their arms at length prevailed? Was it not at the risk of his own fortunes, that he then strove to raise the present Nabob of Arcot to that power, which is now, not very gratefully, exerted against his son? Are the failures of such a friend to be minutely marked, and all memory of his past services to be entirely obliterated? Is it any way surprising, that he should have resented some heavy demands of tribute, and other harsh usage that he received from the Nabob? Pertaub-Sing, for that was the Raja's name, might well be filled with indignation at this treatment, which seems to have been very displeasing to the East-India Company.

Nay, the original right of this family to the principality of Tanjore is now called in question: for though they have been in possession for an hundred years past, yet we are told, that Eckogee, of the Marattoe nation, who was the first of that family, was no other than an usurper, who, by force and fraud,

fraud, obtained the dominion of that country*.

It may be so; for such events are not uncommon in Indostan. But this same Eckogee was confirmed in his possession by the Emperor Aureng-zebe; and his family have retained their dignity through the course of four or five generations. This is more than can be said of many kingdoms, governments, and principalities, in that country. Mahomed-Ally-Khan himself is the second person of his family in the nabobship of Arcot: and it is not, surely, expedient for him, and for some other nabobs and princes in Indostan, that there should be a strict investigation of their rights of dominion over those countries which are at present subjected to them.

Neither is it necessary to enter into an examination of their characters, and manner of government. In the "Letter, and State of facts," a delineation

* State of Facts, p. 3. 25.

of this kind is given of the Tanjorine princes* ; but it is plainly the *caricatura* of an enemy. There, too, “manu-
 “script-records in the Nabob’s posses-
 “sion” are frequently referred to, in support of facts disgraceful to the characters and administration of these princes. But can such records be admitted as authentic evidence against them ? Can the court of Directors, and an impartial public, make the unfortunate Tuljagee responsible for the faults, or even cruel deeds, of his ancestors ? Why, then, are they now so industriously insisted on, in a manner that seems to be altogether unprincipled, and illiberal ?

Notwithstanding high professions of respect and gratitude to the India Company, heavy complaints are made, on account of the terms of a treaty of peace, which they promoted in the year 1762, betwixt Mahomed-Ally-Khan and the Raja of Tanjore, and which

* State of Facts, p. 21. 22. 23. *et al.*

was settled under their guarantee. In the "State of facts," the observations upon it are introduced by this extraordinary paragraph: "During the late
 " war between Great Britain and
 " France, on the coast of Coromandel,
 " when the present Nabob was so much
 " weakened that he could not enforce
 " the obedience of his vassals and tributaries, Pertaub-Sing withheld his
 " feudal duties as Zemindar of Tanjore; and absolutely refused to furnish his quota for the defence of the
 " country *."

How can any agent of the Nabob venture to assert what is so inconsistent with the truth of facts, and with the Raja's exertions and sufferings in that war? Is it not well known, that very essential services were performed by his troops, during the course of it, under the command of his brave general Monack-jee? Did he not, afterwards, by his adherence to the English interest,

* State of Facts, p. 23.

draw down upon himself the whole weight of Lally's resentment at the head of the French forces? Was it not this seasonable diversion to his arms which saved Fort St George from a siege, for which it was not at all prepared? It is unnecessary to repeat the particulars that you have just now read in the preceding narrative. — That the Raja did not then comply with all the exorbitant demands of tribute which were made upon him by the Nabob, may be readily granted; but cannot, surely, be a matter of just accusation against him.

After this introduction, however, the author of the "State of facts" proceeds in the following manner.

"Notwithstanding this conduct, so
 "hostile to the English, as well as to
 "their faithful friend, and strenuous
 "ally, a treaty, highly favourable to
 "Pertaub-Sing, and ruinous to the
 "just rights of Mahomed-Ali, was
 "concluded in the year 1762. The
 "Raja's tribute, by this treaty, was

“ reduced to four lacks; and the sum
 “ of twenty-two lacks was taken in
 “ place of all arrears. — A debt of
 “ seven lacks of rupees, for which Per-
 “ taub had given his bond to the pre-
 “ sent Nabob’s father, was declared to
 “ be cancelled. — Governor Pigot gua-
 “ ranteed this treaty in the name of the
 “ Company *.”

It is added, That “ the East, famous
 “ for unaccountable treaties, can scarce-
 “ ly produce one equally extraordi-
 “ nary.” And then we have a decla-
 mation against it, and a repeated pane-
 gyric upon the Nabob’s character;
 “ whose life,” we are told, “ was often
 “ in danger, his troops, on various oc-
 “ casions, cut to pieces, his country de-
 “ populated, his revenues exhausted, in
 “ fighting *our* battles.” Is this high
 . generosity to be again celebrated, when
 all the world knows, that he fought in
 his *own* cause, and for his *own* interest, in

* State of Facts, p. 24.

opposition to those who meant to dethrone him ?

For my part, I cannot fail to applaud the conduct of the India Company in that treaty ; the motives with which they seem to have been animated, and their regard to justice and gratitude towards Pertaub-Sing, in the terms that appeared to be favourable to him.

After all the tumults, the expences, and dangers, of a tedious war, they were desirous to establish peace in the Carnatic upon equitable and lasting foundations. This could never be the case, if the Nabob should continue to demand of the Raja what tribute he pleased, and to exact it in an imperious manner. It was necessary also to make a reasonable adjustment of the debt which the latter owed to the former. Both these points are settled in that treaty. Twenty-two lacks of rupees are allowed for past arrears ; and four lacks are determined to be the annual tribute.

But the Nabob was inwardly dissatisfied

fied with this allotment. I doubt it not; for avarice is insatiable. These great sums too, it is to be remarked, are all to pass into his own coffers, and whatever more can be raised in the Carnatic; as if he had an original and an undivided right to the whole: for it is observable, that, in all his claims, not the least mention is made of the court of Delhi, to which the revenues that he receives as nabob, from the provinces under his jurisdiction, do of right belong. He is ready, as other nabobs and subahs, to avail himself of all the powers and privileges of his high dignity: but both he and they, such is the fallen state of imperial power, appropriate to themselves, in an open and avowed manner, those revenues which the Indian rajas were accustomed to pay to the Emperor of Indostan. How ridiculous, indeed, to hear such persons gravely pleading, upon the footing of right and justice, against the poor oppressed princes of that country, and against

gainst those who would, at any time, attempt to alleviate their bonds !

This alleviation they never can hope to obtain, with the good-will of their haughty superiors ; and if it is procured for them by the favour of allies, and a happy combination of circumstances, they may be assured, that no means will be left untried to wrest from them what they have acquired, and to render the force even of solemn agreements, altogether ineffectual.

There is a notorious instance of this in the case before us. All matters seemed to be adjusted between the Nabob and Raja by the treaty in the year 1762. The India Company approved of the articles as reasonable, and thought the treaty definitive. But it is now urged, “ That the treaty subsisted between the “ Nabob and Pertaub-Sing *only* ; and, “ that there is not an expression, a word, “ in the whole, which extends to the “ descendants of either party *.”

* State of Facts, p. 27.

The meaning is perfectly evident ; that the Nabob should be freed from the obligations of that treaty, and be suffered to make what demands he pleased upon the son and successor of Pertaub-Sing, without controul. Was this the intention of the India Company ? Did they provide only for a temporary peace, that might last a few months, and not for one that should be firm and permanent ? Is it the Nabob's opinion, that the treaties which they have made with him are to reach no further than the term of his own life, and to be of no benefit to his son and family ? How many treaties have there been in the same style, which the sons and successors of the contracting parties held themselves bound to perform ? The Raja of Tanjore declares to this purpose ; not so the Nabob of Arcot.

It is further urged, That allowing him an interest in this treaty, yet he hath forfeited all right to the advantages arising from it, and to the favour of the guarantees. But these guarantees do
 I not

not think so ; for they have ordered his restoration, upon the footing of that treaty.

In support, however, of this general charge, many particular articles of accusation are exhibited.

“ When Hyder-Ally-Cawn invaded
 “ the Carnatic, the Governor and Coun-
 “ cil, and I, repeatedly wrote to Tuljagee to send his troops to join ours ;
 “ but he paid not the least attention *.”

It would appear, that, in a short time after, he did pay attention to these letters ; for it is added, “ that in the beginning of the war with Hyder, he
 “ sent only a few of his troops to join
 “ Colonel Wood ; and though the Colonel repeatedly wrote to him to send
 “ money for the support of his troops,
 “ he did not send any ; therefore the
 “ Colonel was obliged to supply them
 “ out of his own pocket.—Tuljagee

* State of Facts, p. 5.

“ yet owes the money that the Colonel
 “ advanced to his troops *.”

What are we to conclude from all this, but that there lies an action against him, at the instance of the Colonel, for payment of the money which he laid out for him upon this occasion ?

But if this accusation is not to be considered as a matter of very high importance, we are further told, “ that he
 “ entered into a close connection with
 “ Hyder Ally. He gave him valuable
 “ presents, and he furnished him
 “ with provisions, which enabled him
 “ to carry the war to the gates of Madras †.”

The truth is, that Hyder Ally, at that time, had the whole country under his command; and that Tuljagee, as well as others, was obliged to compound with him, upon the best terms he was able to obtain. Nay, did not the Nabob himself, soon after, enter into a similar negotiation with Hyder Ally, that

* State of Facts, p. 6.

† Ib. p. 25.

his dominions might be freed from the miseries and devastations brought upon them by the troops of that successful plunderer?

At this period, the Raja's finances must have been so much exhausted, that it is no wonder he could not pay the stipulated annual tribute to the Nabob; yet this too is exhibited as an article of charge against him*. The one which immediately follows, all things considered, might well have been suppressed.

“ He marched his army against the
 “ Marwar, and other countries who
 “ are my tributaries, and depend-
 “ ent upon Tritchanopoly,” and raised great sums there †.

But hath not the Raja many tributaries in these southern parts? Do not the people of the countries here referred to, sometimes make incursions into the territories of Tanjore, to the great distress of those who inhabit the borders? Shall it not be in his power to protect

* State of Facts, p. 6.

† Ib. p. 6.

himself against the invasion of enemies, and to secure the allegiance due to him from his dependents and tributaries?

“ The Marwar, and other countries
 “ who are my tributaries, and depen-
 “ dent upon Tritchanopoly.”

Alas ! doth not this serve to remind us of the manner in which he hath acquired his pretended right to that kingdom and its dependencies ? We have seen *, that his father's rival Chunda-Saheb, in the year 1739, possessed himself of Tritchanopoly, by the basest perfidy, and flagrant perjury, expelled the reigning family, and seized upon their dominions. The Nabob of Arcot inherits his spoils.

The annual tribute to be paid by the Raja had been fixed in the treaty of 1762, at four lacks of rupees: but a great deal more was demanded, from time to time, under the name of “ extraordinary aids †.” When these demands were not complied with, the

* Pag. 8. of this Narrative.

† Letter and State, p. 4.

Nabob found means to engage the Governor and Council of Madras to send General Smith, at the head of the Company's troops, to invest Tanjore. But as the Nabob only intended, we are told *, that the Raja should submit to him, and discharge the tribute, peace was concluded on the 26th of October 1771; and we may rest assured, that the articles of that peace were abundantly advantageous to the Nabob, whilst it sufficiently drained the Raja's finances.

That prince can never be without blame, if all the misfortunes of the Nabob, and the ills which befall the Carnatic, are to be imputed to him. He doth not, surely, consult his own interest, if he is the cause of such disorders as will afford a plausible pretence to the requisitions of "extraordinary aids, for restoring peace to the country."

This eminent degree of folly, is, however, charged upon him in the strongest terms. "Tuljagee soon broke his a-

* Letter and State, p. 8.

"greement.

“greement. The rear of our army had
 “scarce ceased to be seen from the
 “walls of Tanjore, when the Raja be-
 “gan to encourage the Marattoes to in-
 “vade the Carnatic. In compliance
 “with his solicitations, twenty thousand
 “of their horse appeared on the fron-
 “tiers of the province, under the com-
 “mand of Trimbuck Row, and threa-
 “tened the whole country with fire and
 “sword. They entered it on the 3d of
 “December 1771. To gratify these
 “marauders, the Nabob was obliged
 “to pay down a considerable sum of
 “money, besides presents of jewels,
 “fire-arms, and elephants.*.”

Do the Marattoes then stand in need
 of being instigated to these predatory
 expeditions, from which a great part of
 their riches is derived? Is it likely, that
 the Raja, immediately after his deliver-
 ance from imminent danger, would thus
 instigate them? Can we believe, that
 the negotiations with Trimbuck Row,

* Letter and State, p. 8. 29.

and his invasion of the Carnatic at the head of a great army, could have taken place in the space of a few weeks? The dates should have been suppressed; for they render the accusation altogether incredible.

In this year 1771, the Raja was reduced to circumstances of great distress, and, by the terms of the treaty in October, was bound to pay an immense sum of money to the Nabob. To discharge a part of his debt, he sold some districts on the sea-coast to the Dutch, and mortgaged other districts to the French and Danes *. And had not his ancestors, in the same manner, sold to the trading companies of these nations, as well as to the English, the territories which they now possess in that country? In doing so, they met with no obstruction from the nabobs of former times. But the transactions of the present Raja must all be

* Letter and State, p. 9.

controlled,

controlled, and then be ascribed to the worst of purposes.

“ His view,” it is affirmed, “ in soliciting all this assistance, and in assembling troops, was, to get possession of the whole Carnatic *.” But is it not evident that he was then in too low a condition to entertain such lofty projects ? The truth seems to be, that as he clearly perceived it to be the Nabob’s intention to reduce him, by degrees, to a state of thralldom, and finally to dethrone him ; and as the Governor and Council of Madras had hitherto favoured that prince’s measures ; he thought himself intitled, in self-defence, to cast about for protection, where-ever he could find it. But all this was in vain ; for, in the year 1773, the city of Tanjore was besieged by the Nabob’s and the Company’s troops. It soon fell into their hands ; the Raja was taken prisoner, and so continued, till the India Company, after mature deliberation,

* Letter and State, p. 9.

determined, that he should be restored to his dominions, and till their orders were executed by Lord Pigot in the course of last year.

But the Nabob remonstrates against them; and, to the detail of complaints which have just now fallen under our review, he adds a claim founded upon the principles of the Feudal law; as if, by his supposed transgressions, the Raja had forfeited his principality to him, as “his feudal lord *.”

Though great stress is laid upon this claim, yet I may be allowed to ask, why should the language and ideas of the feudal system be forced into this cause? What have they to do in the matter? The original grounds upon which the Feudal law was established, never had an existence in Indostan. Its principles, and its maxims, are unknown and unheard of there.

The kingdoms of Tanjore, Trichanopoly, Madura, and other countries in Indostan, were, heretofore, under the

* Letter and State, p. 17. 20. *et al.*

government of independent Gentoo princes. Their state of independence was only affected by the inroads of more powerful princes, who, at times, invaded their territories, and, after the manner of the present Marattoes, raised great sums by these violent incursions. When the arms of the Emperor Aurengzebe had prevailed against the Kings of Visiapour, Bijnagar, and Golconda, their kingdoms were made provinces of his empire, and were governed by the great officers of that empire, who were called *subahs* and *nabobs*. One of the ancestors of Tuljagee, being threatened by the arms of this Emperor, submitted to pay him an annual tribute; and it belonged to the nabob of the Carnatic to receive this tribute, and to remit it to the imperial chancery. But the Raja retained the possession of his own dominions. These never became a province of the empire, and ought not to be considered in this light: and if it were to be admitted, for the sake of argument, that Tanjore should be so considered, the

Raja

Raja would then be a vassal of the *empire*, not of any one of its great officers; the Emperor of Indostan would be his “feudal lord,” and not the Nabob of Arcot.

Let it be supposed, that one of the great families in Ireland should be so unhappy as to incur the forfeiture of their estate; to whom doth that forfeited estate belong? Not surely to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but to the King of Great Britain. The application to the present case is so plain, that I will not insist upon it. And yet, if this is rightly attended to, a good deal of reasoning in the “Letter,” and of declamation in the “State of Facts,” will at once fall to the ground.

It is urged, last of all, That it will be highly advantageous to the India Company, that the dominions of the Raja should be transferred to the Nabob.

This is an argument that must be thrown into the political scale, not into the balance of justice and equity. It is, however, well known to be a weight of

preponderating power. But a wrong mark is often stamped upon it, and we are in danger of being egregiously deceived by the false impression. What is specious at first sight, is frequently found, upon a just examination, to be hollow and delusive. This is the case, if I mistake it not, of the proposed scheme of advantage to the Honourable Company.

It is laid before us in the following paragraph. “ On the other hand, should
 “ the country” (of Tanjore) “ remain
 “ in the possession of the Nabob, the in-
 “ vestments of the Company might be
 “ increased ; the resources of Tanjore,
 “ instead of strengthening the enemies
 “ of the Nabob, would provide the
 “ means of aiding his friends with suc-
 “ cess ; our territory, and consequently
 “ our commerce, would extend from
 “ the Ganges to Cape Comorin ; the sea
 “ on the one side, the western moun-
 “ tains on the other, would form a bar-
 “ rier for our protection ; and the Na-
 “ bob, by the addition made to his re-
 “ venue,

“venue, would be able to entertain a
 “body of horse, to secure the country
 “from the depredatory incursions of
 “the Marattoes *.”

Surely the investments of the Company in that country, if they so please, may be increased, whether it be under the government of the Nabob, or the Raja. It doth not appear, that this can make any material alteration in the case.

— “Our territory would extend, from
 “the Ganges to Cape Comorin,” and have the sea, and western mountains for its barrier. This is quite unintelligible; unless it be supposed, that the Subah of the Decan, the Nabob of Arcot, and the other princes of Indostan, should agree to give up their dominions to the East-India Company. —
 “Our commerce also would be so extended.” And doth not the Company, at present, enjoy this commerce; without the least thought, indeed, of a monopoly, and of excluding other European nations from an interest in it? This

* Letter and State, p. 37.

would be a project altogether unjust, irrational, and impracticable. — “ And
 “ the Nabob, by the addition made to
 “ his revenue, would be able to enter-
 “ tain a body of horse, to secure the
 “ country from the incursions of the
 “ Marattoes.” Do not the revenues of Arcot enable him to keep up a sufficient force for this purpose? And is it not the duty and interest of the restored Raja, to defend his country in like manner? Will it not be the more easy for him thus to protect his subjects, that he hath not the misfortune, as the Nabob, to be the object of hatred and strong aversion to that powerful nation?

Elsewhere the Company is asked, “ Is
 “ it a matter of no consequence, to be
 “ deprived of the pay of three additional
 “ battalions of Seapoys *?” It will, in all probability, be unnecessary to keep up these three battalions, now that the Tanjorines have their natural prince restored to them: and if it shall be thought expedient, on whatever account, to retain them in the service, the Raja will surely

* Letter and State, p. 39.

be ready to adjust this matter with the Company.

“ Is it a trifling consideration to the
 “ proprietors *, to lose the free gift of
 “ four hundred thousand pounds ?” I
 ask in my turn, Is this offer now made
 to them, that they may be hereby in-
 duced to dispossess the Raja of his do-
 minions, to which they have so lately
 restored him ? and as a reward for their
 doing so ? If this is the case, let the
 dishonourable gift be rejected, *as the*
wages of iniquity.

Predictions concerning the bad use
 which the Raja will make of his power
 are finally subjoined.

“ Your now reinstating Tuljagee, is
 “ just the same as establishing the French
 “ in this country ; because, when they
 “ bring their forces here, and intend
 “ hostilities, Tuljagee will provide
 “ them with bullocks, cooleys, provi-
 “ sions, &c. which will much add to
 “ their strength.”—“ You will, Gentle-
 “ men, remember, that I now foretell
 “ what is to happen †”.

* Letter and State, p. 39. † State, p. 13. 14.

But a French war, it is to be hoped, is at a great distance; and if that event were to happen, might it not be expected of the present Raja, that his conduct towards the English, his protectors, would be, at least, as favourable, as was that of his father in the last war? His circumstances placed him above the reach of such obligations as his son is now laid under. For the continued and important services that were then performed by Pertaub-Sing, the English owe a lasting kindness to his family. And if the Raja, in any after time, should begin to act a part directly opposite to his true interest, and inconsistent with his present obligations, it is evident, that it would be no difficult matter to check his progress, and to bring him under an effectual controul.

LET us now throw a few weights into the other side of the political scale, and attend, for a little, to the expediency of complying with the Nabob's request.

request. Here the following plain questions may be asked.

Is it conducive to the interest of the India Company, to raise the Nabob of Arcot to such a height of exorbitant power, as that all must bow down before him? and that their commerce, nay their establishments on the coast of Coromandel, should depend, almost entirely, on his good-will towards them? Who can secure the continuance of it, when his friendship to them shall cease to be connected with his own interest? And how can it be ascertained to the India Company, that his sons and successors shall be animated with this spirit of friendship, and will not be tempted by avarice and ambition to besiege their forts, and to expel them out of the country? Would not the execution of this design be the less difficult, if the English had no friends or allies in these southern regions, and had left no balance of power there? Is it wise, is it expedient, for the India Company, to fix their confidence upon uncertain contingencies? and to raise the family of

any prince to so great power, as will be extremely dangerous to their settlements, and commercial interest? The inexpediency, the imprudence, the egregious folly of such a conduct, is glaring, and must strike every one at first sight. Yet this is the conduct, which some are so earnestly desirous that the Company should hold at this time.

Nay, further, if they were persuaded to a compliance with the Nabob's measures, they must, at the same time, lay their account with their being soon put to heavy expence in keeping up their military force in that country. This expence is, at present, defrayed jointly by them, and the Nabob, as it serves for their mutual defence. But either he, or his successor, would naturally endeavour to get rid of an unnecessary load, to act by himself apart, and to leave the Company to pay their own troops. That they may be in a proper state of defence, an additional number must be raised, and the expence of the whole become an intolerable burden on the commerce of the Company. Some
flight

slight present advantages are to be balanced by the prospect of future heavy ills.

Besides, even these advantages are not all upon the Nabob's side in this question. The peace of the Carnatic, it is likely, would soon be affected by his increase of power and dominion. The Subah of the Decan looks upon him with a jealous eye, and holds a correspondence with the Raja of Tanjore. Hyder-Ally, and the Marattoes, seem to be favourably disposed towards the Raja; and they are the avowed enemies of the Nabob of Arcot. It would be long before the Tanjorines could be brought to submit to his government, who is neither of their nation, nor of their religion; and it is painful to think of employing force and violence, in this cause, against an industrious people.

In a word, Sir, when I take a view of the whole, I am fully persuaded, in opposition to what is pleaded in support of the Nabob's request, that the determination of the India Company, to restore

store the Raja of Tanjore to his dominions, is a just and wise measure, by which they ought to abide. This is the capital point; and their attention should be fixed here.

As to the dissensions which have, unhappily, arisen among the servants of the Company in Madras, these, I hope, will soon be brought to a period. Meanwhile, the detail of facts is so complicated, that it would be very improper for any one hastily to interpose his opinion. The gentlemen chiefly concerned will, in due time, have it in their power to give a full representation of their conduct, to wipe off aspersions that are now thrown upon some of them with a liberal hand, to make an apology for whatever may have been rash and blameable, and to set before the Honourable Company, and the public, a clear view of transactions, which are not, at present, thoroughly understood.

I am, &c.

