

would distribute about 20 or 30 Muskets amongst 1000 Men, which were put only into the Hands of those he could depend upon. They load and discharge their Pieces with great Expedition. I have seen a Negro at *Massaleage* take a Musket all to pieces, and look well into the Lock of it, before he would buy the same.

KING *Dick* being positively resolved to fight, sent to *St. Augustine's*, to desire Prince *William* to come to his Assistance, promising to serve him on any other Occasion. But he thought proper to join *Plantain*, who put his whole Army in Battle-Array, and those he entrusted with Fire-Arms were intermixed amongst those who had Lances. He had *English* Colours at the head of his part of the Army; the Party commanded by the *Dane* had *Danish* Colours; and *Adair* the *Scot* had *St. Andrew's* Colours. *Plantain* ordered the *Scotsman* should command on the Right, and the *Dane* on the Left; having intermixed several *Englishmen* amongst the Negroes, to keep them up in their firing, and not to suffer any of them to lie down. The Negro Chiefs take what Money their Men have, and compel them to fight: They seldom want Provisions; for Potatoes grow wild, and Cattle are plenty without Proprietors, except that they keep a few Cows for their own milking. When they were on their March from *Ranter-Bay* to *Massaleage*, King *Dick* was as good as his Word, met them half way, and attack'd them; but after a smart Engagement *Plantain* put him to the Rout, took some of the *Englishmen* who had persuaded King *Dick* not to comply with his Demand, and drove the rest quite out of the Field; after which they dispersed,

dispersed, and shifted for themselves as well as they could. As for the *Englishmen* he had taken, he ordered a great Fire to be kept burning all Night, and the hot Coals to be scattered about, and made them run to and fro bare-footed upon them, and ordered the Negroes to throw Lances at them, till by these Tortures they expired.

AFTER this Success, he resolved to be revenged on King *Kelly*, who had deserted him, and had been join'd by Part of King *Dick's* scattered Forces. To this end, he put himself on his March with his Forces, and came up with *Kelly*; on which ensued a smart Encounter, which lasted a whole Day, each Party being supported by the *English*, some of whom were on one side, some on the other. *Plantain* maintaining his Ground with great Resolution, the other Party desired a Parley, but was refused, and they continued the Fight till it was so very dark, that they were obliged to give over. They had a great Number of Men kill'd and wounded on both sides, but they kept a very good Guard, resolving to renew the Fight in the Morning; and in the mean time *Plantain* encouraged his Men, by distributing some Brandy among 'em. *Kelly* and King *Dick* seemed resolved to defend themselves to the utmost of their power; but early in the Morning *Plantain's* Men attack'd them with fresh Vigour, put them to the Rout, and took many of them Prisoners; among whom were *John Darby* of the Town of *Chester*, and *William Mills* of *Gosport*, near *Portsmouth*; who were after tortur'd to Death in a most cruel and inhuman manner. Capt. *England* was now in great Distress, and could not well tell how

to live; but coming to Prince *William* of *St. Augustine's Bay*, he there met with seven or eight of his old Ship-mates, who supported him for some time, and Prince *William* resolving to come down to *Plantain's* Assistance, they agreed to accompany him.

*PLANTAIN*, to make the most he could of his Victory, pursued the Enemy over to the Town of *Massaleage*; but found a stronger Resistance there, than he imagin'd; for he could not force the Town, the Enemy firing from Houses, &c. which obliged him to retreat. This so enraged *Plantain*, that he resolved to cut the two Kings of *Massaleage* and *Manna-gore* to pieces, or put them to the most cruel Deaths whenever he had them in his Power.

THE *Europeans* who were dispersed about the Island, came soon to hear of these Disturbances; and some of them propos'd to attempt the taking of *Plantain's* Castle; but the Place being guarded by Cannon, and a River very near the Place, the Design was laid aside.

I observed, at the time that the *Salisbury* lay at *St. Mary's* Island, the first Morning we were there, some hundreds of Canoes go from thence to *Ranter-Bay*; but who they had on board, we could not be sure, tho' some supposed they were full of White Men: But the Account we had of all the White Men there, both *Dutch* and *English*, was not near the Number there seem'd to be. It was more likely that these Canoes conveyed away the Treasure which *Plantain*, *Adair*, and the *Dane* had concealed there, for fear of its being discover'd. At that time they were on the Island of *St. Mary*, it

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being a Place they frequented for Recreation or Pleasure, about ten or twelve Miles distant from *Ranter-Bay*. The Night we lay there, we were very watchful, keeping our People constantly from the Poop, calling to them on the Fore-castle, for fear the Natives in their Canoes should, conducted by the Pyrates, make an Attempt to surprize us. But they were more frightened at the sight of us, than what we imagined, as we were afterwards informed. A Man came on board the *Shoreham* at *St. Augustine's Bay*, who was a Gun-stock Maker, and had been amongst the Pyrates. The Account he gave of himself was, that he shipp'd himself Armourer of a Ship which sailed from *London*, but belong'd to *Bristol*, on a Voyage to *Madagascar*, in order to procure Slaves. This Man (whose Name was *Thomas Lloyd*, who formerly lived in the Minorics,) said he was left with six more of their Men on the Island, and had suffered very much by a petty Prince called *King Caleb*; that had it not been for Prince *William*, they should have been murder'd. That when the Pyrates were there, that Prince would not let them go out of his House; for he told them, that the Natives were Rogues, and that he was resolv'd to preserve them, two of whom, however, soon after died. That these Pyrates live in a most wicked profligate manner, and would often ramble from Place to Place, and sometimes have the Misfortune of meeting some of the Natives, who would put them to lingering Deaths, by tying their Arms to a Tree, and putting lighted Matches between their Fingers; that they served two of his Ship-Mates in the like manner, and would stand and laugh at them during the time of their Agonies.

This



This I think was a just Retaliation to the Pyrates for the inhuman Barbarities they are guilty of.

THE Natives here are very deceitful, seldom true to their Promises, and no longer your Friends, than you keep feeding them with such Presents as they want. In their way of contracting Friendship with each other, or any Stranger with whom they have a mind to hold a Correspondence, 'tis their Custom to come down to the Sea-side, and drink the Salt-water together, and to swear by the same their faithful Intentions to each other. This they are very sure to keep, if such an Agreement is entered into by any Number of them: For they inflict a very severe Punishment on those who any ways infringe it. *Plantain* had bound most of his Allies under this sacred Oath of Fidelity, which King *Kelly* had also taken.

THE Wars between *Plantain* and these petty Princes were carried on for near two Years; when *Plantain* having got the better of them, put several of his Enemies to Death in a most barbarous manner. As to King *Kelly*, he escaped *Plantain's* Fury as yet, and fled for *Port Dolphin*, where his Brother was a King; but *Plantain* sent over to him, and forbid him to harbour him, for if he did, he would certainly destroy his whole Dominions, as he had done those of *Massaleage* and *Mannagore*. But *Kelly's* Brother boldly defy'd him, and sent him back a very resolute Answer, resolving to defend his Brother's Cause. *Kelly* was a bold and undaunted Man, and had on several Occasions shew'd his Courage.

KING *Dick*, and all that belong'd to him, were taken by *Plantain*; however the Lady, on

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whose account these Wars were begun, prov'd to be with Child by one of the *Englishmen* which *Plantain* had murder'd. This so much inrag'd him, that he ordered King *Dick* to be put to the same cruel Death as the *English* and *Dutchmen* had suffered. He now was resolv'd to march for *Port Dolphin*, as much to replenish his Stores, as to be revenged on King *Kelly*; who, conjointly with the *Dane*, had conceal'd a great Hoard of Jewels and Money at *Port-Dolphin*, in an unfrequented Wood, which he was inform'd of by an Intimate of theirs, who alone they had intrusted with this Secret, and who had deserted to *Plantain*.

WHEN I proceeded from *Chimnab* to *Broderah*, after I had been taken by the *Sangareens*, there came to *Guzurat* two *Dutchmen* and three *Portuguese*; one of the *Portuguese* was named *Anthony de Silvestro*, and had been brought up by Capt. *Westerby* of *Poplar*, talk'd very good *English*. They all came from *Surat* to take on in the *Moors* Service, as many of the *English* do. This *Anthony* told me, he had been amongst the *Pirates*, and that he belong'd to one of the Sloops in *Virginia*, when *Blackbeard* was taken. He inform'd me, that if it should be my lot ever to go to *York River* or *Maryland*, near an Island called *Mulberry Island*, provided we went on shore at the Watering Place, where the Shipping used most commonly to ride, that there the *Pirates* had buried considerable Sums of Money in great Chests, well clamp'd with Iron Plates. As to my part, I never was that way, nor much acquainted with any that ever used those Parts: But I have made Enquiry, and am inform'd there is such a Place as *Mulberry Island*.

If

If any Person, who uses those Parts, should think it worth while to dig a little way at the upper End of a small sandy Cove, where it is convenient to land, he would soon find whether the Information I had was well grounded. Fronting the Landing-place are five Trees, amongst which, he said, the Money was hid. I cannot warrant the Truth of this Account; but if I was ever to go there, I would by some means or other satisfy myself, as it could not be a great deal out of my way. If any body should obtain any Benefit by this Account, if it please G O D they ever come to *England*, 'tis hoped they will remember the Author for his Information.

AFTER *Plantain* had put King *Dick* to death, and those *Dutch* and *English* who had fought against him, he march'd to the King of *Massaleage's* Dominions, and found a great deal of Treasure at King *Dick's* House, and great Store of such Sort of Grain as the Island produc'd, which *Plantain* order'd to be pack'd up, and sent to *Ranter-Bay*. As to the Inhabitants, he sent great Numbers of them down to *Ranter-Bay*, made Slaves of them, and caused them to form several Plantations of Sugar-Canes, and after brought the same to great Perfection. So soon as he had cleared the Town, he caused his Men to set the same on fire, and then went to King *Kelly's* chief Town, and did the same there. He found but little Subsistence in all these Dominions; for *Kelly* was a subtle, sly Fellow who took care of himself; and so soon as he found that *Plantain* was on the victorious Side, he fled in the Night from his Associates, came to *Maunagora*, secured all he had of any Value

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there, and then fled to *Port Dolphin* to his Brother, where he sheltered himself for a time, till *Plantain* came again with an Army, and totally demolished both one and the other; for he now tyranniz'd over the Natives all over the Island. After he had burnt King *Kelly's* Town, he came down to *Ranter-Bay*, bringing the Lady before mention'd with him, which he accounted the chief Trophy of his Victory; who tho' she was with Child, he accepted of, and was much enamoured with her. This Woman having chiefly been brought up under the Care of her Father, who was by all Accounts a very honest Man, and was by him actually left behind at that Place; he had taught her the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments, and gave her an Insight into the Christian Faith; but not having the Conveniency of Books, he could not so fully instruct her as he desired. By this Wife, *Plantain* has had several Children. When he brought her to *Ranter-Bay*, he made a grand Entertainment, and gave her the whole Government of his Household Affairs, discharging several of his other Women. This *Eleanor Brown* would often talk to him concerning Religion, ask him after God; and according to her Father's Directions, say her Prayers Night and Morning: On which account, *Plantain* used to say he had now got a religious Wife; but yet took what she said in good part. He cloath'd her with the richest Jewels and Diamonds he had, and gave her twenty Girl Slaves to wait on her. It was this Woman that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* would have been great with; for which Attempt *Plantain* shot him dead on the Spot. This *Lisle* was the fourth Mate to Capt.

*Benson,*

*Benson* of the *Dawson East-India Man*; for I was sent on board of them off *Mount Dilley*, where he and the Captain had some very high Disputes, on which the Captain had confin'd him in Irons for a Mutiny; which *Lisle*, together with an Ensign of the Guards design'd for *Bombay*, had bred on board the said Ship. After I had acquainted Capt. *Cockburn* of what Capt. *Benson* alledged against them, the Captain sent me to fetch them on board of us. The Commodore was inform'd of this Affair, and he ordered that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* should walk the Quarter-Deck on board of the *Salisbury* (which was the Ship I then belong'd to) and do the Duty of a Midshipman. When we arrived at *Charnotk Point*, Mr. *Lisle* run away from us the second or third time of his going on shore. At his first coming on board Capt. *Cockburn*, (who always had a Regard for what Station a Man had serv'd in) he desired, as he was a Stranger on board, that I would let him mess with me: which I did, with the Captain's Approbation. But soon saw he was not only a quarrelsome Fellow, but one that was malicious, and slothful in performing his Duty. He said he was the Nephew of Capt. *Lisle* of *Stepney*, who formerly commanded the *Berwick* Man of War. I had his Note for Three Pound ten Shillings for Conveniencies he had of me; for tho' he was an Officer on board the *Dawson*, he was very bare, and had made away with most of his Effects. The Captain alledged, that he had broke open several Chests of Liquor in the Hold, and had convey'd it to his own Use; which was afterwards sufficiently prov'd against him. If he has any Friends now living,

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who have never heard of his End, this Account will be a Confirmation to them of his fatal Destiny, being killed by the Hand of a pyritical King, as mentioned before. They may find him stand entered for his Majesty's Ship the *Salisbury* in the Month of *February* 1721-2, and run at *Charnock Point* on the Island of *Madagascar* in the *April* following 1722.

NOW *Plantain* had taken a considerable time to recover from his Fatigue, and recruit his Forces, which at last he did, tho' not with the desired Expedition: And after he had made sure of the Treasure he and the *Dane* had concealed, they got all things in readiness, and went over to *St. Mary's* Island to Capt. *Avery's* Castle, and took from thence some Materials which they wanted, and being join'd by his Allies, he gave Order for his whole Forces to march for *Port Dolphin*, but they were very much fatigu'd in their way. Here young Capt. *Avery*, or *Molatto Tom*, as they generally call'd him, was of great Service to him, and kept a regular Discipline amongst the Army. This *Molatto Tom* was one that was so much fear'd amongst them, that at the very sight of him, they would seem to tremble. They often would have made him a King, but he never would take that Title upon him. He was a Man of tall Stature, very clean-limb'd, and of a pleasant Countenance. He had Hair on his Head, and no Wool; which I have often admired at, having seen several of this Mongrel Breed, who have all had Wool on their Heads. He had long black Hair like the *Malabar* or *Bengal Indians*; which made me think he might be the Son of Capt. *Avery*, got on some of the *Indian*

dian Women he took in the *Moors* Ship, which had the *Grand Magul's* Daughter on board. This is very probable; for he said he could not remember his Mother, but that he suck'd a black *Madagascar* Woman, which for some Years he took for his Mother, till he was told his Mother died when he was an Infant.

DURING the Season that *Plantain* was at his Castle, the time was spent in great Mirth and Entertainments amongst the *English* that were there under his Protection. Several new Songs were made in token of his Victories, and at the End of almost every Verse was pronounced, *Plantain King of Ranter-Bay*; which he seem'd mightily pleas'd with, as well as with Dances perform'd, by great Bodies of the Natives. After he had destroy'd *King Dick*, and *King Kelly*, he established two Kings in their stead, leaving them to rebuild and make good what he had demolished. They were also tributary to him, and sent him in every Month, a certain number of Cattle of all sorts that the Places afforded; and they were to keep the Lands in good order, and to pay him Tribute for all sorts of Grain, Sugar-Canes, &c.

WHEN we were at *Mannagore*, we had the Opportunity of seeing several Entertainments by the Women of that Place, who came down and offered their Service to any that thought proper to accept of them. They gathered every Night one Hundred or more of them together, and formed a sort of hollow Square, where they used to sing and dance in their way. Amongst all these Women, they never have above two or three Men who dance with them and play on the Musick to them. This Island of *Madagascar*

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*car* is very safe for Travellers, there being no manner of wild Beasts there to annoy them.

WE must return again to our majestick Pyrate. He now put himself on his Journey toward *Port Dolphin*, destroying all in his way that opposed him ; being filled with Revenge against King *Kelly* and his Brother. But the King at *Port Dolphin* had strongly fortified himself, having got up some Guns that the Pyrates had left there, and in a very odd manner mounted them on old Carriages which had no Wheels. But the Natives in *Plantain's* Army were very much frightened at the sight of the Guns, and he was informed that some of them design'd to betray him, if possible. *Molatto Tom*, or young Capt. *Avery*, immediately seized some of those suspected, and by torturing two or three of them severely, entirely quash'd their Design. *Plantain* was not furnished with Tents and other Utensils fit for carrying on a Siege ; for the Trees were his chief Covering : and he was incumbered with a great deal of Baggage. As to Provisions, they were daily in quest after them, plundering all the Towns and Villages they came near ; and if they made the least Opposition, they would fire their Habitations, and leave them to repair them against they came back. In the Height of this Siege the *Dane* was kill'd, which very much troubled *Plantain*, for he was near a Year and a half before he compleated his Design, and was forced twice in the time to return to *Ranter-Bay* ; and he was under a Necessity to make what Expedition he could, for there were two or three other Kings who had laid Siege to his Castle, while he was employed at *Port Dolphin* ; but those he had intrusted,

proved



proved so true to him, that they maintain'd it till he came. When he was within a Day's March, he met with a strong Opposition, and was forced to fight his way down to the River; which so soon as they in the Castle observed his Colours moving down to the River, they sent all their Canoos over directly, and mann'd them very well: for he never left the Castle without four or five hundred Men to take care of the Place. The Enemy once had brought a great number of their Canoos in order to make a Bridge there, to have cross'd over; but they which had possession of the Castle, sallied out amongst them, took several of them, cut off their Heads, and stuck them on high Stakes, for Proofs of their Fidelity to their Master in his Absence, which pleas'd *Plantain* very well. So soon as he got possession of his Fort, he made the Enemy sheer off; for he kept a continual Fire amongst them for a whole Day, and the next Morning mann'd all his Canoos, and pursued them to the side of a Wood near his Town, where they shelter'd themselves, and did *Plantain's* Men a great deal of Damage. This so enrag'd him, that he gave order for his Head General, *Molatto Tom*, to draw off a great Body of People, and to make the best of his way to their chief Towns, declaring he would follow in a small time with the rest of his Forces. On this they march'd with the utmost haste, to save their Towns from Destruction. This was a sort of warlike Stratagem they had never heard of before in this Island.

*PLANTAIN* was resolv'd that he would now make himself King of *Madagastar*, and govern there with absolute Power and Authority.

He kept now near 1000 Slaves, which he employed constantly on the Fortifications of his Castle ; and had he acted as Capt. *Avery* did, would certainly have made a very strong Place of his chief Residence ; for Capt. *Avery* only took to the Island of *St. Mary*, and seldom or ever troubled the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* for any thing except Supplies of Provision. Capt. *Kidd*, who also was on the Island, and in the *East-Indies* at *Carwar*, and hove down at *Ducky Rock*, (which is to this Day called *Kidd's Island*) very much annoy'd the Inhabitants, having his whole Body of People with him, who used to go in great Companies and plunder the Inhabitants, which afterwards made them afraid of ever doing any thing to serve the *English*.

WE left *Plantain* in pursuit of his Enemy, that had come to demolish his Castle, and young Capt. *Avery* marching by way of Diversion to attack their chief Towns ; one of which he had set on fire, and then returned back to *Plantain's* Castle, carrying several Men, Women, and Children with him. But Part of this Town was saved by their Forces, who arrived quickly after *Molatto Tom* had retired, and extinguished the Flames. While they were busied in saving what they could of their Town, *Plantain* came down with the other part of his Forces, and made a sad massacre amongst them, took one of their Kings and near 500 Men Prisoners. After this Success, being near *St. Augustine's Bay*, he was minded to go with Prince *William* to see how all his Acquaintance did in those Parts. He had not been long there before there arrived three Interlopers which belonged to *Bristol*, and wanted Negroes. This suited *Plantain* very well ; for  
he

he soon disposed of several hundred of his Prisoners, as well as Women and Children, and sent them on board these Ships, which were called the *Renown*, *Princess*, and *Mermaid*, all belonging to *Bristol*, who all got their Freight immediately. They gave *Plantain* several Invitations to come on board, which he refused.

NOW Prince *William* and his Uncle raised fresh Recruits for *Plantain*, who made them fine Presents, and acknowledged their Friendship: They also called him, *The Great King of Madagascar*. These Ships had purchased their Freights at a cheap Rate; what they gave in Exchange, consisted of great Quantities of Beads, a small Number of Fire-Arms, some Powder and Shot; and the Commanders gave *Plantain* two Suits of their fine lac'd Clothes for his own wear; they also let him have Shoes, Stockings, Hats, and such things as they could most conveniently spare. It pleas'd *Plantain* very much, that these Ships happen'd to come there at this time, for he would have been glad to have disposed of them for any thing, rather than have kept them. They also spared him what Liquor they could, and left several trifling Presents for his Wives. Having their whole Cargoes, they got their Ships with all speed in a sailing Posture, and put to Sea. These Ships brought him the Account of Capt. *Roberts's* being taken and executed at *Cape-Coast-Castle*, and that most of his Men were hang'd in Chains. This gave a little Shock to *Plantain*, who was in hopes to have seen *Chocolate-Hole* again.

BUT to return from this Digression: The King of *Port Dolphin* and *Kelly* his Brother, had given Directions for most part of their Army to march

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march towards *Port Dolphin*, it being only a few Miles from *St. Augustine's Bay* to that Port. *Plantain* in the mean time had sent the chiefeft part of what he had got in return for his Negroes to his Castle, which being very heavy Commodities, were above a whole Month before they got them to *Ranter-Bay*; it being about four or five hundred Miles from *Port Dolphin* thither, and near the same distance from *St. Augustine's Bay*. They had a very good Guard, commanded by two *Englishmen*.

*PLANTAIN* now arrived near *Port Dolphin*, being resolved to make an end of the War that Summer: In his March he destroy'd several Towns belonging to the King of *Port Dolphin*, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword. This struck such a Terror amongst the Inhabitants of *Port Dolphin*, that they address'd their King to make Peace, and surrender up *Kelly*. But he refused their Advice, and put himself in the best Posture of Defence he could. *Plantain* advanc'd, and laid Siege to the Place. He had seized on two Pieces of Cannon that were left at *St. Augustine's Bay*, which he had now mounted on Carriages, and employed several Yoke of Oxen to draw them. With these he made such a continual Fire upon the Garrison of *Port Dolphin*, that he soon quash'd their Courage, and in ten Days from their first firing against the Place, it was surrender'd at Discretion. Here he made a sad Piece of Work, exercising great Barbarity upon the Inhabitants: But it was near a Week before he found either the King or *Kelly*; whom he some time after put to death in a cruel manner.

HAVING

HAVING subdued *Port Dolphin*, he made Prince *William* Viceroy of that Dominion; and several other Districts he appointed to the petty Princes who had assisted him in his Wars, and who were to be tributary to him. He was now absolute Monarch of the whole Island, and the Inhabitants brought in all manner of Refreshments to him with great Submission. When we were there in the *Salisbury*, the Natives seem'd very subject to him; tho' I think we might at that time have surprized him, and brought him away, which would have prevented the Mischiefs he has since done.

AFTER *Plantain* arriv'd at his Castle, he made several great and splendid Entertainments, to which he invited all the *Dutch*, *French*, and *English* in the Island, amongst the rest was Capt. *England*, who was at that time very weak, and did not live above a Month; and 'twas said his Death was occasion'd by the severe Stings of his Conscience for his wicked Course of Life, and the Injuries he had done to several, by robbing them of their Properties. This is a thing that seldom happens to those sort of Men, who are so hardned in their Impieties, that to outward Appearance they seldom feel any Remorse. He seem'd very penitent some time before his Death, and hoped that God would forgive him his Sins, desiring his Companions to leave off that Course of Life. *Plantain* having called all the *Europeans* together, extended his liberality amongst them. Some of them seem'd to dislike their present abode, and wish'd that they were at some Place or other near the Coast of *India*, where they might separate themselves, for their better getting to *Europe*. They

all acknowledged *Plantain* their chief Commander, and called him King. Upon mustering their Men, they missed half the Number they had when they came to settle there ; for according to the Account I had from Dr. *William Moore*, they lost near 60 or 70 of the *English* by Sicknefs, and in the several Engagements before mentioned.

*PLANTAIN* being now weary of his Kingship, resolved to quit his Territories (with the Advice and Consent of his Comrades) and to leave the Natives in quiet possession of their Properties; either urg'd to it by the Remorse of his own Conscience, or acting on the Principle of Self-Preservation (which is most likely) as he found his Associates decrease daily, and could not depend on the Fidelity of the Natives, whom he had used in so barbarous a manner. To this End he determined to build a Sloop big enough to carry them and their chief Effects to the Coast of *India* ; and provided they found no Refuge in any other place, they would all go to *Angria*, and offer him their Service for some time at least, till Opportunity should suit for their getting to *Europe*. They were a long time in building this Sloop, having but two Carpenters among them ; but on this occasion all their Hands endeavoured to aid and assist : and at last they made shift to patch up a Sloop, and get her into the Water. They had Compasses and other Mathematical Instruments, but were at a loss for skilful Persons to make use of them. There was a *Dutchman* among them who had been in *Angria's* Service before, and was in the *English* Service against *Angria* at *Gersey*. This Man was taken in the *India-man* by

by Capt. *England*, and after that entered voluntarily with the Pyrates. During the time the Sloop was building, they did not let the Natives know their Intentions, pretending it was only for a Pleasure-boat. They were hard put to it to get Iron-work for fixing the Rudder of their Sloop; but supplied themselves by sending some of their Hands to *St. Mary's*, where they took a Rudder which belonged to a Vessel that they had sunk, and got off all the Iron-work. They had Cordage sufficient, and carried the Sloop to *St. Mary's*, where they rigg'd her. Having fix'd her Sails, they got on board all their Treasure, and *Plantain* took his Wife *Nelly* along with him; and then set sail. When they came to *Johanna*, they could not help playing their old Game over again, as we had an Account by a Ship which went a trading Voyage round those Islands. This Ship belong'd to the *Moors* at *Bengal*, and had several *Englishmen* on board, who they would have persuaded to go with them. They plunder'd some of the Inhabitants, made them no Recompence for what they had of them, and took two or three Quills of Cordage out of the *Moors* Man; nay, once they had Thoughts of seizing the Ship, but imagin'd they were not strong enough to work her. They left *Johanna* in the Month of *June*, in the Height of the Monsoons on the Coast of *India*. They after touch'd at a small Island, where they made a Disturbance amongst the Inhabitants, setting fire to their Houses, and leaving the Place mostly in Ashes. When they came on the Coast of *India*, they had like to have been lost on the Island of *Bombay*, but the *Dutchman* took on him to run down to *Geray* with them; for the Weather

Weather was so bad, that none of our *Bombay* Vessels could venture out to see who they were. They buried nine of their Crew in their Passage, and had not above 21 of them left. When they came to *Gerrey*, they surrendered themselves to *Angria's* chief Commander ; he not being there himself. When they declared on what Account they were come, they were receiv'd very joyfully, and word was sent directly to *Angria*, who was then at *Allabeg*, his chief Place of Residence, whither they were all sent. When *Angria* saw them, he was mightily pleas'd, judging them to be good Sailors, which he much wanted. Some time after, six of them run away to the *Portuguese*, pretending they were cast away on *Angria's* Coast, and had made their Escape; and by this means they got to *Bengal*, where I had a large Account of all their Proceedings.

WHEN *Angria* came to understand what course of Life *Plantain* had lived, and what a valiant fighting Man he was, he entertained him in a magnificent manner. *Angria* has Houses very finely built and furnish'd, which was what *Plantain* had never been accommodated with: So that when he saw the State and Grandeur he lived in, he judg'd there was a great deal of Difference in their way of living on the Coast of *India*, from what there was in the Island of *Madagascar*. Here were stately Houses built with Stone, fine strong fortified Castles, and fine Horses, pleasant Gardens to recreate themselves, pleasant Fruits, good *Persia* Wine, and plenty of Arrack. All these things so transported the Pyrate, that he now thought himself in a sort of Paradise ; and *Angria*, the more to encourage him,



him, sent for all the dancing Girls, and order'd a magnificent Supper to be got for them, and dress'd after their own manner. They were entertained with such Grandeur, that *Plantain* was at a loss how to behave himself, having been so us'd to a brutish way of living at *Madagascar*: for tho' *Angria* is an Enemy to the *English* Nation, he is a Sovereign in his own Dominions, which are now pretty extensive.

I gave an Account in the preceeding History, by what means *Angria* had gain'd the Friendship of the Grand Sedey, whose Sister *Angria* married, and who gave him the Island of *Kenerey*, in consideration of the good Services he had done in the Sedey's Wars with the Mogul. He also furnish'd him with Vessels, Men and Ammunition; whereby he soon became terrible to the trading Ships, several of which he seized, as Opportunity offer'd. He had been long settled in *Kenerey*, before his Ambition led him to enlarge his Possession, and sending to his Brother-in-law for Assistance, he went down the Coast as low as *Debull*; there he attack'd the People belonging to *Kemshew*, and took *Geray*, where the *Portuguese* had formerly built a strong Fortification, and then he begun to take Possession of a large Tract of Land on the Continent; and also increase his Naval Forces, by taking several Ships belonging to the *Moors*, and other trading People. The Grand Sedey seeing his ambitious Spirit, and the Success which Fortune join'd to all his Undertakings, sent him all the Aid he from time to time requir'd. He then extended his Dominions further up into the inland Country, and demolish'd several Settlements of the *Portuguese*; and proceeding in this

Method,

Method for some Years, he grew very rich; and having defeated *Kemisbew* in several Engagements, he was fearful that he would over-run his whole Country, on which account he agreed to become tributary to him. For a further strengthening this Contract, *Kemisbew* offered his Daughter to him for a Wife, which *Angria* accepted, and had for her Portion a large Tract of Land further up in the Country, and a Town called *Purab-Purab*.

IN a short time after he took one of the *Rodger* of *Carwar's* Ships, which was come from *Muscat* loaded with Horses. This was a very considerable prize to him; for being now furnished with some Horses, he resolved to keep up a standing Army, tho' a very small one. He therefore sent the Horses over to *Gerey*, and gave the Charge of them to such Men as he found to be the most experienc'd in the Arts of Horsemanship. He now had a great mind to make himself Master of the Fort of *Golaby*, which was then possess'd by the *Portuguese*, and probably might prove a very difficult Undertaking. But his Ambition led him on to the most arduous Enterprizes; and having Men sufficient to go and fight for him, left off hazarding his own Person, and generally sent a Commander whom he thought endued with Conduct sufficient to obtain his Designs. If they chanced by any Misconduct to be defeated, he would put them to death so soon as they returned; but if they behaved well, he generously rewarded them.

HE now had extended his Dominions near two hundred Miles of Land, very well inhabited, and could raise a very powerful Army among his own Subjects. *Golaby* lies very near

to

to *Kenerey*, and the Island of *Kenerey* is in sight of it. But *Kenerey* being at that time in the Grand *Sedey's* Possession, he as yet did not think proper to make any attempt on it. He was resolved to possess himself of *Golaby*, and for that end ordered an Army to march and lay Siege to it. The *Portuguese* at this time had lost one of their *Grabs*, and several Vessels belonging to their Armada coming from *Mangalore* loaded with Rice; which *Angria's* Ships had taken: This had struck a kind of Panick amongst them; and when *Angria's* *Sabberdaws*, or chief General, appeared with an Army before *Golaby*, they quitted their Possession, and fled to *Correnjar* and *Chowle*, and never once made any Opposition against them. It was said they had not any Ammunition or Provisions to sustain a Siege, which was the Reason of this Conduct.

*ANGRIA's* General soon sent over to acquaint him, that he had compleated his Order, and that all things were in Readiness for his Reception. On this he quitted the Island of *Kenerey*, which was put under the care of one his head *Sabberdaws*, giving him order, if ever he was besieged, to send for whatever Assistance he had occasion for, and he should be supplied.

THE *English* all this while seem'd under no Apprehensions from this Increase of *Angria's* Strength. The Island of *Kenerey* is very small, not above a Mile and a half in Circumference, which one would think not worth looking after; but being on a Rock, which must be allowed the best Place for a Fort, it has proved very detrimental to the *English*, lying just in the Mouth of the Harbour of *Bombay*, so that no Ship

Ship, Boat or Vessel can pass or repass without being attack'd by *Angria's* Grabs, if he sees a Probability of succeeding. Here they always keep great Store of all manner of Provision for the Supply of the Inhabitants of the Island in case of an Attack.

I have in my first part of this History given an Account of the Renegado *Portuguese*, who was entrusted as Admiral of the Galleywats at the Siege of *Allabeg*, and so shamefully betray'd his Trust; and who was sent to *St. Helena* in the *Morrice*, Capt. *Eustace Peacock*, where he left the said Villain in the Hands of the *English* Governor. This Man by his fair Speeches and Behaviour had so far gain'd the good Opinion of Governor *Pyke*, that he made him Overseer of the Company's Negroes or Slaves in that Plantation. This *Portuguese* soon infus'd such Notions into the Heads of these Slaves, that they were near upon rising and cutting off all the Inhabitants in the Night; but by the Providence of God, Capt. *Slater* was inform'd of this Plot, by one of his own Servants, and prevented the intended Mischief. The Governor then seized this Villain, and confin'd him in a Dungeon, and the Boy also who was with him, where keeping him for some time, till one of the Store-ships arriv'd, he sent him to *Bencoolen*, where the Rogue had like to have rais'd all the *Molwys*, and to have been the Cause of having the whole Settlement cut off. From thence they transported him to *Madrafs*, and there he soon obtain'd his Liberty, and got into the *Mogul's* Dominions. From thence he has since got to his old Master *Angria*, and is now one of his Head Gunners.

BUT

BUT to return from this Digression : After *Angria* had got Possession of the Fort of *Golaby*, he set himself up as next Heir to the Grand Sedey, and laid very heavy Taxes on his Subjects, in order to support his Grandure. He also attack'd and took some *European* Ships trading on the Coast, which strengthen'd and elated him very much. The Grand Sedey had been his chief Support, and given him the Island of *Kenercy* ; he now wanted that of *Henercy*, and also a Fort which belong'd to the Grand Sedey, called *Allabeg*, which we attack'd, as mention'd before. This incroaching Temper the Grand Sedey did not approve of ; wherefore he sent to him to know, whether, if he should grant him that Favour, he would not, in time, require other parts of his Dominions ; and therefore refused his Request. *Angria* at this Refusal took such disgust, that he resolv'd to have this place by some Stratagem or other ; and having renewed a Correspondence with the *Portuguese*, they supplied him with Powder and Ball, and all manner of Utensils to further his Projects. On which account he confirm'd a Peace with the *Portuguese* for a small time, as suited his own Conveniency : so that after he had stock'd his Magazines with all manner of warlike Stores, he sent to the Sedey to demand *Allabeg*. The Grand Sedey being a very powerful Prince thought at once to crush him, and sent a considerable Army against him ; but he had taken care to be well provided for their Reception, and sent to King *Kemsbew*, to request his immediate aid. By his help, and a considerable Army of his own, he attack'd and mastered *Allabeg* before the Sedey's Forces could come down

down to its Relief. In it he was much assisted by the *Portuguese*, and two *Dutch* Engineers, by whose Direction so quick a Fire was continued, that the Garrison was soon obliged to surrender, and *Angria* took Possession of the said Fort the Day before the Sedey's Army appeared in Sight. The Garrison had no Engineers among them to direct their Cannon, nor had *Angria* any, except a few *Portuguese*, and the two *Dutchmen* before mentioned. However, the Grand Sedey was very much enraged, to think that *Angria* should prove so ungrateful, as he was his Relation, and had received several Favours from him, (for he really thought him to be the true-born Son of his own Sister.) The Sedey's Army was ordered to the Island of *Henerey*, which is very low and flat, and near to that part of the Sedey's Country as joins to *Correnjar*, a City inhabited by the *Portuguese*, from whom the Sedey expected Assistance. The *Portuguese*, on the other hand, were willing to get the *Sedees* routed and turn'd out of this Island, which was so near to them. They therefore sent and desired *Angria* to be expeditious in all his Undertakings, and that they were willing to assist him as privately as possible. These Accounts I have had confirm'd to me from the most ancient Men on the Island of *Bombay*.

HAVING but slightly treated of these Matters in the first part of the *Historical Account of the Wars of Bombay*, I shall now give a more particular Relation of *Angria* and his Land-Wars. The Sedey's Forces strengthening the Fortifications on the Island of *Henerey*, seem'd resolv'd to maintain their Possession, and

to

to demolish *Angria* if he should attack them. They sent the useless Inhabitants from the Island, to another part of the Sedey's Dominions, and demolished the Town before *Angria's* Forces arrived. They put all their Trust in the Strength of the Fort, having near forty Pieces of Cannon mounted; which had they been managed in a regular Method, would have dispersed the best Army that *Angria* had; tho' he scarce would entertain any as Officers in his Service either by Land or Sea, but Men of approved Experience. Under the Conduct of these, he put some young Volunteers to learn the Art of War; and would very generously encourage his Soldiers or Seamen, when they behaved well. After he had taken the Island of *Golaby*, he seldom commanded himself, but intrusted those whom he confided in to conduct his Forces. There were six or eight *Jenters Sepoys*, and two Fishermen who came away with him when he left the Island of *Bombay*; these Men he put much Confidence in, and they having had great Experience, in the *English* Service at *Bombay*, and being Men of Courage, were promoted to be his chief *Anuabobs* or Generals. Two of them were intrusted with the chief Command of the Island of *Kenerey*, and *Gerry*, and were very diligent in keeping a most regular Discipline in their several Jurisdictions, for fear of the Inhabitants, who were very much oppressed.

*ANGRIA* now thought of sending his Army to attack the Island of *Henerey*; this Island has a small River running round it, and falls into *Pen River* on the Back of *Correnjar*, and from thence into the Harbour of *Bombay*.

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*Angria's*

*Angria's* Galleywats usually lie in this River, from whence they come out and interrupt the *English* Fishery; which has caused many to forsake the Place for fear of coming under his Power. 'Tis very surprising to me, to think how the Inhabitants of the Island of *Bombay* secured themselves from his Attempts before Governor *Boone* came, when they had no manner of Guard for the Island, nor no Protection for the Merchants Trade on the Sea-Coast: In this unguarded Posture we found the said Island at our Arrival.

BUT to return: *Angria* now laid Siege to the Fort of *Henerey*, which the *Sedees* defended near three Months, and lost a great Number of Men; but they were forc'd at last to quite possession and retire. Before they left the Fort, they demolished great part of the Walls, and nailed up most of their Cannon: so that when *Angria's* Forces took Possession, they could not make much use of the Fort and Town. On which account *Angria* settled his Fishery there, which remains to this Day the chiefest Place of their Residence, almost all the Inhabitants belonging to the Fishery. He there appointed a chief Officer of Justice to keep them in regular Order, and to receive Tribute or Toll for him, by which he had much impoverish'd the Fishermen, who could scarce afford to maintain their Families, tho' they live in those Parts at a very cheap Rate.

BUT tho' *Angria* had got such great Possessions on the Continent, yet still he was in want of Grain and Fruits for the Support of his Army; occasion'd by the Devastations made by the Forces on each side. The *Sedey* was full of  
Resent-



*and of Angria the Pyrate, &c.* 147

Resentment at the Conduct and Behaviour of *Angria*, but being at War also with the Grand Mogul, and forc'd to support an Army for the Saie-guard of his Capital Towns and Cities, he could not at present chastise him as he design'd. Besides, he was apprehensive that the Mogul, hearing of these Disturbances, might send an Army to join *Angria*, and attack him on all sides at once. The whole Country was all in Confusion; and the Grand Sedey ordered *Angria* to be declared an Impostor, and not his Sister's Son. But it was now too late, for several great Men had join'd him; he had also well peopled some Towns, and enlarg'd them, appointing Officers of Justice to act there in his Name, and to demand such Tribute as they should think convenient. *Angria* was once oblig'd to take off his Taxes for fear of a Rebellion; but that fear being over, in a short time he laid heavier Loads on them than before. He was at several times attacked by Parties of the Sedey's Army, but generally came off with Conquest.

THE *Rodger* of *Carwar* and *Kemsbaw* were Brothers, and *Angria* marrying of *Kemsbaw's* Daughter, contracted by this means a powerful Alliance with them; so that during the Wars with the Grand Sedey, he had great Assistance from them, they being powerful Princes. Tho' *Angria* had formerly taken one of the *Rodger* of *Carwar's* Ships coming from *Muscat*, loaden with Horses, yet the *Rodger* being an Enemy to the Grand Sedey, now either forgot this, or at all Adventures was resolv'd to humble the Sedey, by assisting *Angria*. *Angria* had also great Supplies from a treacherous *Jentew* on the Island of

*Bombay*, before spoken of, who used to buy Powder and Arms, on pretence of sending the same to the *Portuguese*, by way of Merchandize, which proved very fatal to the *English*.

*ANGRIA* having provoked the *Sedey* to be his Enemy, seemed not at all uneasy about it ; for he now thought the Strength of his Allies, join'd to his own, was sufficient to maintain what Possessions he had acquired. Elated with his constant Success, he seem'd ill to require the *Portuguese* for the several Services they had done him, at which they were so provoked, that they resolv'd to hinder his Progress as much as possible. *Angria* perceiving this Coldness in the *Portuguese*, attack'd their Fort at *Correnjar*, and had it not stood on a very advantageous Ground, with a stout Castle-built on the Brow of a Hill, which commanded a great Bay on the low Land which he had in Possession, he would very probably have succeeded : But his Army ne'er met with hotter Work, and was soon oblig'd to retire, and make to the Island of *Henerey* for their Security from the Cannon-shot the *Portuguese* fir'd amongst them. They were also oblig'd to build a small Battery on that side the Island of *Henerey* which fronted *Correnjar* ; for otherwise the *Portuguese* would have demolished his Fishery, and have made a sad Piece of work with him. For tho' *Golaby* was surrender'd to him almost upon his Appearance before it, yet the Grand *Sedey* was not a little pleas'd to see the *Portuguese* make him shear off. But tho' he drew off his Forces from before the City of *Coxrenjar*, he kept open War with them at Sea, and was very troublesome.

*ANGRIA* had now got several great Enemies against him; the Great *Mogul* and Grand *Sedey*, tho' they were at War with each other frequently, yet were both Enemies to him, as were the *Portuguese* and the *Englib.* As to the *Dutch*, he never troubled them, tho' they have a Factory at *Dabul*, and their Ships every Year come there for the Produce of Pepper from that Country. What is the Reason of this, I cannot say: Whether the undaunted Courage of those few *Dutchmen* he had in his Service, makes him to dread encountering with them; or whether the *Dutch* make private Presents to him, as their Factory stands on the Borders of his Dominions. 'Tis certain his People take no manner of Pains in the way of Trade with the neighbouring Merchants; which had they pursued after he enlarged his Conquests, they might in all Probability have acquired greater Riches than at present they possess.

*ANGRIA* was still resolved to push his Fortune against the *Sedey*, to which end he caused an Army to march on the Back of the Grand *Sedey's* Country, into the *Mogul's* Dominions, and there they raised a very large Sum of Tribute Money due to the Grand *Sedey*, which enraged the *Sedey* more and more against him: But the old *Sedey* dying, *Angria* was resolved to have a Trial for that Empire; which the Generals and Governors of the several Provinces of the *Sedey's* Dominions opposed, and proclaim'd the deceas'd *Sedey's* Son Grand *Sedey*. On this an Army marched to invade the new *Sedey*, whose Forces attacked his Enemies with great Resolution; but the Victory seemed to incline to *Angria's* Side, the other

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Army giving way for near a Mile ; at which time *Angria's* General took great Numbers of their Prisoners ; he also took seven or eight of the *Sedey's* Elephants, which he has at present in his custody : but Night coming on, both Armies retreated to their respective Camps, with a Design to renew the Fight in the Morning.

THESE Trophies of Victory being sent to *Angria*, very much encouraged him to send a further Assistance to his Army ; he was in hopes to hear by the next News, that the *Sedey* was driven to the Mountains, where he has a very fine City on the Top of a Hill. The next Morning both Armies engaged again, and the Fight continued very hot for some Hours ; but at last *Angria's* Army thought proper to retire to their Camp, which was too strong for the *Sedees* to attempt to force. The *Angrians* had some few Horse in their Army, which were taken in the *Arabs* Ship coming to *Bombay*, and designed for the *English* Service ; besides, *Angria's* Father-in-law *Kemsbew* assisted him with near 1000 Horsemen ; all which, with his Foot-Soldiers, were nothing in number to the Grand *Sedey's* Army. But the *Dutch* Engineers made such Havock with their Cannon, that the *Sedees* were killed in great numbers. They could direct almost a continual fire from 12 Pieces of Cannon which they had in the Camp, and there was a sufficient number of Oxen ready to draw them away from Place to Place, where the Enemy might be most annoyed. These *Dutchmen* were so very expert, in all parts of their Service, that *Angria* indulged them as much as possible, and would do nothing without their Approbation, relating to the Artillery ; as they had brought  
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*and of Angria the Pyrate, &c.* 131

several of his People to be assistant to them in the Discharge of the Cannon; he would send some of these *Dutchmen* to command his Ships, and they very often brought in Prizes. The inland People were used with Courtesy, for they brought in all manner of Provision for the Support of the Inhabitants on the Sea-coast; tho' they are not a People that are very luxurious in their way of living; for they eat no Flesh, nor any thing that ever had Life or Blood in it, except Fish, on which they chiefly feed, with Rice and Milk, and all sorts of Fruits, Roots, and Greens. Of these they would have great Plenty, provided a proper care was taken to cultivate them. When they take any Ships belonging to the *Portuguese* or *English*, they reserve a quantity of the Arrack on board to gratify any *Europeans* that shall enter into their Service. We had thirteen Men run away all at once at *Bombay*, who were going to enter into *Angria's* Service; but taking the wrong Road by the way of *Goa*, through the *Portuguese* Dominions, they were stopt, and put into the *Portuguese* Castle at *Correnjar*. Capt. *David Wilkie* being then Commander of the *Victory* Frigate, and I being his second Lieutenant, went with him in quest of them, attended by part of our Ship's Company: We found them at *Correnjar*, where the *Portuguese* Governor would not surrender them; neither did he entertain Capt. *Wilkie* as he ought to have done. But the Captain and I were entertained at one of their Officer's Houses in a very handsome manner, and had the best Lodging the House afforded: A Place was ordered for the Refreshment of our People, it being in the rainy Season, and

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the Weather very bad. We only staid there one Night, and the next Day came over to *Bombay*; not being able to recover our Men out of the Hands of the *Portuguese*. What became of the major part of them, I cannot say, but two of them were *Dutchmen*, who had seduced the others to go with them, and one of them commanded *Angria's* Grab which Capt. *Lawson* took and brought into *Bombay*; tho' the *Dutchman* was killed in the Engagement, or 'tis thought he would sooner have blown up the Ship, than have been taken.

*ANGRIA* hearing of the taking of this Grab, was very much enraged, and resolved that they should not hold her long. The Command of her was given to Mr. *Lewis*, who was then first Lieutenant of the *Victory*; they refitted her, and called her the *Decoy*; but she was afterwards re-taken, and the *Bombay-Galley* was taken at the same time; which was chiefly owing to the Conduct of those Pyrates who came with *Plantain* from the Island of *Madagascar*: For most of the Mischief that has been done of late Years, has been more owing to them, than to *Angria's* own Subjects.

BUT to return to the Affairs between *Angria* and the *Sedees*: The new Grand Sedey being pretty firmly established in his Dominions, and knowing *Angria* to be very powerful, did not care for continuing the Wars so long as his Father had done, on several accounts: It hindred divers sorts of Trade and Merchandize, that his chief Cities and Towns used to be supported with. And, on the other hand, his Father at the first settling of *Angria* on the Island of *Keneray*, gave him one of his Daughters in

Mar-

Marriage, which Rite was performed according to the *Jestew* way, and kept with a great deal of Mirth for a long time. Now tho' the Sedey had given his Daughter in Marriage to him, yet that did not keep him from invading and seizing part of his Father-in-law's Dominions. And he also married the Daughter of *Kensbew*, who was ever ready to assist him with his Army; they now carrying a friendly Correspondence with each other. The *Mollwants* were his Allies also, and they and *Kensbew's* People were as troublesome down the Coast, as he himself is off of *Bombay*, tho' we do all we can to prevent the same. 'Tis true they have never attempted to take any of our Shipping as yet, because they have no Vessels of Force sufficient to attack them with Success. But as they see Ships of any Nation standing off and on shore, they frequently dispatch Boats to *Angria* to give an Account of the same, that he may have his Grabs in Readiness to encounter them so soon as they come higher up the Coast.

*ANGRIA* being in this manner strong by Sea and Land, the new Grand Sedey, who, as before observ'd, found the Inconveniencies of the War, in the Destruction of his Country, and in the Stop it put to Trade, which was the best Support of his Dominions; offered to enter into a Treaty Offensive and Defensive with *Angria*, by the Advice and Approbation of his chief Men. This was accepted by *Angria*; and to confirm it the more, the Sedey's Daughter was contracted to his Son, tho' both very young. On the Ratification of this Marriage-Contract, there were great Rejoicings, and they kept firing their Guns every Day for near a Week on the

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Island of *Kenerey*, and at the Fort of *Golaby* and *Gerey*, and the other Fortifications belonging to *Angria*; taking the Salutes from each other in a very regular manner. We soon had the News at *Bombay* of these Rejoicings in *Angria's* Dominions. Then the *Sedey* made him very large Presents; and the chief Articles of their Contract was, That *Angria* should not presume to incroach any farther on the *Sedey's* Dominions, but that all Disputes should be decided in an amicable manner by Commissaries appointed on both sides; and that their Armies should join, and equally share in all Tributes and Plunder taken in the *Mogul's* Dominions; whom they resolved to attack with all their Forces: Of which War I shall now give the best Account I am able, having been an Eye-witness in a great measure of what I shall now relate.







HISTORY  
OF THE  
*INDIAN WARS,*  
Betwixt the  
*GREAT MOGUL,*  
*ANGRIA, &c.*

**A**FTER *Angria* had baffled the Attempts made by the *Eng'ish* on his fortified Places, he join'd the *Sedey's* Army, and march'd towards the City of *Surat*, the best Place for foreign Trade in the *Mogul's* Dominions. Here the *Mogul* Merchants build and refit all their Ships. This

for a considerable time, interrupted all manner of Trade in those Parts; the *Dutch* Caravans coming down from *Guzurat* were obliged to stop, and all the inland Trade lay still. The Mogul's Governor of *Surat*, judging that a Sum of Money might tempt him to raise the Siege, sent to know what Sum he expected, if he should draw off his Forces. He demanded 1200000 of *Rupees*, which he pretended was due as Tribute to the Sedey for that City, which had not paid any for sixteen Years before. The Governor provok'd at his exorbitant Demand, sent him word, that his Master would soon send him those who would pay him the Money in the way he deserved, with their Swords and Targets; in the fighting with, which they are very expert. His Army then consisted, as was said, of near 50000 Men, arm'd according to the *Indian* Manner; and he had several Pieces of Cannon with him. On this Message from the Governor, they incamp'd near the City; so that the North Gate was shut up, for fear of a Surprise, and the Merchants in the City were in great Consternation.

NOW 'tis a long way from *Surat* to *Dilley*, the Mogul's chief Residence; and a *Pattimar* (or what we call an *Express* here) is near a Month in going from one Place to the other, tho' he travels Day and Night. The Method of their sending an *Express* is thus: The Messenger is carried on Men's Shoulders from Town to Town, on a Couch, where he lies all along, and sleeps and eats. Fresh Carriers relieve the others every five or six Miles, who are generally station'd in Huts on the Way for that Purpose, and have an annual Allowance to

retain

retain them always in Readiness. When the Express arrived at *Dilley*, the Grand Mogul was pleased to order the Great *Annabob*, or Generalissimo, to proceed down to *Surat* with all speed with part of his Army, having always under his Command near 180000 Men, 100 Elephants of War, 70 fine Pieces of Cannon well mounted, and a considerable number of *Europeans* of different Nations, who are generally employed as Engineers, Gunners, &c. in his Ordnance. Part of the Mogul's Army I daily saw, when I took on in the Mogul's Service; and I was Engineer under the *Annabob Rastam Aliou*, General and Prince of the Province of *Brodurab*, who had an Army under his Command of 70000 Men, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and 30 Elephants of War. *Angria* has lately been as great a Plague to the Mogul, as ever he was to the *English*; for since he has united himself to the Grand Seidey, they are as one Family, and assist each other. *Angria's* Army continued to move nearer to *Surat*, and then began to cannonade the Town; on which the Citizens raised a Contribution of 800000 *Ruppes*, which he accepted, and then drew off his Army, and march'd for *Broach*. At *Concas*, which is a small Town in the Way to *Broach*, he demanded 1000 *Ruppes*, which the Inhabitants were obliged to raise in four Hours time, otherwise he threatned to burn their Town about their Ears. I was then in the Town in my way to the City of *Brodurab*, in company with two more *Englishmen*; the Inhabitants beg'd of us to stay in their Houses, and not appear: for if we were discovered, they would take us along with them. In the Evening when the *Sabber-*  
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*daw* came to demand the Money, attended by about twenty Men, he happened to have a Glimpse of us, and was very inquisitive after us. But the Inhabitants telling them we were three *Persians* that were poor, and had not Bread to eat, and that they supported us out of Charity, they made no farther Enquiry after us. The Inhabitants well knowing how long it would be before the Enemy would probably march further up into the Country, kept us there, and subsisted us with the best the Place afforded, and brought us Bows and Arrows to go out into the inclosed Grounds, and there to shoot at Birds or a Mark, as we thought most proper, to divert ourselves. This was not ill Treatment from Mahometans, and I could give several other Instances of their Goodness and Hospitality, in which some of them far exceed the Christians.

THE Army having got near *Broach*, they encamped on the North-side, in order to make themselves Masters of all the Trade coming down thither. They hearing that the *Dutch* Scaffold, (or Caravan) was on the Road, and the *French* likewise; in the first place seized on part of the *French*, which consisted of about 30 Waggon; but the *Dutch* had near 120 Waggon loaded with the richest Goods belonging to the *Guzurat* Trade, as rich Velvets, Embroidery, and Silks of all sorts, &c. After this they took some of the *Dutch* Caravan; and had they been farther from *Brodurab*, they would have had more. But the *French* Waggon coming first, drawn by eight Oxen, and so many of them, that they extended a long way from the first to the last, the heaviest Loss fell on them, who were least

able to sustain it: For the *French* are very poor in this part of *India*, and have hardly any Credit; whereas the *Dutch* are very rich in those Parts. In the *French* Caravan they also took two Ladies, that were coming down to *Surat* to see their Parents, the Wife and Sister of the *French* Consul at *Guzurat*.

THE Mogul's Army being very numerous, had Orders to march and attack the *Sedey* and *Angria*. On which *Rustam Alican* proceeded towards them, and encamp'd his Army on the Plains of *Brodurah*, where he daily expected to hear of the Enemy. But *Angria's* Party were more politick; for they being encamp'd with the main Body of their Army on the North-side of the City of *Broach*, while a Party took part of the *French* and *Dutch* Scaffold, or Caravans; this Party rejoin'd the main Body, and brought the News of the Approach of *Rustam Alican*, and his Army. *Angria's* Generals did not lay hold of this Opportunity of engaging them; but got the Tribute they demanded from the Governor of *Broach*, and march'd away wide of *Brodurah*, plundering all the Towns and Villages they possibly could. And thinking that the Mogul's Army would be in quest of them, wheresoever they came, if the Inhabitants did not raise the Money demanded, they set fire to the Towns, and frequently put the Inhabitants to Death, suffering neither Man, Woman nor Child to escape. Thus did they ravage the Country, demanding Tribute wherever they came, pretending it was due to the *Sedey*, who had not made any manner of Demand for several Years before, and the *Moguls* were in hopes would have been quite laid aside.

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THE City of *Surat* is pretty well fortified, with strong Walls and Redoubts; they have also the Convenience of a fine navigable River for promoting their Trade: but *Angria* is now grown so bold and insolent, that he ranges all along the Coast, even from *Cape Comeroon* up to *Broach*.

AFTER *Angria's* Army had returned from *Broach*, and plundered several Towns and Villages, they march'd wide of *Brodurab*, and came into the high Road again for *Guzurat*, and there fell in with a small Party of the *Moguls*, which was sent to guard some of the *Annabob's* Baggage, and three Coaches in which were his Women: After defeating the Guard, they seiz'd the Baggage, and three Coaches, and were resolv'd if possible to get into their own Dominions, which they could not well accomplish in a short time, on account that they were now some hundred Miles in an Enemy's Country, tho' in a manner driving all before them. The News of the Baggage and the Ladies being taken, much enraged *Rustram*, who was a Man of immense Goodness in his way, heroic in War, and of very great Resolution. He never waited for the Grand *Annabob's* Order to pursue them, but leaving a small part of his Forces to guard the City of *Brodurab*, struck his Tents at Midnight, and march'd with the Gross of his Army in pursuit of the Enemy, taking only four Pieces of the lightest of his Cannon with him. He pursued them with all possible Expedition, and in two or three Days came up with their Rear, and retook part of the *Dutch* Scaffold, and all his Women. That part of the Rear-guard quitted their Booty with Precipitation, and endeavoured

*betwixt the Mogul, Angria, &c.* 161

to join the Body of their Army, which was then under the Command of *Angria's* head *Sabberdaw*, and two of the Grand Seidey's Generals, then noted for their Cruelty and Inhumanity. All *India* allows, that the *Mogul's* Subjects are in their way good and experienc'd Soldiers, and Men that will fight very well. This Character they made good on this Occasion; for after they had recover'd most of the Plunder from them, they still pursued 'em Night and Day, allowing but four Hours rest for their Army in the 24, for several Days successively. Several of the Oxen belonging to *Angria's* Army, fell lame on the Road, by over-driving of them. However, it being late in the Season, and having but little Baggage with them, (a Camel with a small Tent for the *Anuahob* to lie down in part of the Night, being all that General had,) after pursuing them near three Weeks, it was thought proper to return back a nearer way, which they did in about ten Days, crossing the Country into their own Dominions. However, it pleas'd *Rusfram* to think that he had oblig'd them to leave some part of their Plunder behind them, and that he had recovered the Ladies; for amongst them was a young Gentlewoman the Great Mogul had made him a Present of, as a Reward of his Victories over the *Culeys*, and she had with her all the Jewels which the *Mogul* gave her when he sent her to him.

AFTER *Rusfram Alicon* had got his own Baggage, and recovered part of the *Dutch* Scaffold, as soon as he arriv'd at *Brodurab*, he sent to the *Dutch* Chief to come and take their Goods again; on which the *Dutch* Governor came himself, and made him several rich Presents, which

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which he accepted of very kindly at their hands, and a considerable Party was ordered to march from *Brodurab*, in order to convoy the Remainder of the *Dutch* and *French* Scaffolds down to *Broach*, where they were to embark on board of small Vessels to proceed for *Surat*. After this the *Angrians* came again to *Concat*, with a large Party, and demanded Tribute, which the Inhabitants were forc'd to pay. What surpris'd me, was, that the great Man and chief General of the Mogul's grand Army should not so much as endeavour to prevent this, and hinder the People from being plunder'd, but remain in his Camp before the City of *Guzurat*; and only send Parties of the Army abroad under different Leaders: There were two Brothers of this *Rustram Alicon*, who were also *Annabobs*, and reckon'd great Warriors; being by the Mogul made Governors of Provinces. The News coming to the Mogul that his Grand *Annabob* had not proceeded any further than *Guzurat* after the *Angrians*, and that he had received the Tribute from the *Culeys*, he sent an Order for him to come to *Dilley*, to give his Reasons for not marching after the Enemy according to Order; and in his Absence, one of *Rustram's* Brothers was appointed to command the Army in his stead, which lay encamp'd about *Guzurat*.

I and my two Companions were now, in our Travels towards *Dilley*, arrived at *Brodurab*, where we found the Army commanded by *Rustram Alicon* encamp'd. So soon as we came into the City, we went as is customary to the Grand *Sarcafs*, in order to take up our Lodging; but we had not been long there, before the *Annabob*



*nabob* sent for us to come to him, demanding from whence we came, and whither we were bound. I being the chief Person qualified for giving him an Answer to all Questions that he demanded, told him we were going for *Dilley*, and from thence design'd for *Bengal*. He ask'd us, how we propos'd to get there? I told him that we were in hopes of joining some Scafsolds which were bound for *Dilley*, and that when we arriv'd there, we should not fear getting a Passage for *Bengal*, there being great Numbers of Merchants passing and repassing continually. But said he, the † *Zammelock* is now at Variance with the Grand Mogul, and is lying in the high Road near *Dilley*, and impresses all People passing and repassing into his Service. He then asked what Countrymen we were? I told him, *Englishmen*. He then asked, of what part? Are you, said he, *Billotes Addimeys*; that is, Are you *European Englishmen*, or Men born of *English* Parents in these Parts? I told him, we were all *Billotes Addimeys*. This made him the more desirous to proceed in his Discourse, which was in a very inquisitive way, how and in what manner we disciplin'd our People in *Europe*, and how they fought there? We explain'd to him as well as we could, that our Men were all kept in regular Order, and that we never suffer'd our Soldiers to fight as they did here. He then asked me how they

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† *The Zammelock is Chief of the Mountaineers, who are very numerous, and live in the manner of the Tartars, being often very troublesome to the Mogul, tho' properly his Subjects.*

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engaged? I told him, that we had large Armies when there was occasion for them, and that they were all drawn up in very close Order, before they attack'd their Enemies. We gave him the best Account we could. He then asked us, if we understood firing of great Guns? We gave him a more particular Description of managing them than what we had done of the other Affairs. He then asked us, if we were not willing to take on in their Service? We told him, that we had never serv'd any other Nation than our own, and that as we were going for *Bengal*, we were in no fear of getting Employment so soon as we arrived there. But, said the *Annaboh*, you are too late in the Year, and as I told you before, the \**Zammelock* now lies in the high Road for *Dilley*, and takes all Passengers into his Service against my Master the Grand Mogul; therefore, if you think well of taking on in my Service, I will give you 60 *Rupees per Month*, and pay you Monthly. You shall have your Horses to ride on, and have a Tent to shelter you from the Weather, and all other Utensils fitting for the same: I will also deliver to you the Care of all my Artillery, and you shall have the Charge of all the Ammunition belonging to the Camp, with any Number of my Men to assist and attend on you. I will also empower all three of you, if any Accident should happen on the Road or March at any time, that you may impress what People you may have occasion for, to come to your Aid and Assistance. If you want Money to make Satisfaction to any on the Road, I will allow it; and each of you shall have a *Parwas* to keep your Accounts, according to our Custom.

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He then asked us, if we could write or read? I told him we could do both, after our own manner. Then he desired to see us write, and having Pen, Ink and Paper given us, each of us wrote a Line or two, with which he seem'd to be well pleas'd, and said we wrote very fast, and that what we wrote was very fine; for their Characters are very large. We with abundance of seeming Shyness pretended to be unwilling to accept his proffer'd Kindness, and said we could not enter among them. This made him the more pressing on us, and he told us that our King and their King were good Friends, and that the Mogul was the Chief Friend and Protector that the *English* had in *India*. We told him, we were very sensible of that. He then said, you are not going to serve an Enemy, but a Friend; for we want to suppress this *Angria* as much as the *English* do, and are in hopes, that we shall conquer him, and take all his Forts from him, and send his Head to *Dilley* to the Grand Mogul. We smiled at his talking after that manner, and told him *Angria* was very strong, and that now he had intirely reconciled himself to the Grand Sedey, he was more powerful than ever. He said, they had not been troubled with him in their Dominions for some Years before now. However, we at last agreed to enter into his Service, which indeed was very advantageous; and was I there now, I should not very quickly leave it again.

SO soon as we accepted the Service, he gave each of us six Pieces of Gold, valued at about thirty Shillings Sterling each Piece, which we took as a Present. Then he compelled us to take twenty *Rupees* a Man on account of our Entry; which when we had received, we sign'd

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our Names to a Paper, and he put his Seal to it. He then directly sent for the former *Droger* or Captain of their Artillery, and ordered him to deliver all the Baggage and Ammunition into our Care; and withal gave each of us a Seal-Ring with his Name engraved on it: And with this we were to sign all Accounts for Expences, and to deliver out to all the *Arabian* Soldiers Powder, as often as their Caprains came and made a Demand for it, and produced an Order for what they had. These Accounts were every Month carried in, and in such a regular manner, that he never found fault with our Conduct. He sent for his chief Master of the Horse, and ordered him to take us down to his Stables, which were at the Back of his Palace, there to chuse our Horses, which accordingly we did. They were exceeding fine Horses, of which we had our Choice, except those that the *Annabob* rode himself. His Palace was very magnificent and fine, and the Apartment where he then sat with all his Grandees and chief Council before him, was also exceeding grand, being all laid in Pannels of Looking-glass, set in gilt Work, and every square Corner was set with rich Ruby-stones, in form of a Rose, almost as large as a Half-Crown. He sat under an Arch, most richly beautified with all sorts of curious Work, which made him appear exceeding grand; and in the Center of this Room, there was a fine Cistern full of clear Water, and a very beautiful Fountain-Pipe, which, by its Force of Play caused several Birds made of Glass to keep constantly in Motion, and artificial Ducks and Geese seem'd diving down, and coming up again, which was very entertaining and pleasant

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to the Eye. He then ordered us a handsome Tent, which was lin'd with red Calico, having three very good Apartments in it, with a Place of Entertainment in the Center, where we could receive a large Number of People, as was required at some time ; for all the *Arabian* Captains brought their Accounts in once a Month for the Powder, &c. we deliver'd them.

SO soon as our Affairs were settled, we were conducted by the Head *Droger* to the Camp, where they had pitch'd our Tent, and there he delivered us all the Baggage and Stores, which consisted of near 40 Waggon's loaden with such things as were convenient for the Supply of the Camp and Artillery. He also delivered the 40 Pieces of Cannon into our Charge, and three hundred Men belonging to the Artillery, which we were to pay Monthly, and our *Purwas* was to go to the *Annabob's* Treasurer, there to receive every Man's Money with ours, and to bring it to us ; we were to see them paid, and to send our Seals by the *Purwas* to have the Receipt sealed with the Seals that were given us ; he having had the Character of all our Names mark'd under his own, which sav'd us a good deal of Trouble. They called us, in their Language *Topeivallers Drogers* ; that is to say, the Captains of their great Guns. When we came to our Tent, we found every thing in exceeding good Order, being all entirely new. In the middle of the Tent were spread four handsome *Persia* Carpets, and in each Apartment one Carpet of the same, and a very handsome Couch, with two good Quilts, very rich and fine, and two Pillows for each Couch, and every thing else very decent. The *Droger* told us, he

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he had furnish'd our Tent according to the *Ananabob's* Order, and hoped he had done it according to our Minds, and that we should not have any Occasion to find fault with him. We complimented him after their manner, and desir'd him to sit down with us, which accordingly he did; and tho' 'tis against the Religion of the Mahometans to drink strong Liquor, yet he would, as well as a great many more, tipple heartily. We sent a Man to the City to fetch us some Arrack; who brought us near six Quarts in a great Jar for a *Ruppee*. We then sent for all the *Arabian* Captains, and they complimented us in a handsome Manner, and wish'd us much Joy. We spent the Night in a great deal of Mirth, and the old *Droger* sent for the Dancers which usually attend the Camp, who entertained us with Dancing after their manner. About two in the Morning all the *Ananabob's* Musick came, and began to play before the Tent-door, and to make their Compliments to us; and when they had done, we gave them Money according to the Direction of the *Droger*, and they seem'd well satisfied. Some time after them, came all the *Arabian* Drums, and beat a Point of War in their way, and then some of them danced and played with their Swords and Targers in an entertaining manner, for which we also gave them Money. We never went any where, but were always guarded, which at first we thought might be for fear we might run away. In a day or two, one of our black *Serangs* came to us, and ask'd us if we had no Colours belonging to our Nation; and that as we were prefer'd to such a Post, it would be very much taken Notice of, if we did

did not speak to the *Annabob* to order our Colours to be set up among the Artillery; for as the former *Droger* had carried his Colours with him, they should be at a loss to find the Artillery out, when they came again to join any other larger Army, as they should in a very short time proceed for *Guzurat*, and join *Henzeb Alicon* the Grand *Annabob*. The *Purwas* also told us, it was what was proper for a Distinction to be known by; therefore, according to their Custom, we dressed ourselves very clean, and took the *Purwas* with us, and ordered him to write to the *Annabob* what he thought proper: for all Requests are laid before their great Men in writing, for them to sign if they approve 'em. Accordingly he ordered a Flag to be placed before the Artillery, to distinguish it from any other Part of the Camp, and three silk Colours to be carried before us wheresoever we went; and the Person that bore the Colours was allowed a Horse to ride on. In this magnificent manner we were entertained; and two or three days after were ordered on the March, and set forward for *Guzurat*, there to join *Henzeb Alicon*. Now when we came near *Guzurat*, we observ'd this great Camp, which took up a large Extent of Ground: The head Captain of their Artillery was a *Portuguese*, and much in favour with the *Annabob Henzeb*; we pitch'd our Camp very near to them, and then hoisted our Flags: on sight of which, they desired us to give Direction how the Camp-Flags and others should be made. Accordingly we made one after this manner, a large Red-Flag with a white Field in the upper Corner, and *St. George's Cross*; and in the Flag three Cannons, I which

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which we cut out; this was very much admired, and in compliment to them, as they all wear scollop'd Borders round their Colours, we put the same round this, which they seem'd much pleas'd with. The three other Colours were Red, White, and Blue Ensigns, which were every Day flying before our Tent-door, and they were much admir'd: For whatever Nations come to serve the *Mogul*, they are allowed to wear their proper Colours, provided that they are in any Place of Distinction or Preferment. We were very careful in our Behaviour, to gain the Applause and Good-will of the chief Officers, of which there are a considerable number fit to be prefer'd on any account; Men of sober Conduct, and moderate in their way of living. They entertain People of all Nations that are willing to serve them, keep a friendly Correspondence with each other, and are very inquisitive in all Affairs relating to foreign Parts. They have many of the ancient *Mabometan Persians* in their Service, who are a sober civilized People, and capable of giving an exact Description of their Country. I have had them for Hours together in my Tent, and heard from them the Accounts of the Wars of *Persia*, which I have in another Tract given.

WE incamped within a Mile and a half of the City-Gates of *Guzurat*, which is a magnificent City well-peopled, and of very great Trade. Here we went and visited the *French* and *Dutch* Factors, and were very civilly entertained at both. We got Supplies from the *Dutch* of all such Conveniencies as was most suitable for Men in our Station; and we were very handsomely spoken of by the *Dutch* Gentlemen, when they came to

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pay the *Annabob* their Compliments, in Acknowledgment for his kind Favours in recovering part of their Scaffolds from the *Angrians*. The *Annabob* entertained them with such Grandure as became Persons of their Distinction; and in their way they spoke very handsomely of us, telling the *Annabob* that we were Men that deserved Encouragement, and that they believed the Account we had given of ourselves to be true; so that they thought we ought to be entertain'd according to what they had promoted us to. They also took the Opportunity of coming to pay us a Visit, and spent a whole Day with us, and gave us an Account of what Conversation they had concerning us, and that they would advise us often to visit our *Annabob*, and shew him the greatest Respect possible. They likewise told us, if we could contrive any Fireworks, with Rockets, &c. that would be very much admir'd, and do us a great Piece of Service. And further to serve us, one of them said that he had a large *English* Book concerning Gunnery, which he would make us a Present of, if we thought it would be of use to us; and when we went to return their Visit, the Gentleman was as good as his Word, in giving us the Book, which prov'd to be Capt. *Sturmey's Magazine*; or, *the whole Art of Gunnery, with Directions for making all manner of Fireworks and Rockets; and Instructions for Sea-Gunners, and those in the Land-Service*. This indeed proved very serviceable to us; for here we had the plainest Directions in all Cases; and lying still near six Weeks before this Grand Army began to move, we prepared a fine Fire-work, which was play'd off to the Satisfaction of the *Annabob*, and all

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the chief Officers of the Army. The Grand Army march'd near a Week before ours, and then we were obliged to march very hard to reach the other Camp, whon we came up with in about three Days, and *Henzeb Alicon* had many Affairs to decide before he could come near to *Dilley*, in making up all the Accounts of the Tribute which he had received from all the *Annabobs* under his Command, and chief *Sabberdaws*, and other great Persons who were often intrusted in those Affairs. We march'd with this great Army, and came to several Towns and Cities belonging to the *Culeys*, which we demolished, and took their brazen Images, and destroyed them, if they did not pay the accusom'd Tribute: But notwithstanding that, our Army would wink at their Idolatry, if they paid a sufficient Tribute to the Mogul. These *Culeys* live in a great measure by robbing, going in great Bodies, and interrupting any Merchants that are passing and repassing with their Caravans, and are almost as great Interrupters of Trade, as even *Angria* himself. This very much hampers the Mogul's Dominions; for there is no travelling amongst these Places without a great and powerful Guard; for they will come in the Night, and steal every thing they can lay their Hands on. Some of their Heads are cut off almost every Week, and put up on the City-Gates; for they are shewn no manner of Favour, when they are taken in any numbers.

THE Grand Mogul was now in a sad Condition, the *Zammelocks*, (a Malecontent part of his own Subjects) striving to dethrone him, the *Culeys* always at War with him, and the Grand  
Sedey

Sedey and *Angria* coming to make Demands on his Subjects, and imposing very much on them, not suffering their Trade to pass and repass without being interrupted. For *Angria* now bearing the chief Sway in all respects, they constantly kept great Parties passing and repassing in the Country, which put almost a total Stop to their Trade, and kept all the Crops back. *Henzeb Alicon* was apprehensive that he should be disgraced at his Return to *Dilley*, for what he had done contrary to the Mogul's Order; which was the reason he avoided going thither, tho' the Mogul sent for him to come with all Expedition. He therefore artfully finished the Accounts of several great Officers, had received the Tribute they had collected; and obliged them to make up all their Monthly Accounts for the Expence of the Army, in order to lay them before the Mogul. Furnished with those Accounts, and laden with a vast Quantity of Tribute Money, he resolved to venture to *Dilley*, guarded by a strong Party of his best Soldiers; leaving the Command of the Army to *Rustam*, during his Absence. When he came to *Dilley*, and presented his Accounts to the Mogul, and gave his Reasons for not marching with his own Army against *Angria*, the Mogul approving of his Conduct in all things, confer'd greater Posts of Honour on him, and at the same time ordered him to return, and march his Army against the *Zammelocks*, who grew very powerful, but had lately drawn off his Army from the high Road to *Dilley*, and never once offered to stop *Henzeb Alicon*, or any that belong'd to him. But this was thought to be done as a Compliment to *Henzeb*; in hopes that he

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would not have come into the Mogul's Measures. But the *Zammelock's* Policy fail'd him here.

WE march'd no further than *Angerah* with our *Annabob*, but were by the Mogul's Orders ordered back; for we were a long time on the March, and sometimes lay a Week or a Fortnight in one Place; during which time, the *Purwas* were daily employed in making up their Accounts, and carrying them in to the chief Secretary, and they delivering the same to the *Annabob*, who would examine them very strictly, and demand an Account of things remaining in store, and how long the Stores might probably last.

THE Mogul had received fresh Complaints from *Surat* of the *Angrians* returning and plundering the Country. He had prefer'd some of his white Men to be great Officers, and had seated them on Elephants in order for their giving Direction for the cannonading several Towns or Villages belonging to the neighbouring Princes, which frightned the Inhabitants out of the same, leaving their Granaries full of all sorts of Grain or Rice, and Horse-meat, with great Store of Cattle, &c. all which they would send down to their own Dominions, with a strong Guard. At this time we had great Offers from the head *Droger* of *Henzeb Alicon* to leave our first Place of Service, and to come and serve his Master: He offered us the same Wages, and ten *Rupees* a Month more, provided we would leave *Rustam*, and that we should have as good Horses as were allowed us at present. We were in the mind several times to have gone, as there was in *Henzeb's* Service near 100 Christians, about twenty of them *Englisb*, and some of them very

very sober sedate Men, who lived very regular Lives, and whose Conversation might be diverting to us, during the time we were with the Camp. Our Marches were now very hard every Day, and the time of the Heats coming on, which dry up many of the Springs, we were drove to great Straits for Water for the Army, and obliged some Days to march near twelve Miles before we could incamp so as to get Water for the Soldiers, and the Cattle, which in an Army of 50 or 60000 Men are not a few; and almost as many more Women and Children that followed the Camp, with all sorts of Merchandize.

NOW the two Brothers *Sufurah Alicon* and *Rustram Alicon* were ordered to join their Armies together, and march in quest of the *Angrians*. After a March of several Days we came in sight of them, and prepared to engage. This we did early in the Morning, when the *Angrians* made a fierce Attack on us, and press'd very hard to gain an advantageous Ground on our left; but our Men defended themselves so well, that they could not force them; and our Cannon being under Cover, that they could not discern them, we having the preceeding Night threw up Breast-works, surprized them on a sudden, and made a great Slaughter among their left Wing, and put their whole Army in confusion. On this they retired in great Disorder, and we pursued, making a great Slaughter, and taking many Prisoners, till we were weary of killing and pursuing; and then encamp'd on the Field of Battle till next Morning. Our Generals resolv'd to improve the present lucky Opportunity, and pursued them again the next

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Morning, but could only just get a sight of part of them, they retreating with the utmost Precipitation towards their own Dominions. We then burned several of their Towns, and put both Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, the *Annabobs* riding amongst the Soldiers to see that they were not dilatory, but expeditious in cutting off all that were of human Race. These inhuman Proceedings I no ways approv'd of, for I imagined it would have been far more generous to have given them Quarter. Here our *Annabobs* much commended our good Behaviour, and acknowledged the great Service we had done them, and made us several vaulable Presents.

WE now had drove the *Angrians* into their own Dominions, and done them more Damage than we could have promised ourselves. Yet they rallied their scatter'd Forces in a few Days, and came and incamp'd within a few Miles of us; being, as we were inform'd, reinforc'd by a large Number of Forces, who had been some time on the March to join them. While we lay thus, the *Angrians* would come in the Night and steal the very Horses out of our Camp, and go off with them undiscovered; for they were as great Thieves as the *Culeys*, but of more Courage, and ready to undertake any Enterprize however hazardous. Nay, one of them came one Night and entered our *Annabob's* Tent, in the dead of the Night when the Guards were a slumbering, and stole the *Annabob's* Gold Pipe he smok'd his Tobacco in.

NOW lying so near each other, we had five Deserters which came from *Angria*, three *English*, one *Dutch*, and one *Portuguese*; they had been

been Companions with *Plantain* on the Island of *Madagascar*. These Men made us very uneasy at their first coming; for we did not dare say what they were, for fear of having a private Mischief done us; so they came to us the next Day, and would not own that they came from *Angria* at that time, but from *Surat*, in order to take on in the Mogul's Service. Amongst these was one *John Davis*, a Fellow that professed a great deal of Joy for his Escape from them, and related to us all their Proceedings, and gave us the Account of *Plantain's* conquering the Island of *Madagascar*, and of his leaving it in the manner before related. However, our *Annabob* would not entertain them without our Approbation, and said he did not look on them to be Men deserving of the Wages which we had, neither did we think proper to let them know what our Pay was; so that they were in a short time willing to accept of any thing, till they had shew'd their Behaviour. They agreed with us for 30 *Ruppes* per Month, and by the *Annabob* were told that they were to obey all Orders they should receive from us, and to be diligent, otherwise he would discharge them out of the Service. We were not afraid of their not behaving well in the time of Action, but that they would prove treacherous, and not discharge their Pieces with the Expedition they were capable of. The *Annabob* gave them a very decent Tent, fitted with all proper Necessaries. When we found that the Men were sincere, and that they were sorry for what they had done, and glad to embrace this Opportunity of getting away from *Angria*, having fully resolved never to lead such a Life again, we assisted

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them to the utmost of our power. They were with us near four Months; and before they left us, they came in a handsome manner to acquaint us, that they had a mind to proceed for *Dilley*, and from thence to *Bengal*. They did not come empty handed; for they brought Bag and Baggage with them. They were well furnish'd with good things which they carried along with them, we having no Authority to call them to any account. I heard afterwards, that *Davis* would never come down to *Colcuty* or *Fort William*, nor to any Place where the *English* had any Settlement; but fix'd himself among the *Portuguese*, with whom he continues to this Day, if alive; for he there married a Woman of good Fortune and Beauty. The *Dutchman* and the *Portuguese* did the same, and left off fighting by Land or by Sea. This *Davis* gave me the afore said Account concerning the Behaviour of *Plantain*, and of the Death of Mr. *Christopher Lisle*, whom *Plantain* killed before we had been gone a Week. He told me further, that if *Plantain* had not tyrannized so much over the Inhabitants, they should never have quitted the Island; but that as they grew sickly, and were but few in Number; and so well knew the Temper of the Natives, that they would soon have rose on them, they thought it most prudent to get away. I then asked him, how they came to have the Notion of going into *Angria's* Service, and whether *Angria* put much Confidence in *Plantain*? He said, he did, and that he was intrusted in almost all the Affairs belonging to the Grabs and Galley-wars. I then asked him, how it came that he and the rest of them were sent out with the Land-Army?