



condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Moorish governors depending on the Soubah, assume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which signifies Deputy: but this in the registers of the throne is synonymous to Soubahdar, and the greatest part of those who stile themselves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they assume, signifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans established in the territories of these Pseudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expression) following the example of the natives with whom they have most intercourse, have agreed in giving them the title they so much affect. In deference therefore to the custom which has prevailed, we shall leave them in possession of it, and in the course of our narration shall likewise distinguish the great viceroy by that of *Soubah*.

A Nabob ought to hold his commission from Delhi, and if at his death a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the Nabobship until the will of the Sovereign is known; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically established until he is confirmed from Delhi. The Soubah receives from the several Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependance on the Soubah as should render them subservient to the interests of the Empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make use of their assistance to brave the throne.

The constitution of the Mogul Empire began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan; but since the dreadful incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more: so that during the last fifty years, Soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard to



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to its authority; Nabobs likewise have kept possession of their governments in opposition both to the Soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have said of the government of the southern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubahships of the Empire.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships dependant on the Soubah of the Decan: from its capital it is likewise named the province of Arcot; but its present limits are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Condegama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the west, and the borders of the kingdoms of Trichanopoly, Tanjore, and Myfore to the south. The sea bounds it to the east. It was not before the beginning of the present century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

Sadatulla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, having no issue, adopted the two sons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed in the Nabobship; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the government of Vellore; he likewise directed that Gulam Hassan, the nephew of his favourite wife, should be Duan or prime minister to his successor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his subjects.

The dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or difficulty; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, beheld the accession of Doast-ally with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction. The jealousy of this powerful superior prevented Doast-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi: it is said that he only obtained some letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commission.

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1732.

Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the eldest, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's estate when his father succeeded to the Nabobship: he had likewise several daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, son of Boker-ally; and another to a more distant relation named Chunda-saheb. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Hassan, and availing himself of the incapacity of his son-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permission to administer the office of Duan in his stead.

1736.

The kingdoms of Trichanopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Raja, and the care of levying the tributes of these countries was intrusted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Trichanopoly in 1736, was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-saheb to seize any opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of Trichanopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded to the south: accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained some days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they staid a longer time; during which, Chunda-saheb laid the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence they marched to Trichanopoly.

By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-saheb prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having first taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country say that she fell in love with him; if so, she was ill requited, for he soon after seduced the garrison, seized the city, and confined her to a prison, where she died of grief. The submission of the rest of the kingdom soon followed that



1740.

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation, amongst a people who had never before seen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, had sent their wives, children, and treasures, to remain there during the war. As soon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-saheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they stayed several days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-saheb proceeding to Tritchanopoly, left the women of his family and one of his sons there.

In the month of December the province was again struck with consternation by the return of the same army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with so many calamities. This second irruption was in consequence of the secret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Besides the sum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther insisted on receiving some territories in sovereignty, and in this demand Meer-assud found them so inflexible, that, considering the territories of Tritchanopoly served only to render the power of Chunda-saheb formidable to his master, he consented to yield those countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they should attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the same time engaged to dispose of Chunda-saheb, if he fell into their hands, in such a manner as should be most conducive to the interests of the Nabob of Arcot.

Tritchanopoly was strongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-saheb, on the first news of the approach of the Morattoes against Doast-ally, stored it with a great quantity of grain, which is considered as the best security of a fortified place amongst a people who are very little skilled in the use of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-assud therefore foreseeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his provisions lasted, advised the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at such a distance as might prevent any suspicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-saheb imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other provinces, sold his stores of grain; of



1740.

which they no sooner received intelligence than they set out from their camp at Sevegunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Tritchanoply before he could remedy the distress to which he had so unwarily reduced it.

1741.

They invested the city closely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any supplies or reinforcements; nevertheless the brothers of Chunda-faheb attempted to relieve it. Buda-faheb advanced from Madura with a large convoy of provisions, escorted by 3000 horse and 7000 foot: the Morattoes detached 20000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itself with bravery until Buda-faheb fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indostan: they cut off Buda-faheb's head, and sent it to Chunda-faheb as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-faheb, approaching from Dindigul with 1500 horse and 3000 foot, who were likewise defeated after a sharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-faheb.

Chunda-faheb, notwithstanding these misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great resolution, and protracted the siege until the greatest part of his provisions was consumed, and a considerable number of his men, with some of his best officers, killed; the dread of famine had also caused many to desert: those remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to surrender. He delivered up the city and himself on the 26th of March, 1741, after having sustained a siege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his son, and several principal officers, under the strictest confinement, intending to be well paid for the ransom of their persons. After some time spent in draining Tritchanoply of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14000 of their best troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their prisoners in a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the possession of Tritchanoply, were now become of enemies, allies to Subder-ally; and the imprisonment of Chunda-faheb at such a distance from the Carnatic, removed the only leader

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deemed capable of exciting intestine commotions. But the resentment of Nizam-al-muluck still remained to be appeased, which could only be done by remitting to him those large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doast-ally, availing himself of the convulsions of the empire, had withheld. Subder-ally therefore was convinced that a storm would break upon him from this quarter as soon as Nizam-al-muluck himself should have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhaust his treasures from the apprehension of dangers, which, although probable, were still uncertain; he amused Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuses, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incursion of the Morattoes; and even demeaned himself so far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there spend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet.

1741.

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the spirit of devotion which he affected, for the greatest part of his father's treasures had been preserved under the care of his mother, when she took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left such an impression of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceless city of Arcot, but took up his residence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the strongest in the Carnatic: with the same spirit of precaution he sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures, to Madras, giving this preference to the English nation by the advice of Meer-assud, who already suspected the connexions which subsisted between Chunda-sabeb and Mr. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made several visits to his family at Madras, and these journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by sea to Mecca.

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The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been assessed in sums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at stated periods, in order to discharge the ransom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richest and sub-

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1742.

ject to the Nabobship of Arcot, and by the treasures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as also by a very parsimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richest man in the province. Having married the sister of Subder-ally, and being likewise nearly related to him by birth, he thought that these titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuse him from the necessity of furnishing what remained due of his proportion of the general assessment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be disappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to disburse his private treasures until the last extremity, determined to oblige him to furnish his contingent with the same punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of these were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Vellore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the assessment as soon as they should find a respectable leader to set the example, and to support them in the consequences of refusing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and represented to him, that Nizam-al-muluck, the Subah of the southern provinces, would behold with satisfaction even the most desperate measures which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a prince who paid so little deference to his authority.

Mortiz-ally, born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many suspected of being uncommonly deficient in personal courage, but this persuasion seems to have taken its rise from the suspicious habits of his domestic life; since he never moved, even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste any thing that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal. The Nabob therefore held the pusillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greatest contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehensions of poison from his own family and domestics. Mortiz-ally still continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the assessment; and the Nabob, wearied by trifling



trifling excuses, one day in public imprudently threatened to dispossess him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the closest connection with the dissatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by assuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as soon as Subder-ally should be removed. 1742.

The Nabob's army was encamped within the suburbs and under the walls of Velore: a body of guards and a numerous retinue constantly attended him within the fort, so that he seemed in no danger from open violence, or secret treachery. But nothing of the conspiracy transpired; and he was unfortunately confirmed in his security by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himself after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that festival to which the Mahomedans of Indostan have the greatest devotion, all the Nabob's servants asked permission to be absent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own families. Contrary to the usual custom of the courts of Indostan, the Nabob suffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four persons, to quit him; and so little was he suspicious of the danger to which he exposed himself, by this unguarded indulgence, that he even desired some of the officers and menial servants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the absence of his own. Mortiz-ally determined not to lose this opportunity, which was such as might never offer again, to strike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poisoned. The Nabob had scarcely finished his meal before he began to be greatly disordered, and although the strength of his constitution, with timely assistance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poison, yet it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack did not thoroughly awaken his suspicions, which those of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to stifle, by representing his indisposition to be the access of a bilious disorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to lose; and proposed to some of his officers, in whom he had the most confidence, to go and put an end to the

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the Nabob's life. It is said that all refused to serve him in this cruel commission, excepting one, whose wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched: this man, a Pitau, having engaged some Abyssinian slaves, led them at midnight to the Nabob's apartment, where the few servants who attended the Nabob were asleep round his bed. They were immediately seized, and prevented from making resistance. The Nabob himself, instead of taking up his arms, attempted to make his escape through a window. The leader of the assassins seized him before he could pass through it, and upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was taking, killed him with several stabs of a poniard.

Meer-afud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this minister was known to bear to his master, suggested to Mortiz-ally the intention of destroying so dangerous a witness of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when some of Mortiz-ally's officers represented to him the necessity of preserving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be necessary for his own conduct, as soon as he should be declared Nabob. These representations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-afud, whose virtues preserved him in this instant of imminent danger from the destruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were strictly guarded during this night of horror, and those only who produced a particular permission were suffered to pass out the ensuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emissaries employed by Mortiz-ally himself, who represented it as an accident in which their master had no part, and imputed it to the sudden resentment of some of the principal officers, of whom the Nabob had treated several with ignominious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But such was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the soldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been assassinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were absent celebrating the feast;



feast; and the soldiery left to their own conduct, in the first impulse of detestation, threatned to storm the fort immediately, and to massacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its strength, this resolution subsided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they should proceed to extremities. The emissaries of Mortiz-ally took advantage of this suspension of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had constantly evaded to satisfy their demands: whereas if the army, they said, would admit Mortiz-ally's pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would doubtless agree to pay all that was due to them.

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indostan are composed of a number of distinct bodies of troops enlisted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the service of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treasures of which he is possessed, joined to his inclination to disburse them; and it is common in the wars of Indostan to see large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Velore forgot its resentments against Mortiz-ally in proportion as the terms proposed by his emissaries appeared to be real. The officers, as they arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his interest by presents; accounts were adjusted, times of payment were stipulated, and all, officers as well as soldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortiz-ally Nabob of the Carnatic within two days after he had murdered Subder-ally.

Mortiz-ally now pitched his tents without the gates of Velore, and caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As soon as the first agitations which this sudden and unexpected revolution had occasioned began to subside, several of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their sentiments on his accession, and concurred in a detestation of it: These ap-

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plied to Moorary-row, the Morratoe governor of Tritchanopoly, who did not hesitate to declare openly against him. The English at Madrafs were requested to protect the son and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithstanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally; who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army, won by the friends of Subder-ally's family, engaged to effect a general revolt. On a sudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Velore they had agreed to receive at distant periods, and surrounding the palace in tumult, accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally had not courage to stand this storm; but immediately determined to place himself out of the reach of danger. Women of rank in Indostan never appear in public; and travel in covered carriages, which are very rarely stopped or examined even in times of suspicion. He therefore disguised himself in a woman's dress, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption.

As soon as his flight was discovered, the army proclaimed Seid Mahomed Khan, the son of Subder-ally, an infant who resided in Madrafs with his mother. The government of the province was entrusted to a Duan chosen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madrafs to Vandevash, the fort of Tuckia-saheb, who had married one of the sisters of Subder-ally.

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These revolutions in the Carnatic happened at a time when Nizam-ul-muluck, having no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his son Ghazi-o'din Khan the post of captain general of the Mogul's armies, was preparing to visit the Carnatic. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is said to have consisted of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their leader, deterred all the princes



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of the countries through which they passed from making any resistance: and they entered the province of Arcot with as little opposition. When arrived at the city, Nizam-al-muluck was struck with amazement at the anarchy which prevailed in every part of the government. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a district, had assumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the same names as distinguished the persons who held the most considerable employments in the court of the Soubah. One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, Nizam-al-muluck said, that he had that day seen no less than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the southern provinces. He afterwards turned to his guards, and ordered them to scourge the first person who, for the future, should in his preference assume the title of Nabob.

The young son of Subder-ally, accompanied by several of his principal officers, paid his visit of homage to the Soubah, who refused him the permission of returning to Vandevash, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect. He then appointed Coja Abdulla Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and sent a summons to Moorary-row, the governor of Tritchanopoly, to surrender the city. Finding that the Morattoe persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and sat down before it: presents and promises supplied the place of hostilities in reducing it. In the month of August Moorary-row evacuated Tritchanopoly, and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morattoes.

Nizam-al-muluck having thus settled the affairs of the province without unsheathing the sword, returned to Gol-Kondah. Coja Abdullah continued to command the army until it arrived there; leaving one of his dependants to administer the government of Arcot during his absence. It was not before the month of March in the next year that he prepared to return, and after having been distinguished with particular honours on the day that he took leave of the Soubah,

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was the next morning found dead in his bed. His body bore marks of poison; but as the hand from which it came could never be discovered, it was imputed to the person who received the most advantage from it, by succeeding him in the government of the Carnatic. This was An'war-adean, who was immediately nominated to that employment, and arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this stranger into the Carnatic was the source of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate; and there are so many and such injurious misrepresentations of his origin, and of that part of his life which preceded his accession to the Nabobship, that it is necessary to invalidate them by an impartial description of his history.

Anawar, the father of An'war-adean, distinguished himself by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Khoran: he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this voyage he was appointed by Aurenzgebe, to be one of those religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign. In consequence of this appointment, he received a pension, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horse, with the right of taking the title of Khan, which signifies Lord, or rather Chieftain. This title would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indostan did not consist in a military commission; by which it is supposed, although rarely insisted on, that the person who receives the commission shall maintain a certain number of horse for the Emperor's service. With these honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopce-mahoo, and there finished his days.

His son An'war-adean went to court with recommendations from his father, which procured him the same rank of horse as had been given to his father: he was afterwards raised to the command of 500 horse, and was appointed governor of the district of Coora-Gehanabad.



nabad. Ill success, or perhaps ill conduct, preventing him from being able to pay the usual revenues of his government to the throne, he quitted it privately and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the southern provinces, gave him a post of considerable trust and profit in the city of Surat, whilst his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him, by reporting him dead. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-adean went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had succeeded to the Soubahship of the southern provinces, and was by him appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Raja-mundrum countries, which he governed for several years. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to visit the Carnatic, An'war-adean attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal stations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah; and a very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla, Nizam-al-muluck appointed him to administer the government of the Carnatic, in which choice he seems to have been influenced by his opinion of the necessity of placing a province, in which he suspected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced soldier; such was An'war-adean.

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There is no country in which the titles of descent are less instrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indostan; none but those of the royal blood are considered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the exclusion is so absolute, that a new act from the sovereign is necessary to ennoble even the son of the Grand Vizir of the Empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make use of his sword, or to whom nature has given superior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grandees of Indostan have arrived to the highest employments in the empire from conditions not less humble than that of An'war-adean Khan, against whose accession to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, the people had taken an aversion, from causes independent of his personal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the visitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the same family, in a succession of
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three Nabobs, who, availing themselves of the general confusion of the empire, had acquired a greater stability in their office than is the usual lot of governors in Indostan. The Nabobs of this family, considering the sovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themselves in their administration with that spirit of ravage, which is the usual consequence of uncertain and transitory possession. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harvests of grain, and these on the quantities of water, which are reserved to supply the defect of rain during the dry season of the year: for this purpose vast reservoirs have been formed, of which not only the construction, but even the repairs in cases of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preservation of these sources of fertility, and at the same time dictates to him an inflexible resolution of receiving his usual incomes; the farmer oppressed, oppresses the labourer, and the misery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exercised in times of scarcity, of which the cruel parsimony of the prince has been the principal cause.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous administration, from the reign of the family of Sadatulla Khan, should behold with regret the introduction of any stranger whomsoever to govern the Carnatic. The young son of Subder-ally was the only person whom the province wished to see their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from the danger of shocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck gave out that he intended to confer the Nabobship of Arcot on this youth, as soon as he should arrive at the age of manhood. At the same time he gave Anwar-adean Khan all the powers necessary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of reposing so delicate a trust in the very person to whom the greatest advantages would accrue from an unfaithful discharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be suspected of having dissembled throughout this transaction.



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action. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally.

Anwar-adean however did not discover any symptoms of discontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a splendor adequate to his birth, and assigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his residence. Here the young Seid Mahomed passed some time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitau soldiers, who had been in the service of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whose country is in the most northern part of the Empire, are the bravest of the Mahomedan soldiery levied in Indostan. From a consciousness of this superiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exists amongst them however dispersed into the services of different princes, they have acquired an insolence and audacity of manners, which distinguishes them, as much as the hardness of their physiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire: they treat even the lords they serve with very little of that respect which characterises all the other dependents of a sovereign in Indostan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict punishment on them, even when they deserve it, as a strong spirit of revenge has familiarised them with assassination, which they seldom fail to employ whenever the smallness of their numbers disables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had served Subder-ally Khan, continued to present themselves every day before his son, demanding their arrears with clamour and insolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preside at the ceremony. The customary invitations were likewise given to all the other relations,
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many of whom were lords of governments in the Carnatic; among these was Mortiz-ally. The young Seid Mahomed was taught to conceal the emotions he naturally felt at seeing the murderer of his father named in the list of his friends as a guest invited with his approbation. Such are the manners of a court in Indostan. It was thought that Mortiz-ally would not venture his person out of the forts of Velore, during the first days of a new administration; but, in contradiction to this notion, he came to Arcot, and presented himself before the young prince, as one of the guests at the wedding; and was treated with distinction and respect by the regent Nabob An'wardean Khan, who was likewise invited to the wedding.

On the day appointed for the solemnization of the marriage, twelve Pitans, with the captain of the band, presented themselves before the young prince, and demanded their arrears with a more determined spirit of insolence than they had hitherto shewn in any of their former applications. It is reckoned the highest indignity that can be offered to a soldier, to order him to retire by an expression of contempt; and if any violence is employed to remove him, he generally resents it in the instant with blood-shed. These considerations were not sufficient to restrain the zeal of Seid Mahomed's attendants from resenting the insult which was offered to their prince; and finding that expostulations did not prevail, they seized on the Pitans, and turned them out of the palace by force. The Pitans suffered themselves to be removed with much less resistance than it was expected they would have made against a treatment so repugnant to the ideas which these haughty soldiers entertain of their own importance. The same day they advanced again into the presence of Seid Mahomed Khan, and apologized for their disrespectful behaviour: their submissions suppressed all suspicions of their conduct during the remaining part of the day.

In the evening Seid Mahomed Khan, with Mortiz-ally and most of the other guests, were assembled, and as soon as the young prince was informed that An'war-adean was approaching, he arose from his seat, and passed into the vestibule of the hall, intending to pay his guardian the compliment of receiving him at the bottom of the steps which

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led into the palace. He was attended by all the other guests, and many of his own officers and guards. The thirteen Pitans, who had made their submission in the morning, appeared the foremost of the spectators in the court below, and distinguished themselves by the affection of great reverence in their manner of saluting Seid Mahomed Khan, as soon as he appeared in the vestibule. After these compliments, their captain, with the appearance of a man sensible that he had offended his lord, and intended to fling himself at his feet, ascended the steps, and was permitted to approach within the reach of his person; when the assassin drew a dagger, and at the first blow stabbed him to the heart.

A thousand swords and poignards were drawn in an instant: the murderer was cut to pieces on the very spot; and ten of his accomplices suffered the same fate from the fury of the multitude below. During this scene of bloodshed, An'war-adean Khan arrived, and endeavoured to calm the general trepidation, by giving such orders as were necessary for the discovery of the conspirators; for the multitude had already persuaded themselves that the Pitans had been employed by some superior power.

All who beheld the young prince deprived of life by this assassination, were instantly struck with the remembrance of the murder of his father committed in Velore; murmurs from many had already declared the suspicions that were entertained of Mortiz-ally, when it was reported, that, during the general confusion, he had gained the gates of the fort, where a large body of cavalry and other troops, which composed his retinue, were waiting for him; and that, surrounded by these guards, he was already on his way to Velore. The precipitation of this flight, which appeared as much the consequence of previous dispositions as the effect of sudden fear, left no doubt that he was the author of the assassination. Nothing was now heard but curses and imprecations on his head, for the murder of the innocent and much-loved Seid Mahomed Khan, and for the murder of the father of this unfortunate prince. The people saw themselves obliged to confine their indignation to these expressions of it: for the strength of Mortiz-ally's escort required a larger
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body of cavalry to be sent in pursuit of it, than could be assembled within the time necessary to overtake him, Velore being no more than twelve miles distant from Arcot.

The multitude now received orders from An'war-adean to retire to their homes; and, as men struck with dismay at a common calamity, assembled in secret companies, to communicate their thoughts on the murder of which they had been spectators.

An'war-adean, either actuated by the same spirit of indignation as the people, or affecting the appearance of it, not only removed the Pitans in his service from their employments, but also gave orders that all of that nation should immediately quit the city; and, as a stronger proof of his resentment, caused their houses to be razed to the ground: a mark of infamy rarely practised, excepting the persons, whom it is intended to stigmatize, have deserved capital punishment. But these expressions of indignation did not exempt him from imputations. Many persons of rank and power in the province asserted that they had discovered secrets, which convinced them that the assassination was the result of a confederacy between him and Mortiz-ally.

They said, that the respect and attachment which were shewn by all ranks of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relations bore in the Carnatic, by possessing the best forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-adean Khan with apprehensions of conspiracies and revolts, which might at one time or other remove him, in order to place Seid Mahomed in the sovereignty: that, actuated by these suspicions, he regarded the destruction of Seid Mahomed as necessary to his own security, and was only withheld from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-muluck's resentment, which suggested to him the scheme of practising on Mortiz-ally, by such insinuations and offers, as might induce him to undertake the destruction of Seid Mahomed; but in such a manner, that, if a discovery should be made, the murder might be imputed to Mortiz-ally alone; who being persuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, and dreading the revenge of this



this prince for the murder of his father, hired the assassins, having previously assured himself of protection from An'war-adean Khan, and even of rewards by an encrease of the Domain of Velore.

The secrets of the princes of Indostan are very difficult to be discovered. In affairs of consequence nothing, except in the most equivocal terms, is ever given by them in writing; and whenever the matter is of great importance or iniquity, it is trusted to a messenger, a man of low rank and great cunning, who bears a letter of recommendation, testifying that he is to be trusted in all he says. So indefinite a commission reserves to the lord who gives it, the resource of disavowing the transaction of his agent; and this he never fails to do, whenever the iniquity is discovered. Hence the public in Indostan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers either from probable conjectures, or from the general idea of their characters. The constitution and defects of the government have rendered poisons and assassinations, in the practice of the great, the common method of removing those who stand in opposition to the ambition of others; in-somuch that a history of one century in Indostan would furnish more examples of this nature than can be found in the history of one half of the kingdoms of Europe since the time of Charlemagne. From the frequency of these enormous practices, even the deaths which happen in the common course of nature, are imputed to those who receive immediate advantage from them. Such were the principles on which the people of the Carnatic judged and condemned An'war-adean Khan for the murder of Seid Mahomed; although no positive proofs were brought of his having been accessory to it. The most probable argument against him was founded on the early appearance of Mortiz-ally at Arcot in the days of a new administration. This was thought incompatible with the wariness of his character, without supposing a connection which assured him of protection from An'war-adean.

An'war-adean strongly denied all connections with Mortiz-ally, and challenged any proof to be brought that either he himself, or any of his dependents, had ever had any correspondence with the Pitans who com-

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mitted the murder; which he attributed solely to Mortiz-ally, alledging as a proof, that the Pitans had often been at Velore, and were known to have received many marks of favour from him. On the other hand, Mortiz-ally retorted the accusation, but brought no testimonies to support his assertion: It was supposed that the only proofs which he could have brought against An'war-adean, would at the same time have condemned himself.

Although An'war-adean was not able to exculpate himself in the opinion of his subjects, he found means to convince his superior, Nizam-al-muluck, that he was intirely innocent of the blood of Seid Mahomed. Nizam-al-muluck, who never did any thing by halves, thought it necessary to give him support, in proportion as he became odious to the Carnatic, and sent him a full and regular commission for the Nabobship of Arcot soon after the death of Seid Mahomed. The province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of his government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs.

War was now declared between Great Britain and France, in consequence of which a squadron of English men of war appeared in the Indian seas. It consisted of two 60 gun ships, one of 50, and a frigate of 20 guns: these ships did not come immediately to the English settlements in Indostan, but passing beyond them, cruised in two divisions in the straits of Sunda and Malacca. They took in these stations three French ships returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry; the cargoes of which produced 180,000*l.* sterling. They also took a French ship at Atchin, which was converted into an English man of war of 40 guns, and called the Medway's Prize. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the squadron united appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July 1745, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans; its fortifications were not completed, and no French squadron had hitherto appeared in India.

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The appearance of the English Squadron, and the report of the reinforcements which they expected from England, alarmed Mr. Dupleix for the safety of Pondicherry. He prevailed on the Nabob An'war-adean to insist with the government of Madras, that the English ships of war should not commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot; but the Nabob at the same time assured the English, that he would oblige the French to observe the same law of neutrality, if their force should hereafter become superior to that of the English. The government of Madras remonstrated, that they were always ready to obey his commands as far as their power extended; but that Mr. Barnet, the commander of the English Squadron, was the immediate officer of the King of Great Britain, by whose orders and commission he acted, independent of the East India company's agents at Madras. The Nabob replied, that all officers of the English nation who came to the coast of Coromandel were equally obliged to respect his government in the Carnatic; and that if Mr. Barnet, with his Squadron, should venture to act contrary to the orders he had now given, the town of Madras should atone for their disobedience.

These threats made so much impression upon the government of Madras, that they requested and prevailed on Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the sea. He therefore sent one of the 50 gun ships to cruise in the road of Balasore, at the entrance of the river Ganges, where he took two or three French ships returning from different parts of India to the French settlements in Bengal. The rest of the Squadron left the coast of Coromandel to avoid the approaching stormy season, and went to Mergui, a port situated on the coast which lies opposite to that of Coromandel in the Gulph of Bengal.

In the beginning of the year 1746 the Squadron returned to the coast of Coromandel, and were reinforced by two 50 gun ships, and a frigate of 20 guns, from England: but at this time the 60 gun ship, in which Mr. Barnet hoisted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the 20 gun ship which came first into India, was sent back to England.

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There was now certain intelligence that a French squadron was preparing to come on the coast of Coromandel, when that of the English was deprived of one of its principal advantages; by losing Commodore Barnet, who died at Fort St. David's in April. His death, happening at a time when the English affairs in India were threatened with danger, was generally regretted as a public loss, and indeed he was a man of great abilities in sea affairs.

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, the English squadron cruising to the southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, descried that of the French arriving on the coast of Coromandel. It consisted of nine ships, which were commanded by Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who had equipped them at the isle of Mauritius, and afterwards, when scattered by a hurricane, had refitted them in the island of Madagascar, overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity, as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced. Of these ships one mounted 26 guns, two 28, one 30, three 34, one 36, and that on board of which Mr. De la Bourdonnais hoisted his flag mounted 70 guns, of which 60 were 18 pounders. There were but 14 other guns of this size in all the whole squadron, the rest being 12 and 8 pounders. All but the 70 gun ship were bored to mount more guns than the number with which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had been able to equip them; and five of them were 50 gun ships. On board of the ships were 3300 men, of which 700 were either Caffres or Lascars: 3 or 400 of the whole number were rendered unfit for service by sickness.

The English squadron consisted of one 60 gun ship, three of 50, one of 40, and one frigate of 20 guns, which was too small to be brought into the action. The number of men did not amount to one half of that in the French squadron; but the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at sea is at present generally decided: and they likewise sailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater skill.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais, knowing the advantages and disadvantages of his force, had determined to decide the impending engagement by board-
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ing the English ships, if it were possible to bring his own into the situations necessary to accomplish this design. Mr. Peyton, who commanded the English Squadron, perceiving this intention, determined to engage with his Squadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy, since in this situation their efforts to board would be easily avoided; and a great part of the day was employed in preserving this advantage. It was not until 4 in the afternoon that the fight began: it was maintained at such a distance that the fire of the small arms from the French ships, notwithstanding the great numbers and expertness of their musketeers, did very little execution; but, on the other hand, the cannon of the English, from the same cause, did much less than might have been expected from them in a closer engagement. The fight finished with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the English Squadron, and the greatest part of these on board the Medway's Prize. We are not exactly informed of the loss sustained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to less than 300. One of their ships, which mounted 30 guns, was in less than half an hour dismasted, and so much shattered, that, immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges.

The next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, when, on a review of the condition of the Squadron, it was not thought prudent, especially as the 60 gun ship was extremely leaky, to venture a second engagement, before the damages it had sustained were repaired. In consequence of this resolution, the ships made sail for the harbour of Trincomally in the island of Ceylon, and in the evening lost sight of the French Squadron, which had lain to the whole day, as if challenging the English, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. This appearance of resolution in Mr. De la Bourdonnais was no more than a feint, practised to deter the English from doing what he most dreaded; for most of his ships had expended the greatest part of their ammunition, and several of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.

In the night of the ensuing day the French Squadron, now consisting of eight ships, arrived in the road of Pondicherry; where Mr. Dupleix com-



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commanded, for the French East India company, all the establishments of his nation in India, the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon excepted. These were under the government of Mr. De la Bourdonnais, to whom all the operations of the squadron were intrusted, independent of the controul of Mr. Dupleix.

The reputation and riches which it was probable Mr. De la Bourdonnais would gain in the command of his armament, created jealousy in the mind of Mr. Dupleix. Diffensions arose between the two commanders: but the activity of Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not suffer the interests of his nation to be sacrificed to them. Knowing that the force which he commanded could not be employed by land with any probability of success, until the English squadron should be either ruined or forced to quit the coast of Coromandel; he determined to go in quest of them as soon as his own ships were refitted and provided with 30 or 40 pieces more of heavy cannon than they mounted on leaving the island of Mauritius.

On the 24th of July the French squadron sailed from Pondicherry, working to the southward against the southern monsoon, and on the 6th of August discovered the English, which had been refitted at Trincomally. The English perceiving the addition of cannon with which the enemy had been supplied at Pondicherry, avoided an engagement. The two squadrons were three days in sight of each other, after which, according to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's account, the English ships availing themselves of the advantage of sailing better than the French, disappeared.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais returned with his ships to Pondicherry, imagining that the English squadron, although they did not think themselves strong enough to risk a general engagement, would remain on the coast of Coromandel, to deter him from attempting any operations against the English settlements. But notwithstanding this opinion, he determined to lay siege to Madras.

The English informed of the preparations which were making at Pondicherry to attack them, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land. But they omitted to employ the most certain means,



means, of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his assistance with a present of money. This ill-judged parsimony left the Nabob so luke-warm in their interests, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a positive permission, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from using menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madrafs.

This settlement had been about 100 years the principal establishment of the English nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was built in a territory granted by the Great Mogul to the East India company, which extended about five miles along the sea-shore, and about one mile in land. The town consisted of three divisions; that to the south extended about 400 yards in length from north to south, and about 100 yards in breadth: none but the English, or other Europeans under their protection, resided in this division, which contained about 50 good houses, an English and a Roman Catholic church, together with the residence of the factory, and other buildings belonging to the company: it was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries, but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them: this quarter has long been known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and was in India called for distinction the White Town. On the north of this, and contiguous, was another division, much larger and worse fortified, in which were many very good habitations belonging to the Armenian and to the richest of the Indian merchants, who resided in the company's territory: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this division, and to the north of it, was a suburb, where the Indian natives of all ranks had their habitations promiscuously. Besides these three divisions, which composed the town of Madrafs, there were two large and populous villages about a mile to the southward of it, within the company's territory, and these were likewise inhabited by Indian natives.

The trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, together with that which is carried on by merchants of various nations from one part of India to another, had raised Madrafs to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the European establish-



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ments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia. There were 250,000 inhabitants in the company's territory, of which the greatest part were natives of India, of various casts and religions; amongst these were three or four thousand of those Indian christians who call themselves Portuguese, and pretend to be descended from that nation. The English in the colony did not exceed the number of 300 men: and 200 of these were the soldiers of the garrison; but none of them, excepting two or three of their officers, had ever seen any other service than that of the parade: the rest of the English inhabitants, solely employed in the occupations of commerce, were still more unfit for military services. At the same time the defence of the place depended on this small number of English subjects: for it was known that the rest of the inhabitants, regarding themselves as neutrals, would take flight on the first approach of danger.

On the 18th of August the French Squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage. They attempted to take a ship belonging to the English company out of the road; but she moved into shoal-water, so near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with arm'd boats; and it was evident, from the unskilfulness of their operations during this cruise, that Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not command them in person: he was at this time in Pondicherry, confined to his bed by sickness.

The protection of the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel was the principal object for which the Squadron had been sent into India; and their appearance before Madras was at this time thought so necessary to its defence, that the Inhabitants were in hourly expectation of seeing them, although they had received no intelligence of them since they were last seen, six weeks before, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. The consternation of the town was therefore little less than despair, when it was reported that they had appeared on the 23d of August 30 miles to the northward of Madras, in sight of the Dutch settlement of Palliacatte, from whence they had again put out to sea, and disappeared. They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60 gun ship was so leaky, that it was

feared



feared the shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, if she should be brought into an engagement.

On the 3d of September the French squadron anchored four leagues to the south of Madras, having on board the troops, artillery and stores intended for the siege. Here a part of the troops was landed, and marching along the coast advanced the next day within cannon shot of the town, where the rest of the soldiers were landed. The whole consisted of 1100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indian natives disciplined in the European manner. There remained on board of the squadron 1800 European mariners.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais directed his attack against the White Town, in which the English resided: the northern side of this division could not be attacked by cannon, as the houses of the next division almost touched the wall, which separated them from each other: the eastern side could only be battered from the sea; but the south and west lay open to the plain. On the 7th of September the French began to bombard the town, from a battery of nine mortars, which they erected to the westward, under the shelter of a large house, within 500 yards of the walls. In the evening three of their largest ships drew as near as the depth of water would permit, and cannonaded the town. In the night Mr. De la Bourdonnais was flung into great perplexity by intelligence that some large ships were seen to the southward of Pondicherry; which indeed was contradicted in the morning: but the first report caused so much alarm in the French camp, that they were preparing to reship their heavy cannon.

On the 8th of September the French had finished a battery of five mortars to the south, and bombarded the town without intermission until the next morning, when two English deputies went to their camp, to treat with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who insisted that the town should be delivered up to him on his own terms; and threatened, in case of refusal, to make a general assault. This resolution arose from his apprehension of the return of the English squadron. As soon as the deputies returned, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until

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the evening, when it was suspended for two hours, during the conference of another deputy sent from the town; after which it continued during the rest of the night.

The next morning, the 10th of September, the deputies returned to the French camp, and, after some altercations, consented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the first conference. It was agreed that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war: that the town should be immediately delivered up; but that it should be afterwards ransomed. Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave his promise that he would settle the ransom on easy and moderate terms.

The capitulation was signed in the afternoon, when Mr. De la Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French colours were immediately displayed; and, at the same time, the English ship belonging to the East India company, which lay in the road, was taken possession of without resistance by the boats of the French squadron. There was not a man killed in the French camp during the siege: four or five Englishmen were killed in the town by the explosion of the bombs, which likewise destroyed two or three houses. From this period it is useful to contemplate the progress made by the English in India, both in the science and spirit of war.

The English inhabitants were permitted to reside without molestation in their houses; but the magazines and ware-houses belonging to the East India company were taken possession of by the French commissaries.

On the day in which Madras was surrendered, a messenger from the Nabob An'war-adean Khan, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Mr. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expressed great surprize at the presumption of the French in attacking Madras without his permission, and threatened to send his army there, if the siege was not immediately raised. Mr. Dupleix sent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promising that the town, if taken, should be given up to him; and by representing,



presenting, that the English would certainly be willing to pay him a large sum of money for the restitution of so valuable a possession. By this transaction, Mr. Dupleix first discovered that he thought the right of disposing of Madras, was invested in himself as governor general of the French establishments in India. 1746.

But Mr. De la Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, did not admit of this authority in the governor of Pondicherry, and, conformable to his promise, proceeded to treat with the English for the ransom of the town. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry protested against the treaty, as a measure highly detrimental to the interests of their nation, which, they said, would be sacrificed to private advantages, if Madras was not razed to the ground. Disputes ensued, which, fortunately for the English affairs, prevented many evils which in all probability would have befallen them if the councils of the enemy had not been divided by these contentions. For on the 27th of September three ships of war, one of 72, the others of 40 guns, with 1360 men on board, arrived at Pondicherry, and with this reinforcement, the French force was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the English settlements in Indostan. Such indeed was the destination and intention of De la Bourdonnais; and he would have immediately begun to carry this plan of hostilities into execution, if all his operations had not been contradicted by Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry.

However, the effects of Madras, which Mr. De la Bourdonnais intended to carry away in his ships, were put on board by the 1st of October, and two of them had sailed to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix was not as yet reconciled to the treaty of ransom, and Mr. De la Bourdonnais was determined not to leave Madras before the governor and council of Pondicherry had given their approbation: at the same time his experience in the navigation of India fully apprized him of the danger to which his ships were exposed, by remaining on the coast of Coromandel at this critical season of the year.

In India the year is divided into two seasons. From the month of October to March the winds blow from the north, and during the rest of the year from the southern points of the compass: these seasons are by



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by mariners called monsoons: the change from one to the other is generally preceded by an interval of about twenty days, in which calms, or light and uncertain winds prevail: the setting in of the northern monsoon generally falls out some time in the month of October, as that of the southern in the month of April. On the coast of Coromandel the northern monsoon sometimes begins with a violent tempest or hurricane; and if the monsoon sets in with moderation, it is often productive of tempestuous weather at different intervals, until the middle of December, and sometimes later; so that it is held dangerous for any vessels to remain on the coast after the 15th of October, or to return to it before the 20th of December.

On the 2d of October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious storm arose, and continued with the greatest violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the road when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind, and was driven so much to the southward, that she was not able to gain the coast again: the 70 gun ship lost all her masts: three others of the squadron were likewise dismasted, and had so much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown over-board all the cannon of the lower tier: the other ship, during the few moments of a whirlwind which happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels belonging to different nations, were either driven on shore, or perished at sea.

The other two ships, laden with part of the effects of Madras, together with the three lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the storm which was raging at Madras: It is observed, that the violence of these hurricanes is generally confined to 60 or 80 miles in breadth, although in their progress they generally blow quite across the Bay of Bengal.

The articles of the treaty of ransom had been adjusted the day before the storm happened. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the

town



town by the 4th of October; and by one of the articles, the artillery and warlike stores remaining in the town, were to be equally divided between the French and English.

Mr. Dupleix had represented to Mr. De la Bourdonnais, that he would not interfere in any transactions with the English after his departure, unless the French remained in possession of Madras for so much time as might be necessary to adjust all discussions arising from the treaty. Mr. De la Bourdonnais therefore represented to the English, the necessity to which he was reduced, by the obstinacy of Mr. Dupleix, of protracting for three months, the term in which he had agreed to put them in possession of the town: the English, apprehensive that if they refused to admit of this alteration, they should be left to the mercy of Mr. Dupleix without a treaty, acquiesced in this proposal; and the treaty was signed on the 10th of October.

All the merchandizes, and a part of the military stores, belonging to the East India company, together with all the naval stores found in the town, had been laden on board of the French ships: these articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds sterling; and the gold and silver of which they took possession to the value of 31,000 pounds sterling; the half of the artillery and military stores was estimated at 24,000 pounds sterling: all the other effects and merchandizes were relinquished to the proprietors of them. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, after which the English were to remain in possession of it, without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon these conditions the governor and council of Madras agreed to pay the sum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000 pounds sterling. Of this sum 240,000 pounds were to be paid at Pondicherry, by six equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining 200,000 pounds, bills were drawn on the East India company in London, payable a few months after they should be presented. The English gave hostages for the performance of this treaty.

On the 12th of October, Mr. De la Bourdonnais invested one of the council of Pondicherry, appointed by Mr. Dupleix, with the government
of



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of Madrafs, and went on board of his own ship, which had been refitted with jury masts. He anchored in the road of Pondicherry on the 15th, and sailed from thence the 20th with seven ships, intending to proceed to Achin: but foreseeing that a part of them would probably be unable to reach that port, he formed the squadron into two divisions; one consisted of the three ships which arrived last from Europe, together with another that had escaped the storm: these were all in good condition; and were therefore ordered to make their way to Achin, without waiting for the other division, which consisted of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's 70 gun ship, one that had been dismasted, and a merchant-ship which had likewise suffered in the storm. The four sound ships very soon sailed out of sight of their comrades: and Mr. De la Bourdonnais, finding that the shattered condition of the other three rendered them incapable of gaining their destined port against a violent and contrary wind, made sail for the island of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December without any accident. He soon after left Mauritius, which, from a forest, he had rendered a flourishing colony, and the arsenal of all the French military expeditions in India. Every body knows the treatment he received on his arrival in France. The friends of Mr. Dupleix had influence enough at the court to get him confined to the bastille, where he remained a prisoner almost three years: upon an examination of his conduct, his justification, proved by original papers which have been made public, procured him his liberty. Had he survived the subsequent ill successes of his nation at sea, his abilities would probably have raised him to the highest commands in the navy of France. His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ship from the keel: his skill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending her against any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he superintended all the details of the service, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were simple, his orders precise, and both the best adapted to the service in which he was engaged. His application was incessant; and difficulties served only to encrease his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to those he commanded.



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The storm ruined the French marine force in India, and preserved the English establishments from imminent danger: but the events which ensued on the coast of Coromandel, seem to have been the consequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French Squadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. Mr. De la Bourdonnais left behind him 1200 disciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ships which came last into India, and 8 or 900 sailors were taken out of the ships that remained on the coast, and disciplined as soldiers. By which additions the Forces of Pondicherry amounted to 3000 Europeans.

The Nabob An'war-adean, very soon after the French had taken Madrafs, began to suspect, or had discovered, that the promise of Mr. Dupleix to put him in possession of the town, was a fraud employed to divert him from giving the English any assistance during the siege. He determined to revenge this affront by laying siege to Madrafs; which he made no doubt of taking from the French, with as much ease as they had taken it from the English: for measuring the military abilities of the Europeans, by the great respect and humility with which they had hitherto carried themselves in all their transactions with the Mogul government; he imagined that this submission in their behaviour proceeded from a consciousness of the superior military prowess of the Moors.

Some of his troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Madrafs before Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, and soon after, his eldest son Maphuze Khan with the rest. The whole army amounted to 10,000 men, and invested the town: two deputies were immediately sent to treat with him, and these he kept prisoners. The French governor had received orders from Mr. Dupleix to refrain as long as possible from committing any hostilities against Maphuze Khan, who imputed this inaction to fear: and having received information of the dispositions which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had made for the attack of the place, he endeavoured to imitate them; great heaps of faggots and earth were brought to the spot where the French had erected one of their batteries of mortars against the town: here the Moors intended to form a battery



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of their cannon, which were so old, as not to be fired without risk to those who managed them.

A shallow river ran along the western-side of Madras: its outlet to the sea was about 700 yards to the south of the White Town; but this was generally stopped by a mound, formed of the sands, which were continually thrown up by the surf. This obstruction confining the waters of the river, rendered it of as much defence as a wet ditch to that part of the town by which it passed. The Nabob's army intended to escalate the Black Town, of which the walls were low, and the bastions of very little strength; this had been the project of Mr. De la Bourdonnais. To facilitate their approach to the walls in a general assault, they employed a great number of men to cut through the mound of sand, a practice which they were informed the English always made use of, whenever they thought it necessary to drain the river. At the same time a large body of troops took possession of a spring lying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only source from which the inhabitants were supplied with good water. These measures shewed a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors. The French finding the waters of the river decrease, and their communication with the spring interrupted, commenced hostilities, and fired from the bastions of the Black and White Town, upon the Moors, wherever they appeared; who immediately retreated from the mound, and the rest of their stations, which were exposed to this fire; but still kept possession of the ground near the spring, which was out of the reach of cannon-shot from the town.

The next day, being the 22d of October, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, and attacked that quarter of the Nabob's army, which was encamped to the north-west, between the town and the spring. Their cavalry mounted on the first alarm, and uniting their squadrons, advanced with the appearance of resolution. Having never experienced the effect of field pieces, they had no conception that it was possible to fire, with execution, the same piece of cannon five or six times in a minute; for in the awkward management of their own clumsy

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artillery, they think they do well if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line, until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them; when the line opening to the right and left, the field pieces began to fire: two or three of the enemy's horses were killed by the first discharge, which threw the whole body into confusion: however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire; but, finding that it continued with vivacity, they took to flight with great precipitation. The French plundered their tents and baggage without interruption, and took two pieces of cannon, so little fit for service, that they flung them into a well. They did not lose a man in the attack, and killed about seventy of the Moors.

Maphuze Khan, immediately after this defeat, collected all his troops into one camp, about two miles to the westward of the town: but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took possession of St. Thomé, a town situated about four miles to the south of Madras.

This place, once in the possession of the Portuguese, and during the time of their prosperity in India famous for the splendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long since been reduced to a town of little note or resort, although it still gives title to a Portuguese bishop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall: a river ran into the sea from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maphuze Khan took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river opposite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horse and foot, drawn up on the other side, to oppose their passage. It had been concerted, that a party of 400 men should march from Madras, and attack the Moors on the northern side of the town, at the same time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the south; but the troops from Madras failed to arrive in time.



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The other detachment nevertheless advanced without hesitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they passed it without loss, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as usual, was very ill served. As soon as they gained the opposite bank, they gave a general fire of their small arms, and then attacked with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a shew of resistance from behind some pallisadoes which they had planted in different parts of the south side. The French continued to advance in good order, and no sooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; when the horse and foot falling back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of the town, the confusion of the throng was so great, that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the westward. Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard of the Carnatic was displayed, was one of the first who made his escape. They were scarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madras arrived, and assisted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were some valuable effects: many horses and oxen, and some camels were likewise taken. It is said, that the French troops murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. This defeat struck such a terror into the Nabob's army, that they immediately retreated some miles from Madras, and soon after returned to Arcot.

It was now more than a century since any of the European nations had gained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprizes, and the scantiness of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long disuse of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a single battalion.

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The officer who commanded the detachment, which routed the Moors at St. Thomé, was a Swiss, named Paradis. He had gained the favour of Mr. Dupleix, by manifesting a violent enmity against Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and Mr. Dupleix regarding him as the most proper person to carry into execution any opposition to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's measures, appointed Paradis governor of Madras. At the same time, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, instructed by Mr. Dupleix's emissaries, assembled and drew up a representation, addressed to Mr. Dupleix and the council, in which they set forth the necessity, as they pretended, of annulling the treaty of ransom. Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry, affecting to respect the general voice of the inhabitants, which they had suborned, instructed Paradis to execute this resolution. On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of Madras were called together; the French garrison was drawn up under arms, and a manifesto, addressed to the English, was publicly read. This paper contained the following declaration and injunctions:

The treaty of ransom made with Mr. De la Bourdonnais was declared null. The English were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception: all merchandizes, plate, provisions, warlike stores, and horses, were declared the property of the French company; but the English were permitted to dispose of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women: they were required to give their parole not to act against the French nation until they should be exchanged; and it was declared, that those who refused to obey this injunction, should be arrested and sent to Pondicherry. All, excepting such as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of Madras, or in any of the country houses belonging to the English without those bounds.

Such injurious and distressful terms aggravated the iniquity of that breach of public faith which produced them.

The French put their manifesto into execution with the utmost rigour, and took possession of the effects of the English with an avaricious exactitude rarely practised by those who suddenly acquire valuable booties: the fortunes of most of the English inhabitants were ruined.



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The East India company was here in possession of a territory larger than that of Madras: it had been purchased, about a hundred years before, from the Indian prince of the country; and their title to it was confirmed by the Mogul's viceroy, when the Moors conquered the Carnatic. The fort was situated near the sea 12 miles to the south of Pondicherry: it was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India, and served as a citadel to the company's territory. About a mile to the south of it was situated the town of Cuddalore, in which the principal Indian merchants, and many of the natives dependent on the company resided. This town extended 1200 yards from north to south, and 900 from east to west: three of its sides were defended by walls flanked with bastions; that to the sea was for the greatest part open; but a river passing from the westward between Fort St. David and the town, flowed, just before it gains the sea, along the eastern side of the town, of which whilst it washed the skirts on one hand, it was on the other separated from the sea by a mound of sand, which the surf throws upon the shore in most parts of the coast. To the westward of the fort, and within the company's territory, were two or three populous villages, inhabited by the natives. The government of Fort St. David depended on that of Madras, to which it was immediately the next in rank: but on the breach of the treaty of ransom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding those of Madras as prisoners to the French, took upon themselves the general administration on the coast of Coromandel.

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They began their administration by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his assistance against the French, by whom they expected every day to be attacked. The defeat of Maphuze Khan at St. Thomé had irritated the Moors so much against that nation, that the Nabob readily engaged to send his army to Fort St. David, on condition that the English would furnish part of the expence. This proposal being agreed to, the army prepared to take the field in two bodies, one commanded by Maphuze Khan, and the other by his brother Mahomed-ally.

In the beginning of December Mr. Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madrafs to Pondicherry, intending to give him the command of an expedition he was preparing against Fort St. David. Paradis set out with a detachment of 300 Europeans, and took the opportunity of this escort to carry away what booty he had collected in his government. Maphuze Khan, desirous to revenge the defeat of St. Thomé, resolved to intercept this detachment; and waited for it, with 3000 horse and 2000 foot, about ten miles to the north of Sadrafs, a Dutch settlement lying 30 miles to the south of Madrafs. The detachment marched in two bodies; one before and one behind the baggage, which was carried by Coolies, a cast of Indians whose sole occupation is to carry burthens. The Moorish cavalry continually harrassed the rear, retreating as soon as the French prepared to fire, and returning as soon as they renewed their march: the infantry armed with match-locks, fired from the shelter of thickets and other covers at too great a distance to do execution. However these attacks greatly retarded the progress of the detachment; and Paradis, apprehensive of being overtaken by the night in the open plain, ordered his baggage to proceed before the first division, and then marched away himself with this body as fast as possible to Sadrafs, leaving the rear to maintain the fight as they could; who nevertheless did not lose courage, and by never firing until the enemy were within certain reach of execution, made their way good to Sadrafs, with the loss of 12 men, who faltering on the way were taken. These prisoners Maphuze Khan shewed as an incontestible proof of victory: and this opinion was in some measure confirmed by the conduct of Paradis, after his arrival at Sadrafs, not venturing to proceed until he had been reinforced by a large detachment



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ment from Pondicherry; which it is probable he had only demanded for the greater security of his own baggage, which consisted of valuable effects. Maphuze Khan, satisfied with the advantage he had gained, left the sea-coast the day after the action, and proceeded to join his brother Mahomed-ally, who had taken the field.

The troops destined to attack Fort St. David assembled at Ariancopang, a small fort built by the French about two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry, and about one mile and a half from the sea: but the officers refusing to admit Mr. Paradis to command them, in prejudice to the right of his seniors in the service; the command was given to Mr. Bury, the oldest officer of the French troops in India.

The European troops in the service of the colonies established in Indostan, never consisted intirely of natives of that country to which the colony belongs: on the contrary, one half at least was composed of men of all the nations in Europe. The christians, who call themselves Portuguese, always formed part of a garrison: they are little superior in courage to the lower casts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher casts, as well as to the northern Moors of Indostan; but because they learn the manual exercise and the duties of a parade with sufficient readiness, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, these pretended Portuguese obtained amongst the natives of India the name of Topassés; by which name the Europeans likewise distinguish them. The Indian natives, and Moors, who are trained in the European manner, are called Sepoys: in taking our arms and military exercise, they do not quit their own dress or any other of their customs. The Sepoys are formed into companies and battalions, and commanded by officers of their own nation and religion. Those troops of the natives, who bring with them their own arms, and continue their own manner of using them, retain the names they bear in their several countries; but on the coast of Coromandel the Europeans distinguish all these undisciplined troops, whether armed with swords and targets, with bows and arrows, with pikes and lances, with match-locks, or even with muskets, by the general name of Peons.

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In the night of the 8th of December the French army set out from Ariancopang, and arrived the next morning, by break of day, at the river Panna, which runs into the sea about a mile and a half to the north of Fort St. David: their force consisted of 1700 men, for the most part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry: they had one or two companies of Caffre slaves, natives of Madagascar and of the eastern coast of Africa; which had been disciplined, and brought into India, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery consisted of six field pieces, and as many mortars.

The garrison of Fort St. David, with the addition of the officers and soldiers who had made their escape from Madras, consisted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. These were intended to defend the fort: and as the Nabob's behaviour, when Madras was attacked by De la Bourdonnais, had caused the English to suspect his assurances of assistance, they hired 2000 Peons for the defence of Cuddalore and the company's territory, and distributed 8 or 900 muskets amongst them. At this time the English had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European discipline, notwithstanding the French had set the example, by raising four or five companies of Sepoys at Pondicherry.

The French Army crossed the river Panna, and entered the company's territory without any other opposition than the fire of some of the Peons, who galled them a little from behind thickets, and other covers; but retreated as soon as fired upon by the enemy's field-pieces. At the distance of a mile and half to the north-west of Fort St. David was a country-house appointed for the residence of the governor, behind which, to the north, was a large garden inclosed with a brick wall, and before the house, to the south, a court with buildings on each side of it. The ford where the French had passed the river was about a quarter of a mile from the garden, in which some Peons were stationed; whom the enemy soon dislodged. Mr. Dupleix having received intelligence that the Nabob had sent no more than 1500 men to the assistance of the English, had instructed Mr. Bury to march through the company's territory, and assault the town of Cuddalore. The French, having met with no other resistance than from the irregular skirmishes of the Peons,