

B-VI/1.10
Fort St. George 25th September 1772

My Lord,

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It makes me extremely happy to be able to inform your Lordship, that by the arrival of His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, the ninth of August from the Mauritius, the accounts which have been already forwarded to your Lordship of the French leaving India are confirmed; and enclosed, I send a copy of the Remarks made at those islands by Mr. Colpeys who was acting Captain of His Majesty's ship at the time, and whom I cannot recommend too much for his extraordinary prudence and diligence in discharge of that duty.

The Nassau India man arrived at this place the third of September, and brought letters from the Cape of Good Hope dated the twenty ninth of June, by which I am informed, that La Belle Poule a French Frigate of 36 guns and 250 men, had just come into False Bay, on her way to the Isle de France, with Monsr. le Chevalier de Ternay on board, who is to succeed to the Government of the Islands, in the room of le Chevalier des Roches.

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I had informed your Lordship in my letter No. IX (a triplicate of which accompanies this) of the Nabob's success against the Marwar and of the fall of Ramnahdporam his Capital, with other circumstances attending the reduction of that country. Since that time, the Naalcooty's country also ^(p. 2) has been reduced to the Nabob's obedience,

Home Misc. 111 East Indies 19 1773 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rochford (No. XII) Recd 10. 4. 1773.

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the Polygar himself slain and Caracoil his capital taken by surprise. The circumstances attending which are fully related in the young Nabob's letter to his father. I also took occasion in Letter No. IX to mention the licentious spirit of the soldiery in this country; and I am very sorry that the behaviour of the officers who surprised Caracoil was such, both to the young Nabob and to the General, as to make it very evident, that they have not the smallest respect for dignity of character, nor a proper sense of military subordination.

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On the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches of August the thirtieth 1771, I endeavoured to communicate to the Nabob everything contained in them respecting himself or country; but on his expressing a desire to have such articles in writing, as either required explanation, or to which an answer might be expected from him, I gave him copies of the correspondence between your Lordship and the Directors, accompanied with a letter of which the paper referred to is a copy. These were all translated into Persian, and after his Highness and his Councillors had maturely considered everything which had been communicated to them from your Lordships dispatches, and what had passed in several conversations I have had with them on the subject, I had the honour of receiving his answer dated the twenty fourth of September 1772 or 25 Jemadisanⁿ 1186. A copy of which accompanies this.

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This letter of the Nabob appears to me to be very full and very explicit. It seems to contain in as few words as possible, the ~~the~~ heads of everything he had

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formerly communicated either to Sir John Lindsay or to me; and the particulars which had till now been variously told and diffused amongst a great number of papers, are in this Letter, presented in one series of articles to your Lordship.

The Nabob's principal aim seems to be, to convince His Majesty, that his real and sincere desire is to maintain the strictest connexion with the Company; and that nothing is farther from his mind, than any wish to diminish the friendship, that at present subsists between them and him. But he thinks he has great reason to complain of the conduct of their servants, and produces a number of instances, wherein their behaviour does not appear to him, to have corresponded with the friendly intentions of their masters. And he is firmly persuaded, that things are misrepresented in England, or the Company never could think they had any cause to find fault with his conduct, or to entertain a doubt of his friendship.

Besides the repetition of many things already set forth in former letters, the Nabob has entered much more fully with me into the discussion of some abuses, which have been continued to be practiced in his country till very lately. These, I am desired to communicate to your Lordship, and as all those communications have been regularly entered in my Diary, the accompanying extracts with the copies of some letter^s, which have passed between His Highness and former Governors, will explain those matters very fully to your Lordship. At the same time the Nabob desires me to acquaint your Lordship that these (4)

communications have been made to me in the fullest confidence, and he seems exceedingly anxious, that they may not be made use of to the prejudice of any of the persons concerned. His purposes will be fully answered if the particular instances given, make it appear that his complaints have not been groundless, and that care may be taken to prevent such abuses for the future. This very anxiety, and the fear of losing friends and getting enemies by hurting individuals, have prevented him hitherto from speaking his mind so freely, as he otherwise would have done: and I have taken upon me to assure His Highness, that the wisdom of administration, will always have a very delicate regard, to whatever, he is pleased to communicate to them in confidence.

The practice of lending money to the Nabob began in the days of his greatest distress when his country was ruined by the ravages of the French and their Indian allies; and when he was obliged to borrow of any one who would lend him to defray the most trifling expences of his family at an interest of thirty or forty per cent per annum or even more. He was also at that time obliged to make use of the same means of raising money, to pay the very large sums, even to sixty lacks of rupees in one year, to reimburse the Company immediately on the conclusion of the French War in India. When he had no resources left in his country already ruined and desolated by both European and Indian enemies. This heavy interest added half yearly or quarterly to the principal and bearing the same annual interest very soon produced immense fortunes

to individuals, while such prospects of gain increased
the ^(p.5) number of the Nabob's creditors, and the load of
his private debt.

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But whatever advantages were produced to
individuals by this method of lending money to the Nabob,
it was found by the Company's servants that much more
was to be got by furnishing money to the Amuldahrs and
Renters of the Circar, which they did at three four or
five per cent per mensem, renewing the bond and adding
the interest to the principal every two months, so as together
with the premium, to produce an annual profit of sixty, seventy
or hundred per cent. This very soon produced numberless
bankruptcies amongst the Nabob's Renters; but the
crops and effects, were seized upon to pay the money
lenders to the utmost farthing and the farmers having neither
money nor credit, were obliged to leave their habitations
to others, who following the same steps, became involved
in the same manner. Besides, any man of bad intentions,
and in bad circumstances, either from his own extravagancies or
otherwise, finding the ready disposition of the Company's
servants to lend money, borrowed at any interest, and
were willing to pay any premium. By this means, although
they should prove deficient in their payments to the Circar,
they were either sure to find protectors, from the interest
of their Creditors, to keep them in their Amuldahrry or Farm.
Or ~~it~~ should the Nabob insist on turning them out for bad
management or non-payment, they were sure to make off with
the money they had borrowed, leaving their all mortgaged to
their creditors, which was seized upon for payment of
their debts, while the Circar revenues or debts remained
unpaid. (p.6)

Thus the Nabob not only lost revenues, but even the country lost inhabitants. The only remedy left was for the Nabob to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds of his own for the payment of the whole principal and interest, at twenty or twentyfive percent before the reduction of the interest and afterwards at ten percent per annum. By this means, he saved the country though at a great expence and an addition to his private debt. But there have also been instances when Renters have proved deficient to the company, and who were also involved with individuals though at the same time deeply indebted to the Nabob. That at the desire of the Governor (which had the force of a command to him then) he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds for the same, bearing interest according to the rate of the times and in this manner the money was secured to the lender, while the Nabob's debts were increased both to the Company and to individuals. The papers referred to are translations of Cadjanna Memorial; or what may be properly enough called orders on the Nabob's Treasury for the payment of such ~~moneys~~ moneys as cannot be stated in their accounts, under any other head but that of Enaum or free gift. These will serve as illustrations of the above.

It seems this practice of lending money had always met with encouragement from the Governors, or at least had been winked at, and the money lenders met with protection and assistance from them; but about a month ago this Governor acquainted the Nabob that he was resolved to forbid

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this practice under the severest penalties which was done accordingly. This the Nabob long wished for, but never could obtain till now when he supposes the Governor had heard ⁽⁷⁾ of his making such communications to me.

The instance that the Nabob gives of what he calles interfering with his justice happend in 1765, when a great Renter was confined by the Cutcherie of Arcot for money owing to the Circar and released by an order from the Governor without an application to the Nabob. I have sent copies of the correspondence between him and the Governor on that subject, by which it appears that although the one thought himself exceedingly injured, the other justifies the measure; but the Extract from the Diary referred to, will serve to throw some light on this transaction.

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What he mentions about his Bazar happened in 1771, and which he tells me was communicated to Sir John Lindsay at the time, when the Mayor's Court of Madrass shewed a disposition to subject his Bazar to their Jurisdiction. This alarmed him exceedingly as the Bazar ~~makes~~ makes a very necessary part of his household and he complained of it accordingly. Since that time no such attempt has been made; but he is not free of apprehension on that head; and he thinks it no more than common justice, that he should have the same authority over his own people in the +Company's Jaghire, which they have over their people in his country. This with what the Nabob has expressed in his letter to me, I think sufficiently explains what he meant by the company's servants interfering with his justice that the liberty he required of exercising

judicial authority was over his own people only, when in the Company's Jaghire, and by no means over the subjects of England anywhere.

$\frac{0}{4}$ The great abuses of the indulgence which the (p. 8) Nabob never refused to all the Company's servants, of transporting their baggage and everything belonging to them through his country duty free, has been the source of the greatest inconvenience to the trading part of his subjects. For merchandize of all kinds being transported under the sanction of a Commanding Officer or a paymaster of a Garrison, or some person of distinction in the Company's service, centers all the trade with them. Some of the Company's servants have even applied for leave to transport goods duty free, but this the Nabob has absolutely refused, for though he should be disposed to favour one, the advantage could not rest entirely with him for any length of time, he would find himself deprived of a very considerable branch of revenue, and of every trading subject in his country; but to shew favour, as he calls it he has compounded for a sum of money, with some of those, who from their interest, or station, fancied themselves entitled to make a certain annual profit by their office.

$\frac{N}{14,15}$ The pressing of his people to serve as coolies, and their bullocks to carry baggage, which ought to be employed for the purposes of cultivation, are what would appear to be some of the Nobob's greatest grievances. This, with other practices of Europeans which are considered as exceedingly oppressive by the inhabitants are sufficiently explained in the papers referred to.

The Nabob has summed up everything which he wants of the Company in twenty four articles, very few of which meant any explanation, as most of them are either so plain of themselves, or have already been so very fully mentioned in other ^(p. 9) papers communicated to the Secretary of State, either by Sir John Lindsay or me. ~~me~~ However, there are some circumstances which I am desired by the Nabob to communicate to your Lordship which may assist in forming ^{a judgement} adjustment of the propriety of the request.

The Treaty of Peace and friendship with the Maharattas, seems to be, in the Nabob's opinion, essentially necessary for the well being of his country, and of the English interest in India; but he desires that whatever conditions may be thought necessary on the part of the English nation, or of the Company, the acquisition of the Gatts as a western boundary to the Carnatick may be admitted to make a part of the basis of any Treaty, that may take place with the Maharattas. This he says they are very well disposed to grant; it will add greatly to the security of the Carnatick, and it has been frequently promised him by the Company's servants.

With respect to the Jaghire, the Nabob wishes to have the renting of it confirmed to him and to his successor, for many reasons mentioned in several former letters already forwarded to the Secretary of State. But he has mentioned one more to me, that could he depend on being continued renter, it would encourage him to lay out money in the cultivation and improvement of the country, which could not fail of being very advantageous both to the

Company and to him; but which cannot be expected of him, while threatened with being deprived of the Jaghire every successive year. However, from a copy of the Company's letter~~s~~ by the Duke of Grafton, it appears they^{are} disposed to continue the Jaghire in^(b. 10) his management.

The Nabob seems determined, not on any account whatever to increase the number of sepoy's on the establishment of the seven Battalions at present in the Company's pay, but says that he will provide sepoy's and force enough of his own against all emergencies. At present he says all is profound peace, and no increase of troops appears to him to be necessary; he has explained himself very fully on this subject in the fifth article; and it appears to me that though it may be possible to advise him to such concessions, he does not seem disposed to receive them as commands.

During the time of the siege of Tanjore, an agreement had been negotiated or was negotiating between the Nabob's son then in the field, and the Army, that should the place be taken by storm, they were to have a certain sum of money instead of the plunder; as an accommodation took place between the Nabob and the Rajah, this agreement fell to the ground, and the Army were disappointed in their expectations. Discontents, caballing and representations followed, which produced a letter from the Board to the General, wherein amongst other things the Board gave it as their opinion, that it was in consequence of taking a place by storm only, that the Army were entitled to the plunder. But^{as} Tanjore was not taken at all, there was no plunder; therefore they had no right to exp^ectancy gratification on that account.

However, should the Nabob be disposed to give them a free gift, their regard for the Army, they said, would make them encourage such a disposition. The expeditions against the Marwar and Naalcooty followed soon afterwards; and as it was ^(p. 11) the accommodation with Tanjore alone, which prevented the Army from receiving an immense sum of ransome money, Ramnadporam was ~~xx~~ stormed nobody knew how; but it was after terms had been partly agreed upon, and might have been soon adjusted, had not the Troops rushed into the place, during some little misunderstanding, which happened at the time amongst the Marwar's people. Caracoil fell next, and was taken by surprise while the Naalcooty's Vaqueels were in actual treaty with the young Nabob and the General. By which the place became forfeited to the army.

After the siege of Tanjore was raised, the Nabob agreed to give five lacks of rupees to the army as a free gift, in recompence for their fatigues of the siege. At Ramnadporam which was taken by storm, his son agreed to give a certain sum to each officer to redeem the place from pillage and on the surprise of Caracoil the young Nabob was obliged to compound for fifty thousand Pagodas with the troops on the spot. Although the Circar troops were employed on all these services, and suffered inconveniences, dangers and fatigues alike with the Company's, yet the Company's officers claim the whole of the Nabob's present, to the total exclusion of his own natural troops. This produced the eighteenth article in the Nabob's letter.

In those twenty four articles is contained the substance of everything the Nabob wishes in order to establish a firm

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and lasting friendship with the Company from which, I think, it will appear, that ~~th~~ he is neither extravagant nor unreasonable. And he himself is now in hopes that since his affairs are so well understood, ^(p.12) they may be finally adjusted with the Company in England under the friendly protection of His Majesty: or on the spot, should the King be graciously disposed to follow that method, and should it be more agreeable to the Company under the eye of one of His Majesty's own immediate servants, and any one whom the Company may depute for that purpose.

This my Lord, I think, finishes all the Nabob's business, as far as it depends on any information which can be transmitted either of the situation of his affairs, of his disputes with the Company's servants or of his applications for ~~th~~ ~~redress~~ redress, and to complete ~~th~~ everything which I can transmit of the state of the country. I have also enclosed extracts from my Diary, & of some transactions which are well known to almost everybody here. By which many of the inhabitants have been ruined, but by which Your Lordship will see, that the Company's servants in high stations, had other means of getting fortunes, besides improving their money either by Trade or lending it at interest and this will assist, to account for the immense riches, which have fallen to the share of some individuals in India.

I have not had an opportunity of being so well acquainted with the state of the northern Circars, as they are entirely under the direction of the Company's servants,

and all have the appearance of mystery and secrecy, but the fortunes made at Masulipatnam, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and other residencies both by the Chiefs themselves, the Councillors, their favourites and friends, are immense. I am very well informed that the Chief of Masulipatnam makes not less than one lack of Pagodas, and the ^(p.13) Chief of Vizagapatnam two lacks of rupees every year exclusive of what may be got by trade, which indeed is but little attended to, and the allowance they make to the Governor of Fort. St. George. The methods therefore are, new letting the farms for which nazirs or fines are paid to the Chief and every person officially concerned. The making war and peace with the refractory Rajahs, each of which carries its reward with it and the lending money to the inhabitants at a high interest. These loans are not always voluntary; but they are means of getting fortunes well understood by the lender, and which the borrower dares not refuse. This practice prevails universally through all the Company's Circars, from the highest to the lowest in their service at this day. Money is frequently borrowed in Madrass at eight per cent to be improved at Twenty five, thirty, forty or more per cent per annum in the Company's Circars.

Accounts from Bengal mention, that the new Governor Hastings is on a tour through the provinces, in order to introduce such regulations as may seem necessary; and that he has established a very rigid system of economy by which the company will be immense gainers every year.

The King Shah Allum is at Delhi, perfectly out of the Company's power, and has been ever since I came to this

country. This has made me regret exceedingly that the situation of things has been such, as to put it absolutely out of my power, either to carry or to send by any proper messenger the King's letters ^(p14) and presents to His Imperial Majesty. However, that he might not be ignorant of His Britannick Majesty's friendship and that he had been graciously pleased to entrust such testimonies of it to my care, I took the liberty to send copies and Persian Translations of His Majesty's letters to Shah Allum, with one from myself, of which the paper referred to is a copy. They were forwarded to Delhi by a Vaqueel sent expressly by the Nabob with an arshdaust from himself to the Pacha of Indostan. This measure I flatter myself will meet with His Majesty's approbation.

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I have just received a letter from Mr. Du Pre of which the enclosed is a copy, acquainting me of his instructions from the Court of Directors to be on his guard as they had cause to be apprehensive that the French ~~wi~~ still had hostile intentions with respect to India. I have sent him such extracts as I judged necessary from Mr. Colpoy's Remarks made at the Mauritius together with Extracts of such articles of Intelligence as I have received from the Cape on the subject, and I have told him in the terms of the letter referred to, that as I have had no information from administration, I am apt to imagine there is no cause to be apprehensive of danger from that quarter at present. However, as I shall very soon sail for Bombay with the squadron to refit during the monsoon where I may expect to receive fresh instructions from your Lordship, I

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shall take such measures for ample information as shall seem expedient, and that I shall communicate the same to the respective presidencies. But should he still think it either ^(p. 15) useful or necessary, I shall be ready to send a sloop either to the Cape or to the Islands.

Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Du Pre's answer in which he agrees with me in opinion; but as I am informed that there is a probability that no ship will be dispatched from this presidency this year, and as I mean to leave nothing undone to promote the security of the Company's possession, I have resolved to send the ~~Har~~ryke Sloop to the Cape of Good-hope to endeavour to procure every possible information with respect to the state of the French force in India; with instructions to the Commanding Officer to use every such mean on his return, as may best answer the intentions of his voyage. I intend sending my dispatches to your Lordship by the same opportunity under the care of the Honourable Mr. Finch, with directions to proceed with them from the Cape in the first homeward bound ship for England.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordships,

most obedient, and

most humble servant

R. Harland

B-VI / 1. (ii)

Fort St. George 28 Sept 1772

My Lord,

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The accompanying letter of the Nabob's, dated the Twentysixth of September 1772 or 27th Jemadisanni 1186 Hizyra, which I have just received, wants very little explanation; but as many things are repeated in it, which are contained in the former letter, it may serve to give your Lordship some idea of the anxiety of the Nabob's mind, about the particulars therein mentioned; and of the sense he has of the ungracious conduct of the Governor, with respect to him, and to everything that belongs to his family.

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I have sent along with this, all the papers enclosed in the Nabob's letter to me, except Mr. Pigot's agreement in 1760, and his letter to the Begum, and Mr. Bouchiers agreement in 1768, which I understand have already been sent to the Secretary of State by Sir John Lindsay. The Nabob, I believe, means by these to convince your Lordship that no former Governor would have refused him the same request he had made to Mr. Du Pre! and as I cannot conceive it possible, he ever could think of giving any of the Nabob's family any support or protection against him, I am astonished the Governor refused this indulgence. (p. 18)

The rest of the letter appears to me to want no explanation. The Nabob seems to think that after doing everything to oblige the company, their servants

IOR: Home Misc 111: Harland to Earl of Rochford (No 811).
Recd 10 April 1773.

have made him but indifferent returns. That he has an undoubted right to the sole jurisdiction over his own people, in any part of his country, of which he esteems the Company's possessions as part, although enjoyed by them as Jaghire. That the conduct of the Company's Representatives, do not correspond with the favourable intentions of their Masters to him. That the advantage accruing both to him and to the Company from his having English officers to his troops, and the necessity he is under of employing some Europeans immediately about his person, and in his family, such as Accountants and Surgeons, could not have been faithfully explained from hence or the Company, he thinks, would rather have contributed to his indulgence, than the contrary, and that he is still jealous of the encroachments of the Company's servants, unless their masters send positive orders to the contrary.

It has been told the Nabob, that Mr. Charles Smith, Mr. Monckton and others, who lent money at a high interest to the renters of the Jaghire, and who were complained against in the year 1770, have been severely censured in England for such practices. This has given him great concern as his wishes were to prevent the evil, but not on any account to hurt an individual. This benevolence of disposition has moved the Nabob to write a letter to the Governor, desiring ^(p. 197) him to intercede for them in his name, and the accompanying paper is a copy

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of a translation which he has sent to me that I might forward it to your Lordship with the same request from the Nabob.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordships

most humble, and

most obedient servant

Rb. Harland.

Letter N^o XII.

Fort St George 25th September 1772.

Sent 19

1773
My Lord

B-V/11(1)

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It makes me extremely happy to be able to inform your Lordship, that by the arrival of His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, the ninth of August from the Mauritias, the accounts which have been already forwarded to your Lordship, of the French leaving India are confirmed; and enclosed, I send a copy of the Remarks made at those Islands by M^r. Colpoys, who was acting Captain of His Majesty's Ship at the time, and whom I cannot recommend too much, for his extraordinary prudence and diligence, in discharge of that duty.

The Nafau Indiaman arrived at this place the third of September, and brought Letters from the Cape of Good Hope dated the twenty ninth of June, by which I am informed, that La Belle poule a French Frigate of 36 Guns and 250 Men, had just come into False Bay, on her way to the Isles de France, with Mons^r. le Chevalier de Ternay on board, who is to succeed to the Government of the Islands, in the room of le Chevalier des Roches.

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I had informed your Lordship in my Letter N^o IX (a Triplicate of which accompanies this) of the Nabob's success against the Marwar, and of the fall of Ramnabadporam his Capital; with other circumstances attending the reduction of that Country. Since that time the Nabob's Country also

Earl of Rochford

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Home Misc. III East Indies 19 1773

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of his making such communications to me. —

The instance that the Nabob gives of what he calls interfering with his justice, happened in 1765: when a great Nentor was confined by the Cutcherie of Arcot for money owing to the Circar, and released by an order from the Governour, without an application to the Nabob. I have sent copies of the correspondence between him and the Governour on that subject, by which it appears that altho' the one thought himself exceedingly injured, the other justified the measure; but the Extract from the Diary referred to, will serve to throw some light on this Transaction. —

What he mentions about his Bazar happened in 1771, and which he tells me was communicated to Sir John Lindsay at the time, when the Mayors Court of Madras shewed a disposition to subject his Bazar to their Jurisdiction. This alarmed him exceedingly, as the Bazar makes a very necessary part of his Household, and he complained of it accordingly. Since that time no such attempt has been made; but he is not free of apprehensions on that head: and he thinks it no more than common justice, that he should have the same authority over his own people in the Company's Saghere, which they have over their people in his Country. This with what the Nabob has expressed in his Letter to me, I think sufficiently explains what he meant by the Company's Servants interfering with his justice, that the liberty he required of exercising judicial authority was over his own people only, when in the Company's Saghere; and by no means over the Subjects of England anywhere. —

The great abuses of the Indulgence which the

Nabob

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Nabob never refuses to all the Company's Servants, of transporting their baggage and every thing belonging to them through his Country duty free, has been the source of the greatest inconvenience to the Trading part of his Subjects. For Merchandize of all kinds being transported under the sanction of a Commanding Officer or a paymaster of a Garrison, or some person of distinction in the Company's Service, centers all the Trade with them. Some of the Company's Servants have even applied for leave to transport Goods duty free; but this the Nabob has absolutely refused, for though he should be disposed to favour one, the advantage could not rest entirely with him for any length of time, as others would expect the same indulgence: so that in a short time, he would find himself deprived of a very considerable branch of revenue, and of every trading Subject in his Country; but to shew favour, as he calls it he, has compounded for a sum of money, with some of those, who from their Interest, or Station, fancied themselves entitled to make a certain annual profit by their Office.

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The pressing his people to serve as Coolies, and their Bullocks to carry baggage, which ought to be employed for the purposes of cultivation, are what would appear to be some of the Nabob's greatest grievances. This, with other practices of Europeans which are considered as exceedingly oppressive by the Inhabitants, are sufficiently explained in the papers referred to.

The Nabob has summed up every thing which he wants of the Company in twenty four articles, very few of which want any explanation, as most of them are either so plain of themselves, or have already been so very fully mentioned in other

papers

papers communicated to the Secretary of State, either by Sir John Lindsay or me: However, there are some circumstances, which I am desired by the Nabol to communicate to your Lordship, which may assist in forming a judgement of the propriety of the request. ~

The Treaty of peace and friendship with the Maharattas, seems to be, in the Nabol's opinion, essentially necessary for the well being of his Country, and of the English Interest in India; but he desires that whatever conditions may be thought necessary on the part of the English Nation, or of the Company, the acquisition of the Gatts as a Western boundary to the Carnatick, may be admitted to make a part of the basis of any Treaty, that may take place with the Maharattas. This he says they are very well disposed to grant, it will add greatly to the security of the Carnatick, and it has been frequently promised him by the Company's Servants.

With respect to the Jaghire, the Nabol wishes to have the renting of it confirmed to him and to his Successor, for many reasons mentioned in several former Letters already forwarded to the Secretary of State: but he has mentioned one more to me, that could be depended on being continued Rentier, it would encourage him to lay out money in the cultivation and improvement of the Country, which could not fail of being very advantageous both to the Company and to him; but which cannot be expected of him, while threatened with being deprived of the Jaghire every successive year. However from a copy of the Company's Letter by the Duke of Grafton, it appears they are disposed to continue the Jaghire in

his

his management.

The Nalob seems determined, not on any account whatever, to increase the number of Sepoys on the establishment of the seven Battalions at present in the Company's pay; but says that he will provide Sepoys and force enough of his own against all emergencies. At present he says all is profound peace, and no increase of Troops appears to him to be necessary; he has explained himself very fully on this subject in the fifth article: and it appears to me, that though it may be possible to advise him to such conceptions, he does not seem disposed to receive them as commands.

During the time of the Siege of Tanjore, an agreement had been negotiated, or was negotiating between the Nalob's Son then in the Field, and the Army; that should the place be taken by storm, they were to have a certain sum of money instead of the plunder, as an accomodation took place between the Nalob and the Rajah, this agreement fell to the ground, and the Army were disappointed in their expectations. Discontents, caballing and representations followed, which produced a Letter from the Board to the General, wherein amongst other things the Board gave it as their opinion, that it was in consequence of taking a place by storm only, that the Army were entitled to the plunder. But as Tanjore was not taken at all, there was no plunder; therefore they had no right to expect any gratification on that account: however, should the Nalob be disposed to give them a free gift, their regard for the Army, they said, would make them encourage such a disposition. The Expeditions against the Marwar and Naalsoty followed soon afterwards: and as it was

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the accomodation with Tanjore alone, which prevented the
Army from receiving an immense sum of handsome money,
Ramnadporam was stormed nobody knew how; but it was after
terms had been partly agreed upon, and might have been soon adjusted,
had not the Troops rushed into the place, during some little
misunderstanding, which happened at the time amongst the
Marwar's people. Caracoil fell next, and was taken by surprize,
while the Naalcooty's Vaqueels were in actual Treaty with the young
Nabob and the General. By which the place became forfeited to the
Army.

After the Siege of Tanjore was raised, the
Nabob agreed to give five Lacks of Rupees to the Army as a free gift,
in recompence for their fatigues of the Siege. At Ramnadporam
which was taken by storm, his Son agreed to give a certain sum to
each Officer to redeem the place from pillage. And on the surprize
of Caracoil the young Nabob was obliged to compound for Fifty
thousand Pagodas with the Troops on the spot. Altho' the Circar Troops
were employed on all these services, and suffered inconveniences,
dangers and fatigues alike with the Company's; yet the Company's
Officers claim the whole of the Nabob's present, to the total exclusion of
his own natural Troops. This produced the Eighteenth Article in the
Nabob's Letter.

In those twenty four articles is contained the
substance of every thing the Nabob wishes in order to establish a
firm and lasting friendship with the Company; from which, I think
it will appear, that he is neither extravagant nor unreasonable. And
he himself is now in hopes, that since his affairs are so well understood,

they

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they may be finally adjusted with the Company in England, & under the friendly protection of His Majesty: or on the spot, should the King be graciously disposed to follow that method, and should it be more agreeable to the Company, under the Eye of one of His Majesty's own immediate Servants, and any one whom the Company may depute for that purpose. ~

This my Lord I think finishes all the Nabob's Business, as far as it depends on any information which can be transmitted either of the situation of his affairs, of his disputes & with the Company's Servants or of his applications for redress. And to complete every thing which I can transmit of the State of the Country, I have also enclosed Extracts from my Diary, of some transactions which are well known to almost every body here. By which many of the Inhabitants have been ruined, but by which Your Lordship will see, that the Company's Servants in high stations, had other means of getting fortunes, besides improving their money either by Trade or lending it at Interest. And this will assist, to account for the immense Riches, which have fallen to the share of some Individuals in India. ~

I have not had an opportunity of being so well acquainted with the state of the Northern Circars; as they are entirely under the direction of the Company's Servants, and all have the appearance of mystery and secrecy; but the fortunes made at Masulipatnam, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and other residencies both by the Chiefs themselves, the Councillors, their Favourites and friends, are immense. I am very well informed, that the Chief of Masulipatnam makes not less than one Lack of Pagodas, and the

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Chief of Visagapatnam two Lacks of Rupees every year -
 exclusive of what may be got by Trade, which indeed is but little
 attended to, and the allowance they make to the Governor of
 Fort St. George. The methods therefore are, new letting the Farms
 for which Taxes or fines are paid to the Chief, and every person
 officially concerned. The making War and peace with the refractory
 Rajahs, each of which carries its reward with it. And the lending
 money to the Inhabitants at a high Interest. These loans are not
always voluntary; but they are means of getting fortunes well
 understood by the lender, and which the borrower dares not refuse. -
 This practice prevails universally through all the Company's -
 Circars, from the highest to the lowest in their service at this day.
 Money is frequently borrowed in Madras at eight per cent to be
 improved at Twenty five, Thirty, Forty or more per cent per Annum
 in the Company's Circars. -

Accounts from Berghal mention, that the
 new Governor Hastings is on a Tour through the provinces, in
 order to introduce such regulations as may seem necessary; and
 that he has established a very rigid system of Economy, by which
 the Company will be immense gainers every year. -

The King Shah Allum is at Delhi, perfectly
 out of the Company's power, and has been ever since I came to this
 Country; this has made me regret exceedingly that the situation of
 things has been such, as to put it absolutely out of my power, either
 to carry or to send by any proper messenger, the King's Letters -

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and presents to His Imperial Majesty. However that he might not be ignorant of His Britannick Majesty's friendship, and that he had been graciously pleased to entrust such testimonies of it to my care; I took the liberty to send Copies and Persian Translation of His Majesty's Letters to Shah Allum, with one from myself, of which the paper referred to is a Copy. They were forwarded to Delhi by a Vaqueel sent expressly by the Nabob, with an Archdaust from himself to the Natcha of Indostan. This measure I flatter myself will meet with His Majesty's approbation.

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I have just received a Letter from M^r Du Pré of which the inclosed is a Copy, acquainting me of his instructions from the Court of Directors to be on his guard, as they had cause to be apprehensive that the French still had hostile intentions with respect to India. I have sent him such Extracts as I judged necessary from M^r Colpoys's Remarks made at the Mauritias, together with Extracts of such Articles of Intelligence as I have received from the Cape on the subject, and I have told him in the terms of the Letter referred to, that as I have had no information from Administration

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I am apt to imagine there is no cause to be apprehensive of danger from that quarter at present. However as I shall very soon sail for Bombay with the Squadron to refit during the Monsoon where I may expect to receive fresh instructions from your Lordship; I shall take such measures for ample information as shall seem expedient, and that I shall communicate the same to the respective Presidencies: But should he still think it either

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useful or necessary, I shall be ready to send a Sloop either to the Cape or to the Islands. ~

Since writing the above I have received M.^r Du Pre's answer in which he agrees with me in opinion; but as I am informed that there is a probability that no Ship will be dispatched from this Presidency this year, and as I mean to leave nothing undone to promote the security of the Company's possessions, I have resolved to send the Flanke Sloop to the Cape of Good-hope, to endeavour to procure every possible information with respect to the state of the French force in India; with instructions to the Commanding Officer to use every such mean on his return, as may best answer the intentions of his voyage. I intend sending my dispatches to your Lordship by the same opportunity under the care of the Honourable M.^r Finch, with directions to proceed with them from the Cape in the first homeward bound Ship for England. ~ I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient, and

most humble Servant

R.^t Aurland

Fort St George 28th September 1772.

My Lord

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The accompanying Letter of the Nabob's, dated the Twenty sixth of September 1772 or 27th Semadisanni 1186 Hijrya, which I have just received, wants very little explanation; but as many things are repeated in it, which are contained in the former Letter, it may serve to give your Lordship some Idea of the anxiety of the Nabob's mind, about the particulars therein mentioned: and of the sense he has of the ungracious conduct of the Governor, with respect to him, and to every thing that belongs to his family.

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2. 3. 4.

I have sent along with this, all the papers enclosed in the Nabob's Letter to me, except M^r Pigot's agreement in 1760, and his Letter to the Begum, and M^r Bouchiers's agreement in 1763, which I understand have already been sent to the Secretary of State by Sir John Lindsay. The Nabob, I believe, means by these, to convince your Lordship, that no former Governor would have refused him the same request he had made to M^r Du Pré. And as I cannot conceive it possible, he ever could think of giving any of the Nabob's family any support or protection against him, I am astonished the Governor refused this indulgence.

Earl of Rockford

The

The rest of the Letter appears to me to want no explanation. The Nabob seems to think, that after doing every thing to oblige the Company: their Servants have made him but indifferent returns. That he has an undoubted right to the sole jurisdiction over his own people, in any part of his Country, of which he esteems the Company's possessions as part, altho' enjoyed by them as Jaghires. That the conduct of the Company's Representatives, do not correspond with the favourable intentions of their Masters to him. That the advantages accruing both to him and to the Company, from his having English Officers to his Troops: And the necessity he is under of employing some Europeans immediately about his person, and in his family, such as Accountants and Surgeons, could not have been faithfully explained from hence or the Company, he thinks, would rather have contributed to his indulgence, than the contrary. - And that he is still jealous of the encroachments of the Company's Servants, unless their Masters send positive orders to the contrary. &

It has been told the Nabob, that M^r Charles Smith, M^r Morckton and others, who lent money at a high Interest to the Renters of the Jaghires, and who were complained against in the year 1770, have been severely censured in England for such practices. This has given him great concern as his wishes were to prevent the evil; but not on any account to hurt an Individual. This benevolence of disposition

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has moved the Nabob to write a Letter to the Governor, desiring him to intercede for them in his name, and the accompanying paper is a copy of a translation which he has sent to me that I might forward it to your Lordship, with the same request from the Nabob. I have ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{him} honor to be, with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordship's
most obedt & most hum^{ble} Servant

R^t Hurd

111
 Ms 21-27 sent with (29.9.1772) recd 10.4.1773 (Nathl)
 Ms 28-30 with No 14 (30.9.1772) in 10.4.1773 37
 Ms 33 with No 15 (30.9.1772) with enclosure (at least one) 10.4.1773
 List of the Packet from Sir Robert Harland

sent to the Earl of Rockford, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. Fort St. George 3^d October 1772.

Duplicates

Letter N^o X. Sir Robert Harland to the Earl of Rockford } 1st September 1772.

K. M^{rs} M^r Spherons memorial to the Habit

Letter N^o XI. Sir Robert Harland to the Earl of Rockford } 10th September

L. Duplicates

Correspondence with M^r Law &c.

1. M^r Law to Sir Robert Harland 14th March 1772.
2. Frenches Petition 3^d February 1768
3. D^o - D^o 4th "
4. M^r Law to Sir Robert Harland 24th July 1772
5. Daubigny's declaration
6. Sir Robert Harland to M^r Law 28th July
7. D^o to the President and Council of Fort St. George } 28th "
8. President and Council to Sir Robert Harland 2^d August
9. Government of Pondicherry to the Presidency of Fort St. George } 23^d June
10. Presidency of Fort St. George to the Government of Pondicherry } 29th "
11. Government of Pondicherry to the Presidency of Fort St. George } 6th July
12. D^o to D^o } 12th "
13. Presidency of Fort St. George to the Government of Pondicherry } 1st August

Fort St. George on Sep. 1772

- N^o 14. M^r Green's declaration ————— 30th July 1772
 15. M^r Adams's declaration ————— 30th "
 16. M^r Chaigneau's declaration ————— 31st
 17. Sir Robert Harland to M^r Laru ————— 4th August
 18. M^r Laru to Sir Robert Harland ————— 11th "
 * Letter N^o XII. Duplicate, Sir Robert Harland } 25th September
 to the Earl of Rochford ————— }

M. Duplicates

- N^o 1. M^r Colpoy's Remarks at the Mauritias. — June 1772.
 3. Sondat al Omrah to the Nabob ————— 26th "
 4. Sir Robert Harland to Shah Allum ————— 15th August
 5. M^r Du Pré to Sir Robert Harland ————— 23rd September
 6. Sir Robert Harland to M^r Du Pré ————— 25th "

N. Duplicates

- N^o 1. Sir Robert Harland to the Nabob ————— 1st May 1772.
 2. The Nabob to Sir Robert Harland ————— 24 September
 3. Rajem Cawn to Capt^m Fletcher ————— 28th July 1778
 4. Intelligence from Ongole ————— 4th August 20-2
 5. The Nabob to Capt^m Fletcher ————— 4th "
 6. Governor Pigot to the Nabob ————— 4th March 1763
 7. D^o — to — D^o ————— 11th "
 8. The Nabob to Governor Pigot ————— 27th "
 9. Governor Pigot to the Nabob ————— 28th April
 10. Cadjannah Memorial —————
 11. D^o — D^o —————
 12. The Nabob to Governor Palk ————— 9th May 1764
 13. Governor Palk to the Nabob ————— 24th "
 14. A Gentle Letter —————

- ✓ N^o 15. Chottar Singh Arjee _____ 2^d August 1772. 251-2
- 16. Arjee from the Circar Officers _____ 17th "
- 17. Nabob to the Governour _____ 30th "

NB. The Papers contained in this packet marked N. were delivered as vouchers for many things mentioned in the Nabob's letter of the 24th September, though not referred to in the margin.

O. Duplicates

Extracts from the Diaries

- ✓ N^o 1. Ally Navis Court's account of the methods used by the Company's servants to oblige the Nabobs Amudahr &c to borrow money _____ } 27th July 1772
- ✓ 2. Mode of managing the Interest Bonds with the Inhabitants _____ } 28th "
- ✓ 3. Minarz's debts transferred to the Nabob by Mr. Palk _____ } 26th "
- ✓ 4. Particular hardships upon the Inland Trade and the methods used of defrauding the Nabob's revenues, pressing ladies &c. _____ } 28th "
- ✓ 5. Husoun Ally Court proposed to the management of the Circars, and wherefore _____ } 25th Septem^r
- ✓ 6. The advantages taken of the Nabob's necessities by the Company's principal servants and the method of buying up Grain &c. used by the Commanding Officers and Playmasters _____ } 26th July
- ✓ 7. Account of the present Comrondant of Bangalore _____ 26th "
- ✓ 8. Account of Mr. Palk and Rajou pundit _____ 13th August
- ✓ 9. Account of Blair _____ 25th July "

N^o 10. Taxud Dier's account of the treatment of
the Inhabitants of Bengale &c^s } 31st July 1772.

11. Rajem Carr's account of means used by the
Commanding Officers to get money } 26th ..

12. A conversation between the Nabob and the
Governor, about bad usage of the Inhabitants,
pressing coolies, the linear of Muchanagar
and the Company's Lands on the Southside of
the Krishna } 17th August

NB. These Extracts are meant as Illustrations of several
passages in the Nabob's Letter of the 29th of September, though not
referred to in the Margin.

Letter XIII. Duplicate Sir Robert Harland to
the Earl of Rochford } 28th September 1772

P. Duplicates

✓ N^o 1. The Nabob to Sir Robert Harland } 26th .. (Extract)

2. Governor Palk to the Nabob } 27th December 1766.

3. Extract from Governor Bouchiers Letter to
the Nabob } 26th Novemb^r 1763

4. The Nabob to the Governor } 15th September 1771

5. The Nabob to the Governor } 28th ..

Secret Letter, Duplicate Sir Robert Harland
to the Earl of Rochford } 29th ..

Q. Duplicates

Letters concerning the Nabob's Titles

N^o 1. The Nabob to the Governor } 22nd September 1771

2. The President and Council of Fort St. George
to Sir Robert Harland } 29th ..

3. Sir Robert Harland to the President and Council. 1st October ..

(41.) With NO XIV Duplicate Sir R Harland to
Earl of Rochford } 30. Sept 1772

With NO XV } 30. Sept 1772

File
B.VI

The Process of Lending Money to Amildars

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327

Extract from the Diary. Monday 27 July 1772.

Ally Navis Carver

As soon as the Commanding Officers of the different Garrisons and the paymasters hear that the Amildar is pressed for money, they go to him, you want money, I have Ten or Twenty Thousand pagodas at your service and you may have it for whatever time you please. They then agree for an Interest of two, three or four per Cent per Mensem. And so much is to be paid at a certain time in money and so much in paddy. Then they say, as I lend you this money you will give me your paddy at a low price, that is to say, you will give me two Marshals per pagoda more than the Market-price, to which to gain favour they agree. And as the Amildars Granaries are more convenient to keep it in, you will let it remain with you till I want it. Very well. Servants, peons &c. are set over it to take care that the Commanding Officers paddy is kept separate from the Amildars, whose Dalda &c. he must pay as long as they are with him. And as Paddy loses of its measure by keeping, the full quantity with the additional two Marshals on each Pagoda must be measured out by the Amildar or by his people to the purchaser from the Commanding Officer, and whatever deficiency may happen the Amildar must make it good. Besides as the Officers are not acquainted with the manners of the Country, the Amildar must hire Bullacks or Cories to carry it to whatever place, the Commanding Officer or paymaster pleases, and deliver it to his people free of all expence. The time of disposing of it always is when Price at the highest, and during its sale every other market is shut up, so that the price on that account is increased also.

By

By these means the Amuldar's loses 10% Cent, the Country people are very much imposed upon, the Company's people receive not only extravagant Interest upon the whole; but all this profit upon the Paddy and acquire immense Fortunes, while the Rabs by the frequent Bankruptcies of his principal Servants is deprived of a great part of his Revenue. And should the Rabs make any complaint then they say what, you complain when we have lent you our money there is no money in your Country, your Country is ruined, what would you have done had we not lent you this money? And now you throw difficulties in the way of our recovering it, and making the usual advantages.

Should the Paddy become cheaper and the purchase undisposed of, the Paddy is then left in the hands of the Amuldar who is to be accountable to them in money. In that case they speak to him in unkind words, telling him he knows much better how to dispose of it than they do. Therefore the next time the Amuldar wants money they agree to let him have whatever he may want, to which they add the original price of the Paddy undisposed of, the two marshals 20% for pagoda addition, the Servants Wages and Batta who took care of it, with the Interest of the whole from the first day, of which they make one aggregate sum, and for which they receive the Amuldar's Bond leaving the Interest and payable in a certain time as may be agreed on.

Such practices very often oblige the Rabs to turn his Amuldar out, as he cannot be but sensible that they never can pay such exorbitant demands of Interest, without ruining the Inhabitants or defrauding the Circar; and sometimes he has other reasons for appointing others in certain districts. Then those who have been the money lenders complain that such persons are so much in their debt

and

and require that either the Nabal suffer them to remain in the
 management of their district till they be able to pay them what they owe,
 or that he take the debt upon himself. If the Nabal should be inclined to suffer
 the Amuldahs to remain according to their request, he knows there would be
 no end of such practices, and his Country would be inevitably ruined; he is
 therefore obliged to chuse the least of two evils and to take the accumulated
 sum the produce of such practices upon himself, and either to pay it or to
 give his Bond for the whole, liable to Ten per Cent Interest p^o Annum.

When the Amuldahs get in debt to the Company's
 Servants they seldom live in the Towns or Forts; but retire into the Country
 to avoid the importunities of their Creditors. The Dubashes them of the money
 lenders are sent to demand payment at the time it is due. These set out in
 a style little inferior to their Masters, and on their arrival they are treated
 with all the elegance of the Country. Their train of Palanquins, Boys, Poms
 &c. &c. receive both Wages and Batta from the Debtor, and even dancing Girls
 and every species of expensive amusement are procured for them at the
 Amuldahs expence. And when they think it necessary to return, in
 consideration for a Bride which they accept they go back without the money,
 and make an excuse to their master on account of the poverty of the man
 &c. &c. &c. all these exorbitant exactions puts it more and more out of the
 power of the debtor to discharge his debt; and at last the whole with all the
 increase of a heavy Interest comes upon the Nabal to pay.

It was the custom of Lallendah Mookally who was
 the Dubash to the pay master of Trichanopoly from the first time, the
 Europeans had a Garrison there to M^r Rogers time, to oblige all the
 Amuldahs, Renters and Servants of the Circar, to take money from him at an
 exorbitant Interest. He not only did this to all those of the Trichanopoly
 district; but he came to Ally Davis then Manager in the Trinavelly
 Country and asked him if he did not want money, and desired him to accept
 some from him at such an Interest. He told him he did not want money, that

— he

he had three thousand pagodas by him, which he would give him free of Interest to lend to any one he pleased, and that he only would expect it when called upon for money from the Circar, he also told him that he would be much obliged to him if he would not insist on his borrowing of him; by such means and fair words he got off.

This same Colendak was the Man that went to the Rajah of Tanjore, and offered to raise the money agreed on for the ransom of his Country last year, for which he received a present of Fifty thousand Rupees for himself, besides the premium and Interest agreed on for his trade. Notwithstanding all which the Rajah was obliged to pawn plate and Jewels to the full amount of the sum borrowed; the Lack of Pagodas of which remains as yet unpaid; and the Interest continues to go on.

Plamenfellah who was the Dubash to the Commanding Officers of Trichanopoly from the first English Garrison to Col. Wood's time used to carry on the same Trade.

The above is a copy of the original in the possession of Mr. D. O.

Ally Bano's former account of the creditors used by the Company's servants to oblige the Nabob's. Amuldar's No. 4 to borrow money Extracted from the Diary November 27th 1772.

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Referred to me for Mr. B. B. Hartland's Letter N^o 12
25 Sep^r 1772

Extract from the Diary. Tuesday July 28th 1772.

The Commanding Officer at Bangalore had wrote to Asem Govr Bahauder acquainting him that the Nabob's Acster had not paid him some Interest due on a certain sum of money which he had lent him, and requesting an order from the Nabob for the payment. And this day Asem Govr wrote to him acquainting him that the Company's order was only Ten p^{cent}, yet he had obliged the Inhabitants to give Obligations at the rate of Forty Eight p^{cent} p^{annuum}. That they could not pay so much without ruining both themselves and the Country; however on his laying all this before the Nabob, out of pure friendship for him, and to prevent bad consequences both to his people and Country, the Nabob was willing for this once to pay this Interest himself, but absolutely forbade lending any money to his people for the future.

I was also informed that this practice was universal all over the Carnatic; and the Company's Commanding Officers or Paymasters, not only employed their own money this way; but all their friends, and even people in high Stations sent their money to be employed in this way. But now to avoid it being known as much as possible, the principal sum was first mentioned then the agreement for the Interest; and if it was 48 p^{cent} p^{annuum}, the 10 p^{cent} was added to the principal both which added made the sum specified in the Bond; and the 58 p^{cent} Interest appears only as charged for the whole. By which means a charge of Interest was made upon 10 p^{cent} more than the principal, or 48 for 60 every year.

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My dear Sir's account of
 the money sent by the Company
 to the Nabob's Acster

Extract from the Diary. Sunday 26 July 1772.

In M^r. Palk's time there was one French, named
 Mincary a Partner of Comjeveram or Ponnammalee, and who had formerly
 been a manager of the Nabob's and was very much in debt to him on
 account of Wandersack &c.^o. The Nabob sent him prisoner to Arcot, he
 complained to the Governour, who sent a very haughty message to the Nabob
 desiring to know why he dared to confine one of the Company's Partners,
 and by the Governour's order without consulting the Nabob he was sent
 under a Guard from Arcot to Madras and delivered up to him. Mincary
 made Interest, paid Fifteen thousand Pagodas to M^r. Palk and Five or six
 thousand to his Dubash, and the same night he was suffered to escape.
 Next morning M^r. Palk with all Mincary's Creditors came to the Nabob. -
 This Man whom you first confined say they, and delivered over yesterday
 has made his escape; you must pay us all the money he owed us. It was
 in vain for the Nabob to urge the injustice of this demand; that they had
 taken the Measure of his power, that he himself, and many of his Servants
 were also bound: he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself, -
 both principal and the accumulated Interest added, to near a Lakh of Pagodas
 for which he was obliged to give Interest Bonds. -

Piece of managing the Nabob's
 Bonds with the Substantive
 Extracted from the Diary July 26

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Extract from the Diary. Friday 25th September 1772.

Cooteobut Dowlah is one of Husein Ally Carn's honorary names. So that by his Grace of the 19th March 1766 to the Nabob it appears that he had agreed to give Two Lacks of Rupees to the Governor for his appointment to the Circars to be paid through the Nabob's hands. Which was done partly by that means and partly by the hands of M^r. Pybus then Chief at Masulapatnam. This with other proportional Nagies given to the Company's principal servants at the time appears to account for the preference given to Husein Ally; altho' they had sent General Caillaud to the Nabob on purpose to bring him to Madras, to settle this affair and to accept the management of the Circars. The Nabob was then going into the Madura and Tinnevely Countries to settle them; but left that business by which he suffered great loss, and came to Madras. He was however disappointed and Husein Ally Carn preferred.

Particulars of the
 Nabob's Revenue
 of the Province of
 Masulapatnam
 and the methods used
 of improving the
 same

To enter into and to make use of their houses at pleasure; even to enter the apartments of the Women whose Cast require them to be seen by their husbands only. Are these hardships? And when all these exertions of power are exercised by the Dubashes also over their Countrymen under the cloak of their Masters. With the rod of authority constantly in their hands: and when consequent punishments follow the most trifling offence. When demands are made without end; and remission to be obtained for money only, All these are grievances much more intolerable than any attempt to interfere with Justice. Because such prevent cultivation, disappoint Industry ruin and distress my people, diminish my revenues and desolate my Country.

After six and twenty years constant and uniform attachment to the Company; after refusing every offer, and rejecting every temptation both from European and Indian powers to detach myself from them: After embarking my whole fortune with theirs, and when we are so joined that our mutual prosperity must depend on a close union and intimate connection with one another, it would be below my dignity, and an insult to their understandings, to think any fresh declarations of friendship necessary. I know it is my Interest to be connected with the English Company for ever, and they never had nor ever can have such a friend in India as I have been, and still am to them. Therefore, while mutual Interests connects us so strongly to one another, let them never believe any insinuations, that it is my wish to detach myself from them. But they may give me credit when I tell them, that such insinuations, are produced by the decline of another Interest, the support of which, is not consistent either with

amun.

— Meera

(182)
B-V/3

have been relieved by an order from the Governor or without making any application to me. By which my dignity is wounded and my revenue suffers. Also an attempt has been made to establish a Judicial authority over my Bazar. Now my Bazar is a necessary part of my Household over which I have a natural Jurisdiction, which I cannot give up. I am always ready to do justice when any application is made to me. Or if the Company's Servants agree to furnish my household with every thing and in such manner as I may want, I can remove my Bazar to my own Country, but to suffer any other Justice than my own, to intrude itself into my family, is a privilege of a prince I cannot forego.

I never had the least Idea or wish to have any Judicial authority over the Subjects of England; but to make the injustice of their assumed authority over my people the more striking, I mentioned the natural right I had to expect the same usage from them, which they required of me. There are many things which may appear but trifling circumstances to Europeans, and yet are of consequence to the good Government of a people, different in their Religions, peculiar in their customs, and distinct in their manners. Besides as the revenues of this Country depend entirely on the cultivation and fertility of the Ground, to promote these becomes the principal object of the prince's care. Need I complain then of that arbitrary exertion of authority in the Company's Servants over my people? To press for purposes of servitude the Natives and their Bulls which are destined for the cultivation of the Ground. To oblige them to borrow money at an exorbitant Interest for which their property and the produce of their Industry is mortgaged. To take by force or to oblige them to furnish what they had laid up for the supply of their families, or for the purposes of husbandry, at a low price or for nothing

(181) It is true that since my rendition at Madras I have experienced no small inconvenience from the Company's servants intruding in matters of justice. Some of my people confined by my entreaties never to answer them

Para 153. The mixed treaty seem contradictory uniform attachment with the Company's servants and respecting my household. The Indian form of household might have been. But they give me satisfaction of the law. To punish in violation, or purchased by the decree of the court, the authority which is not complete within (184) with

1764

pp 3-33

^{enz}
Major Mackenzie's Journal of his
Travels in the East India's 1764

On the 30th day of March 1761, we set sail from England on board the Plassey Indiaman, being ordered on his Majesty's service to Madrass; and June 30th came to an anchor at the small island of Masambique, a Portuguese settlement on the East Coast of Africa situated in 15 D.S.L.

MASAMBIQUE

This island is about three miles in circumference, extremely barren. The Portuguese are supplied with the necessaries of life from the continent, which by their accounts is almost as poor as the island, and if we might judge from the entertainments they made for us, we had no reason to doubt their veracity. However, it abounds with limes, plantanes, coconuts, pine apples, oranges and other tropical fruits. Here I saw a few small cows and goats and a few small sheep of Reddish colour, without any wool. I saw no horses and was told they had none in that country. The town is small and makes a mean appearance; it is defended by a Palty Fort built on a point towards the sea and commands the entrance into the harbour. There are two small churches and one Convent. On our landing, we were conducted to the Governor, who received us very politely, but we understood very little of what each other said, because our interpreter was bad. His Excellency was of a good stature, agreeable aspect and genteel deportment.

He is respected with all the formalities of a Crowned Head even to the bending of the Knee. He is not allowed to marry while Governor and (60v) to continue six years only in his office.

Our audience was short and after common compliments we went to view the Town with thousands of slaves at our heels which the merchants buy up in the country and send to the Brazils.

We had not gone far, when we were accosted by a man, who spoke English very well. He told us he had been in our India Company's service, kindly invited us to his house (which we made our home during our stay) and served us usefully in quality of interpreter.

National Library of Scotland: MS 1337

I saw a sailor cut the ropes of a Catamaran in a frolick and ~~now~~ presently the whole vessel was dismembered, however, the amphibious owners leaped into the sea and soon repaired her.

CALCUTTA

The Governor of this place would not receive his majesty's troops, so we were obliged to go for Bengal and on the 16th of August came to an anchor in the famous River Ganges having lost ~~xxx~~ but one soldier since we left England. Soon after we were disembarked and sent up the river about 100 miles to Calcutta, the Company's settlement situated on the banks of the river, which even here is almost a mile in Breadth. The town is large, irregular and populous, lying in ^(61v) 23 D.N.L. The houses are built very spacious, with flat roofs, a great many windows and doors for the benefit of air and are generally well contrived and make a handsome appearance. This settlement carries on a very extensive trade with the other parts of India, and the many private fortunes acquired here, is a convincing proof of its immense riches.

The climate of Bengal, is perhaps as bad as any in the universe, and remarkably fatal to our countrymen. It abounds so much with standing waters and the Earth is so much impregnated with salt petre, that when the sun varifies the water the air becomes absolutely putrid and this occasion the frequency of agues and putrid fevers. In the winter season, mists and fogs are very frequent in the evenings and mornings, which are very cold, yet the day is very hot. The whole country has a disagreeable aspect, so low that not a mole hill is to be seen, full of woods and thickets the haunt of tigers. The produce of Bengal, is wheat, rice and tropical fruits. Their beef when some time stall fed, is good, the hind and mutton excellent, cabbage, pease, beans and other vegetables are good and in abundance during the months of November, December, January and February. Their poultry tho' plenty, is very dear and they have no fish, except what their river and ponds produce which are very bad.

It is a common observation that the English gentlemen finding unexpectedly this country to produce what is common to them in England, are too apt to indulge their appetites, so that it is become a saying they live like Englishmen, and die like Rotten Sheep.

Of Eighty four rank and file, which our Company consisted; on our arrival, we had but ^(62v) thirty remaining in three months. A convincing ^{from} proof how fatal this climate is to Europeans. The most adult and robust, are most particularly unhealthy.

The inhabitants of Bengal wear turbans on their heads and a piece of cotton cloth rolled round their loins, all the rest of the body is naked, the better sort wear a habit like a night gown.

They are divided into a great number of tribes or casts, I mean the Gentoos, who are the original possessors of the country, the moors, (whose religion is mahomedan) are intruders only.

The Gentoos tho' Pagans, yet have a confused idea of one Supreme being and a future state; many of them adopt the opinions of Pythagoras. They are a gentle, harmless and inoffensive people adhering strictly to their own antient customs and manners, notwithstanding the moors, who conquered them, are almost as numerous as themselves. Simple indeed in their diet, but not so in their tempers, being greatly addicted to over-reaching and they think it meritorious to impose on a White man. They are slender in their persons and very agreeably featured. A very barbarous customs prevails among them, quite inconsistent with their character, and that is, they burn the living wives, with their deceased husbands.

Sati

When the husband is laid upon the pile, his wife must stretch herself on his body and her oldest son, or nearest male relation sets the first torch to it. Several instances of this happened while I was at Calcutta. If the woman declines or absolutely refuses to comply with this custom, they won't compel but excommunicate her, their tribe or caste, after which life becomes indeed a burden, so that the poor unhappy woman is forced to choose either to be burnt or to starve.

But this custom is observed by the better sort, only, it prevails most among the Banyans, who are commonly, merchants.

I have often discoursed with the Banyans on this subject and they told me, as it was an Injunction of their Bramenes or Priests, from time immemorial, they thought themselves obliged to follow the example of their Fathers on this, as well as every thing else.

Attending the Sick to die

If the sick is thought past recovery (I mean among the common sort) they carry him to the river, and after stopping his nose, mouth and ears with meed, they commit him as yet living to the stream.

I have seen numbers floating at a time. They pay divine honours to this river. The (entoo manner of taking an oath before a Court of Judicature is odd enough.

Hidden Oath-Taking

I once attended at a General Court martial when several of these people who had taken up the deserter were brought in, to give their evidence, with a Bramenee attending them, who administered out of a silver cup a spoon full of a certain herb, & water, which having swallowed, they wished, It might prove their poison, if they did not tell the truth. Land

Should any European enter their houses, they imagine them to be then polluted, neither will they eat or drink any thing that has been touched by Europeans or even moors, whom they hate and not without reason, for they are a lazy, haughty people, oppressing without mercy where they have any power. (63k)

The trade of Bengal, consists chiefly in Salt Petre, musline, silk handkerchiefs, they export likewise a great quantity of rice. Land

MADRAS

After a stay of five months, we left this Golgotha, and arrived at Madras in February 1762 with the miserable remains of our Company and diseases sticking to us, from which the change of climate and skill of doctors, freed a few of us tho' not in a short time.

Madras or Fort St. George lies on the Coast of Coromandel and situated in 13 D.N.L., a pretty compact well built town and extremely well fortified. The trade of this place is not so flourishing as that of Bengal, but the climate much preferable. The sea breezes cooling the air and the adjacent country is not incumbered with woods and low shrubs, nor have they any standing waters, yet it too has its diseases, which are chiefly fluxes, and an inflammation in the liver, but in general it is healthy. In the months of May, June, July, August and September, the land or hot winds blow very strong and are very troublesome.

This country produces very little wheat and rice, and except their fish, provisions in general are neither so good or plenty as in Bengall. The country in general is ill peopled and ill cultivated. The inhabitants differ very little from those of Bengall, they seem to be the same sort of people. We had the pleasure of the Nabob's company here for a few months lately and (63v)

direction of their affairs, and even from their knowledge many things are suppressed. (65R)

We need not wonder at this when we consider that all transactions in this country are either misrepresented, superficially related or plausibly accounted for, and afterwards undergo a scrutiny at the India House, so that the public is informed of no more than the Hon'ble Company chooses to make known.

Rise of English
Power in Carnate
1758-9

We may date the rise of their greatness from the time the French were obliged to raise the seige of Madras, which happened on the 17th day of February 1759.

From this period they have been advancing with long strides to their present power; and their territory may for its extent be very properly termed the British Empire in the East. For the right understanding what follows, it is necessary to premise that the cause of the late war between the two Company's of France and England was the dispute who should succeed to the late Nabob, his own son, Mahomed Ali Cawn or Chunda Saib; a Grandee of the country.

The latter by dint of money got the French to espouse his interest and the first applied to the English, who undertook his cause.

This fate being now inseparable from theirs, he saw himself in a very short time stript of all his dominions and besieged with his allies in their capital town of Madras, where he remained a little while, and was then conveyed by sea to Negapatnam, a Dutch settlement from where he got to Trichinopoly in which there was an English garrison. Here he patiently waited the fate of Madras. The French were no sooner obliged to raise the siege, than the English, now reinforced emerged from their misfortunes, and were once more in a condition to cope with their enemies in the field. The successful progress of their arms is related at large in the history of the wars in India lately published and therefore unnecessary to give any account off here. (65V)

For this war, the undertaken on his behalf (and other political reasons by the by) Mahomed Ali Cawn, could not for some time contribute any support. The Company were obliged to carry it on at their own expense, but they amply indemnified themselves afterwards as we shall see in the sequel.

As they proceeded in their conquests, they took the precaution to garrison every town with their own troops, so that when the French were cooped up in Pondicherry, they were in actual possession of the greater part of the Carnatick. It may not be improper here to observe, before we proceed that in the Letter Patent, granted by his late Majesty to the Hon^{ble} Company, they were permitted to cede, restore, or dispose of such ~~xxx~~ fortresses, districts or territories only, as they may have conquered from any Princes or powers in the country, but not of any possessed by Europeans, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. As this is most particularly expressed in the Letter Patent, we shall give a quotation of that clause:

"And further we have of our like especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion, given and granted and by these Presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East India, that they shall and may by any Treaty or Treaties of peace made or to be made between them or any of their officers, servants or agents employed on their behalf and any of the Indian Princes or Governments to cede, dispose (66R) off or restore any fortresses, districts or territories acquired by conquest from any of the said Indian Princes or Governments or which shall be acquired in time coming, provided always, that the said Company shall not have any power or authority whatsoever to cede, restore, or dispose off any settlements, fortresses, districts or territories acquired from any European Power with the special licence and approbation ^{lent} of us, our heirs and successors."

The fortresses and towns which they reduced was in fact a conquest from the French whose troops composed the Garrisons and whose flag was displayed on them all and as we have never heard the Company have made any application to his Majesty for his royal permission either to restore them to the Nabob or keep possession themselves of those places (as they still do) it is plain they have exceeded their Patents and slighted his Majesty's authority.

A Nominal Nabob of Carnatic

Mahomed Ali Cawn now without a competitor, was universally acknowledged Nabob. He could not help however looking on himself as little better than a nominal one. While all his cities were in the possession of his England allies, and himself without an Army.

English Relations
Nabob

It never was the intention of the Council at Madras to deliver up to him his lawful inheritance. The French inflamed with ambition, conquered his country and the English after expelling the French kept possession of it. Under pretence they had conquered it from the French, to force them to surrender it, was impossible. He could not attempt to raise any troops for want of money and call any neighbouring Potentate to his assistance, would be exposing his country to all the miseries of war, and even supposing him to be successful with such help, His new (66v) allies would very likely prove as bad, if not worse, than the old, for in these despatch countries convenience and interest supercede all other considerations. Our Nabob, therefore seeing himself destitute of men and money and ~~waxthin~~ without any resource quietly submitted to the English yoke. In this deplorable condition, he continued one year, and might have done to this day, but for a fortunate accident, which raised him in some degree from this low state.

The major part of the Council at Madras were for keeping possession and levying the revenue of his country not only to indemnify them for the expenses of the war but as their property by right of conquest. The President (Mr. Pigot) and one of the Council (Mr. Andrews) proposed however (because it was agreeable to their private views) that the Nabob should be permitted to collect the revenues of his country.

This occasioned a violent contest and after much debate, it was agreed to, that the Nabob should have leave to levy the rents of his dominions, provided that he would consent to indemnify them for the expenses of the war and the damage Madras had sustained during the siege. But still their troops were to keep possession of all the towns and fortresses in which they were then distributed. They term this in their records, restoring of his country. The Nabob having consented to these conditions, they immediately like true merchants opened an account in their books, in which they charged him with all their expenses, commencing in the year 1749 at which time his father ~~and~~ died and the war broke out.

It was in vain for him to dispute the price of their services, and the first year 1761, He paid 53 lacks of rupees which is equal to (67r) £662,500 sterling, in 1762 33 lacks or £412,500 in the year 1763 24 lacks or £350,000. Besides this, in December this year he ceded a district to them, the revenues of which amount to 370,000 Pagodas or £148,000 annually. In all, he paid

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then one million ~~xxx~~ four hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling in the space of three years and if we value the district he ceded to them, at thirty years purchase it will amount to four millions, four hundred and forty thousand pounds more. An astonishing sum when we consider that their army never exceeded three thousand Europeans and eight thousand seapoys and of that number 2000 were his Majesty's troops. Yet the sum diminished his debt very little, and what is still more surprising this country which he yielded to them was not received as payment of any part of his debt. It is their maxim to find a fresh article of charge, as fast as an old one is paid off, so that the Nabobs debt in a great measure resembles our national debt in England never to have an end.

The Constitution of the country favours them very much in these practices. When the Nabob was permitted to collect his own revenues, he parcelled out his dominions to so many renters or farmers general, now it is usual with these people as they grow rich to aim at independency. Many of them it is true reside in or near those forts garrisoned by the Company's troops; but those who are remote and have no forces to overcome them, are very apt to rebel and when it happens, so (which it frequently does) the Nabob, having too small a force of his own is obliged to apply to the Governor and Council at Madras for their assistance to reduce them, for which they charge him at pleasure.

Loyalty and allegiance are terms unknown in India; the Government being despotic and the change of their princes so frequently occasions, that any grandee amongst them, that is able to maintain it may raise an army with facility. Of this an instance lately happened, and as I served the campaign, some account of it may not be improper to insert here.

Usouff Cawn

One Usouff Cawn or Consail, a person who has made a considerable figure in the troubles on the Coast of Coromandel, was, as is supposed a native of the Nellore country, one of the northern provinces of the Carnatic; of men birth and had been employed early in life in some menial services at Pondichery, but being of an aspiring genius, took to the profession of arms, and in February 1752 was entertained at Madras by Captain (now Lord) Clive as a Subadar and sent with a company of seapoys, and a large ~~xxx~~ detachment of Europeans under General Lawrence,

to Trichinopoly. During the years of 1752, 1753 and 1754 and 1755, he saw almost constant service in the field, and by his very gallant behaviour and superior judgement to the rest of his country men in military matters, raised his reputation so high that he was nominated Commandant of all the Company's seapoys, and at the recommendation of General Lawrence, had a gold medal given him as a distinguished reward for his abilities and good conduct. (65R)

In 1756 Usouff Cawn was sent with a thousand seapoys and a company of Goffags from Trichinopoly into the Madurah and Tennevelly country to assist Mauphus Cawn, the Nabob's brother, to reduce some rebellious Poligars, who were in arms against him. But before his arrival Mauphus Cawn's troops gained victory over the Poligars; after which he entertained a design of usurping the command of the Madura, and made some attempts by force to oblige Usouff Cawn to return to Trichinopoly. To prevent the bad effects of Mauphus Cawn's design Colonel Caillaud who commanded at Trichinopoly marched with a body of European some seapoys and two guns by the way of Maravar country and joined Usouff Cawn who had maintained himself in the Tennevelly. About the middle of March 1757 the united force proceeded to Madurah where Mauphus Cawn had a strong garrison. The reduction of this place was attempted, first by an Escalade, without success, afterwards a battery was erected and breach made which was assaulted, but the assailants were repulsed. The place was afterwards surrendered by the Commander of the garrison upon condition that rupees 170,000 or £ 21,250 should be paid them for arrears. This sum Usouff Cawn who was to be left in the country undertook to see paid. Colonel Caillaud then departed from Madurah to Trichinopoly leaving Usouff Cawn Governor of that place, and his artillery behind him. Some time after this, the French undertook the siege of Madras and as Colonel Caillaud and Major Preston had still kept the field with flying parties, Usouff Cawn's assistance with what force he could bring was thought necessary and he came accordingly with ~~rupees~~ 1500 or 2000 seapoys. He continued in this service till the French were driven from most of their conquests and cooped up within the limits of pondicherry, then he returned with his seapoys to Madurah in the end of the year 1760 being appointed Governor in form, by the Nabob (much

* Blacks from Africa
 ** A people who inhabit the woody parts of the country and pay an annual tribute to the Nabob.

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against his inclination) at the recommendation of Mr. Pigot, President at Madras (for which Usouff Cawn afterwards proved very grateful). But by an unaccountable oversight no European troops were sent along with him to take possession of the city. Usouff Cawn quickly took the advantage of this and as he formed the country at every easy rate, soon became opulent and powerful. A body of seapoys, who had served the Company during the war, were, after the fall of Pondicherry reduced to the number of 3000, He took into his service,

This gave cause of suspicion to the Nabob, to whom Usouff Cawn had always been obnoxious, but he pretended, that without he was allowed such a force, It would be impossible for him to keep the people under his government in obedience, or collect the revenue, as the neighbouring Polygars and Colleries were very turbulent. The Nabob however continued very jealous of him, and tho' he frequently expressed his apprehensions to the Council, yet no notice was taken of what he said. He insisted however on an increase of his revenue and this Usouff (692) Cawn complied with for a short time. Meanwhile he applied himself with assiduity to the fortifying the city of Madura, and some other places in the neighbourhood, purchased from the Dutch who had settlements on the Coast near him, some ammunition and stores of all sorts as he did likewise from the English, and bought up several hundred horses which he mounted with his best men.

Having now a good force, he marched into the Tennevelly country, a part of his government, against a Polygar Chief who refused to submit, but he quickly reduced him. The capital of this country called Paleam Cotty, a place well situated by nature, he fortified at a great expense as he did several lesser forts. His ambition now increased with his good fortune, and upon some slight pretext he invaded the King of Travancore's country, which extends from the borders of Tennevelly to the Malabar coast, but meeting with a warm reception quickly returned again. He afterwards by his bounty and liberality allured into his service a number of French soldiers, who had escaped from Pondicherry and taken shelter in different parts along the Coast, some among the Dutch at Negapatam, and some among the Danes at their settlement of Trinquebar,

These were mostly of Hussars and artillery men, the first he mounted and appointed after their own manner. Some French officers

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that had broke their parole, assisted him in fortifying his city and learning his troops the use of their arms. Seeing himself now at the head of a considerable force and his city in a good state of defence, he resolved (69R) to shake off his dependance on the Nabob. By this time his reputation became so high that the Nabob took the alarm and insisted on a second increase of his revenues, which Usouff Cawn refusing to comply with he samsat complained to the Council at Madras, and demanded their assistance to reduce this rebel. They began now to think, that Usouff Cawn was growing too powerful and therefore granted the Nabob's request.

Accordingly an expedition against him was set on foot, under the command of our Colonel the Hon'ble Mr. Monson.

On the 15th day of June 1763, our regiment embarked at Madras (to save the men the fatigue of marching in so hot a season as much as possible) and landed at Fort St. Davids the 25th.

From whence we marched to Trichinopoly distant from Madras 250 miles and upwards and got there on the 17th of July.

The day before we arrived, Major Preston who commanded the Company's troops assembled at Trichinopoly for this expedition, consisting of three Companies of Europeans, one Coffre Company, a troop of Hussars and two battalions of seapoys with some guns had been sent on towards Madras to clear the roads and establish magazines. On the 2nd of August the regiment followed with the two troops of horse, two battalions of seapoys and some field pieces; the heavy cannon having had been sent on a few days before, escorted by a battalion of seapoys.

We had marched but two days when we entered the Tondemans country, an independent Poligar in alliance with the Nabob.

This country is extremely woody and barren, and altogether wild as imagination can form it. We were obliged to cut and enlarge (70R) the roads through these woods for our artillery to pass, we had marched four days before we came to any village, some few deserted huts scattered along the skirts of the road, was all the sign of inhabitants we could see. We usually

encamped on some small open spot, near to a tank or pool of water, which indeed was extremely bad. The fourth day we arrived at a village called Perrou, wherein there was a Pagoda. Here we had a magazine of rice and an officer with some companys of seapoys was left to take care of it.

On the 7th, we proceeded on our march through a country not so well affected as Tondemands, but equally barbarous, called the Melcotta country. As there was reason to apprehend some attack might be made by the enemy so convenient for ambascades, thro' which no army had every marched, our Colonel thought proper to make dispositions against the worst; and his order of march was much admired by the oldest officers.

His extraordinary care and indefatigable industry in keeping his camp well supplied with provisions, examining strictly into every department under his direction and in preserving the different petty Poligar chiefs, steady to their engagements reflect a great deal of merit on his conduct, but he suffered much in his health, thro' fatigue and anxiety of mind. We continued our march without meeting the least interruption and arrived the 14th at a place Trevindour; a Pagoda with a square wall and a small Bastion at each corner. On the outside of this wall there was a hedge of thorns, plaited together so as to make it an excellent defence; large stakes were driven into the ground at convenient distances and the thorns move between them. Here the enemy had a large garrison. A few days before we arrived, Major Preston with his party had besieged it, but the enemy thought proper to retire in the night. (70v) He did not however gain his point without a considerable loss, for as he was reconnoitring the fort with three companys of seapoys and 20 Hussars; the enemy had posted several hundred horse and seapoys behind a high bank, directly in the Major's way. As soon as he perceived them, he commanded the seapoys to advance to the bank, which would serve them as a breast work, and fire regularly by platoons, assuring them he would sustain them with his Hussars. He sent to camp for a reinforcement and pointed out to them the advantage of ground. But they terrified at the enemy's numbers, fired their pieces confusedly in the air, which the enemy's horse took immediate advantage off, charged in

amongst them, broke them, and cut to pieces and wounded 150.

The Major with the twenty Hussars however made good his retreat and even conducted a considerable number of the fugitives who had rallied to camp. After halting here four or five days, we marched on, and joined Major Preston now within fifteen miles of Madura. Our whole united force amounted to 1000 Europeans, horse foot and artillery included, and 5000 seapoys. We had likewise a great number of Colliers, of whom I must take some notice before I proceed, as they are mild savage people, and their customs so widely different from the other Indians. They inhabit the woods and mountains that make the pass called Natam, which is a shorter way from Trichinopoly to Madurah, than that we took; and the extent of this pass is computed upwards of 90 miles. They live by plunder and rapine, and when they meet but a few travellers together, they never fail to attack and murder them; if they see a considerable body, they are shy and temorous (712) and keep close in their woods.

They are ghastly, meagre and truly barbarous in their aspect, wearing no turbans as the other Indians do, and they allow their nails to grow as long as they can; they roll a dirty cloth round their temples and loins and their weapon is a pike. As oft as they kill a man, they roll some black feathers round the pike that has done the deed and he is esteemed a great warrior that has most feathers. They are very fond of their women and if a traveller loaded with gold and jewels can procure an old woman to be his conductor, they will not only not molest him, but entertain him hospitably. Their princes are elective and it is not the son succeeds the father, but the grandson by a daughter. No right at all is allowed to the grand children of the male branch and if the father should die without female issue, they proceed to elect a prince, and totally exclude the male children of the deceased. If any two of them happen to quarrel and that they are married they are obliged by their customs to retire to their respective homes and put to death a male child if they have any, if not a female; this done they meet again, embrace and become friends.

On the 1st of September we again marched and the second day received orders from the line of battle as soon as we came to the bed of the river Vigo, which runs close to Madura. At this time it was quite dry and the opposite bank very steep and bushy.

Here we laid our account with meeting the enemy, as they had every advantage of situation and could retreat too with safety.

We crossed however without molestation and encamped before the place. This city is very large and of a square form. The garrison consisted of 200 Europeans and 500 seapoys, plentifully stored with ammunition and provisions. The fortifications far exceeded report; the glacis was very good and the Esplanade very fine; nothing appearing to intercept the prospect, for two miles round about a ditch near 80 feet wide and deep surrounded the town, which had likewise several good bastions, tho' there were but few guns mounted.

Our force was by this time greatly diminished by sickness; the regiment consisting of nine companies did not exceed 260, the artillery but 70, the two troops of horse and the troop of Hussars, 140 and lastly the pioneer company did not exceed 50. In all 860 Europeans, of which only 720 could do duty in the trenches. A force by no means equal to the undertaking. Our Colonel sensible of this applied for a reinforcement, but no regard was paid to his remonstrances, by General Lawrence to whom he applied as Commander in Chief. He determined however to besiege the place and to convince them at Madras, of their mistake.

On the 3rd of September he went to win the place, accompanied by all the European and black cavalry (which last were in the service of the Nabob) a battalion of seapoys, a picket of Europeans, and two field pieces. As he drew near the Fort, he perceived a large body of the enemy's horse and resolved to attack them with his cavalry, his guns and infantry being unable to come up in time by reason of the badness of the ground. Unfortunately, our cavalry were terrified at the enemy's numbers as well as reputation, and to this the circumstance of being directly under the fire of the fort contributed very much. They did not observe

⊗ could muster only 340 fit for duty, and two companies troops

that the enemy forbore to fire from the fort, for fear of hurting their own people, but giving way to their pannick, after discharging their carabines, they turned, as if by constant to the right about, and galloped off; leaving their commandant, Captain Donald Campbell (a cool and intrepid officer) with a few resolute men to the mercy of the enemy. Colonel Monson was shocked and chagrined at this and did all that lay in his power to remedy the evil, but to no purpose. The fugitives once indeed did attempt to form again, but perceiving a few of the enemy in pursuit, betook themselves a second time to flight and never halted till they came into camp. Having lost 17 or 18 in the retreat and a subaltern officer. In the evening Captain Campbell was sent back by Usouff Cawn to whom he had been well known during the time, Usouff Cawn had served the company. The joy occasioned by the return of an officer so universally esteemed, was a good deal damped when it was understood he was (73R) dangerously wounded. The enemy had surrounded him, and his few followers, but had not the courage to attack him till his horse dropped, then they fell upon him and cut him in seventeen different places and he likewise received a pistol shot in the belly. However, by the great care and skill of his surgeon, he recovered in the space of one month. After this, we began to prepare materials for the carrying on our approaches and on the 15th opened our trenches under the inspection of Engineer Call famous for his Journal of the Siege of Madras, inserted in the History of the wars in India lately published.

He carried on his works in front of the fort, by which means they were flanked by the bastions on the right and left, but happily the enemy's guns were both few and ill served, so that they did us no great mischief. Whether this was a judicious manner of attacking a fort or not, those skilled in such business are the best Judges, but we found it both inconvenient and dangerous.

We continued our approaches to the very Ditch, but being in want of a sufficient of materials for filling it up, as well as men and ammunition, we could not proceed, and therefore abandoned the siege, on the 5th of November; having spent seven weeks in this fruitless undertaking. During the campaign his Majesty's order for us to return to England, arrived, so we left the Company troops to finish the siege.

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I have been since credibly informed that this expedition cost the Nabob two Lacks and a half of rupees a month, which is equal to £31,250, so that for the five months we continued upon it, it must have cost him £156,250 sterling.

(73v) From the transactions on the Coast of Coromandel, let us take a view of those of Bengal, which will afford us no less insight into the conduct and affairs of the Hon'ble Company.

In the year 1757, the then reigning Nabob Sulajud Dowla was deposed by Col. Clive after some signal defeats, and his prime Minister Meer Jaffier Ali Cawn elevated to that high station, who put his predecessor to death, a state he greatly deserved, on account of his cruel and perfidious disposition. Meer Jaffier as he owed his good fortune to the assistance of the Company, so he granted them all the terms they required of him, and was particularly grateful to Col. Clive.

He continued in peaceable possession of his throne, till the year 1760, when Mr. Van Sittart, a Counsellor of Madras, arrived to take upon upon the Government of Calcutta. This gentleman, had from his youth been trained up in the Company's service, and being naturally acute, politick and ambitious, soon became conspicuous in Council at Madras where he held a great sway.

He found soon after his arrival in Bengal, that Meer Jaffier was a weak old man, very remiss in his Government and entirely influenced by his creatures. Mr. Van Sittart, therefore, contrived (but some say it was his predecessor Govld/Hobwell) to depose him, be that (m) (74r) as it may, tis certain Mr. Van Sittart executed the scheme. For the purpose, he commenced an intrigue with one Cassim Ali Cawn, Prime Minister to the Nabob, and married to his daughter, a man full of Asiatick subtlety and ambition. This Cassim Ali was as rich as powerfull, glad to find the English Governor, disposed to favour his views; he let him to understand, He would not prove less grateful, than his predecessors, and to show he was in earnest, gave him a Silam, or present of twenty lacks of rupees or £ 250,000 sterling, but as the consent of a Majesty in Council was necessary, a few lacks (m) more were distributed among the Governor's friends.

Soon after followed the deposition of Meer Jaffier, whose palace was surrounded and the surrender of his person demanded before he knew there was any mischief intended.

He was carried prisoner to Calcutta where he had quarters allotted him and a pension to live on. So bold and so secret an enterprise filled every one with astonishment, and therefore that the affair might not be attended with immediate bad consequences, Mr. Van Sittart, published his reasons, for deposing Meer Jaffier and elevating Cassim Ali to the throne.

This performance tho' writ with the dexterity of a politician contains very few substantial reasons for so extraordinary a step. Among other things, he accuses Meer Jaffier of inability to govern and a cruelty of disposition; that he defrauded his army of their pay, that he made a practice of putting his subjects to death for very trivial offences, and the word murder shines throughout the whole piece. (74v)

But we shall see in the sequel that this new Nabob of his own making, committed these murders much more frequently than the former, for which he was never so much as reprehended by this Indian king maker. The most plausible reason of all that he alleges, against Meer Jaffier, is his carrying on a secret correspondence with the Dutch, but whether this be true or not, is doubtful at this day.

Cassim Ali Cawn now raised to the dignity of Nabob soon gave evident proofs of his abilities. He wisely considered that there might be about his person, as ambitious of rule as himself, and upon a change of Government at Calcutta; there possibly might such revolution be contrived as now happened. He had seen Sulajud Dowla deposed, Meer Jaffier raised and dethroned, and himself made Nabob, in the space of three years, and all these changes he well knew were brought about by the irresistible power of rupees. To secure himself therefore in his kingdom and prevent the bad effects of such machinations, he applied assiduously to the regulating his Government; raising and well forming a good army and securing the persons or cutting off, those whom he had reason to suspect of treasonable practices.

The late frequent changes of their princes, and the remissness of Government, had so vitiated the minds of the subjects that every man possessed of riches, aimed at

independency. Cassim Ali knew this and as they were very numerous determined to exert himself, many therefore were put to death according to the custom of the asiatick Governments.

In the former part of this Journal, it has been observed that Bengal, is a very populous extensive and rich country and till the rupture between Sulajud Dowla and the English, enjoyed profound peace. This enabled the succeeding Nabob to comply with the exorbitant demands of the Company without getting into their debt or submitting to receive their troops into their principal towns (of which there are but few of any strength in the kingdom) as happened to the Nabob of the Carnatick.

Cassim Ali continued for the space of two years to proceed on his own plan without any interruption. At the end of which thinking himself strong enough to resist any attempt that might be made against him, he ~~exas~~ resolved to suppress some malpractices carried on in trade by the Company's servants at Calcutta, and this lost him what he had been so anxious to preserve.

The former Nabob had granted a licence to the Company's servants to trade in European goods thro' all his territories without paying any duty; but in process of time this licence they extended to the staple commodities of his country, such as tobacco, beetle and salt from which he drew the best part of his revenues.

This soon became such a grievance that many of his subjects complained they could not perform their engagements or pay him his revenues, while the English were permitted to undersell them in these commodities, which they were enabled to as they paid no duties.

The Nabob represented the case to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and many warm disputes (75v) arose upon it. After some time spent in altercation, it was agreed that Mr. Van Sittart should make a journey to Muxca dabad, the residence of the Nabob, but he returned without satisfying either party. And it was confidently reported he meant only to patch up matters, till he got an opportunity to go to England. The Company's servants at Calcutta were very unwilling to give up so profitable a commerce, and they thought it equal to written licence, to have been permitted to carry it on so long without interruption.

The most sanguine amongst them (Mr. Ellis) who was Chief of the Factory at Patna, perceiving matters were drawing near a rupture, determined to be beforehand with the Nabob and accordingly in the month of June 1769 without waiting to know the issue of an Embassy sent to the Nabob in the person of Mr. Amyatt, or for any order from the Council, made a disposition with 250 Europeans and 3000 seapoys, to surprise Patna the second city in the kingdom. He effected this, but permitting his people to fall to plunder the Commanding Officer, in the place for the Nabob, who had a little before retreated, meeting with a reinforcement returned and surprised Mr. Ellis, and out of or made prisoners of all his troops, himself with many officers being taken.

This precipitate conduct of Mr. Ellis, gave the Nabob a very fair and just pretence to hold measures with the English no longer, and being enraged at their attempt on Patna, gave orders (tho' he never owned it) to seize Mr. Amyatt and all his Company as they were returning to Calcutta.

Soon after he put them as well as Mr. Ellis and his party, to death, their number amounted in all to 68 officers and civilians. (76r)

The news of this disaster filled them with consternation at Calcutta. A Council was held to deliberate on what measures they should follow for their common preservation. They exclaimed against Mr. Van Sittart for being so indolent in observing the conduct of Cassim Ali, since he had been made Nabob, and for not compromising matters when he made a visit to them for that purpose. They accused him of avarice and double dealing; that while he pretended to be indefatigable in his office for the good of the Company he was conniving at the Nabob's measures, and in short that he was no better than a pensioner and had been bribed to silence. Mr. Van Sittart retorted; that their obstinancy in not complying with the just and reasonable demands of the Nabob when he required them to pay duty on the staple commodities of his country as well as his own subjects and the unwarrentable and hasty conduct of Mr. Ellis, had been the occasion of these misfortunes. That he was conscious to himself his behaviour all along was irreproachable which he hoped he would be at all times able to make appear.

There was a great deal of truth in the allegations on both sides, but ever after this Mr. Van Sittart had little to say in Council.

They determined however to make vigorous efforts to oppose the Nabob's progress and accordingly applied to Major Adams, commanding Col. Coot's regiment, an officer of valour and conduct; and happy was it for them they had this regiment then in Bengal for their own troops were very few, I mean Europeans and very bad, destitute of all discipline, as they plainly proved in the engagement, under Mr. Ellis where they gave way and run, whilst the seapoys stood their ground and maintained an obstinate conflict against greater numbers. Major Adam's force, the regiment and Company's troops included amounted to 1000 Europeans 2500 seapoys and 10 pieces of cannon. I shall here again give an extract of a letter that I received from a Captain in the Company's service, as it contains an exact and brief account of the Major's successful proceedings.

Dacca October 3, 1763

"Since my last to you of the 8th of March there has been a strange revolution in Bengal, our Nabob taken down, and the former Nabob (Meer Jaffier) put up. How all this came about would be tedious to mention at present, but I must acquaint you that affairs bore a bad aspect, about the first of July last when accounts arrived of the defeat of the Patna Party, consisting of 250 Europeans, 3000 seapoys, four guns and a Horvet. The day following the Board received accounts of this place being lost, as also Cassimbazar Factory and a party of seapoys, Mr. Amyatt had with him being attacked and defeated, himself and all the gentlemen that were with him killed and their heads sent to Mongeer to the Nabob.

"In this situation affairs stood, when Major Adams marched with the army consisting of 1000 rank and file Europeans 2500 seapoys and 10 guns. (77r)

"He met the enemy upon their march to Calcutta, attacked them; took all their guns and killed 1000, this happened 19 July. He pursued and attacked them again in their trenches near Muxo adabad, the 22nd defeated them and took about 70 pieces of large and small cannon, they then moved about 20 or 30 miles up the river, where they met with a large reinforcement and waited for our army at a place called Sooty, the Major came up to them the 2nd of August in the morning, and

attacked them with much resolution; they defended themselves with great firmness, for four hours all the time within the reach of small arms and grape, they had 24 fine brass field pieces mounted and equipped in every respect as ours and well served with about 100 Europeans of the Patna factory party who they forced to work the guns by having peons with drawn swords ready to cut them down if they did not point them well, they had eight complete Battalions of seapoys in the field, as well armed and disciplined as ours, with 30000 chosen horse. This formidable army was at last obliged to leave the field after losing all their guns, ammunition and 3000 of their best troops. 200 boats they had with them to push for Calcutta in when they had beat our army, fell into our hands.

You would think that after such a total overthrow as this, they would never face our army again, but they did not retire above 15 course or 60 miles further up the river then they met with a large reinforcement of men, guns, and everything they wanted, which determined them to make another stand, but they thought with more security, for they intrenched their camp wfx so strong that there seemed no possibility to come at them but regular approaches which were accordingly begun and carried on from the 12th of August till the 5th of September when it was actually found that our guns could not make any impression upon the fresh mided banks they threw upon, upon which it was resolved to attack a hill upon their right that very night which was accordingly carried by the European and seapoy grenadiers of the army, supported by the pickets, and they by the whole. Here a terrible slaughter ensued, for after the Hill was carried, their own guns were turned on the enemy which made great havock.

"They had no possible means to escape but by one single bridge, which they had made over the Onnullah in the rear of their camp, and you may easily judge what time an army of near 50000 men with as many attendants would take to cross one bridge.

"They lost 5000 men in this affair which has frightened them so much, I believe they never look an European in the face again, and indeed I don't wonder at it, for the best troops in Europe would be disheartened at so many successive defeats.

"You may judge in some respect with what resolution these people fought and what our army have suffered by the number of officers killed since the beginning of [] which amounts in all to twenty one commissioned officers; just about a third of the whole Corps. There has been in all 300 pieces of artillery taken. Our army is now at Patna and I am pretty sure will have no more fighting this season."

(784) Cassim Ali Cawn, now no longer able to keep the field, retired with his treasure and the scattered remains of his army to the kingdom of Oud, situated to the northward of Patna, some hundred miles, the siba of which place, afforded him protection, there he continues waiting without doubt for a favourable opportunity to be revenged.

The Council at Calcutta now masters of the whole kingdom disposed of it, to Meer Jaffier, whom they released from his confinement and raised once more to be Nabob. To this Mr. Van Sittart never gave consent. He is now waiting for an opportunity to return to England after having well nigh ruined the Company's affairs, first by deposing Meer Jaffier, from whose feeble government nothing was to be feared, on the contrary so much a friend of the English, that they might have extorted from him what they pleased without drawing a sword, secondly by overlooking or wink[ing] at the spirited measure of Cassim Ali, and thirdly by disagreeing with his Council, the consequence of all which would have been the expulsion of the English from Bengal, but that fortunately one of his Majesty's regiment commanded by an expert officer, happened to be at Calcutta at the commencement of the late hostilities.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to relate in what manner these gentlemen who have the management of the Company's affairs in India, acquire their Private fortunes, and likewise touch (785) in general upon their characters.

We shall begin with the Governors, as they are first in rank and acquire the greatest fortunes. As soon as he enters on his office, all the great people of the country, from the Nabob downwards, either come in person or send their representatives with a silam, or present, which is an antient custom used in India, to procure friendship or good will and when they have any favour to ask they first offer their Silams, and a refusal is deemed a very great affront.

These presents to the Governor generally amount to very large sums in so much that the Government of Madras has been known to be worth £10,000 the first day. But as the Governor is a good deal circumscribed by the Council, it is requisite that they should be silamed likewise, tho' in smaller sums.

The Company allows the Governor of Madras £30000 and the Governor of Calcutta £ 5000, per a-annum.

A moderate salary enough, when we consider how expensive living is in India. But the other servants of the Company have scarce any allowance at all. In Madras there is little or no trade, therefore we find the Council more obsequious to the Governor than they are in Bengal, where commerce flourishes, and where independence is sooner acquired.

Most fortunes are made at Madras by the interest of money which is very great; eight per cent is the lowest, and I have known it at 30 per cent frequently at 24 and 16. But the most lucrative business is that of Nabob making. When the French were expelled from the Coast of Coromandel, and the Nabob intirely at the mercy of the President and Council of Madras, we have seen the Governor (798) and a Counsellor espouse his interest and prevail with the majority to permit him to levy his own revenues, for which he proved very grateful to the Governor Mr. Riguet Pigot, who is now gone home with a fortune of £ 300,000 or thereabouts all which he got since the taking of Pondicherry in 1761, a space of three years only.

This gentleman was remarkable for his indolence and expensive living, and tho' he received with an open hand the gifts and liberality of the Nabob, yet he did not scruple at the same time to accept the silams of Usouff Cawn, the rebel of Madara.

Usouff Cawn, when besieged by our army, and desired to give up the place declared he would not, because he had conquered the country and bought the city at the price of 170,000 rupees or £21250 sterling, which the gentlemen at Madras knew very well, these were the very words of his letter to our Commanding Officer. Now it is worthy observation that Mr. Pigot was extremely averse to the expedition against this man, but finding the Council (where his influence was declining fast) were not to be diverted from it, he acquiesced.

A few months after, he signified his intention to the Nabob, of going home who condescended to come and take farewell of him in Madras. But he met

with a reception from Mr. Pigot he little expected, and I have heard it from very good authority, that he very absurdly as well as ungratefully inveighed against the Nabob for coming to extraneousities with Usouff Cawn. He confirmed the truth of the saying, one cannot serve two masters. As he had accepted the silams of Usouff Cawn and the Nabob too, he could not oblige the one without prejudice to the other; and he accordingly preferred the ~~interests~~ ^{interests} to the first, probably because his silams were more frequent. (79v)

We have seen the Governor of Bengal (Mr. Van Sittart) receive £250,000 for deposing one and setting up another Nabob, which and the other presents he received he has so well improved that he is now going home with a fortune computed to be upwards of £600,000, all this treasure he acquired from the month of September 1760 till this month of February 1764, a space of three years and four months.

It is said that power is often attended with pride and insolence, how justly the Company's servants in India confirm this observation, may be judged from the following anecdotes.

A gentleman whose name was Orme, one of the Council, in the year 1758 a little before the siege of Madras (where the Nabob was obliged to reside), (being stript of all his country) went privately to wait upon the Nabob and taking him into the garden, told him that he hoped by the interest of his friends in England to be very soon appointed Governor, and that the might depend at all times on his friendship and services, but in the meantime requested the favour of 20000 Pagodas or £8000. The Nabob a good deal surprised at his extraordinary assurances, thanked him for his good intentions, but assured him he was not then worth as much money in the world.

The Counsellor was not to be put off so and therefore insisted on a compliance with his demand threatening to use his utmost endeavour to hurt his interest both at the Board, and by writing against him to the Directors at home. The Nabob was weak enough to be terrified at his menaces, and actually offered him one half of his demands, protesting with tears, It was all he then had in his offers. But the insatiable Counsellor thinking him insincere, refused to accept anything less than his first demand, which so enraged the Nabob, that he went immediately to Governor Pigot and with a flood of tears complained, Mr. Orme had used

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him worse than if he had been a coolie (a coolie is a person that, does the meanest & offices for hire). Mr. Ormes behaviour was so gross and unprecedented, that he was dismissed from the Council and sent home to England.

His Majesty's troops to whose services they owe their very existence have during the course of the late war, met with such treatment, from these Gentlemen as deserves particular notice. I shall therefore mention two only of a thousand instances.

In 1759 (Major Brereton), the Commanding Officer of Col. Drapers Regiment and at this time Commander in Chief of the army, had, while they lay at a place called Conjeveram, sent out a party to collect some cattle; a small part of the adjacent country was the property of the Company, which the Nabob had some time before ceded to them and which they had let to a renter. The party that was sent out made no distinction however, of places and accordingly carried off what cattle they could find to a considerable number, and brought them to Camp. A few days after Major Brereton was obliged to leave the army, on account of his health and go to Madras, the Command then devolved on the Hon'ble Major Monson (now Colonel) who was likewise obliged to follow Major Brereton in a few days, to confer with him on the state of affairs. In the meantime the inhabitants of this little district made grievous complaints to the renter that they had been plundered by order of the Commanding Officer, and that they could not be answerable for payment of their rents. Major Monson had just got the Command when this complaint was made, and the renter believing the order proceeded from him writ to the Council against him. Major Monson happened to arrive at Madras as soon as the accusation, and meeting with Mr. Van Sittart, then one of the Council, was asked by him, if he had given such an order. Major Monson assured him on his honour he knew nothing of the matter. The Major stayed three days only in Madras and then returned to camp, sent for this renter and asked him how he came to make such a complaint against him.

The renter replied, that as he had refused the silam or present he had offered him some time ago, he deemed him his enemy and had on that account the more readily believed him to be the person who gave out that order. The Major provoked at this answer as well as with many complaints made

to him of this fellow's cruelty to the poor people under his jurisdiction, told him that if ever he complained against him again to the Governor and Council, or if even he received any more complaints of his oppression, he would first flog and then cut off his ears. The renter greatly offended at this, went down to Madras, and represented Major Monson's behaviour in the worst light to the Council, particularly to Mr. Van Sittart by whose interest he had been appointed renter.

Credit was given for a considerable time to this fellow's story, and many sharp letters passed between the Council and the Major, in which they made use of this remarkable expression, that ⁽⁸¹⁸⁾ they were the sovereigns of India, ⁽¹⁰⁰⁰⁾ if he presumed to maltreat any of their servants they would convince him. They even wrote to the Court of Directors against Major Monson, who believing their sergants had been ill used, carried their resentment so far as to go to Mr. Pitt, and lay their complaint before him. The Minister not choosing to disoblige them, offered to recall Mr. Monson but they knowing by experience, how needfull for their interest such an officer was in India, did not choose to accept Mr. Pitt's most gracious offer.

Some time before this happened, Major Brereton had accepted a silam or present of money from this renter, but having disagreed soon after, about some supplies for the camp, Major Brereton sent for him to his tent, and the fellow being very insolent, the Major laid hold of the bag with this money and ^{threw} at his head bedding him get about his business.

The renter write a letter of complaint immediately to his friend, Mr. Van Sittart, who without taking time to enquire into the affair, writes a very sharp and unbecoming letter to Major Brereton, when the Major asked him afterwards how he could believe such a fellow so implicitly, and write him in such scurrilous terms, all the answer Mr. Van Sittart made him, was, that the Major must always make a distinction between his public and private character. (819)

Upon the fall of Pondicherry, a dispute arose between the Governor's Council at Madras and Colonel Coote, who commanded the Army.

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The Colonel was for keeping possession of the place till His Majesty's pleasure should be known, and the Council were for destroying it immediately. To put an end to the matter, Governor Pigot, in person to Pondicherry and told Col. Coote, that if he would not deliver up the place, he would dismiss immediately from the Army all the servants of the camp in the Company's pay with-draw their troops, stop payment of the gratuity given by the Company to His Majesty's forces (this gratuity is an allowance to make up the difference between the pay of the Company's troops and His Majesty's) and bid him in a very peremptory manner; subsist his troops as he could for that he would give him no assistance whatsoever. He even yielded to his passion so far, as to say they should starve before he would give them any relief.

A speech, of which the Colonel took no further notice than by complying with his demand.

Fort St. George 1st May 1764

Exemption from Custom and Tax

339

D:4

B-VI/5

Extract from the Diary. Tuesday July 28th 1772.

There are certain offices established all over the
 Carnatic for collecting the duties of the Custom upon all Merchandise, or on
 all such goods as are transported from one place to another; but the Baggage
 of the Company's Servants have been exempted from this, not by any particular
 specification but they have always been considered as not liable to pay duty.
 However under colour of this privilege, not only Goods for Sale have been
 transported by sea; but the Duties of the principal Servants either in
 the civil or military department have assumed all the authorities of their
 Masters on the like occasions, obliging the Custom Officers to pass whatever
 they pleased without examination, by placing their Masters names on the
 parcels. If the Officer should stop them, they complain to their Masters,
 and they are always sure to be justified against the Custom people, who are
 fortunate if they escape without some mark of resentment. And this has
 been carried to such a height that even common Barbers and Pedlars,
 besides more considerable Merchants have made a practice of writing the
 names of the Commanding Officers of certain places or of some of the Company's
 Servants upon packages and under this sanction have passed through all
 the Nabob's Customers. Should the Custom Officer stop them, they immediately
 apply to the Dubash, who tells his Master of a Brother or a near Relation
 bringing up a few things, Silks, Linen Cloth or some other Goods for the
 use of the Officers of the Garrison and that they had wrote his name upon
 it; but that it had been stopped by the Custom people. This is sufficient,
 the Officer in a passion that any thing with his name on it should be stopp'd
 by these fellows, sends Reports for their protection to bring it on, or perhaps
 applys to the Dubash for redress, and demands no less than the punishment
 or the dismissal of the Officer who had done his duty.

But

Manning's Collection of Papers
in the possession of the Hon. Mr. Pitt.

But still a greater evil than the defrauding the
 State of his revenues attends all this; for it has been accompanied with
 circumstances of oppression infinitely more destructive to the Country.
 For the Zemindars and the State's Officers have been forced to press the
 Country people from their labours, to furnish Cattle, not only to carry the
 Baggage or Effects belonging to the Company's Servants; but it has been the
 common practice of their Dubashes, and for Merchants, Bankers and Pedlars
 under their protection to transport Goods Merchandize &c. from place to place
 with their Masters name affixed, and accompanied with a Pass or Policy on
 the Company's Badge, obliging all the local Officers wherever they went not
 only to pass them duty free; but also to furnish Cattle to transport them free
 of all expence, threatening them if they refused, and sometimes throwing
 down the Goods, telling them they must be answerable for the consequences
 if they did not perform them. For such services the Merchants can well
 afford to pay high rewards to those, thro' whose favour they receive such
 Indulgences, as in the Indian Countries they receive from Thirty Six to
 Fifty percent or upwards upon trading Goods according to the distance; but
 this arbitrary manner of forcing the Country people from their labours by
 which they maintain their family has obliged many of them to leave their
 habitations, and to seek for shelter and more security under the Governmen
 of those Indian princes who are much less connected with Europeans and who
 we call Despotisms and Slavery. —

05

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Extract from the Diary. Friday 25th September 1772.

Coelikut Dowlah is one of Hufsur Ally's honorary names. So that by his name of the 19th March 1766 to the Nabit it appears that he had agreed to give Two Lacks of Rupees to the Governor for his appointment to the Circars to be paid through the Nabit's hands. Which was done partly by that means and partly by the hands of Mr. Pylus then Chief at Masulipatnam. This with other proportional Rages given to the Company's principal Servants at the time appears to account for the preference given to Hufsur Ally; altho' they had sent General Lailland to the Nabit on purpose to bring him to Madras, to settle this affair and to accept the management of the Circars. The Nabit was then going into the Madras and Tenorelly Countries to settle them; but left that business by which he suffered great loss, and came to Madras. He was however disappointed and Hufsur Ally's name preferred.

Resolving to settle the
 Madras and the Circars
 of the Company's Servants

4/2

Translation of Intelligence from Ingole. Dated the
27th Rabisarny 1186 Hegyra or 29th July 1772.

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M^r Fletcher Bahauder (himself) has many
 Transactions with Fourteen Village people in the time of
 Madudtharam (son) and Shaat Talab (son) (Malob's Managers)
 which comes to a hundred (100) p^{er} cent Interest to this time, of which
 the Inhabitants have paid part, which he deducted out of the Interest.
 The remaining Interest he added to the principal, which now is his
 account with the Inhabitants, the whole bearing Interest, that they
 may not be ever clear from his debt giving them trouble and
 disturbance in such a manner that they cannot bear, of which the
 Renter being informed he gave orders to some of the Village people to
 clear the debt. Some of the Inhabitants had no abilities to pay.
 There is one Village called Woolagee the produce of which is only
 seven hundred (700) Pagodas p^{er} Annum, and Captⁿ Fletcher's demand
 upon it is Five hundred (500) Pagodas. In such manner are the
 Transactions of the Europeans with the Inhabitants of fourteen Villages
 therefore it is impossible they should flourish. Some of the Inhabitants
 paid what money they could and afterwards finding they could not
 go on any longer they ran away. Others of them considered that if
 they run away they would be brought back Prisoners, and therefore
 remain in their houses, selling their Cattle and every thing else to
 pay the money. Besides the commands they give to the Villages
 are

are such, M^r Fletcher wanted some Timbers for Beams and
 obtained an order from the Renter to a Village called prostour for
 that purpose, he sent people there who remained in the village
 Twenty two days. They received Twenty Two Madras Pagodas
 Allowance from the Inhabitants, they required Twenty Bullocks
 to draw the Timber. Now this is the time to plough and cultivate
 the Ground and no time is to be lost; but when the Bullocks are
 taken away this must cease; therefore the Inhabitants have come
 and complained but the Renter pacified them and sent them back.
 Besides which the demand of Straw, Sticks &c. made by Captain
 Fletcher, the Commandant and other Sepoy Officers and other people
 are beyond description. No revenues in this Season, notwithstanding
 which the Inhabitants purchase those things demanded from other
 Countries and supply them. Therefore there is a dispute between
 the Renter and European Officers, on account of which they always
 make such demands, He demands Four thousand Nine hundred
 (4900) pagodas and the Interest which is due to him from Hsed
 Talab Lawri, of which I have paid Four thousand (4000) pagodas and
 Nine hundred (900) pagodas are still, which the Renter promises to
 pay in one month; but the European Gentleman requires it
 immediately and for which he gives a great deal of trouble. The
 Renter says he will wait on him personally; but Capt^m Fletcher
 refuses, therefore the business is transacted in writing between
 them. ~

took every thing, Sheep, Fowls, Swines, Pigs &c. &c. without
making the smallest allowance for any thing. And they pressed Coles
not minding who, ever taking Gentlemen if they came in their way
for that purpose. They even went so far as to abuse Womers on their
march. - The Inhabitants acquiesced in every thing least the Nabol
should be displeas'd; but the Inhabitants had the Nabol's Dostuck for
their protection, which they shew'd to the Soldiers without their paying
any regard to it. These Casts are the Sepoys or Soldiers of the Rajah,
and as he is oblig'd to attend the Nabol with his Force in War, these
are his Military; then leaving the Cultivation of the Ground to others
but in time of peace they employ themselves this way. 2

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Translation of an Argee in Persian, By Chottar Sing.

Vaqueel of Rajah Bhargar Yatcham Naid Jamedar of Verthelegery

received 2^d August 1772

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Translation of the letter after

I have just received a letter from the Rajah Bhargar Yatcham Naid Bahauder my Master. That the Europeans who came from Masulapatam to Naid Pettah on their way to Madras. Altho' there was a lodging for passengers and my Masters people showed them the places, they did not chuse to halt there; but they went into my Masters houses, breaking the locks and entering & forcibly they took up their lodging there. They have received Sheep, Fowls, Rice &c. as much as they pleased for nothing, at their request as Guests. When they departed from thence they gave great trouble by profaning the Culpies. At last they wrote a letter to my Master in Gantas Language, the Original and Translation of which is here annexed. The Taluk of Naid Pettah is assigned over to Rajahwar, & Elnivar and Lommewar Caste, who are Military Men, and always have a most sacred regard for their honour, when they are brought to what they think such disgrace, the Country must be ruined, I therefore & entreat your Highness will be pleased to take such measures, that they may not be liable to receive such Injuries from the Europeans for the future.

3^d August. Chottar Sing present, Declares, about two & months ago, a detachment passed from Masulapatam to Madras

took

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to the nature of the Grain, the labour necessary in cultivating it, and
the fertility of the Country. In the Sangre Country for instance the
labourer has only two tenths of the produce of his lands, which is scarcely
sufficient to repay him for all his labour. But the Circar very often leads
what is its proportion with the Inhabitants for which they pay money.
This is bought by the Merchants and in this manner the Circar Revenue
used to be paid; but ever since the Company got such footing in the Country
the Commanding Officer and the Paymaster oblige all the Inhabitants to
take money from them at two, three and four per cent per Mensem to pay the
Circar demands. The Merchants have entirely left the Country, as there is
no advantage to be got by any but by the Commanding Officer and the
Paymaster's people. The Inhabitants know not how to dispose of their
Grain to refund the money borrowed of the Company's people; and when
they find themselves beyond remedy, they run off. Their Creditors then
seize on their Effects, and not only of the Effects of their immediate debtors,
but on their Neighbours as far as is necessary to discharge the whole. --
Then unless the Mabal pay the whole debt, together with the high Interest
and sustain all the loss of the sale of the Grain, the Village becomes deserted
and the Country would be very soon depopulated. In this manner have the
fortunes of all the Commanding Officers and Paymasters been made.

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06

The Nawab and Madras Govt

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Mahaj of Bahans

Extract from the Diary. - Sunday 26th July 1772.

The Governor and Council are as well acquainted with the different times of the coming in of the Fleets of the Carnatick as the Nabob, and ought in friendship to suit their demands to the times when they know he can most easily answer them. This however has not been the case, for it has always been customary to press him most, when they could not be ignorant that he was least able to pay, which reduced him to the necessity either to be hard upon his Country to raise money for them, to borrow from all hands at a high premium and great Interest, or to show favour to themselves in order to obtain a month or two's respite.

The money that they receive for the Company in the Carnatick and the Northern Circars comes nearly to between seventy and a hundred Lacks of Rupees a year, so that the Nabob can hardly suppose their necessities are so very pressing; but whenever he finds them particularly anxious for money for the Company, he knows they want him to show favour. And after all, the difficulties he labours under in his own Country are not to be expressed; he cannot even buy a piece of Cloth for his own wear; but he must employ one of his Servants to buy it as if it were for themselves, should he do it, the Company's Merchants would immediately complain to the Governor and Council and say that the Nabob had interfered with the Fleets and spoiled their Contracts.

Sometime ago there were Merchants in the Nabob's Country as well as in others. Those Merchants used to buy up the Grain of the Inhabitants, and to furnish them with money for the Circar: for it is the custom in Indostan when the Grain is cut down to divide it between the Circar and the Labourer in certain proportions according

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English Ally Government to
 the management of the Circars
 and Bahans. Extracted from
 the Diary of Sunday 26th July 1772.

07
The Commandant and The Poygar

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Extract from the Diary. Sunday 26 July 1772

An account of the present

Commandant at Ongole.

In 1768, the Officer commanding the Troops at Ongole having settled all that Country, told a Poygar that they must do something with somebody else. And in the Neighbourhood one of Bazalat Jung's Poygars commanded a very strong Fort called Vencondah. The Commandant said they must go and attack him; but a Poygar came & representation that they had nothing to do with this Poygar and that as he belonged to Bazalat Jung, it might bring them into Trouble. He still persisted telling him; why am I sent to command at this place but to get money, and I must not let such an opportunity slip. Accordingly without the least pretence or injury received he marched against him, a Poygar came & went with him. On coming before the place, the Commandant received Letters from the Governor and Council (Hyder was then in the Carnatic) ordering him to send off an Officer with 500 Sepoys and as many Europeans to Madras immediately and to hold himself in readiness to march with the rest at a moments warning. He communicated this to a Poygar, and told him we must reduce this fellow first, and you say he must bear & witness for me that I did not receive this Letter till afterwards, for we must not acknowledge the receipt of this now. He then summoned the Fort, which the Poygar refused to deliver. The latter then persuaded him to get some conversation with the Poygar and by his mediation they met in a Tent between the Army and the place. The Commandant, a Poygar and a third person with a few Sepoys only, and the Poygar had above 2000 seoms all round them. The Poygar then asked what he wanted with him, and why he came before his Kolla? The Commandant said; you have two Guns belonging to one of our Poygars whom we have reduced, you must deliver them up.

He

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The advantages taken of the
Nabob's negligence by the Company's
Officers & Servants in the Carnatic

He answered, I have no Guns of any of your Polygars; but I have twelve
 Guns of my own, if you want two Guns you may choose which you please.
 Then says he a great many of our Polygars people have deserted to you, you
 must deliver them up. The Poligar answered, I know of none of your people
 in my Kella; but if you please you may go into the Fort, and if you find any
 of them you may take them with you. The reason of these questions was, he
 did not want either Guns or Men; but a pretence to demand money of the
 Poligar to make up matters. Every such pretence however proving in vain,
 and a person fearing his coming to extremities, offered to be a mediator and
 told him he would endeavour to get some money for him from the Poligar,
 and with great difficulty prevailed on him to give three thousand pagodas.
 The Commandant wanted more; but the Poligar would not, then says he
 will take him prisoner with these Sepoys; without considering that he was
 surrounded with the Polygars friends; and even went so far as to threaten to
 beat him, he was however dissuaded. Very well says the Captain; but I
 want a horse, I must have a horse, you shall have one says he. and on the
 Polygars return to the Fort he sent him a dress, shawl and a horse; the
 horse did not please him, I dont want a horse says he to a person called
 the Poligar to give me a thousand pagodas and keep his horse, the Poligar
 would not agree to that. I must have another horse then says the Commandant
 a better one, he was promised one; but this horse not coming time enough,
 he rode to the Fort himself unattended, and was refused admittance by the
 Peons guarding the Barricade. He was in a great passion; and sent for a person
 called Carver, who sent a message to the Poligar, requesting he would give him leave
 to come in. The Poligar was displeas'd, why says he should this Officer
 come up demanding entrance into my Fort without my leave. The Carver
 made the matter appear as favourable as possible, telling him it was the
 European custom to visit after making friends, that he only came in friendship
 to see his place. They were admitted, and on mentioning the horse, the Poligar

told him, I have twelve horses in my stables you shall have your choice. On hearing of twelve horses, he must have more for some of my officers want horses, and he insisted on having your horses; he got them. The Poligar then appointed him a house to refresh in and sent him Fruits &c. About this time one of Rajarat Surig's Jamidars was passing a horse back who had been there to collect the Rents for his Masters. He was well mounted and the Horse pleased the Commandant, he run up and stopped the horse, and swore he would have that horse. After much cavilling the Poligar was obliged to pay two thousand Rupees to the Jamidar and to give the horse. Assem Cawn then prevailed on the Commandant to return two of the former horses; so that he carried off three, shifting his own Furniture on the Jamidar's horse and rode off. But before he went away, he pulled a Watch out of his pocket, and presented it to the Poligar, telling him he was his best friend; that it had been sent him from Europe by his Brother; but he insisted of his acceptance as a proof of friendship. The Poligar refused, saying he did not understand it. But the Commandant insisted on his taking it as a token of remembrance. The Poligar told him, that was not necessary, for he should certainly remember him as long as he lived without any such proof; however he left the Watch with the Poligar. - The Commandant was scarce gone when he repented his giving the Watch, saying as it was his Brother's present, he ought not to have given it away; and wanted to send for it. Assem Cawn told him; you gave it away as a proof of friendship, you cannot ask it back. However he sent his Dubach to the Fort, and halted his Men till he brought the Watch back, he also wanted to wait till he received the three thousand pagodas. But Assem Cawn agreed to pay that to him for the Poligar, that he might not be detained from more essential business; and accordingly did pay it him.

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This has been the fate of all the Companies —
Renters in the jaghires for many years past, all had been ruined by the
same means. The Company's Rents are easily paid; but the Diarr to the
Governors, Councillors, Secretaries and Dubashes must also be paid, which
obliges the renter to borrow money at a very high Interest of Forty, Fifty or
Sixty per Cent. and the produce of the Farm not being able to discharge all
those demands, the renter must be inevitably ruined. At the same time
mentioned several practices of the Dubashes for extorting money. Should
any of those renters refuse to pay them a Diarr, the Dubash takes care to
send heavy demands upon him from time to time, which he knows him
unable to comply with, these he represents to his Master as trifles and tells
him of the refusal of the Renter to oblige him in so small a matter. This the
Master believes and without enquiring orders the fellow to be flogged. This
would infallibly be put in execution, if he do not buy off the disgrace by
a sum of money, which he seldom fails to do; on which the Dubash tells
his Master that he will do better next time and begs him off. This is a
common practice from the Governor of a province to the lowest Officer
Civil or Military when in command, or when they have any separate
authority. — Some thousand Mangoes, hundreds of Trods, a great number of
Sheep &c. are demanded greatly above the Renter's abilities; and when he
represents his situation and that he has not so many to send. The Dubash
tells his Master. I asked says he only a few Mangoes of such a one, as you
were to have Company and the fellow refused them. And should these
practices fail of producing the intended effect, the Renter is made appear
to be so bad a man that his farm is taken from him and he is left to
starve; which obliges him to borrow money at a very high premium and
Interest in order to wear out his time a little longer, for he is certain of
being ruined at last. —

Extract from the Diary. - Thursday 13th August 1772. -

One Rajonr Pundit had been Member of S^r Thom's ever since the Siege of Madras, and of Sericottah soon after, till very lately. He rented the former at 700 pagodas p^a Annum and the latter at 1300 pagodas both from the Company. M^r Palk a little before his departure let both these Farms to the same Man for five years for which over and above the rent he usually paid to the Company, he was to pay a Naxir to the Governor of 2000 pagodas a Year; but as M^r Palk was going to England he required the whole to be paid at once. accordingly the man was obliged to borrow 10,000 pagodas at a very high Interest to answer this demand. There had been a Naxir annually paid for every year before also; and when M^r Douchier came to the Government he also expected his present altho' M^r Palk had made the Rentier pay for five succeeding years. And however for the Governor went, the Dubach always kept pace with his Master. The consequence of this was that Rajonr was able to stand it no longer and in the year 1770, he broke for 30,000 Pagodas over and above his whole substance. -

It seems some people who understood some of those Transactions between him and the Governors &c. &c. &c. advised him to write to M^r Palk and to tell him his situation, and what had been the cause of his misfortunes. Either the Man or some other person did so; and last year an order came from M^r Palk to M^r Goodlad his attorney to pay him 5000 pagodas. which I am told was done. But the Man was ruined and this came much too late. -

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The pressing of Musins

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Extract from the Diary. Friday 31st July 1772.

From Fazud Dier Killedare of Ingole and
Rajal Pandat, Dindakt al Omnahs Manager. —

After the taking of Ingole for the Nabol, one
M^r Bruce came there to command the Troops in Garrison, both those
of the Nabol and of the Company. — In that Country the seasons are divided
into four months wet weather and four months dry. In the first period
they cultivate the Ground and keep all their Cattle about them; but in
dry weather as they have no provision either in Grass, Straw and even
Water for their Cattle, they send them all out of the Country towards the
borders of the Abristna. However as the Officers wanted Butter and Milk
they obliged the Inhabitants to bring Cows and to keep and feed them at
their own expence for that purpose, without allowing them any reward,
altho' they were obliged to send for what they wanted to a great distance.
Nay if their Cattle died, thro' want as the Country could not maintain
them, the poor Inhabitants sustained the loss to their own ruin. —

Ingole is but a small place, therefore the custom
of pressing the Inhabitants is the more felt, as they are but few. However
if the commanding Officer, his Dubash, or any of his servants, wanted to
go any where on business; orders were sent to the Amildahr to provide
Coolies with Doolies &c. as many as they wanted. And as the Company's
servants frequently travel between Madras and Masulapattam,
Ingole being in the high road, word is sent forward of their coming,
and the Amildahr is obliged to provide every thing necessary for their
reception. But what distresses the Country more than any thing is
the pressing of the Inhabitants to serve as Coolies, which is done on

the

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Account of Musins
Extracted from the Diary

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the above occasions; and as single itself is not capable to furnish as many as these Gentlemen want, they must be pressed out of all the Country round: so that the Cultivation is perfectly neglected and the season lost for want of hands. Besides the poor people are kept waiting till these Gentlemen arrive, and sometimes for several days while they amuse themselves with their friends, and then to carry them on so far for so many days more, without either receiving pay or Batta, and are left to starve, unless the Amildahr or some Officer of the Circar have compassion on them.

One Capt. Fitzgerald then came to the commandant of this place, with a Battalion of Sepoys; houses were then ordered for all the officers both Europeans and Black Officers and even for their servants which were all built and all the materials furnished at the Amildahr's expence. And detachments of Sepoys were sent to collect these all the Country round at twenty or thirty Miles distance, pressing and forcing the Inhabitants and cattle to bring it to the Garrison, the Amildahr paying the money. And afterwards they were obliged to furnish Straw for the Garrison, which being exceeding scarce in that Country it sometimes cost Thirty, Forty or Fifty Pagodas at a time. They were also obliged to supply the Garrison with firewood, in both which not less than Fifty coolies were employed every day. For all which no pay nor Batta was paid to the poor people; Men and Cattle were employed, the season lost, the Circar deprived of its revenue and the Inhabitants ruined. The same custom of supplying Butter Milk &c. was also regularly insisted on; and very often the poor women were abused by Sergeants, European Soldiers, Sepoys &c. without redress. If a complaint was made the person was heard or not, according as the application was accompanied.

* Order up, in tract-remedy, for getting about 100000, perhaps 150000 more Straits put up, but paper that is what is from being put.

Amildahr's view of the country in former commentary

(365) About the end of 1766 Mr Davis succeeded to the command, and Mr Kem, who was baymaster used to lend money to the inhabitants at sixty percent per annum, but he put to himself and twelve to the Dubashes and middlemen about him. The Battalion of Sepoys used sometimes to have 2000 cattle belonging to them at a time. There were but horse in the country and for want of man, the petty holders of the poor people were

under disappointed in his expectations. To prevent all these
 His Highness commands me to acquaint you that out of pure
 friendship for you, he is willing to pay you this Interest for this
 once himself, and has given orders to his amudat accordingly; —
 but he has strictly enjoined me not to suffer any money to be lent
 to any of the Inhabitants, amudats or servants of the place for
 the future. I am therefore to request the favour of you not to do so
 yourself, nor suffer any of your servants to do so, that we may
 not be brought into difficulties on that account. I am always
 your Friend.

What can I say more?

P.S. I send you herewith the Nats's answer to your
 letter and an order from Royal Fundat to Ramiah. —

Letter from said Assem. Gen. to Capt. Fletcher, Angole
28. 7. 1772 91

Copy of a Letter given L^d. Assem. Gen. Bahaud.
to Capt. Fletcher Bahauder, Commanding the Garrison at
Angole Dated the 28 July 1772.

I have received your letter some
accompanied with an order for his Highness the Nabob, with
a paper under the Signature of Raminah Benter. In yours
you write that the said Benter had given it under his hand to
pay your money in twenty days; but that you had received the
principal only without Interest and that you required an order
for him to pay the Interest also. - I have said these before the
Nabob and was commanded to acquaint you that his Highness
is very considerate when the India Subjects want money they will
borrow it at any Interest without considering whether ever it
will be in their power to repay the same. But when the time of
payment comes, and they find it impossible to answer the demand
of their Creditors, they run away, by which means the Country is
ruined by the loss of its Inhabitants.

It is the custom and orders of the Company
that no money should be lent at more than 10 p^{er} cent p^{er} Annum
but you have made the Inhabitants give it under their hands to
pay you at the rate of Forty Eight (48) p^{er} cent p^{er} Annum. It is
absolutely impossible for them to pay such Interest, therefore
they must be ruined and the Country with them and even the

Sender