

340 3393 Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Tirnavelly April 5th 1757.

to your interest.

The point I am most anxious to carry is a remittance from Moodellee, I will not be positive on his promises until I have got the security required for the performance of them, but I believe you may depend on an immediate reimbursement of the 15000 pagodas, and two lacs of rupees by a bill in a month's time with his accounts for last year; nor shall this retard the payment now begun to be due for this year.

I have this instant received advice that Mauphus-
cawn after many solicitations hath got leave from the Do-
sitaver to depart, and is again gone to Madras, my future
designs in consequence of this motion I shall have the honour
to acquaint you with as soon as it is possible for me to come
to a resolution how best to proceed, and shall write again in
a few days.

I have the honour to be with great respect.

Tirnavelly
18th March 1757.

To the Honble. George Pigot Esq.
Presid. & Governor &c. Gentlemen of the
Committee at Madras.

N^o 4.

Honble Sir & Sirs,

I had the honour of addressing you last on the 18th ult.
N^o 3. and have at length carried my point with Moodillee,
for a remittance of two lacs and 60000 Arcot. rupees; some
of the merchants who advanced this money not having correspon-
dents at Madras, I was obliged to take half the sum in
bills on Trichinopoly which I have sent to Captain Smith
when you will honour with your orders in consequence the
other half; 130000 I now send enclosed by bill on Buckan-
gee at Madras payable fifty days after date.

I.O.R: ORME MSS: India: Vol 12

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras.
Tirnavelly April 5th. 1757.

3394(541)

Storm
Monsoon
Rivers
harvest.

The delays I met with in every transaction with these people made my stay longer here than I first intended, or could have wished, and when that obstacle was almost removed, another far greater succeeded. I mean the violent rains which have fallen here some days past, swelled and increased the currents of the rivers so that they are impassable even for boats, and the roads impracticable for carriages. The violence of the storm seems over, but it will require six days fair weather and strong sunshine before I can hope to move. It hath done irreparable damage I fear to the harvest, happening when the grain was fit to cut, the greatest part of which was still in the ground.

I am afraid to give any thing for truth in my account of the enemy so little are the reports we receive to be depended upon; thus much I can affirm that Mauphuscawn is still at the Pollitaver's place encamped, and that for these two days past the news of Hydernaig coming to their assistance is confirmed. I had also a letter of advice of it from Tondiman; the following are the conditions agreed on between them, the Pollitaver is to give two lack of Chuchraes ready money and also the fort and country of Cholerandam near Madura, that district is not so valuable as to its revenues but that it gives a free passage to the masters of it from Dundigall to Madura; but after all Hydernaig's assistance is not given to get Mauphuscawn the country. He it seems is to be contented with a fort and the country belonging to it, somewhere in the Mysore country with the yearly revenue of two lack; the grand scheme is to set up a King at Madura who as formerly is to command the whole country; this pretender to the Kingdom resides in the Morrawar country whom they are to call in.

Let what will be their designs, the best I think I can do is to march the soonest I can for Madura, if they intend

342) 3395 Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Tirnavelly April 5th. 1757

to relieve the place it cannot be done without coming to a battle, either on my march or after my arrival near the fort, and if I may be allowed to deliver my sentiments on the success of the engagement without an imputation of vanity or presumption I may say I do not in the least doubt it let who will be joined with them; my principal point in view is the getting that place once more in our hands, and hope I shall succeed.

I propose leaving for the defence of these parts thirteen companies of seapoyes, included in which are the thousand belonging to the center nine companies; the four others are left in those garrisons which are kept in the company's hands, the whole under the military command of Basoapanaiy, a good soldier; by the military command I have understood the duty and discipline of his seapoyes, for every thing else he is to receive his orders from the center. I have left him written instructions; copy of which I have also given to Modellee, so that no misunderstandings I hope can happen between them: with the remaining part of the force, the Europeans, Coffres and sixteen companies of seapoyes with Souf Cawn I propose to march.

The center is apprehensive that on my moving the enemy will enter the country to the southward: this objection will never be at an end with him, all I could do was to provide against it. in the best manner the strength of our force would admit of. if it happens as he says and that they move their whole force for that purpose, I must return to oppose them. if they only send a part, what troops I left with Modellee joined with his horse and peons are certainly sufficient against them; besides it is not probable but that they will attempt something to prevent our designs against Madura, and in such a case they will hardly think of dividing their force; all that I can say, if they do, they do.

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Tirnavelly April 5th. 1757.

3396 (343)

they could not act more in our favour than by such a disposition.

I have made another effort towards drawing off Mauphuscawn from his purpose, the success of which I have not heard yet; the person I sent is one Meer Saffier, a relation and intimate with his wife, who by what I have heard has great sway over him.

As to our alliances and interest in the country it stands thus, the eastern Polligars are quiet and say they are our friends; and certainly did refuse joining Mauphuscawn; Katabomanaitik who is the most considerable of them has sent me a vaqueuel with strong assurances of fidelity; Modellee is gone there on the pretence of his son's wedding to which he was invited, but his design is to see how far he can engage him on our side, and what forces he will spare to keep things quiet here while I am on my expedition towards Madura.

You will I hope be pleased to pardon me Gentlemen, if on some particular occasion I do not wait for your approbation and orders, but act to the best of my judgment and capacity when I think a retardment (such as there must be were I to wait until I could receive your directions) might not be for the good of the common cause, or that doing them immediately would have a better effect than waiting longer. I have acted so in the following cases which I submit to your judgment: the first is with regard to Katabomanaitik in granting a favour which I thought might be a further means of securing his friendship: the second is with regard to an act of liberality which I took the liberty to make in the name of the honourable company.

When Mauphuscawn came to Katabomanaitik this last time requiring his assistance and help as I have said before, he was refused as by all the other Polligars of that side;

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
1397 Trinavelly April 5th 1757

Amongst the rest was the Cheaporum Polligar; vexed at his disappointment it seems that Maughuscawn on his march back laid waste his country, drove off a great deal of his cattle and burned several of his villages; marks of which ravages I saw when I marched through: this Polligar's securities are still at Trichinopoly for 15000 Chackraes

unpaid, Katabomanaig hath interceded strongly in his behalf for some abatement, seven thousand was at first asked; as I could not but think there was some reason in his request considering what the man had suffered for his adhering to our cause, I compounded the affair and reduced the demand to an abatement of five thousand, but also upon these conditions that merchants should be given as security for the immediate payment of the other ten, and that Katabomanaig should join Modellee with whatever force he might require; this done, that Polligar's securities at Trichinopoly should be set free.

The second article a present I made on my first arrival to Souf Cawn and to Modellee, the former when he met me acquainted me of two elephants which he had taken from Maughuscawn, which he would send to me to dispose of as was proper for the honourable company. the best use I thought I could apply them to, was to present him with one on his first visit in the name of the honourable company, and a reward for his services, and success over the enemy; and in order to increase the credit and reputation of the renter in the country, people's eyes, I presented (at Modellee's request) the other to his elder brother Daloway Modellee, who is head of the family as the greatest mark of favour and honour the company could do him. I own for these presents I might have staid for the sanction of your orders to

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras.
Sornavelly April 5th 1757

3398 (345)

make them, but that I thought the effect and consequences would be better if done immediately on my arrival; should it be my misfortune though, that this should not meet your approbation, I must submit to your ordering me to pay for my indiscretion.

N N To return to the country affairs, besides the friendship of these
N N eastern Polliars we have many others, in short at present there are
N N but three with the Pullitaver and Mauphuscaw's party, but you will easily conceive that fear not love can only keep up such friendship, and that while the possession of the country is any dispute their remaining neuter is the most we can expect, or hope, sometimes they may join, but that not with an intention to put an end to the troubles, but rather keep them up, for nothing they fear more than a master and the country settled; it is the divisions in it which support their power and make them of any consequence, while both parties are courting their alliance, they are going on unmolested in any encroachments they are pleased to make, keep the war out of their own country and so grow rich and insolent, these present troubles at an end, the peaceable possession of the country afterwards depends upon a strict hand being kept over them.

N I have forwarded your letter with one of my own to the
N chief of Anjango, requesting that gentleman to use his interest
N and influence over the King of Travancore not to disturb the
N Sornavelly country, he chooses the times for his incursions, when he knows our troops are employed in other parts of the country, and the instant a party marches against him, he returns behind his wall; but this is a great inconvenience and prevents our acting in the manner and with that freedom which is necessary for the success of a war. I hope that Gentleman's remonstrances may have some effects; in the mean time to keep him in as well as we can, the fort of Calcarra in which he first always attempts

195

345
3399 Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Tirnavelly April 5th 1757

is well garrisoned with three companies of seapoys and 200 horse and some peons.

N
From this general representation of affairs it will occur of course to you, Gentlemen, that the expences of keeping the necessary forces in this country at present, runs away with the greatest part of its revenues, it remains then to be considered (though the troubles may be settled by the expiration of the year) whether the renter can maintain himself afterwards and pay the sum agreed for with the honourable company for the second, I believe it may be doubted, from what I have before represented of the disposition of the people round him, and the situation of this country to theirs, which exposes him to their insults without a sufficient force to keep them in. if he gives security for that sum it may be said every thing is safe; but that he will get any security for such a sum (his above situation considered) I believe is also much to be doubted; if the troops already here are kept up, he cannot he will say pay so much; I believe therefore for the next year, the matter of consideration must be, who will give most for the country clear to the company, with good security, and all expences and losses fall to the renter: what the country will afford to pay upon such conditions must be the objects of my attention and enquiries, that from the reports I may be able to make you, you will be better judges who bids fairest, many I dare say will offer, but those alone who give security can be accepted. Modellee's excuse at present is, that the country is not settled we may hope it will be so by the expiration of the year, but that alone will not do for to get security, for he, if he continues it, or the man who takes it must prove to the merchants that he can keep the country settled and quiet, and that alone cannot be done by words; but by showing the number of troops he proposes to maintain for that purpose, as I gain more knowledge and insight into affairs, I shall take the liberty to submit

Captain Callaud to the Presidency of Madras.

Tirnavelly April 5th 1757.

3100 (347)

my further thoughts to your considerations.

There is an article in military regulations which I found impossible to comply with in regard to the payment of the coolies at 2 fanams a day. I could not get one to march with me from Trichinopoly at that rate; and on my arrival in this country I enquired of the renter if he could supply me at that price but he informed me he could not: I was therefore obliged to keep them up to their old establishment until some favourable change in the price of provisions will admit of the alteration.

I have received from the renter two months subsistence for my detachment; the accounts of last month cleared and this one in advance, a custom which I intend to keep him to, that I may always have a month's pay before hand; if I do not immediately transmit my last month's accounts I hope you will be pleased to allow it for an excuse the little time I have had to spare, to regulate and settle every thing in that order and method in which I would choose to lay my accounts before you

It would be of great service and absolutely necessary indeed that you would be pleased to send some new arms for the seapoys; many of their pieces are unfit for service and irreparable, and I believe not less than five or six hundred of that sort. I have therefore made out the enclosed indent for those and some other necessary articles which I request you will be pleased to take into consideration; the best and cheapest method of conveyance at this season is to send them by sea and recommend them to the care of the Dutch chief at Tutucorin, from whence I can have them with ease brought to Palamcottah (I was obliged to move from Tirnavelly to that fort about four miles distant to keep my soldiers more together, and under the eye of their officers, that place as the only defence of Tirnavelly and to where the inhabitants can take refuge from an enemy

348) 3401 Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Palamcottah April 8th 1757

N
N N
would require to be put into a better state of defence, though indeed the greatest piece of service would be to demolish it quite and with the materials construct a new fort on some convenient spot near Tirnavelly, for this, four miles distant, and a river between not always fordable and no bridge, cannot be said to be of great use or security to the other place; at a more convenient time this however may be considered with the means of finding money for the expence which I think might be brought about by a general contribution on the inhabitants of the town and country round: at present it must remain and will be of sufficient strength I dare say to resist all that will come against it).

I remain with great respect

Tirnavelly

5th April 1757.

To the Honble. George Pigot Esq.
Presid. & Governor &c. Gentlemen
of the Committee at Madras.

N^o 5.

Honble. Sir & Sirs,

I had closed and dispatched not half an hour my last general letter dated the 5th instant N^o 4. when your favour N^o 1. arrived. I recalled my letters and determined to wait until this day the 8th before I would close my dispatches that I might inform you of my being encamped and that I shall march the 10th.

N
N Key det
(The enemy as I hear are at Shivalapatam two days march from Madras: Hydernaig is not moved from Dindigall yet, and if the present prevailing report be true; he is to march another way: it seems that thirty thousand Morrattoes are come to the King of Mysore's assistance against Nanderauge who for the present has retreated, and sent to Hydernaig im-

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Camp before Madura August 14th 1757

3430(7)

B-XVII/2

Believe me Gentlemen, there is nothing to be done without
an European force in the country with the center, all this may seem
as if I was pushing for my self to stay there, nor will I hide my
sentiments so far as not to own that perhaps it may be not the worse
if it was so, conscious to my self of the motives from whence I act,
I dare hope they will not be thought of worse than they are, but in
case you persist in the opinion of my remaining honoured with the
command of Trichinopoly, this may be done, another officer sent of
capacity to command the military and if he was not so well versed
or used to country affairs some gentleman of the civil with talents
and disposition that way might be sent, and I dare say that would
answer perfectly well.

As to Madura I will venture to assure you Isouf Cawn
is the proper man to command in that place and rent the country
round it, the neighbours he has will require a brisk active man
amongst them to keep them to their duty and obedience; it is a
large trust, but if there is faith in men, he is as honest and true
a servant to the Honourable company as ever eat their bread.

If I succeed against Madura, I shall wait there for
your answer and orders. Isouf Cawn as I said before shall be im-
mediately detached to Tinnavelly, if what I have proposed be
approved of, I can recall Isouf Cawn to Madura and march to
reimplace him in the Tinnavelly country or act as you otherwise
may please to order: what next remains to be considered and
to which I beg your answer is the alternative, if we cannot gain
our point against Madura, whether then it would not be best
to march our whole force into the Tinnavelly country, settle that
so far that out of it at least we might defray the expences of the
army and wait until times will permit or you will think fit
to send such a reinforcement as will be sufficient to re-
duce Madura; to keep the country, either this must be done

IOR

of 3431 Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras
Camp before Madura August 4th. 1757

or a strong party sent with Souf Cawn and to return with the Europeans to Trichinopoly; all this is humbly submitted to your considerations, and I hope to be honoured with directions and orders as soon as possible it will suit your convenience concerning what I have laid before you.

I mentioned some time ago the detaching of Souf Cawn with a party for Tirnavelly and staying here myself with the remainder of the troops; but I cannot now think of dividing my force (the Mysorians about Dindigul are in motion, we cannot possibly learn which way, but we think for certain their assistance has been strongly solicited by these people; they may perhaps have some such intentions which need give us no uneasiness while we remain in a body, but were we to divide it might be troublesome).

(Mauphuscawn is still at Tirnavelly plundering merchants and every body to get money. Palam cotah safe in our possession, the King of Travancore master of the Callicarree Country a gift of Mauphuscawn; the revenues of which district amount to three lacs yearly; a great deduction out of the Tirnavelly rents, if we are obliged to make such a concession; but I hope your letter may have some effect, the King has not sent any troops to Mauphuscawn's help, only some firelocks, two hundred and fifty Stand and they say two pieces of cannon are also coming for him).

(Katabomanaig with a thousand of his people have joined us. I am urging Moodillee's brother by letters every day to try and get some money out of the country at least sufficient to pay these people's batta and the horsemen in his service, I have promised it shall be done, but wait to see the effects.)

(The Maravar and Nelloctah's forces are within a day's march of me, and have been at the same place indeed above this week. I do not much press their junction, from which no great things (except the name as it is termed in the country) is

Captain Cailaud to the Presidency of Madras

107 3433

to lay before you. Mahomet Souf Cawn desires that I would in his name offer these his following proposals for the renting of it.

That he will engage to pay and find security for the same, for the renting of that country for the terms of three years the following sum.
 For the first year beginning now 50000 chuckraes valued each chuckra at 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees is — 1 Lakh and 25000 rupees.
 For the second year 60000 Chuckraes at D. 1 Lakh and 50000 rupees.
 For the third year 80000 Chuckraes at D. 2 Lakh. rupees.

The number of troops he proposes keeping up as necessary at present for its defence are as follows,

Three hundred horse

One thousand Peons

One thousand Seapoys and some European Artillery men.

The expence of such a body of troops will nearly amount to p^{r} . annuum 3 Lacks and 71000 rupees including the extraordinary expences of maintaining garrisons. underneath are the particulars pretty nearly calculated.

Six Semidars of horse at 100 R ^s . each p^{r} month is p^{r} . annuum.	Rupees 7200
three hundred horse at 30 R ^s . each p^{r} month is D.	108000
One thousand country peons at 4 R ^s . D. is D.	48000
Ten companies of seapoys with their officers, serjeants batta &c. calculated as at present they are paid will	} 175000
amount to nearly	
Extraordinary expences of garrison such as Lascars, harcarrats, artillery, hospital, oyl and many other articles valued at yearly	} 33500
Total.	371700

The expences of the troops far exceeds Gentlemen as you see the revenues of that country, it has always been so even in its most flourishing state, nor could it have maintained itself, were it not that the masters of Madras had always at least annexed to it the Sinnavelly country, formerly indeed much more part.

then of this expence must be paid out of the Sinnerelly revenues, with regard to which he also begs I would lay before you the two following proposals for your choice.

Whether he should transmit monthly regular accounts of all his expences, giving credit for the money he is to account for out of the revenues of Madura at the rate he proposes renting them and of what monies he may receive from the Sinnerelly country from the renter to make up the deficiency.

Or if you choose he should send in no accounts at all but that the following sums to make good what is wanting should be sent him yearly out of Sinnerelly, for the first year two lack and forty five thousand rupees; for the second year two lack and twenty thousand rupees, and for the third year one lack and seventy thousand rupees, for which sums added to the rents of Madura country he promises to maintain for the Honourable company the above number of troops, ready always to produce them to such commissions as may from time to time be sent to muster them: the company's seapoys to be on the following establishment, one Subadar, 4 Semidars, six Havildars, six Naigs, and an hundred seapoys; included in which are Tomsons &c. and every other expence paid except the subsistence of such Europeans as may be left with him as artillery men and sergeants of seapoys. I believe the honourable company will be no losers by such an agreement; a multiplicity of accounts will be prevented as by that there need be but one general account kept for the Madura and Sinnerelly countries of their expence and produce. If you will be pleased Gentlemen to compare the calculation I have made for the expence of the troops &c in the Madura country with what Dsouf Cawn proposes to give each year and what more he asks from the Sinnerelly country as necessary to make up the deficiency, I believe I say you will find the calculation pretty

Captain Caillaud to the Presidency of Madras

73435

just.

The following observations are also submitted to your consideration.

That (besides the districts which I have mentioned belonging to the Madura country there are also those of Tripunam and Palemerah now in the hands of the Morravar and Nelcotah Poligars, a gift of Alum Cawn's which certainly in justice they have no right to: but the circumstances of times will not permit us at present to break with them for the recovery of those countries.

(But also their value is too considerable to leave in their hands when an opportunity offers from the country being settled to recover them; they are in value above a lach of rupes yearly; when therefore such a recovery can be made, Souf Cawn is bound also to give a faithful account of such an acquisition, and to have it added to what he offers for the country now in the state which I have laid before you)

It is further to be observed, that as to the number of troops proposed to be kept, and the subsistence of the seapoy is rated at the highest calculation, and the reason that a reduction in the latter cannot now be made without danger of losing most of our best men that from towards Arcot; and would rather serve near their families and home for half the pay than here upon the whole. but when the country is somewhat settled, our neighbours quiet, provisions and necessaries plentiful and cheap, then such a reduction both in numbers and pay may be thought of and brought about, and deductions are to be made in proportion; but of these additional supplies which are requisite now to be allowed, it is to be hoped and presumed that whosoever is honoured with the command and management of affairs in that country, will employ the utmost of his care and attention towards bringing about so favourable an alteration and proving himself worthy of such a trust by a diligent, honest and faithful execution of

155
B-XVII/3
Narrative of the principal Occurrences and
from the reign of Mahmud Shah. Dated January

Title
continued
on next
page.

The day after the action towards Akbarabad with all his effects and
treasures, the latter of which must have been very considerable, as his
government had been a continued scene of rapine & extortion. It is said
that he was stopped in the way by order of Scourjmut the Jaut. Stripped
of all his ill gotten wealth, & left to pursue his journey in equal distress
& terror to Akbarabad. The next day a detachment sent by Sujah
Dowla entered the city & took possession of the palace, & Nizam Cawn the
former Subahdar, who had gained the affections of the people by his
moderate & just administration is expected there shortly in the same
capacity. On the 16th Mirza Baubet the son of Allee Gowhet rode out
attended by his Court to visit the Abdulla & congratulate him on his victory.

It will be proper now to take a short sketch of the affairs of
Bengal. The Prince assembled an immense army, defeated Rajah Ram-
narain, who then commanded the forces of Jaffer Allee Cawn in those
parts, but was soon after attacked & worsted by the young Nabob & Major
Caillaud. By the advice of Camgar Cawn, he suddenly passed by the young
Nabob, & entered the province of Bengal by the passes of the mountains,
but was so closely pursued that despairing of success he returned by the
same road, & without losing time laid close siege to Patna, which was
gallantly defended by the English garrison till the arrival of Captain Knox
with a detachment of Europeans & Seapoys, who relieved it. The Prince
immediately raised the siege & returned to Sikharree where he passed the
rains. The young Nabob & Major Caillaud arrived soon after, & after a few
days spent in the pursuit of Khadim Hossim Cawn Naib of Pooree,
who had sided with the Prince, in which the young Nabob perished by
lightning, the troops retired to their quarters in Patna. In the month
of October the Nabob Jaffer Allee Cawn resigned his government to his
son in law Cossim Allee Cawn & retired to Calcutta. After the rains the two
armies again took the field. A treaty of peace was set on foot but broke
off by the means of Camgar Cawn. At length Major Carnac, who commanded
the English forces, marched against the Prince on the 15th January, attacked
& beat him, taking Monsieur Law & the French party prisoners. He
pursued the Prince very closely for some days, till he found himself so
streightened that he offered to throw himself upon the protection of the English,
which was accepted, & on the 8th of February he joined the English camp
& proceeded with them to Patna. His views are yet to the throne of Indostan,
& he has earnestly solicited the assistance of the English for the attainment
of that end. This is at present in debate, & the result must turn on the
following points. Whether the Prince can depend on the friendship of any
of the considerable powers, & if the Abdulla is still disposed to support him -
The above transactions afford the strongest hopes in his favour. The Abdulla
himself has proclaimed him King, repeatedly invited him to go and take
possession of the throne & even appears to have approved of the nomination
of his son to the regency, though that appointment was made by the Morattas
then actually at war with him. Sujah Dowla & Nejeeb Cawn are his ancient
friends, have ever pursued the same interest with him & the former is bound
to him by the strictest engagements, which he appears to have made the guide

Revolutions at the Court of Shahjehanabad

28th 1762, supposed to be by Mr. Hastings.

1356

of his actions. Gayoodeen Cawn his ancient enemy & the scourge of his family, is no longer in power & scarcely known. So far it is evident that the ruling powers of Indostan have hitherto favoured the Prince; nor can there be a just cause to suspect a continuance of the same sentiments in them towards him since their late amazing successes. Nothing is wanting to fulfil our assurances of their assistance, but an invitation from them to the Prince; & without some assurance that they will side with him, the enterprise would be too hazardous, as it would throw the whole weight upon our forces, which it would be madness to think of exerting alone in the midst of many hostile nations, perhaps against them all, & at a distance from our own colonies, which must cut off all possibility of receiving fresh supplies. It is certainly much to be wished that the resources which the Prince expects for a certainty there cannot be and to run some hazard will be justified by the palpable advantages that will accrue from the success may be such as will warrant our engaging with him in the execution of his designs. Though the Abdulla is become very powerful, yet he can never be in a capacity to hurt the interests of the Company. His late successes he has derived rather from his alliance with the Moguls, than from his own strength. He has no fixed establishment in India, & must draw all his supplies from a distant country. His own kingdom is surrounded by powerful neighbours who may oblige him in the midst of his conquests in this Empire to fly to the defence of his own possessions. But supposing him for ever at peace with his neighbours, supposing him in quiet possession of his acquisitions in Indostan, he is still too far removed to become any subject of apprehension to us, & will even be a curb to that power which we have a real cause to dread, that is the Morattas.

As it is evident that it cannot be prejudicial to us to join the Abdulla, on the other hand every consideration of policy & self interest strongly impels us to seize such an occasion to reduce the overgrown power of the Morattas. By the advantages which the divisions of the Empire have given them, & by continual encroachments on their neighbours, the Moratta state has arrived to a height of splendor & greatness, to which the Mogul empire in its most flourishing state scarce ever attained. They are not only in possession of a fourth part of the revenues of the empire, but have reduced the greatest part of it to their own authority, which till their late defeat extended beyond the capital, & what ought the most to alarm us now reaches to our own gates. Their resources are all within themselves & their establishment built on & confirmed by a series of continued successes. Though so mighty an Empire is not to be overturned by a single blow, yet the great shock which they have lately experienced will doubtless require the exertion of their whole force to retrieve it, & leave us little room to dread their invading this province, whilst we are engaged against them in a distant region. The only quarter from whence we run any great risque, is Nagpore, a long tract of Country lying southwest of Bengal & Cuttack, and governed by Jannojee

1357

A Narrative of the principal Occurrences and
from the reign of Mahmud Shah. Dated January

a Moratta Prince. This province, together with the Chout of Bengal which was stipulated at 12th Lacs, was given to Raghojee the nephew of the late Sahoo Rajah as a recompense for his services in the reduction of Bengal. He died & left this inheritance to his younger son Jannoo, & the Country of Chandar together with the Chout of Patna, which amounts to 3 Lacs, was afterwards assigned to Mudda Jee, the eldest son of Ragho. Upon the demise of the Sahoo Rajah Jannoo made interest to succeed him, but was opposed by Ballajee, who raised a son of the Sahoo Rajah to that dignity, which he still possesses, & the affairs of state have been ever since managed by Ballajee his minister. This caused a variance between Jannoo & Ballajee, which has subsisted ever since, and tho' the former has never dared openly to disclaim the authority of the Moratta government, yet he has frequently sided with the Nabob Salabat Jung against Ballajee, and it is not to be questioned but he would gladly throw off his dependence, whenever he could do it with impunity. Mudda his brother, whose territories lie contiguous to Nagpoor, & who is in dread of his brother's superior strength, has generally hitherto taken the part of Ballajee against him. Thus much may serve to shew that it will not be impossible to divert the Morattas from attempting any thing to our prejudice by raising up some power within themselves against them, not to mention the Nabob Salabat Jung, the Rana (a powerful Prince) and their actual enemies, the Abdulla & his allies.

The benefits the Company would reap from their support of the Prince in his pretensions to the Throne, & the re-establishment of the Mogul empire, are so obvious & would so immediately affect all their settlements, that it would be needless to particularize them. It is from hence alone that we can ever hope to derive any fixed establishment, or the confirmation of our present acquisitions, which we only hold at this time by the right of our own power & by the weakness of the government & as we cannot expect that the latter will for ever continue in the same loose state, it is for our interest to provide against what may happen, by insuring to ourselves the protection of the government, which can never be done so effectually as by engaging in the restoration of it. A fairer opportunity with respect to ourselves could never happen. We at present enjoy a profound peace obtained by the repeated success of our arms: the French power in India is totally crushed & destroyed - The Dutch are become too despicable to attempt to disturb us: We are possessed of a numerous force, which will become a heavy & useless burthen on the Company, if not employed: & the English name is now at the highest pitch of glory. In a word every advantage seems united in making this the crisis of raising the British empire in the East, which (if properly maintained) may rise superior to all the vicissitudes, & precarious contingencies of future times.

by the
of S.
India

Revolutions at the Court of Shahjehanabad
20th 1762, supposed to be by M^r. Hastings.

1358

The former part of this Narrative takes in the state of affairs to the month of March 1761; soon after certain accounts were received of the Abdallee's resolution to return to his own Country, & of his actual march after placing Mirza Bauber the son of Allee Gowher in the regency of the Empire, & of Sujah Dowla's being on his march from Dellee to meet the Prince and attend him to his Capital. In the mean time he continued his residence at Patna & the Nabob allowed him a handsome revenue for his subsistence. He frequently urged the necessity of his setting out soon for Dellee & was very pressing for a detachment of English forces to accompany him, & this it was resolved to grant him in case Col: Cootes regiment should arrive from the Coast in time. Sujah Dowla advanced by quick marches so that about the end of May he arrived at Banaras a town of his own dominions bordering on the frontiers of the Bahar province. Upon his approach the Prince urged more & more the necessity of his speedy departure, & Sujah Dowla wrote also to the same effect representing that this was the time when they might take possession of the Capital with little opposition; it was therefore thought improper to press the Prince's longer stay, & as the regiment was not yet arrived it was resolved that he should proceed according to his desire to join Sujah Dowla & that our forces should accompany him only to the borders of the Provinces. He went from Patna the 8th of June & as a great number of the Chiefs of the empire had acknowledged him for King, ^{it} was determined that he should be proclaimed also by the Nabob & the English in the Bengal provinces & that the Siccas should be struck in his name; he on his part promised to grant the Company the confirmation of all their lands, rights and privileges, & having joined Sujah Dowla & invested him with the office of Vizir of the Empire they proceeded without delay from Banaras to the Northward. The rains which came on about this time did not prevent their going forward & they very soon reached Coregianabad; here they made a stay of some months which were employed in negotiations with the Rohillas, Jauts, Ahmud Cawn Bungesh & other Chiefs in order to engage them to join heartily in the King's party & Sujah Dowla went for a short time to his capital of Luenow, from whence he returned with a considerable supply of money & all necessary stores for continuing their march to Dellee. It was not till the month of November; that they proceeded forward from Coregianabad & directing their march towards Agra crossed the Jumna at Calpis, since which time we have no very certain intelligence of their progress, but it is confidently reported that Ahmud Cawn Bungesh, some Rohilla Chiefs & several considerable Zemidars have joined the Royal Standard, that the Jauts themselves, who have always favoured the party of Gayoodcen Cawn, & opposed the King, have now made their peace with him & that Gayoodcen Cawn despairing of forming any considerable league is about to retire to the Deccan. The Marhattas far from recovering the blow they received last year from the Abdallees have fallen into still greater

by the name
of Shah
Aulum.

accordingly, a reasonable valuation; this would be a very essential diminution of their dead Stock, which stands a heavy Article on their Books; Another heavy & Annual expence their trade would be relieved from, which is the necessity their Agents are under, of sending parties of military to escort their Goods from different parts of the Country, which in Boat hire & Diet Money to their Soldiers, amounts annually to a very considerable Sum, tho' at present, I cannot exactly specify how much. Add to this the great Advantage of employing so large a sum, thus annually saved, when their trade already is oppress'd with so heavy a load of Interest in this country; On the whole therefore I think it needless, to urge any thing further to support my Assertion, that the East India Comp^y must be immense Gainers by this Change.

Having clear'd the way to my Subject, which seem'd to be clogg'd & obstructed with the preceding Objections, I am now the better enabled to proceed in my Scheme, & shall consider it under 4 principal heads, 1st The utility of it - 2^{dly} the ways & means & facility of the Attempt, - 3^{dly} The Obvious methods of retaining the provinces when con- querd - & 4^{thly} How far this Acquisition to the Crown of England, may affect the other European trading Powers.

1st — A Retrospection of what is said in the foregoing part, touching the trade, Revenues & Riches of Bengall, will make it useless dwelling long on the subject of my first general head, the immense gain that must accrue to the nation from subduing it, will be demonstrative under the present Oppressive Government; Its Revenues are moderately calculated to the Annual Amount of 11 Corore of Rupees, or £13,750,000 ^{Stg}. & how immensely they might be enhanced under such a government as that of Engl^d is very perspicuous; The Conquest of this province would not only retrieve our name & Reputation in a country where with grief, I may too justly say, our several miscar- riages, & supineness has render'd us in the greatest Con- tempt, but be also the Obvious means of reducing our heavy national Debt, & once more to restore to us the Ballance of Power in Europe, three Considerations that ought to be upper most, not only in the breasts of those who are entrusted with the helm of State, but also of every good subject of England.

2^d — I am now secondly to investigate the means, by w^{ch} this province may be subdued, & imagine I shall give some

1791
B-XVII/4
Plan of the means to conquer Bengal and to keep it as
title continued on next page

surprise, when I assert that 10,000 effective regular troops are amply sufficient for the purpose, & that the only circumstance that can render our project abortive, is its being known in Europe before the embarkation of the troops (as every European power is so materially concerned to prevent our succeeding in so advantageous a Scheme) to obviate which, they must be some time before, disposed in proper Sea ports, on the most probable pretences, tho' the most distant from the real design they are destined for; & other necessary precautions used, as the nature of the affair may require, which I must submit to Superior judges in these matters; The embarkation of these troops, must be preceded by the dispatch of a trusty person, well acquainted with the whole enterprize, & qualified to confer with the president of Bengal, who alone should be entrusted with the intended invasion; The time of his departure from England should be so calculated, that he may arrive in Bengal, some 2 or 3 months before the arrival of the troops, that no time may be lost in providing Boats &c: to facilitate their immediate proceeding up the River to Muxadabad, the Capital of the provinces, and least Death should make this precaution useless, the person thus previously dispatch'd, should likewise have proper instructions with him, sealed & addressed to the said President.

Tho' I have stipulated 10,000 effective men, as sufficient for the conquest of these provinces, I must not be understood that half that number is any ways necessary for the reduction of this Capital; on the contrary, I believe, I shall meet with no contradiction from any who are acquainted with the place or nature of the people; when I say that 2,000 regular troops with a few pieces of Artillery, will with ease, become masters of it, tho' as this must be the first service enter'd on, the whole may be employed in it.

The reduction of this place, would afford great wealth, & be immediately followed, by the revolt of all the Rajahs & people of the provinces, the more especially if proper manifestations were previously circulated, on the first publick Step taken, in which they should be promis'd a remission of some part of their annual tribute, & the Country to be protected in their Liberties, & properties, agreeable to the Laws and Constitutions of England, which should be inviolably observed, & as much clemency as possible used to those who were subdued or submitted. — Let the nature of things speak, how natural a consequence this is, when we view a people or Country abandoned by its Prince, to the oppressions & tyranny of an Usurper, universally hated, as the cause of every misery, his Country has felt for these 10 years last past, or ready to fall a prey to a foreign Banditti, yet more dreaded & hated by them, I say, whoever

1593

Letter 1st from Captain Fennicke on the

title continued
annex page 2

necessary maxims
of English Govern.
in Bengal.

B-XVII/5

Eastern politicks

Army of a Million of Men with heavy Artillery, but in this Country, what is not cultivated, is impassable, so that we can only stand upon our Defence at Calcutta, if we are attacked & make our peace on favorable terms, as soon as possible, for it is not the Government's interest to distress us, nor the Company's to struggle for a superiority for upon urgent Occasions they will be satisfied, & such exactions are no greater hardships than are practised in all Eastern governments; I have heard Gentlemen in general extol the Eastern politicks, but never saw any one could explain those nice turns they conceive to be in their System of Government; they have appeared to me to be all alike, patient, crafty, soothing, treacherous & cruel, treating the best men in the Kingdom they fix upon, with the same Ignominy & Barbarity as the meanest, thro' their Extortion being with soothing & kind promises. They see their daily politicks, in which they are so artful, that the wisest with the same disposition, have been drawn in & assassinated at the Instant the Murderers complimenting him with Posts of Honour & advantage; which practice sometimes ends in a private Assassination, & as often in a publick one; The Subjects have all the same turn of temper to conceal, as the Government's exact, & by a peculiar steadiness in their degree of politicks, will suffer severe Cruelties before they pay; & under this saving maxim, never to do it, till they can suffer the Punishment no longer, by which persevering they lessen the Demand, for if the Man has resolution to die (which is sometimes the Case,) & save all his money to his family, the Government loose their Aim, therefore are ever inclinable to Compound; & if the Sum extorted is very considerable, are often promoted or restored, to such posts, as will reimburse the Sufferers by dealing out their new Authority over others, as they have experienced themselves, nor is this sort of Ignominy accounted any disgrace, for the Man whipt to Day, will appear with a powerful Attendance & Torment a hundred to morrow; As I am writing to show the general bent of a Mahometan Government, & the Slavery of their Subjects, even for every inferior person to be insulted over by the next above him, I shall give you two or three Examples (by way of amusement) as Specimens of what the whole Empire practice; every man to the utmost of his power or cunning; first; The Cutmaas, the greatest Bankers in the World, & are employed by our

Cutmaas, a great Banker

prophecy

Maulda factory
destroyed

English Insolence
& presumption

are likely to be so) who will have Money somewhere, but is never known to seek it of us, unless his Wants are great; Considering what he can do, he is the least Enemy the Company have, & should be properly kept in temper; I say they do pay, must pay & always will pay him Indulgence money; & I am truck out, if they do not feel it more from the Man who may succeed him & still they must pay, nor can they afford to do otherwise, when it is insisted on; Having hinted to you by what Tricks the Comp^y. lost their Towns, I shall now relate the Trick of tricks, to shew how important it is, that even the Proprietors be diligent, in spying out the Characters of all employed in the managem^t. of their Fortunes; & at the same time, show you how keep pay it may be in respect to this Government, when our troops have blustered, to file off. In Jaffier Cawn's time, the Company order'd Maulda factory to be settled, it was set on foot at a great Expence, & a favorite Relation (Sot & Fool) appointed to be chief, It was then, as it has ever been, the most advantageous branch of the Company's Investments to the Black Merch^t. who managed matters so with the Phouzdaar (or Commanders at Maulda) to Overtake the Expedition, which he undertook, Jaffier Cawn did not appear in this affair, but left it with the Phouzdaar to dispute it with us; till the Cassimbaras Politicks began to work upon his Court; as it would have been a great detriment to the private trade of that settle^t. as the Calcutta Black Merchants, had this Expedition succeeded; in short, we having fallen upon his troops twice before day light, killed them a number of men as also Women, & then Jaffier Cawn let us know, since we delighted in Massacre, he would send us men enough, but at the same time advised us to reflect, they should be as many as there crawl'd Ants upon the Ground; which Threat induced our Governor & Council, to withdraw their troops, & Maulda was never settled, tho' the Directors positively order'd it should, & is the Company's right by the Emperon's grants. yet the Nabobs will not only slight them, but treat the Company as their Tenants; & in effect we are no more, when Nabob's please to say so; I am sure we had then for the small number of Soldiers, as stout a Garrison of Dutch, Germans & Swedes as any in Europe, & now to appearance the worst in the World: But suppose it was otherwise, & the Company could afford to make Tryal by force, the Situation of Bengal is such; it would be impracticable to bring the Country Government to Submission, tho' we should maintain a far greater body of men than is consistent with the Company's interest to keep up; It is not in these provinces as upon the coast of Cormandel, where they can march an

Canning Papers : Ellenborough to Canning 1856

And Ellenborough noted that he was told his own requirement and that of his staff was placed at 700 men. Remarking on these and the points contained in the memorandum he observed rather prophetically:

"These are the things, which long as they may be submitted to, at last cause insurrections. And you see in the case of the Santhals what a terrible calamity an insurrection of the people is. I have no doubt insurrection has other causes than fanaticism and I hope you will find them out. But every difficulty and obstruction will be thrown in your way, and you will never get at the truth till you have made sweeping changes amongst the employed in that neighbourhood."

BXVII/6