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A
LETTER
TO A
PROPRIETOR
OF THE
East-India Company.



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P R O P R I E T O R, &c.

S I R,

IT is not long since that in a Company with whom we were met to pass the Evening, the Conversation you know turned chiefly upon the *East-India* Company, which among other Matters relative to that Body, drew on at length much Talk about *Madras*, and the Causes of the Loss and Ransom of it; every one spoke and delivered his Opinion from the Information he had received; but notwithstanding all that was said upon the Subject, by some to the Dishonour of the Gentlemen at that Time in Trust there, you seemed to entertain a Suspicion to the last, That a certain Set of Men have very industriously endeavoured to disguise and misrepresent the Truth, intimating also an earnest Desire to be clearly informed of the Truth, if you knew by what Channel to come at it: I resolved, tho' I did not allow myself to enter deeply into the Controversy that Night, to comply with your Request as far as I was able, and as soon as I conveniently could; and that I might not be too tardy, I set about collecting at my first Leisure such

[4]

authentic Accounts as I knew were procurable, and recollecting such previous Occurrences as I thought might serve to exhibit the Foundation of the Measures taken in *Leadenball-street* for near twenty Years past, and to elucidate the Train of dark Intrigues carried on there to this very Day. In Order to do which, it is necessary to remark on some Passages several Years antecedent to the fatal Period whereof I am about to speak; the Facts I assert are founded upon such Authority, as I believe will not be contested, and the Inferences I make will I think be allowed to be natural and just; should any of them at first View appear somewhat remote from the Points at present in question, you will nevertheless I dare say acknowledge in the End, they have served as useful Lights and Guides to your Judgment. To begin then,

You may remember that in the Year 1732, there was a Contest among the Proprietors of the *India* Stock, whether they should continue the Dividend at Seven *per Cent.* or reduce it to Six? It is not necessary that I enter into the Arguments made Use of on this Occasion; a Ballot ensued; and though it was carried to continue the Dividend of Seven *per Cent.* knowing and disinterested Persons remained still under a Doubt, whether that was a right Measure; at least so much may be said in Justification of those who were against it, and I think you will recollect it, that when it was afterwards in 1743, proposed to increase the Dividend to Eight *per Cent.* the Proprietors were told the Stock would much better afford then to divide Eight than Seven in 1732; you will see in the
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[5]

Course of this Letter how ill-judged it was to make such a Declaration, but much more to propose it at that Juncture, when we were just upon the Eve of a War with *France*.

But to return to the Year 1732, the ill Humour which the Contest about the Dividend had raised, continued till the Election for Directors came on in 1733, when a new List was formed and carried, wherein all those who were looked upon to have had the chief Influence in the Management of the Company's Affairs before, were left out, and others substituted in their Stead; these to keep up an Interest, with those who had placed them in Power, applied their Thoughts to every Measure that could be contrived to create a Saving, thereby to support the Dividend, at the same Time neglecting every Thing that was attended with Expence, though never so necessary and essential to the Preservation of the whole Capital Stock.

Some Years of Tranquillity, and some other favourable Circumstances, helped to encourage the new Directors in their Scheme of Economy; however, there were some Events, which though they happened at too great a Distance to be the Subject of much Debate in the Coffee-Houses in *London*, yet it might reasonably have been expected would have had a more considerable Share of the Attention of some in *Leadenball-street*.

In the End of the Year 1738, *Shaw Nadir* entered the *Mogul's* Dominions, and within few Months after became Master of the *Mogul's* Person, and in Possession of *Dilby* the Capital City: It was imagined

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[6]

hat after so easy a Conquest, he would have declared himself Sovereign of the Empire, and have detached some of his *Persian* Generals as Vice-Roys over the distant Provinces, where they would have raised great Contributions from the Natives, and obliged the *European* Settlements to pay largely for their Liberty of Trade, and the Confirmation of those Privileges which they had obtained of the former Lords and Governours of those Countries; it appears that the Directors in *Leadenball-street* were not without Apprehensions of that Sort, and their Servants abroad had flattered themselves that Care would have been taken here, to send out so considerable a Force as might secure them from the Necessity of submitting to any unreasonable Terms; but instead of sending any Additional Force, they contented themselves with tacking the following Paragraph to their Letter of the 2d of *January*, 1739. “ We rely that you have exerted a proper
 “ Care of our Privileges and Estate on the surprizing Revolution brought about by *Shaw Nadir*
 “ *dir*’s March from *Persia* into *India*, and the Conquest of the *Mogul* Empire, by your securing a
 “ quiet Possession and Continuance of the Phirmaund Grants in our Favour, and a free Currency of our Trade without Molestation from
 “ the new Governours, Vice-Roys, and Nabobs, that may be appointed on so great a Change; in
 “ Case of any Difficulty or Obstruction, we persuade ourselves that you struggled with, and
 “ removed them in the best Manner, embracing every favourable Opportunity that offered to
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[7]

“ promote our Interest and Welfare conformable to
 “ the Trust reposed in you.

The Servants abroad were not so dim-sighted, but they discovered plainly the Snare which was laid for them in this artful Paragraph; if *Shaw Nadir* had kept Possession of the *Mogul*’s Country, and changed the Government of the distant Provinces, there were but two Ways of preserving the former Grants and a free Currency of the Trade; as the Directors had sent out no Force, it must have been done by Money: it is not easy to say how much the new Governour might have demanded, or how much would have contented him; in all Likelihood it would have been so considerable, as would have gone deep in the Sum they had been saving up here; if in Consequence it had occasioned any Rumour of lowering the Dividend, you who have spent your Life among us in this Part of the World, will guess at the Clamour which such an Event would have caused among the Proprietors, and the Arts which would have been made Use of by the Directors to fix the Blame abroad; it would have been in vain for their Servants there to have pleaded Necessity and the Letter of their Orders; and though I believe you will think, as they sent out no Force, it is but a reasonable Interpretation of the latter Part of the Paragraph just recited, that they meant and intended a Sum of Money should be applied to make up Matters; yet I say if such a Necessity had happened, they would have pretended they meant no more by the Trust reposed in their Servants, than the Power of repelling Force by
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[8]

Force; and as they had neglected that, would have branded them with Cowardice, perhaps have accused them also of Knavery, in having charged more than double what was actually paid, and in Consequence have dismissed them with Disgrace and Infamy; and to carry on the Farce, would have ordered them to *England*, to the Ruin of themselves and Families, under Pretence of suing them in the Courts here for Breach of Trust. This was the Light in which this remarkable Paragraph was considered Abroad, and though the Servants there were extremely chagrined by Reflections of that Sort, they had the Pleasure to see that bitter Cup was passed from them, *Shaw Nadir* having restored the *Mogul* to the Possession of his Dominions, and was returned into *Persia*; the Effects of his Conquest were not felt till some Years after in the Southern Provinces, and were then of a different Sort from what was at first apprehended; as they have no Connection with the Purpose of this Letter I forbear any Recital of them.

This Storm, which appeared only at a Distance, had not been long over, before the People abroad were threatened with another; this was the March of an Army of *Morattas*, consisting of Ninety or a hundred Thousand Horse into the Province of *Arcot* in the Year 1740. As *Madras* was situated in that Country, and within three Days March of that Capital, it was too interesting an Event to be altogether indifferent about it; and indeed for a while it engrossed the whole Care and Attention of the Company's Servants there, in what Manner it would be

[9]

be most prudent for them to act in so critical a Conjunction; they looked upon it as incumbent upon them, to secure themselves as well as they could from any Attacks of the *Morattas*; but if the Means they made use of was attended with Expence, and that was impossible to be avoided, they were under uneasy Apprehensions of incurring the Displeasure of the Directors at Home; for although when any Repairs had been represented as necessary, and sometimes a new Warehouse or other Convenience wanted abroad, the Directors had generally indeed given their Consent; yet it was as often that they complained of the Cost when it was compleated, and almost every Year transmitted them a Lecture upon Economy. Read what follows as a Specimen thereof, dated the 30th *December*, 1737. “ Several
 “ of the Paragraphs under this Head are in Answer
 “ to our Letters then before you; you assure us all
 “ Accounts are narrowly inspected, and the utmost
 “ Frugality in all Disbursements; we shall only
 “ reply in general, that the same Care must always
 “ be continued; we observe the Expences of your
 “ Place and the Subordinates, are near the same as
 “ usual; and you tell us the great Reduction made
 “ in 1723, has left no Room for you to lessen the
 “ Expence of the Military, Gun-room, and Peons;
 “ this being the Case we acquiesce; needful Charges
 “ must be defrayed, all that we aim at, is, to have
 “ our Money disbursed in the carefulest Manner,
 “ superfluous Articles avoided, and in short good
 “ Husbandry to be exercised in the Management
 “ of every Branch of our Affairs committed to your
 “ Care,

“ Care, whereby Savings may be made when
 “ Repairs and such other like Things are necessary.”
 If to this be added, that there was a Standing Order
 subsisting ever since the Year 1723, that no new
 Building should be Erected, or any considerable
 Repairs set about, before an Estimate of the Expence
 was made, and Leave from hence first had and ob-
 tained, I dare say you will think the Apprehension
 of the Gentlemen Abroad was founded upon some
 Reason, notwithstanding an Expression that was
 sometimes tacked to a particular Concession, “ That
 “ they grudged no Expence that was necessary for
 “ the Defence of the Settlement.”

The *Morattas*, as I have said, having entered the
 Province of *Arcot*, killed the Nabob, and defeated
 his Army, proceeded to the Capital, which they
 plundered, and while they stayed there, raised large
 Contributions from the adjacent Countries; they
 wrote to the Governour of *Madras*, that they had
 large Demands on the Company, which they would
 settle at Leisure, in the mean Time they demanded
 three Hundred Thousand Pagodas in Part towards
 the Pay of their Army; as this Letter was only sent
 by two Horsemen, it was not difficult for him to
 return an Answer, but he would not have found it
 so easy, in the Circumstances the Place then was,
 to have avoided parting with a round Sum, if they
 had backed their Demand by marching a much
 less Number than their whole Force against the
 Town; that they did not do so, was, I am con-
 vinced, owing to other Causes, than any Opinion
 that his Power was sufficient to resist them.

I come

I come now to the last Scene at *Madras*, namely
 the Loss of that most important and valuable Settle-
 ment, which was taken by the *French* in *September*
 1746. From what has been already said, you will
 be able to form a pretty good Judgment of the
 Disposition and Ways of thinking of those con-
 cerned in the Management of the Company's Affairs
 both at Home and Abroad (a); I must take up some
 Part of your Time by relating some Occurrences
 which happened previous to the Siege of the Place,
 and when I have explained to you the Condition it
 was in at that Juncture, together with the Trans-
 actions and other Circumstances consequent thereto,

(a) In the Beginning of 1742, Mr. *Law*, a Gentleman of
 known Honour and Integrity, was dismissed from the Government
 of *Bombay*, for no other Cause assigned or pretended than the
 Expences he had put the Company to in having partly fortified
 the Town and Castle of that Island; and what strengthens the
 Presumption that it was only for that, is an Expression in a
 Letter from a certain leading Man at that Time in the Direction,
 which take as he wrote it. “ Mr. *Law* we think a very honest
 “ Man, but too expensive a Governour.” This Instance re-
 newed the Fears and Apprehensions of the People at *Madras*,
 but as they had the Year before wrote the Directors, “ that they
 “ had some Reason to believe the Province of *Arcot* would be
 “ restored to a State of Tranquility in a few Months, when they
 “ would lose no Time in reducing the Garrison Charges to what
 “ was prescribed in peaceable Times.” They hoped it might
 have some Effect to pacify them, and quiet the Pangs which it
 was imagined they would be under, for the Money which was
 laid out on the Town when the *Morattas* entered the Province.
 The Directors answer this the 4th of *February*, 1742, and say,
 “ This would be an agreeable Service, provided it could with
 “ Prudence be accomplished; but as Affairs in *Europe* are still
 “ in an unsettled State, such a Reduction must not be Wholly
 “ made until you hear further from us.

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[12]

you will be able to decide, Whether that Event was not owing to an ill judged Parsimony or stupid Neglect, to say no worse, in the Directors at Home, rather than to any base and dishonourable Conduct in the Servants Abroad ; but the Directors, in order to exculpate and skreen themselves, have very industriously propagated many Falshoods, and left no Arts untried, tho' never so low and mean, to blacken the Characters of those unfortunate Gentlemen, and so fix on them the Blame and Odium of that deplorable Loss.

To satisfy you that the Directors in *Leadenball-street* were not entirely ignorant, that there was such a People subsisting as the *French*; the 30th of *December*, 1737, they wrote to *Madras* thus. “ The most particular Intelligence procurable concerning those *Powerful* Competitors the *French*, and their Commerce, must annually be communicated to us, inserting the Number of Ships, Tonnage, Imports and Exports, with the Situation of their Affairs, and our other Rivals in Trade upon the Coast of *Choromandel*.” The next Extract I shall give you, is a Proof the Gentlemen abroad had a full Attention to the Conduct of their Neighbours, I don't certainly know what they wrote hither, but you may guess at the Purport by the Answer that was given the 21st of *March* 1739. “ As Affairs are now situated, you cannot be too watchful of their Measures; we take it well at your Hands, that upon a Report of a War being broke out in *Europe*, our Strength was considered, in the Manner represented by your separate
“ Letter,

[13]

“ Letter, what is therein desired we have complied with by this Shipping, as far as we are able.”

In all Probability the seperate Letter just mentioned, represented the weak State of the Place, and ended with a Request to be put in a more respectable Condition; there are some Truths, though never so necessary to be told, frequently become disagreeable by being often repeated; to consider that with the Attention it deserved, no doubt gave Pain to People here, as every Thing else did which was attended with Expence; in short, they seemed to grow peevish, for presently after they add. “ The particular Intelligence we desired in the 45th Paragraph, respected an Account of their several Ships Cargoes inward and outward as far as you could learn, together with their Trade carried on from Port to Port in *India*, and by the same being collected together in one of the Papers in the Packet, it may be more explicite than your general Advices will permit.

You must excuse me if I stop here, to animadvert a little upon an Expression in the Director's Letter just now recited; they say, “ what is desired in your seperate Letter (which no doubt was Men and Warlike Stores) we have complied with by this Year's shipping as far as we are able. Now I would desire to know, and I hope at some Time or other they will tell you, what it was that rendered them incapable of complying fully with what was requested; till you shall be satisfied by them in that Respect, those without Doors will make Use of
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their own Conjectures; it could not be the Want of Money, for they had been puffing every Year at the General Court, how much their Savings were increased, and their own Merit for so prudent a Conduct: What was it then? the Directors will say perhaps, the Ships they sent out had not Room and Convenience to carry more Men and Warlike Stores; I ask then, why they did not send out more Ships? But the Objection to that doubtless was, that it would lessen the Profits they made, by having the surplus Tonnage home at half Freight, and perhaps a Ship or two might have remained in *India* upon Demurrage; and so for the Sake of that Paltry Saving, all their Settlements in *India*, were left exposed to every Invader; there was no Danger abroad which seemed allarming enough to take off the Attention of these Gentlemen, who were safe in *Leadenhall-street*, from their favourite Fund; in the first Flurry of their Spirits from the Apprehensions they were under of the Danger *Madrafs* might be exposed to from the *Morattaes*, they resolved to *Write*, that they would have that Garrison consist of six hundred *Europeans*, exclusive of the Gun-room Crew; accordingly they sent out upon each Ship such a Number of private Men as was usual in the most peaceable Times, and which might be sufficient to answer the Number of those who were dead and deserted abroad in the Year; however, they sent out also a Man with the Title of Major, nay, they went further; for seemingly to comply with the Request of the Gentlemen at *Madrafs* (a) they were at

(a) The Gentlemen abroad, when the *Morattaes* entered the Province,

at the extraordinary Expence of almost Eight and Forty Shillings a Month to another Man whom they called an Engineer; this last died before he arrived at *Madrafs*, and the other lived but few Months after; having such ill Success with these two, they could never prevail with themselves to send any more, till after *Madrafs* was taken by the *French*; in short, while these powerful Competitors, as the Directors called them in 1737, though they don't always speak what they think; I say while the *French* were increasing their Strength, and extending their Views abroad; our People here, if we may judge by their subsequent Conduct, seem entirely to have despised them, or at least, to have thought, that any further Care of their Settlements abroad would be needless and an unnecessary Expence.

If any Thing could have moved these *Leaden-Hall-street* Directors, it might have been expected they would have made some Reflection upon the Advices they received from *Madrafs*, of the Arrival

Province, were very particular in describing to the Directors the Situation of the Place, the Sort of Fortification which was standing, and the Condition thereof, as well as the Artillery, most of which was very old and Honey-combed; I have no Copy of their Letter, or I would have inserted it in the Appendix, but I have been told it was among other Things represented, that some new and additional Works were necessary, for although a great deal of Money had been formerly expended, it had been laid out with very little Judgment; and therefore if the Directors should consent to have the Town properly fortified, it would be necessary to send out an *Able* Engineer, who would direct the new Works, and repair the Defects in the Old, at much less Expence, than if left to be conducted again by unskilful Persons.

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[16]

of *Monf. de la Bourdonnais* at *Pondicherry* in the Year 1741, with a Squadron of large Ships, and his having landed Fifteen Hundred Men there; I know these Gentlemen here have often puffed of their perfect Intelligence of the *French* Force, and the Destination of every Ship belonging to them; but I believe the first Intelligence they had of this large Armament being sent to *India*, was from their Servants at *Madras*: Nevertheless they remained as perfectly easy and tranquil here as if no Danger was to be apprehended, at least from the *French*; who to be sure would not dare to attack us, because they had offered a Neutrality. I say the *French* had offered a Neutrality: it was in 1742, and for Proof of it, I refer you to a State of that Affair in the Appendix, No. I. Nothing certainly could have happened more fortunately for our Directors, nothing so favourable to their beloved Plan of saving all Expence, than this Offer of a Neutrality. But abstracted from their penurious Scheme, what could a Set of Merchants have desired or wished for more, than to carry on their Trade free from any additional Expence or Fear of Danger; at least in those Parts where they were most exposed? To extend the Flames of War to such a distant Part of the World, must always be attended with infinite Expence, and the Success of the best laid Designs always uncertain, from a Variety of Accidents, which as they cannot be foreseen, are seldom provided for; but Covetousness and a Reluctance to spend any Part of what they had amassed, though never so necessary for the Preservation

[17]

of their Capital, was now turned to a most stupid but eager Avidity; not contented with their Share of the Benefits of a free and uninterrupted Trade, by which they had accumulated a large Sum, they thirsted after the whole, and vainly imagined, that by sending out a few Ships of War to cruize upon the *French* Ships, they should entirely ruin the *French* Company. If that was the Scheme of him to whom the Offer of Neutrality was first tendered here, it was unhappy for the Nation, that he concealed it in his own Breast, without communicating it to some of more Judgment and Prudence than himself. It is said, a good General ought to be capable not only of forming his own Scheme, but of penetrating also into that of the Enemy; but this doughty Politician was too short sighted, he only hugged himself with the Hopes of taking some of their Ships; which were flattered so much the more, as he expected to come upon them by Surprise; it never entered into his Thoughts, at least never to have any Share in his Attention, whether the *French* might not be provoked to commit Hostilities in their Turn, or what Schemes they were capable of forming and executing*. All the Orders which were given to the Commanders of

* Well might Mr. *Dupleix* say to a Gentleman who was Prisoner at *Pondicherry*, What B——ts are your Directors, and how unqualified for great Affairs! We offered them a Neutrality which they refused, then squirted out a little Squadron to surprize our Trade; and with this Insult upon us, neglected to the last to put their Settlements in any Posture of Defence? What a contemptible Opinion, said he, must they have of our Company, and of our Kings too? they have their Reward.

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[18]

the King's Ships (and which it may be supposed were drawn up agreeable to the Sentiments of the Directors, at least of those who called themselves the Secret Committee) seemed to be calculated only for a Cruizing Scheme, either to snap up some of the *French* Ships, or to lye so in the Way as to prevent any of their Cruizers taking of ours; the Safety of the Settlements, upon which depended our Hopes of securing the Trade, both then and in future, seems to be entirely unthought of, or if thought of, entirely neglected. You cannot have forgot, Sir, that upon more Occasions than one, when several of our Merchants had received Advice of Ships being failed from *France*, that some were seen to be Southward of the Line, and some in other Places, which gave Reason to believe they were destined to the *East-Indies*; and in Consequence expressed a Doubt whether they might not do some Mischief there: the People of the *India* House, or some of their Emisaries, were always ready to quiet those Fears, by pretending that the Ships which were seen at the *Brazils* were only bound to the South Sea, and the rest to other Parts of the World; but admitting they were gone to the Eastern Seas, no Danger was to be apprehended, for the Government refused them nothing that they asked, and they had asked for sufficient to prevent all Mischief; in this Manner were the Proprietors lulled as it were asleep, and into such a Dependance upon the Veracity of the Directors, as to believe their Affairs were in a safe and happy Situation; but these were only Arts of the Directors,

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[19]

to keep up the Price of the Stock, in which indeed they succeeded, till the News arrived that *Madras* was actually taken by the *French*; then the Stock fell considerably, and the Directors were then to act a new Scene of Deceit, not only to exculpate themselves from the Blame of having so shamefully neglected that Place, but also to raise again the Value of the Stock; in which last, if they could succeed, they flattered themselves the Proprietors would soon become indifferent about particular Accidents; and that then they would be restored to such Credit, as would be sufficient to enable them to propagate every idle Story which they could pick up, or suggest, relating to the Gentlemen of *Madras*, and which, though never so false and malicious, were insisted upon as undoubted Truths.

To quiet the Minds of the Stock-holders it was said, the Company's Loss did not exceed above Seventy Thousand Pounds, which happened to be lying there in Goods; and this spoke with such an Air of Indifference, as if the Loss of the Place had been of no more Consequence than the Loss of one of their Ships. I wonder their Modesty did not prompt them to assert they were Gainers by that Event; for there were several Bonds given, which amounted in the whole to a considerable Sum, that the Directors had allowed for in the Estimate they drew up before they heard of the Loss of *Madras*; but it now suiting their Purpose better to suppose that all those Bonds were paid off, though upon no better Reason than because they had received no Advice to the contrary, they resolved to take no

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[20]

Notice of them in the next Estimate ; but let them make what Estimates they will, I am well assured there are several large Sums due from them, for which Bonds were given at Eight *per Cent.* and here I am not speaking of any that were given after the taking of the Place, but of those only which were given before, and some above a Year before, for Monies borrowed and actually disbursed for Callicoes and other Uses, at that Place and the subordinate Settlements, but of which no Notice has been since taken in any of those fictitious Accounts produced to the general Court, though they well know that sooner or later they must pay them, and with an Interest too of Eight *per Cent. per Annum* ; and that in the mean Time, by this low Chicanery of theirs at Home, the Company's Credit is entirely sunk Abroad, and, I may say, stinks in the Nostrils of the Natives.

Further to induce the Proprietors to look upon the Loss of *Madras* as of little Moment to their Affairs, it was whispered in Corners by proper Agents, that the Directors had entertained some Thoughts of withdrawing that Settlement, because it brought them in Debt ; I shall demonstrate to you in the Sequel, that this last was so far from the Truth, that the Revenues they collected there, had, for a Number of Years, been sufficient to pay above an Eighth Part of their Dividend ; however, their Agents went on, that a Multiplicity of Factories were expensive, and that Fort St. *David* was infinitely better situated ; and, upon all Accounts, much fitter for their head Settlement, &c. &c.

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[21]

When the Proprietors were somewhat quieted by these Insinuations, Batteries were erected against the Servants abroad ; they knew well the Importance of *Madras*, and though they had succeeded pretty well in propagating a contrary Opinion, yet they knew that the Effects would too soon discover the Truth ; and then either they, or the Governour and Council, would certainly be very much censured ; although they had had no Attention to the Safety of the Settlements, they applied now a full Measure of Attention to their own Safety ; in Consequence of the Plan they had formed, they exerted their utmost Arts and Influence, to persuade the Public into an Opinion, that the Place was infamously given up by the Governour and Council, and that they alone were culpable ; then to shew their Judgment in the Art Military, insisted that if the Crew of the *Princess Mary*, which was seventy or eighty Men, together with half the Garrison (the whole of which did not exceed two hundred effective Men) had been sent out and spread along the Shore, the *French* could never have hurt them ; very unluckily for the Propagators of this Suggestion, there were some Accounts in Town, which mentioned that the *French* had landed six hundred Men twenty Miles to the Southward of *Madras*, which they marched overland to St. *Thomé*, about three Miles to the Southward of it, and there secured the landing of another Party of their Men ; that signified nothing said some, the *Frenchmen* were drunk, and our People had nothing to do but to knock them on the Head : I shall not take upon me to determine,

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termine, whether the *French* were drunk or sober, but I believe you will agree with me, that our People must have been either drunk or mad to have gone upon such an Exploit, and the Governour in no better Condition, if he had seemed to countenance any such Proposal. There were several other Accounts in *London* by this Time, which, to knowing and disinterested Persons, were perfectly demonstrative and convincing, that when the *French* came before the Place, it was absolutely impossible to withstand the Force that was brought against it: If you are desirous to know the perfect State of it, you will find enough in the Appendix No. 2, to satisfy your Curiosity; in a Word, the State and Condition of the Place, became soon so well known here, that the Directors at sometimes seemed to drop their Charge, that it was infamously given up, and perhaps, would have been apprehensive of being charged themselves with an unaccountable Neglect, in not having long before put it in a proper Condition of Defence, if they had not previously taken great Pains to blunt the Edge of Repentment, by representing the Loss but trifling, and the Place of no Utility, and therefore it was with great Facility they shifted their Attack against the Conditions of the Treaty of Ransom.

When the Copy of that Treaty first appeared in *England*, the Sum stipulated thereby to be paid founded large, as being no less than *Four Hundred and Forty Thousand Pounds*; almost a seventh Part of the subscribed Capital. It was indeed a Circumstance very interesting and alarming; the Directors

[23]

rectors seemed to bless themselves that the *French* had broke the Treaty, and Mr. *Dupleix* was frequently mentioned as the Saviour and Preserver of the Company by his Violation of it; and some of them continue to speak of him as such to this very Day. As there were no Advices here from the late Governour and Council that explained the Reasons for agreeing upon so high a Ransom, even those who were willing to think the best of them (for as to Friends, Men under such Circumstances have generally but few) were Tongue-tied, and unable for some Time to surmise any Advantage which could accrue to the Company as a Compensation for parting with so large a Sum of Money: I wish to GOD, Sir, for your Sake, as well as all others concerned, that Time, even the present Time, though so little has elapsed, had not given us sufficient Reason to wish that Treaty had taken Effect. It is demonstrable, that even now the Company's Stock is in a worse Condition, than if the *French* had kept to the Treaty, and the Company had paid the Money at the Time stipulated, and contented themselves with the Advantages which they might have reaped, by being left in Possession of the Place. What it has cost the Nation beside, does not probably much concern the Directors; and perhaps they will not be brought to confess any doubt but that now *Madras* is to be restored to them, the Trade and Revenues will rise to as great a Pitch as ever, and as quick as Mushrooms after an Autumn Shower; however desirous and impatient all may be to see it again in a flourish-

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ing State, I confess my Fears are, that it will be a Work of Time, and the Hopes of it rather flattering to our Posterity than to our selves; at present I can only deplore the sad Fate of the unfortunate Gentlemen who were there, and ruined by its Loss, and have great Compassion for those who may have the labouring Oar in endeavouring to restore it to its former Splendor; it will be in vain for them to say, *Rome* was not built in a Day, Want of Judgment and Integrity will be alledged as the only Obstacles, and then it will not be difficult to foretel their Fate.

“ I have said, Sir, that it is demonstrable that
 “ even now the Company’s Stock is in a worse
 “ Condition, than if they had paid the Money at
 “ the Time stipulated, and contented themselves
 “ with the Advantages they might have reaped by
 “ being left in quiet Possession of the Place.” For
 Proof of this, I shall refer you in Part to an Estimate of their Loss, which is inserted in the Appendix No. 9, and which was drawn up upon a Supposition that no Treaty had been entered into, and the *French* had not only destroyed *Madras*, and *Fort St. David* too, but entirely have dispossessed the *English* from all Settlement on that Part of the Coast; and which from the Circumstances of Affairs at that Time would most assuredly have been the Case; you will easily extract from this Estimate how much thereof they have actually lost: And though by the late Treaty of Peace, *Madras* is to be restored to us, there is too much Reason to apprehend it will be delivered up in so ruinous
 and

and maimed a Condition, that it will amount to a very considerable Sum of Money to put the Town and the Company’s Buildings again into any tolerable Repair; most of the Articles in the Estimate, and I believe more than is inserted there, were considered by the Gentlemen who made the Treaty; they could not indeed foresee that the *French* would not destroy *Madras*, or the Accident which prevented their taking *Fort St. David*, neither could they foresee the prodigious Sums of Money that have been expended at this last Place since the Loss of *Madras*; Endeavours will be used perhaps to keep the Amount thereof among the grand Arcana; but from the best Information I can get (and the Truth will come out sooner or later) the Sum is so large, that if it be added to the other actual Losses, it will be more than sufficient to prove what I have asserted, that the Company’s Stock is in a worse Condition, than if the Treaty of Ransom had been duly complied with by both Parties; and if this be proved, it will be alone a sufficient Justification of those Gentlemen who signed it, and of the Measures they took; but there might be many other Reasons alledged, which doubtless had, as they ought, considerable Weight with them; there was a very great Property in the Place belonging to the Inhabitants; and though perhaps it may be said, the Loss of that would not have been the Company’s Loss, yet consequentially it must have very bad Effects upon their future Trade and Interest; their Investments must be carried on under great Uncertainties, Difficulties and Dangers, without
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out Men of Substance inhabiting within their Towns, the Revenues arising from the Trade, and Consumption of those and the rest of the Inhabitants, amounted to near seventy thousand Pagodas a Year; a noble Income! an Income, that had it been applied for the Protection of the Place, would have prevented much, if not all, of the Mischief that has lately happened; but instead thereof too great a Part was remitted to *England*, to augment the Dividends at Home: It was an Income that, under proper Management, would have increased, and with proper Care the *English* would have continued to have reaped the Benefit of, so long as they had continued to be a Trading Company; it must now, as I said before, remain in the Womb of Time, how many Years it will be before the Revenues will amount again to what they did before; whether by quick Progress, or slow Degrees, or whether they ever do, and therefore I shall not take upon me to estimate how many Years Purchase may be the Value of this noble Annuity*: It was certainly incumbent on the Gentlemen Abroad, to consider this with Attention, though it does not appear it had any Share in the Thoughts of those at Home.

* The Directors will say, perhaps, that now the old Bricks, and broken Houses that remain, which they call *Madras*, are to be restored, the Revenues will presently become as good again as they ever were; but will common Sense, or common Reason say so! Where are the experienced *English* Merchants, where the substantial Black ones? dispersed and ruined all. Where the Ships? all sold and gone: from whence then will Revenues arise?

Having

Having said thus much, I refer you for the rest to Mr. *Monson's* Letter of the 8th of *February* 1748-9, to the Court of Directors; and having mentioned this Letter, I must take Notice of some others. You are not ignorant, that some Time before, or soon after his Arrival, Payment of several Bonds was demanded of the Company for Money taken up, and borrowed by the Governour and Council, after the *French* were in Possession of the Place; and which upon a Motion in the General Court, at the Instigation I believe of some of the Directors, it was resolved should not be paid without Leave of a General Court: Mr. *Monson* left *Pondicherry*, where he had been for some Time a Prisoner, in *January* 1746-7, and arrived at *Falmouth* the 1st of *October* following; from whence he sent to the Court of Directors the undermentioned Papers in a Packet by an Express, *viz.*

Copy of Mons. de la Bourdonnais Commission.

Capitulation of Fort St. George and Town of Madras.

Five Letters between the English and French before M. de la Bourdonnais Departure from Madras.

Act of Liberty by Mons. de la Bourdonnais.

First Articles of Ransom agreed upon but not executed.

Instructions for the Operations at Madras thereon.

Second Articles of Ransom executed.

Twenty-five Letters between the English and French at Madras, after Mons. de la Bourdonnais Departure.

Diary

[28]

Diary of the most material Transactions at Madras, from the 18th of August, when the French Ships first came against Madras, to the 13th of November, when Mr. Morfe, &c. arrived at Pondicherry.

General Letter from Mr. Morfe and such of the Council as were at Pondicherry, to the Court of Directors, dated January 13, 1746-7.

Ditto, ————— 18th.

On the 10th of *October* 1747, Mr. *Monson* reached *London*; and in a Day or two acquainted the Court of Directors he was ready to wait upon them; who, in Answer by their Secretary, desired he would attend the Committee of Correspondence; which he did; and, after a few trifling Questions, was told he might withdraw; and has not been called upon to meet them, either at a Court or Committee since. I believe it is pretty plain to you, by what I have said already in many Parts of this Discourse, what were the Directors secret Motives for not desiring to see him again; but he took the Opportunity of that Interview to put into the Hands of the Chairman, who presides at all Committees, the following Letter.

To the Secret Committee, for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

Holding it unnecessary to waste your Time in a Recapitulation of the Reasons that induced us
to

[29]

to enter into a Treaty for the Ransom of *Madras*, they being principally hinted at in the accompanying general Letter to the Court of Directors, I take this Occasion to advise you apart, that in that Transaction we were under a Necessity of applying a further Sum beside that stipulated by the Articles; which Affair, as it required Privacy, was by the Council referred to my self and Mr. *Monson* to negotiate: As therefore that Gentleman, who presents you this, is by that Means well qualified to give you the fullest View of that Matter, I believe we shall stand excused by you, that the Explanation of it with its Circumstances, its Consequences, and our Reasons, is thus referred to him, rather than committed to Paper. I am with Respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Pondicherry,

January 18, 1746-7.

Your faithful, humble Servant,

NIC. MORSE.

Mr. *Morfe* thought, as any reasonable Man who knew not their Method and Rules at the *India* House, would think, that a Transaction of this secret Nature, was most properly addressed to the secret Committee; but he was mistaken; it seems it ought to have been directed to the Court of Directors, or to the Committee of Correspondence; and from this paltry Distinction, the Letter was pocketed, and had well nigh undergone the Fate designed for the proffered Neutrality, through the like Evasion.

From

From this Time to about the Middle of *December*, 1748, nothing material that I know of passed relating to *Madras* (unless it was the next general Court that resolved, that no Bonds given, or Bills drawn there, dated after the 30th of *August* 1746, should be paid) except that the Possessors of the Bonds, dated the 30th of *September*, 1746, murmured on one Side, that their Money was not paid, and from another Quarter, was squirted through the Course of this Year, in Support of the good honest Cause they had undertaken, injurious Insinuations, without Number and without Foundation, against the late Governour and Council; and now that they imagined the Seeds of Obloquy and Defamation, had taken deep Root in Men's Minds; that they might go on by regular Gradations, they proceeded to personal Severities, reckoning every Instance of Repentment they shewed against those unfortunate Gentlemen, and more especially the Governour, would indicate a meritorious Zeal in themselves for the Company's Service; accordingly, in *December*, 1748, when a Ship was upon her dispatch to *India*, a Motion was made in the Court of Directors, to send for Mr. *Morse* home, under Pretence that they wanted an Account of the Money taken up upon Bond, under the Company's Seal, after the Surrender of *Madras*; but some Gentlemen saying, they had been informed Mr. *Morse* had referred that Matter to be explained to them by Mr. *Monson*, moved, that the Motion to send for Mr. *Morse*, might be suspended, 'till they heard what Mr. *Monson* had to offer on that Subject;

ject; which, after many Objections raised against it, was agreed to, and the following Resolution was drawn up, and sent to Mr. *Monson*.

At a Court of Directors, the 15th of December, 1748.

Resolved, That Mr. *Monson* be desired to give an Account in writing to the Court of Directors, of the Matter referred to by Mr. *Morse*, in his Letter to the Secret Committee, dated the 18th of *January* 1746-7, and also of the several Sums of Money taken up on Bond, or otherwise, after the Surrender of *Madras* to the *French*, and to explain the same, with the Circumstances relating thereto, together with the Reasons for the same, and that he be acquainted he may lay any Thing else before the Court he thinks proper, and desired to give in such Account by *Wednesday* next.

Attested to be a true Copy,

ROBERT JAMES, Secretary.

Thus came to light Mr. *Morse*'s Letter to the Secret Committee; and to this Resolution Mr. *Monson* replied as follows,

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

THE 15th Instant I received a Letter from your Secretary, inclosing Copy of the Resolution

[32]

lution of Court of that Day, as also a Copy of a Letter from Mr. *Morse*, at *Pondicherry*, dated the 18th of *January* 1746-7 to the Secret Committee therein referred to. It is now upwards of twelve Months since I delivered that Letter to the then Chairman at a Committee of Correspondence; and as Mr. *Morse* advised the Gentlemen to whom it was addressed, that I was qualified to give them the fullest View of the Matter therein referred to, I take the Liberty to acquaint you, that I had flattered myself, those Gentlemen would long before now have appointed me a Time to explain the same to them, as indeed it was one of the principal Motives that induced me to come to *England*; whatever Reasons they had for deferring it, I know not, but I thought it my Duty to wait their own Time, and I did hope, that whenever it should be resolved on, they would have given me an Opportunity to have explained it before themselves only; for as there is a Sort of Faith, which ought to be preserved, even with one's Enemies, I cannot help saying, it is a Thing which chagrins me exceedingly, to be called upon now to do it, in a Manner so much more Public. However, as your Commands have fixed an indispensable Obligation on me to comply therewith, I am to acquaint you, that, in treating for the Ransom of the Place, we were soon given to understand, that a further Sum was necessary to be paid, beside that to be mentioned in the Public Treaty. You will easily imagine from the Nature of the Thing, that it required to be conducted with some Degree of Secrecy; there was however, a Necessity of acquainting the Council with it, though
for

[33]

for Form Sake, and to preserve Appearances with the Person treated with, it was referred to Mr. *Morse* and my self to settle the Matter with him: I can nevertheless with great Truth assure you, that all the Gentlemen of the Council were constantly and faithfully acquainted with every Step that was taken in that Matter, except Mr. *Edward Fowke*, who, from the Beginning of the Treaty about the Ransom, declared, that he would not join with us in any of those Measures, which by all the rest were thought absolutely necessary at that Juncture.

The further and distinct Sum being agreed on, our next Difficulty was how to find the Money; which took up so much Time, that before the whole could be raised, a Storm came on, in which some of the Enemy's Ships were lost, and the rest so shattered, that they resolved to leave *Madras* as soon as they possibly could; an Event so much the more favourable at that Time, as it prevented the Prosecution of the other Schemes they had formed, for the Destruction of the rest of your Settlements in *India*; and was attended with this further Saving, as it relieved us from the Necessity of entering into Bonds for the Remainder.

Having said thus much, it remains for me to acquaint you, that we had no Possibility of raising the Money, but by giving the Company's Bonds for it; and this Negotiation was not kept secret from those who supplied the Money on this Occasion, as they were to a Man informed of the Use it was borrowed for before they lent it; and thought

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by lending it, they did a meritorious Piece of Service to the Company: Bonds were accordingly given for so much as we could borrow, under the Company's Seal, and signed by Mr. Morfe, and all the Council except Mr. Edward Fowke; a List whereof, I mean such only as were not mentioned in our general Advices, * I add here.

To Mr. Morfe	————	a Bond for Pagodas	10000
Mr. Salomons	————	ditto	40000
Mess. Jones and Moses	————	ditto	15000
Mr. Heyman	————	ditto	10000
Mess. Edw. and Jos. Fowke,	————	ditto	5400
Mr. Peter Bailieu	—	ditto	5000
The Church Stock	—	ditto	2000
The Mayor's Court †	—	ditto	2000

Having gone thus far, and acquainted you with the Engagements we were under, I submit it to your further Consideration, whether you will insist upon my mentioning in this publick Manner the Sum agreed for; what Part was paid in Consequence thereof; and to whom: For the rest of what was borrowed in this Manner, over and above what was actually paid to the Person treated with, it was disbursed in defraying the Charges of the Garrison, till the French broke the Capitulation, and turned us out of Town.

I am somewhat at a Loss with regard to the latter Part of your Resolution of the 15th, wherein

* Only a Bill of Exchange for 3000 Pagodas.

† Mr. Monson made a Mistake, the Mayor's Court lent 4368 Pagodas; and he omitted two Bonds for smaller Sums.

you

you are pleased to say, that I should be acquainted, I might lay any thing else before the Court that I shall think proper. The Books and Papers which were transmitted to England by the Ships dispatched in February 1745-6, were full and particular as to all Transactions to the Time of their Departure; and I make no Difficulty to own to you, that from that Time, and until such Time as we were turned out of Madrafs by the French, I was equally concerned with the rest of the Council in all Transactions relating to your Affairs; I shall therefore be always ready to explain any Matter, concerning which you may think the Advices you have already received are not sufficiently plain: But to enter into a more general or particular Detail now, would carry me to too great a Length, and take up more Time than is allotted me; especially if I was to relate to you the Circumstances Madrafs was in when attacked; the Considerations which had Weight with us, when we reflected upon the Consequences which the total Loss of it would be to your Affairs, and the Advantages and great Savings that would have accrued, had the Agreement we made with the Enemy been complied with; all which, agreeable to your Permission, I shall very speedily, and as soon as possible, lay before you; together with any thing else you shall please to require of me. I have the Honour to be

Honourable Sirs,

London,
December 21, 1748.

Your faithful, humble Servant,

W. MONSON.

[36]

P. S. As we were under a Necessity of making a Couple of small Presents to the chief Officers, which could not be handsomely done in Money, I let Mr. *Morse* have two Diamond Rings, which cost me 450 Pagodas; whose Receipt I have for the same, and Acknowledgment that I have not been paid.

W. M.

After this Letter of Mr. *Monson's* was read in Court, a Gentleman, who I suppose imagined himself reflected upon, for having so long secreted Mr. *Morse's* Letter from *Pondicherry* of the 18th of *January* 1746-7, directed to the Secret Committee, thought proper to acquaint the Court, that he had from the Beginning looked upon the Treaty as a scandalous Transaction; and as the General Court had come to a Resolution that no Bonds given, or Bills drawn, dated after the 30th of *August* 1746, should be paid, he thought the Enquiry was by that Means taken out of their Hands; had that really been the Case, the Debate they were then upon was improper, and they ought not to have come to any new Resolution without a fresh Power from the General Court; however they renewed the Motion to send for Mr. *Morse* Home; and tho' when it was first made, the only Thing objected to him, or proposed to be considered, was his Conduct in relation to the Bonds given after the Place was taken by the *French*: Though Mr. *Morse*, in his Letter of the 18th of *January* 1746-7, told them Mr. *Monson* was qualified to give them the fullest View of that Matter; which was plainly to
tell

[37]

tell them, he could himself give them no further Account of it than Mr. *Monson*; and indeed, if the Words be taken in the strictest Sense, they imply that Mr. *Monson* could tell them more than he himself could: I say, although this Matter was the only Thing pretended for sending for Mr. *Morse* home, yet after Mr. *Monson* had delivered his Letter of the 21st of *December*, and declared his Readiness to tell them more, if they insisted upon it, they dropped all further Debate about that, and entered upon Topics, that seemed to be calculated, rather to amuse and to raise a Smoak to smother a Man, that was already unfortunate enough, than to clear up the Matter before them.

If nothing more than the Company's Interest was intended in ordering Mr. *Morse* home, it might very easily be made appear, that they ought rather to have desired his Continuance in *India*, though they had paid him a Gratuity for it: The Gentlemen from Fort *St. David*, had wrote for Copies of the last General Books received here from *Madras*; those ended in *April* 1745; if there were any Journal Parcels, Warehouse-keepers, and other Accounts from the several Offices, they ought to have been copied and sent Abroad; however, all those could carry them no further than the End of that Year, and therefore it must depend upon somebody upon the Spot to recollect the Payments, Receipts, &c. for the succeeding Year; the Merchants Accounts are more particularly under the Governour's Inspection, a State of them being delivered him Monthly, as a Check that they do not

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call

call for Advances faster than they bring in Cloth.

It was said by some of the few who were unprejudiced and uninfluenced, that they thought it not only hard, but cruel, to send for him home, if there was no other Reason for it than what was then mentioned; or if it was not made more apparent that the Company's Interest required his Presence here; for that he had not only lost to a considerable Value in Effects when the *French* took the Place, but his other Concerns were dispersed in different Parts of *India*, which required Care and Time to collect in; that as some Compensation for his Misfortunes, however unhappy he was in being under the Displeasure of the Directors: Others, notwithstanding, believed him a very honest Man, and in Consequence had, and would continue to make him very large Consignments, the Commission on which, joined to his Knowledge and Experience in the Trade of *India*, might even in the private Condition he then was, have enabled him to raise a new Fortune for the comfortable Support of his Wife and six Children; but neither Compassion, nor even the Interest of the Company, seemed to have the least Weight with the prevailing Party. Art was substituted in the Room of Reason and Justice; Opposition was a new Thing to them, and what they could not bear, and therefore right or wrong, they determined to make a Point of it; and by insinuating among their Partisans, that if they lost it, it would have considerable Effects at the next Election, they gained the shameful Triumph of obtaining the Ruin of an unfortunate
Man

Man and his numerous Family, by a Majority of fifteen to five.

But to return to the Gentleman that is here: The Directors thinking themselves obliged to take some Notice of Mr. *Monson's* Offer in the last Paragraph of his Letter, "to explain to them any Matter, concerning which they might think the Advices they had already were not sufficiently plain." They came to this Resolution.

At a Court of Directors, the 22d of December, 1748.

Resolved, That Mr. Monson and Mr. Stratton be desired each of them to give a Narrative in Writing, of all the Money Transactions on the Coast of Choromandel, the Uses for which the same was taken up, and the Manner it was applied, from the Close of the last general Books, and particularly from the first Appearance of the French before Madras, to the Time of Mr. Morse and the Council leaving it.

A true Copy,

ROBERT JAMES, Secretary.

To this Mr. *Monson* sent the following Answer.

To the Honourable Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

I Received, inclosed from your Secretary, a Copy of your Resolution of the 22d Instant, intimating, that I should give you a Narrative in Writing

ting of all Money Transactions on the Coast of *Choromandel*, the Uses for which the same was taken up, and the Manner it was applied, from the Close of the last General Books, and particularly from the first Appearance of the *French* before *Madras*, to the Time of Mr. *Morse* and the Council leaving it.

It is a Circumstance very unfortunate for me upon several Accounts, that every Book and Paper belonging to the Company was taken Possession of by the *French*; so that all the Information I can possibly give you as yet, must depend in great Measure upon Memory; it would be some Help and Guide to that, if you would please to permit me to have a Sight of the Ballance of the last General Books, as also of the Cash Accounts from the Close of those Books to the Departure of the Ships in *February* 1745-6, together with the Cash Accounts of *Fort St. David*, and the Northern Factories from *April* 1745. It would also be of Use, if I had likewise an Account of what Bonds had been produced Abroad, and of such as have been produced here: I think some of the Debts standing upon the Books of 1745, were discharged after the Close of them; and if I had a Sight of them, I could venture to point out very nearly the particular Sums that were paid off; the List of Bonds produced here and Abroad will enable me to recollect, in great Measure, the Uses for which the Money was taken up; and as doubtless some of it was for the Supply of *Fort St. David* and the other Settlements, a Sight of the Cash Accounts from those Places will enable me to be more explicit; I am

am not certain whether I shall have Occasion to have Recourse to any of the Letters to and from those Places, but if I should, you will please to give Directions accordingly. I am,

Honourable Sirs,

London,
December 28, 1748.

Your most obedient Servant,

W. MONSON.

Mr. *Monson's* Request was certainly not improper; but what Reasons the Court of Directors had for not giving him an Answer to this Letter, if they really desired Information, they must themselves inform you, though there is good Reason to suspect their true Reasons to be such as they will scarce avow; the Books and Papers he asked a Sight of for that Purpose, were only such as had gone through his own Hands in the Course of the Company's Business at *Madras*, and could be no Secret to him; however, Mr. *Monson* hearing nothing from them, addressed himself to them again on the 8th of *February* 1748-9, in Manner following, which was read in Court that Day.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for
Affairs of the United Company of Merchants
of England trading to the East-Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

1. **I**N the Letter which I had the Honour to address to you on the 21st of *December* last, I promised to give you some Account of the Circumstances

stances *Madras* was in, when attacked by the *French*; the Considerations which had Weight with us, when we reflected upon the Consequences the total Loss of it would be to your Affairs, and the Advantages and great Savings that would have accrued, had the Agreement we made been complied with; I should have done this much sooner, but receiving an Intimation from you on the 22d of *December*, that I should give you some other Accounts, and having in Answer thereto desired I might have Recourse to, and a *Review* of some Books and Papers in your Offices, I had designed to have comprized all I had to say in one Address, without troubling you too frequently upon Subjects, the Discussion whereof cannot be very agreeable; but as I have not hitherto received any Notice of your Intentions in Regard to the Request made you in my last, and being unwilling to incur your Censure for Neglect, I shall take some other Opportunity hereafter, when you shall please to furnish me with the necessary Means, to give you all the Insight I can into those Matters, and shall now proceed to comply with what I mentioned in my Letter of the 21st of *December*.

2. And first, as to the Circumstances the Place was in when attached by the *French*.

3. So much has been said, and so often repeated in the Letters from Fort *St. George*, for Seven or Eight Years before it was taken, touching the Insufficiency of the Fortifications, and the Weakness of the Garrison, that I should have only Occasion to refer you to those Letters for the Truth thereof, if that had not seemed to be doubted of here by the little Care that was taken to add to our Strength; perhaps

perhaps our Representations were considered as proceeding from Timidity, and the ridiculous Fears of Men ignorant in Military Affairs; if it was really from a Persuasion of this Sort, that the Surrender of the Place has been so peremptorily pronounced Cowardly; you will permit me to say, it is an Imputation that lies too heavy on the Characters of each of us who were concerned in that Event, and that under such a Charge, it is impossible for me to be altogether silent; but as Prejudices are so strong against us all, that I have little Reason to believe any Thing I could offer (if it depended only on my own Word and Credit) would be effectual to alter those Sentiments; I chuse first to recite the Opinion of *Curtis Barnett*, Esq; Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships in the *East Indies*; a Gentleman well known to have good Sense, and sound Judgment, with no incompetent Skill in these Matters, and under no Suspicion of being partial.

To the Honourable Thomas Corbet, Esq; Secretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Barnett writes from on board the Deptford, in Madras Road, the 23d of September 1745, as follows.

“ I Have had several Letters from the Governour of *Pondicherry*, relating to the Prisoners, which he would fain have released on his giving his Parole of Honour not to employ them in *India*, and to return the like Number when it shall be in his Power; but Governour *Morse* is apprehensive that the releasing them on those Terms,

[44]

“ Terms, may expose Fort St. *George*, or Fort St.
 “ *David*, to great Danger on my Absence from the
 “ Coast; alledging, that though the *French* Go-
 “ vernour may not employ them on any Hostili-
 “ ties, they would enable him to attack the Com-
 “ pany’s Settlements with his whole Garrison, leav-
 “ ing the Seamen to guard *Pondicherry*; and in-
 “ deed, the defenceless Condition of this Settle-
 “ ment, gives the Governour just Reason to take
 “ all possible Precautions.

*To your secret Committee; Mr. Barnett writes
 from on board the Deptford, in Madras
 Road, the 24th of September 1745, as
 follows,*

“ **T**HOUGH I refer to Mr. *Morse* for the State of
 “ the Enemies Affairs, I cannot be quite
 “ silent with regard to those of the Company, but
 “ must speak my Surprize to find a Place of such
 “ Consequence as this is to the Company, in such a
 “ Condition; the Works seem rather built by
 “ Chance than Design; the Bastions are placed con-
 “ trary to all Rules, and the Curtin no better than
 “ a long unflanked Garden Wall, and the Garrison
 “ is so weak, that if I was Governour I should
 “ never sleep sound in a *French* War, if there were
 “ Five Hundred *Europeans* in *Pondicherry*; I have
 “ seen and considered the Plan of the Works pro-
 “ posed, think it a very good one, and when it is
 “ compleated, the Town will be sufficiently forti-
 “ fied on that Side; but then something must be
 “ done

[45]

“ done towards the Sea, where are Embrazures for
 “ Form, not Use, there being no Rampart to mount
 “ Guns upon; the Distance between the Bastions is
 “ very great, and there is again a long weak Wall
 “ without Flank or Defence, so that two Sixty
 “ Gun Ships would in Two Hours make an entire
 “ Breach from Bastion to Bastion.

“ As the putting this Place into a proper Con-
 “ dition would not only add greatly to the Secu-
 “ rity, but to the Credit of the Company; I hope
 “ you will excuse my taking the Liberty to speak
 “ my Sentiments so freely, since nothing but my
 “ Zeal could engage me to trouble you on that
 “ Head.”—Thus far Mr. *Barnett*.

4. And having told you his Opinion, I ought in
 Justice to take Notice, that in Answer to what was
 wrote from Abroad relating to our Fortifications,
 and desire to have an able Engineer sent us; we
 were told with regard to the Fortifications, that no
 Expence should be *grudged* that was necessary for
 the Defence of the Settlement, and in 1741, a Per-
 son was sent out in the Character of an Engineer for
 our Place; but the Ships going to *Bengal* first, he
 lived not to come among us; and therefore, we
 could only judge of his Merit and Qualifications by
 the Value of his Stipend, Six Padoga’s a Month, or
 about Eighteen Pence a Day, scarce the Pay of a
 common Matros; his sudden Death, however, de-
 prived us of all the Benefit of his Knowledge and
 Capacity; and fearful lest through our own Unskil-
 fulness in that important Branch of the Military
 Pro-

Profession, we should erect new Works at a great Expence, as imperfect and useleſs as the old, that Buſineſs was poſtponed, till Mr. *Wake*, at Mr. *Morſe*'s Requeſt, ſent Mr. *Smith* from *Bombay* in 1745, * what the old Works were, Mr. *Barnett* has given you a clear and ſuccinct Account of, and a more particular one you find in the Diary that accompanied our general Letter from *Pondicherry*.

5. But, however, had our Fortifications been in the beſt Order, they would have been of little Uſe, without a ſufficient Number of Men to defend

* In Conſequence of the Reſolution of the laſt General Court, the Directors have promiſed to lay before them, at their next Meeting, an Account of what Meaſures have been taken for the Preſervation and Protection of *Madraſs*, ſince the Commencement of the War with *Spain*; to be extracted from their Letters on this Subject. Mr. *Morſe* came to the Government of *Madraſs* in *January* 1743-4, and waited till the Arrival of the Ships from *England* that Year, reaſonably expecting another Officer in the Place of the Major, and another Engineer in the Room of the Deceas'd, would have been ſent from hence, with the Men they had promiſed, if they really intended the Town ſhould be fortified or defended, but neither came, nor the leaſt Notice taken in their Letters of any Deſign to ſend either. Does not this Diſcordance, notwithstanding what may have been ſaid in their former Letters, between their Writing and Doing, manifeſtly intimate, that the former ſhould be regarded only as Matter of Form to preſerve Appearances, and that the latter ſhould be taken as a Hint from themſelves, how they would really have their Term *grudged* received and underſtood by the Servants Abroad. Yet Mr. *Morſe* diſregarding the Hazards and Diſcouragements mentioned in the former Part of this Diſcourſe, and exaggerated by this laſt Diſappointment, reſolved to do all in his Power to put the Place in a Poſture of Defence; and accordingly, with the Conſent of his Council, wrote to Mr. *Wake* as above.

them;

them; had we not great Reaſon to expect theſe from you, after you had Notice of Monſieur *de la Bourdonnais* Arrival at *Pondicherry* with a Squadron from *France* in 1739, † and landing fifteen hundred Men there, in Proſpect only of a War? Had we not ſtill greater Reaſon after the actual Declaration of War in 1743? It is true that, with regard to them, we were told, ‡ that it was the Reſolution of the Court of Directors, that the Garrifon (for the better Security of the Company's Eſtate, or Words to that Effect) ſhould conſiſt of ſix hundred *Europeans*, excluſive of the Gun-room Crew; and indeed it is ſaid in ſeveral ſubſequent Letters, that large Recruits were ſent out to us; but it is alſo as true, that though this Reſolution of the Court to augment the Garrifon to ſix hundred *Europeans*, was Five Years before the Place was attacked, yet what we actually received were ſo few, that when the *French* came before it, there were not above two Hundred capable of bearing Arms in it; for tho' three Hundred ſtood upon the Muſter Rolls, thirty four of thoſe were in the Hoſpital, as by the Surgeons monthly Report of *September* 1, 1746; as many more, being old and infirm, ought to have been there; beſides whom, there were the Black Drummers and near thirty *Portugueſe*, Deſerters from the Ships and Garrifon at *Goa*; which laſt were entertained upon *Europeans* Pay, believing they

† Mr. *Monſon* is miſtaken; he left *France* in 1739, upon the Declaration of War with *Spain*, and came to *Pondicherry* in 1741.

‡ In 1741.

might

might have been of Use against any of the Country People; but against the Enemy we had to contend with, could not be depended upon, being all bigotted Roman Catholicks, and rather attentive to seduce the Country Topasses, who were of the same Religion, to desert, than disposed to exert themselves in the Defence of the Place; and as to the two Hundred, if I should say several of them by their own Confession were enlisted soon after they were discharged from the *Old Baily*, and many others were *Irish* Roman Catholicks, I should not deviate from the Truth; the first were not easily kept in Order in troublesome Times, and there was some Reason from the Religion of the *Irish*, to doubt of their Fidelity.

6. Beside the Want of military Men, we were also in Want of military Stores; though we did not fail to give the proper Advice here: But the Supplies sent us were far short of what was desired, and particularly of those Things which were most necessary: I could enumerate many other Wants which were peculiar to the Place, and the People among whom we were settled; among others, the Want of Water was not the least; and if to this be added, that Bricklayers, Carpenters, Smiths, Labourers, Dieters of the Military, and all our menial Servants, were in general Natives of the Country, who all left the Place so soon as the *French* landed, it is easy to conceive the Distress and Difficulties which every one was subjected to, and the Fatigue and Labour every Individual was obliged to submit to.

7. This

7. This was the State of the Place when the *French* came before it; and those who are conversant in Military Affairs will soon form a Judgment, whether it was practicable to defend it many Days, even with the Addition of the *Princess Mary's* Men, against a Force ten Times superior to both, and so much better provided with Military Stores and other Necessaries; at the same Time the *French* expected an Addition to their Strength every Day. We had an Account in *August* that three of their Ships were arrived on the *Malabar* Coast, from *France*, full of Men; they were daily expected on ours; and the *Centaur*, *Mars*, and *Brilliant*, did actually arrive at *Pondicherry*, in *September*, full of Men, as was reported. Our Dependance had been for some Time solely on the Protection of our Men of War; but when that was withdrawn, we had no Resource, no Hopes left; and in such Circumstances it is a received Maxim, and, I believe, held no Breach of Honour in the Besieged to capitulate, in order to obtain better Terms, than when the Enemy enters by Storm.

8. I am not ignorant that there are many who sit quiet at Home, and with much Tranquillity form Plans for the Defence of Places at a Distance, censuring very freely the Conduct of those in Trust Abroad, for not doing that which they had figured to themselves here, was so easy to be done; I am sorry to say, our own Case has furnished me with too many Instances of this Sort; to mention only one; I know it has been represented as a Blot upon us, that Seventy or Eighty of the *Princess Mary's* Sailors,

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Sailors, with One Hundred of our Two Hundred *Europeans*, were not permitted to march out and attack such Part of the Enemy as were landed at *Triplicane*, and who were above five Times the Number of those who were to be the Assailants; it is not difficult to form a Judgment what would have been the Effect of so rash an Attempt, and therefore I am surprized that any-body should censure us for giving no Countenance to it; certainly those who do so, are not aware that they reflect more upon their own Judgment, than upon our Conduct: What Measures of that Kind might have been prudently taken, and how successfully executed, had our Garrison consisted of six hundred effective *Europeans*, exclusive of the Gun-room Crew, our great Deficiency renders it unnecessary here to discuss. Therefore I proceed to the

9. Considerations, which had Weight with us, when we reflected upon the Consequences, that the total Loss of *Madras* would be to your Affairs; those are so connected with the Advantages and great Savings that would have accrued, had the Agreement we made been complied with, that what I have to say of either, is in great Measure applicable to both.

10. After the *French* had bombarded the Town for three Days and three Nights, and the few People we had in it become extremely fatigued for Want of a Place Bomb Proof wherein to take their Rest, it was determined, having, as was said before, no Hopes of Relief, to send to M. *de la Bourdonnais*,

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to know what Terms he would grant us. And this leads me to speak of the Capitulation and subsequent Treaty of Ransom.

11. M. *de la Bourdonnais*'s Instructions being not to make any new Settlement, it followed of Course, he had in his Power only this Alternative, either to destroy such of ours as he should become Master of, or treat for a Ransom; this last we thought most for your Interest, and more for your Credit too, than to let the Enemy live at Discretion in the Seat of your Presidency, and at Liberty to destroy it at Pleasure, especially if we could secure thereby a quiet Possession for the Remainder of the War, without any of the Works or Company's Buildings being demolished; for however the Value of these have been estimated here, the Charge of erecting them, including the Church, the Town-House, the black Town Wall built by Subscription, the new Powder Magazine, and as far as we had gone in the new Works, did not cost less than four hundred Thousand Pagodas*, when both Materials and Labour were much less costly than in these our Days.

12. You know, Sirs, but too well what Expences have been incurred at *St. David* since the Loss of *Madras*, so much that it may perhaps induce you to wish that Place had suffered the same Fate with its Mother Settlement; yet the Charge you have already been put to at *St. David*, I will

* Let a Pagoda be always reckoned, for more ready Computation, at 8s. though the Company of late have allowed but 7s. 8d. each.

[52]

venture to assert, is very far short of what it will cost to finish the Works begun there; the chief of what they have hitherto set about, is merely for the Defence of that small Fort, which I grant, when compleated, if it is only intended for a military Station, may for so far be of Use; and, indeed if Room and Buildings were only wanted for the military Part of your Establishment, the Expence perhaps need not be great; but if the whole of the Company's Trade, and the Manner of carrying on that Trade in those Parts be considered, much more will be wanting than is presently thought of, and I wish Experience does not too soon lay those Wants before you, as doubtless you intend to carry on as large a Trade as you have been used, and if possible to increase it.

13. It is well known, that all which could be called Curtains, and some of the Bastions at *Madrafs*, had Warehouses under them for the Reception of Naval Stores, and other gruff Goods from *Europe*, as well as Salt-Petre from *Bengal*: Neither was that sufficient, but several large Buildings of your own were erected in the Heart of the Town, and others hired for the Reception of Woollen and other Merchandize for the Markets in *India*, and of Calicoes brought in by our Merchants, and those sent from the subordinate Factories, and for sorting and embalming the same for the *Europe* Market: All Buildings of this Sort ought to be within the fortified Place, or your Estates will be frequently exposed to great Danger; but to carry on this Trade, a Number of Servants, who are not military Men, will

[53]

will be also necessary; these ought, at least they will expect, to be lodged in such a Manner, as to be secure in their Persons and Effects; for they must trade too, or be tempted to swerve from their Duty and Fidelity, as their Salaries and Allowances will not maintain them. Neither is this all; Experience of many Years is convincing, that, in order to carry on your Trade with Effect, it is necessary to have some of the Natives, who are Men of Worth and Substance inhabiting among us, but they can be expected only in a Place of Trade; and as they will trade, they also will expect Security for their Persons and Effects, without being exposed again to every Invader.

14. You have been long sensible, Sirs, of the great Advantages that have accrued to you from the extensive Commerce that was carried on at *Madrafs*; and, till this fatal Event, had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted Course thereof, for upwards of one hundred Years; its Proximity to *Pondicherry* occasioned it to suffer in some Branches of its Trade, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, from which Time the *French* seemed to be more intent upon extending their Commerce to, and in the *East-Indies*; but notwithstanding this clashing of Interests, *Madrafs* acquired some new Advantages; the Troubles in *Persia*, induced many *Armenians* to leave that Country, and settle in *India*; several of the most considerable, fixed their Residence and Families with us; the Irruption of the *Morattaes* into *Carnatica*, was another Event, that brought several eminent Shroffs and wealthy Merchants into our Town;

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infomuch, that I may say, there was hardly a Shroff of any Note, in the *Mogul's* Empire, but had a House in it; in a Word, *Madrafs* was become the Admiration of all the Country People, and the Envy of all our *European* Neighbours; and, as it had for a great many Years, brought in a clear annual Revenue of near Seventy Thousand Pagodas, a Sum far exceeding the whole Charges of the Place, Civil and Military, according to your Establishment in Peace; a Sum that would have defrayed all the Civil Expences of the Government, and maintained above Twelve Hundred *Europeans*, with proper Officers and Arms, for its Defence in War; it might well, we thought, deserve our Consideration, how to prevent the total Loss of so valuable a Settlement, and the Ruin of its numerous Inhabitants, from whose Industry, Luxury, and Necessities, those *rich* Revenues flowed; *valuable* surely it was to the Company, for what other Settlement had they that could boast of paying its own Expences, or near them, by its own Revenues, even in the most peaceable and quiet Times: But such, alas, being the Fate of *Madrafs*, it is not easy to determine the Time when the Effects of so sad an Event will be effaced, and so far forgot, as to induce the Natives to settle with us again: Their Preservation appeared to us very essential to your Interest; and as they had so long, and so largely, paid for your Protection, by the Duties on their Trade and Consumption, yet found *none*, I hope it will not be looked upon as an improper Consideration, by a Society who have so often recommended to us the

Exercise

Exercise of Equity and Lenity, in order to invite the Natives to settle under their Protection; if I confess we had some Degree of Compassion for so great a Multitude of Inhabitants as were at *Madrafs*, who before the *French* landed were computed at above Two Hundred Thousand *, and who have since been dispersed, and are miserably wandering in the Country.

15. The clear Annual Revenues of *Madrafs* and *St. David* together, having for a great Number of Years past, been about Eighty Thousand Pagodas, the Difference, till one or both of those Places collect again (after the old Method) to that Amount, must, I think, be imputed to the Loss of *Madrafs*, and the Ruin of its Inhabitants; and, I presume, ought to be carried to the Credit of our Ransom Treaty; how long any Difference may subsist, or to what Sum it may amount, your own Books will be the clearest Evidence; I shall remark only, that the Deficiency for these three first Years, must be near Two Hundred Thousand Pagodas.

16. Permit me to present *Madrafs* to you in another Light, and at one View; for upwards of twenty Years past, if I am not greatly mistaken, (for how much longer I know not) there has been a Nett Gain *communibus Annis* on the Head of Profit and Loss in the *Madrafs* Books, arising from the Revenues, Silver Coinage, and the Sale of Woollen and other Goods from *Europe* of near Ninety Thousand Pagodas a Year, after all Charges

* It had been nearer the Truth, if he had said above 250,000.

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Civil and Military of the *Coast* were paid, which Ballance being annually carried to Stock, became properly Part of the Investment for *Europe*, whereby a further Advance, and I apprehend no inconsiderable one, arose upon it; Is it not reasonable, that till *Madrafs*, or Fort *St. David* do the like again, to impute the Deficiency for so long to the same Cause as the Loss of the Revenues, and to place it to the same Account? What that Deficiency may be, (doubtless there will be a great one) can only be discovered after the same Manner.

17. In 1744 and 1745 you received * from the *Coast* upwards of ten thousand Bales, which cost about a Million of Pagodas, and 1746 we should have sent you upwards of Six Thousand more, if the Place had not been taken in the *September* of that Year, as above four Thousand were at that Time ready; and for any Reason that appears to the contrary, we should have kept our Investment up to that Rate, at least for the Remainder of the War, if not for a longer Continuance, had not *Madrafs* unhappily fallen into the Hands of the Enemy; what came home † last Year was that Part of the Four Thousand Bales that was provided at Fort *St. David* and the Northern Settlements, before our Dissolution in 1746. What will be provided for you on the *Coast* in and from 1747 to 1750, is beyond the Reach of my Intelligence to calculate, but I have good Reason to suspect the Investment there, will fall far short of what it would have

* It had better been expressed, We sent you.

† It is meant, what were sent Home.

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been, had only our Agreement with *M. de la Bourdonnais* been complied with, and the Company consequently become great Sufferers, as the Sale of the *Coast* Goods have been of late so high, and are said to continue so still, which Difference you will also permit me to suppose, ought to be given to the Credit of our Ransom Treaty; for had not the Government of *Pondicherry* perfidiously broke it, nor you yourselves been pleased to condemn it, you would have enjoyed all the Benefits of your Trade, and the Commerce of *Madrafs*, without Interruption, during the rest of the War; and at the same Time the Expences of the Garrison might have been kept within the Regulation you had established, in the most peaceable and quiet Times, for six hundred effective *Europeans* would not have cost more than that Crowd of useless *Topasses* and *Peons*, of which the Major Part of our Military has of late been composed; and the Revenue you received here for Freight and Permission on Silver and Coral consigned to *Madrafs*, with the Freight and Duty on Diamonds in return from thence, would have been, I imagine, more than sufficient to have furnished Recruits, and kept that Corps compleat.

18. Another Consideration, which had great Weight with us, was the expected Arrival of the Outward-bound Ships, both that Season and the next, some of whom we feared might fall into the Enemy's Hands, by their remaining in Possession of *Madrafs*; 'tis true, you only lost the *Princess Amelia*, who put in there; but the *Britannia* escaped only thro' the extream ill Conduct of the *French*;
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the *Exeter* might have met with the same Fate as the *Amelia*, had she not been forewarned of her Danger by a Man of War, who happened to be cruizing off the Place, just as she was coming to an Anchor; the *Oxford* too afterwards very luckily had a Person on Board, who understood the Country Language, and by that Means learnt by a Catamaran that was fishing off the Port, that the Place was in Possession of the *French*; so that though happily you lost no more than the *Amelia*, yet the narrow Escape of the other three, shews our Apprehensions that you might suffer much more were not ill grounded.

19. I am afraid I may add to these Losses, great Part of the Merchants Ballances, who are dispersed in different Parts of the Country, and perhaps it will be no easy Matter to prevail with them to come down again, if they do not intend to fix their Residence among us, or if they suspect they shall be brought under any Restraint or Trouble on that Account, it will be enough to deter them from coming; but if they should come, it is much to be apprehended, they will either plead they had larger Quantities of Goods in their Warehouses, upon their Contracts, than they really had, or that their Losses otherways have rendered them incapable of paying their Debts; the first Plea it will be difficult to controvert, and the last is most probably true.

20. I might enumerate many other Particulars that occurred to us in our unhappy Circumstances, but to explain them would take up much longer Time;

I will

[59]

I will therefore intrude upon you no further, than to obviate two or three Objections, which I am well aware will be made to our Ransom Treaty.

21. The Meaning of that Part of the 8th Article, wherein Mention is made of our sending Goods to *Europe*, was declared before all the *English* Inhabitants and *French* Officers to be, that provided we fulfilled our Engagements (*sui vant les Termes*) according to the Conditions and Times stipulated, we were at Liberty to do what we pleased with the rest of our Money; and, in my humble Opinion, the Words themselves imply no less; let that be granted then, and *Madras* with its Inhabitants had remained in their late flourishing State, we should most probably, as we had for the three preceding Years, invested on the Coast full Five Hundred Thousand Pagodas a Year, have made good our Obligations to the *French* for the three Years to follow at Two Hundred Thousand Pagodas a Year, and have sent you each Year Three Thousand Bales beside*; the Profit whereon, I will venture to affirm, would much more than have paid that Part of the Ransom which was contracted should be paid in *Europe*: In lieu whereof, *Madras* is in a Manner laid waste; you have no Bales; and, if I am not greatly deceived, you are out of Pocket by the Loss of the *Princess Amelia* in six Months after we left *Madras*; and in Consequence thereof, by Loss of Revenues in twelve Months only; and by Ex-

* Which would have cost about Three Hundred Thousand Pagodas.

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pences at Fort *St. David* in fifteen; more than the Six Hundred Thousand we were to have paid in three Years.

22. The second Objection is, that so large a Sum as Eleven Hundred Thousand Pagodas, to be transferred from your Estate to the *French* for the Redemption of *Madras*, would have been highly injurious to you, and adequately advantageous to your Enemy and Rival: In Answer to which I must beg leave to observe, that you are already, or will be very soon, Eleven Hundred Thousand Pagodas out of Pocket by our being driven from *Madras*, and that valuable Seat of your Presidency withal virtually, if not absolutely destroyed: On the other Side, let me ask, How much less the *French* have been long in Possession of? By the Seizure of the *Amelia*, and the Confiscation of the Coral, Raw-Silk, and other fine Goods, the Property of the Inhabitants and their Correspondents near one half, and of Grain and other gruff Goods not far short of the other half.

23. The last Objection is, that the Treaty was made for the Preservation of private Property; and the Company made to bear the whole Burthen. From what has been said above, your Interest appears to be so blended with the Preservation of private Property, that I confess in this Instance I have not Penetration or Skill enough to separate them; but I can assure you, nevertheless, the *English* were content, and did consent to bear a Part; the *Armenians* agreed to pay One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pagodas for their Share; Assets we had
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of theirs in our Power, and Possession sufficient to make it good; and the Natives, when they returned, you might have assessed at Pleasure.

24. What has been urged here, I flatter myself is sufficiently evincing, that if the whole Sum which was agreed to be paid for the Ransom of the Place, including the secret Service Money, was to have been paid by the Company, the Advantages and great Savings would have left a considerable Balance in their Favour; this is easily demonstrated when reduced to Figures, though a Multitude of lesser Items be excluded: And it is a Fact the *French* Government of *Pondicherry* were so thoroughly sensible of, that though they ratified the Treaty made with us by *Monf. de la Bourdonnais*; he was no sooner embarked, than they declared it null and void; which I think they would not have done, if they had not been convinced the Bargain we had made was too favourable to your Interest.

25. I should be sorry, Sirs, if any Thing I have now said should be so construed as to give any just Cause of Offence; a decent Freedom in one's Justification, while it exceeds not the Bounds of good Manners, cannot; and I have purposely omitted some Things, because I would not offend. The injurious Insinuations without Number that have been industriously whispered about, I esteem unworthy my Notice; they hurt me not; but I was too much concerned in the Events related to be altogether silent, when I heard that the Surrender had been termed *Cowardly*, and the Treaty of Ransom *Scandalous* and *Infamous*: If they should appear
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differently to you from the Lights you have now received, I shall expect no less from your Candour and Justice, than to stand before you exculpated of those heavy Accusations: The more I am oppressed by the Misfortunes I have met with, the more it is incumbent upon me to vindicate my Character and Conduct; and with my own, that of the Governour and the rest of the Council of *Madras*: It is with this sole View that I offer this Address to you, and hoping it will have the Effect which I wish and intend, I remain with all possible Respect.

Honourable Sirs,

London,
February 8, 1748-9.

Your faithful, humble Servant,

W. MONSON.

I have before mentioned to you, that Payment of several Bonds was demanded of the Company, for Money taken up and borrowed by the Governour and Council after the *French* were in Possession of the Place, and which upon a Motion in the General Court, it was resolved, should not be paid without their Leave; I also intimated, that this Motion was made at the Instigation of some of the Directors. Certainly they were previously acquainted with the Motion; for when the Person who made it in the General Court had gone so far as to move, "That no Bonds given, or Bills drawn by the late Governour and Council of *Madras*." he began to hesitate, as if under a Doubt, whether he had not mistaken his Directions, whereupon one
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of the select Number called over to him, and enabled him to add, "dated after the 30th of *August*, 1746, should be paid without Leave of the General Court." This Motion was agreed to, and served the Purposes of the Directors in more Instances than one; if there had been no Doubt of the Validity of any of the Bonds, signed after the 30th of *August*, yet their Finances were low, and it hurt them extremely to think of parting with any Money. Those Bonds, which were dated the 30th of *September*, and it was those only that were signed after the *French* took *Madras*, were the Property of some who are considerable Men at Home, as well as Interest among the Proprietors; the Directors by this Resolution of the General Court, were relieved from the ungrateful Task of discussing with the Bond-holders the Validity of those Bonds, and they hoped to keep them attached to their Party, by Intimations that they should have an Opportunity of explaining the Matter at some future General Court, when they would be paid their Money, without the Expence and Trouble of a Law-Suit; before I add any Thing further about the Bonds dated the 30th of *September*, it is very material to let you know, there was another Bond included in the Resolution of the General Court, and which being dated the 1st of *September* 1746, the Prohibition, as I have said, was extended to the 30th of *August* 1746: the Bond I mean was for thirty thousand Pagodas, given *Nicholas Morse*, Esq; and was the Amount of several lesser Sums, which he had advanced at divers Times, in the
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preceding Part of the Year, to make up some Remittances, which had been voted by the Council to be sent to Fort *St. David*, and other subordinate Factories, and for other necessary Purposes at *Madras*, when the Company had not sufficient in Cash to compleat the whole Sums voted. As the Uses this Money was applied to, with the Reasons why only one Bond was given for it at the Time it was dated, and not distinct Bonds for each particular Sum at the Time it was advanced, I say, as all this is more particularly explained in several Letters to the Court of Directors entered hereafter, I refer you thereto, my Purpose in this Place being only to let you a little into the Secret of the Directors Conduct.

Mr. *Monson* soon after his Arrival in *England*, presented to the Court of Directors this Bond of thirty thousand Pagodas, which was assigned over to him by Mr. *Morse*, together with a Letter of Advice from the late Governour and Council relating to the same, in the following Words.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

Honourable,

THIS just serves to advise you, that we gave a Bond, payable to your President by the Company, for thirty thousand Pagodas; which Money he advanced, at sundry Times, for the Company's Service, before our Troubles came on; but
as

as he did not ask for any Acknowledgment under the Council's Hands at the Time of paying it into your Cash, We gave him the abovementioned Bond for the same at Interest. Dated the 1st of *September* 1746. We are,

Honourable,

Pondicherry,
January 18, 1746-7. *Your faithful humble Servants,*

JOHN STRATTON. NIC. MORSE.
JOHN SAVAGE. W. MONSON.

Messieurs *Eyre* and *Harris*, two other of the Council, have signed the Bond; but, not being at *Pondicherry*, they could not join in signing this Letter.

However, the Demand of this Bond was not the only Business that induced Mr. *Monson* to come to *England*; his principal View was to justify the Conduct of himself, and the rest of the Gentlemen who were intrusted with the Management of the Company's Affairs at *Madras*; and to explain to the Directors, the defenceless Condition of the Place; the Impossibility of maintaining it for the Company, against a Force so much superior to their own; the Reasons for concluding the Treaty of Ransom; and also to demonstrate, that, if it had been comply'd with, it would have been greatly to the Company's Advantage. Add beside, that it was looked upon not only as proper, but highly necessary, that somebody who had been upon the Spot, and acquainted with all the Circumstances Abroad, should be ready here at Home, to prevent the Effects that might
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have proceeded from many false and idle Reports, which are too often and commonly propagated upon such an Event as this.

The Directors were well acquainted and aware of Mr. *Monson's* Design of coming to *England*; it was therefore thought expedient to endeavour to keep him in a State of Dependance, which they flattered themselves would keep him silent, and they hoped that Purpose would be effected by keeping the Payment of the Bond in Suspence; though there was sufficient Testimony that the Money was advanced and applied for their Use and Service, before the *French* attacked the Place, yet it was easy to pretend that they wanted Copies of the *Madrass* Books and Consultations for fuller Proof thereof; though, as Affairs were circumstanced at that Time, it seemed very doubtful whether they should ever be gratified therein; however, to make short of the Matter, and to ease themselves of any further particular Application, it was contrived to include this Bond in the Prohibition of the General Court. Mr. *Monson* had not at this Time offended them by any Appeal to the Public; I will not be sure, whether what he has addressed to them in private since, has not inspired them with some Repentment; I have procured Copies of his Letters, and you will perhaps be able, without my Help, to put your Finger upon the fore Places: The Reason of my surmising this last, proceeds from the State of the Case, which the Directors drew up for the Opinion of Council, in Consequence of the Resolution of the General Court of the 22d of *March* 1748. Which Resolution was;

“ That

“ That it be referred to the Court of Directors,
 “ to enquire what Money, or other Considerations,
 “ was paid or given for the several Bonds whereof
 “ Payment is now demanded, by whom, and to
 “ whom, and when, and upon what Occasion, and
 “ how such Money was paid, applied, and dis-
 “ posed of, and by whom, and to whom, and
 “ when, and for what Purpose, and to state all
 “ the material Circumstances relating thereto; and
 “ that the Court of Directors do take the Opinion
 “ of Council, how far the Company are liable to
 “ the Payment of all, or any of the said Bonds;
 “ and report their Proceedings at the next quar-
 “ terly General Court.”

This Resolution was sent to Mr. *Monson*, with the following Letter from Mr. Secretary,

S I R,

THE last General Court having come to a Resolution with respect to the Bonds given by the *East-India* Company's late Governour and Council at Fort *St. George*, dated after the 30th of *August* 1746, whereof Payment was then demanded; I do, by Order of the Court of Directors, send you a Copy of that Resolution, and a List of those Bonds; and as you were one of the Company's Council, and are possessed of a Bond dated after that Time, of which you demanded Payment at the last General Court, the Court of Directors desire that you will, as clearly and explicitly as you can, give them in Writing such an Account of

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those

[68]

those Transactions as is required by the inclosed Resolution, that they may make such a Report as may be satisfactory to the General Court. I am,

S I R,

East-India House,
April 13, 1749.

Your most obedient Servant,

ROBERT JAMES, Secretary.

To this Mr. Monson made the following Reply; wherein are repeated some Things that were said in a former Letter, the Reason whereof I wish I was at Liberty to tell you.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

S I R S,

I Have received, from your Secretary, Copy of the Resolution of the General Court of the 22d of March last, with a List of Bonds given by the East-India Company's late Governour and Council at Fort St. George, dated after the 30th of August 1746, whereof Payment was then demanded; and intimating your Desire that I would, as clearly and explicitly as I can, give you in Writing such an Account of those Transactions as is required by the said Resolution, that you might make such a Report as may be satisfactory to the General Court.

As the Bonds whereof Payment was demanded at

[69]

at the General Court of the 22d of March last, were only these following, viz.

- For Pagodas 10000 claimed by Mess. *George Arnold, Thomas Truman, Henry Isaac, and Joseph Salomons.*
- 40000 claimed by Mess. *Abraham and Jacob Franco and Aaron Franks.*
- 10000 claimed by Mr. *Francis Salvadore.*
- 5400 claimed by Mr. *Jacob Salvadore.*
- 30000 claimed by Mr. *William Monson.*

I say, as only these Bonds were demanded at the General Court of the 22d of March 1748, it may not be improper to acquaint you, that there were several other Sums borrowed, and Bonds given for the same, by the late Governour and Council at Fort St. George, dated after the 30th of August 1746, particularly

- One for Pagodas 15000 To Mess. *Jones and Moses.*
- 5000 To Mr. *Peter Baillieu.*
- 2000 To the Minister and Church-wardens.
- 4368 To the Mayor's Court.
- 1400 To Mr. *Foxall.*

Beside which, we gave a Bond to Mr. *Salomons*, for 2000 Rupees, and a Bill of Exchange to Mr. *Samuel Barlow* for 3000 Pagodas.

The Circumstances attending the Bond for 30000 Pagodas, claimed by myself, are very different from the rest; it is dated the 1st of September 1746, before the French came against the Place, and has

not the least Connection with, or Relation to, the Surrender or Redemption of it; for some Time before the War broke out, the *French* were at great Expences Abroad, and received but slender Remittances from *France*, which occasioned them to contract very large Debts in *India* to carry on their Affairs; the Declaration of War put a total Stop to all Supplies coming to them from *Europe*, and to all further Credit in the Country, whereby they presently became out of all Capacity to interfere with us in the Investment for *Europe*; our Investment consequently increased very much in 1744 and 1745, but in 1746 especially, Demands for Money from the *South* and from the *North*, from our own Merchants also, and from the Paymaster, came so much quicker upon us than our Receipts, by Revenues and Sale of *Europe* Goods, or otherwise, could answer, we thought ourselves obliged, that you might not lose the Benefit of that seemingly favourable Conjunction, to take up Money of whomsoever would lend it; several did so, and had Bonds for the same, but altogether being insufficient to carry on your Business with that Vigour and Success we wished, Mr. *Morse*, always zealous for the Company's Service and Interest, advanced at divers Times in the last three Months before the Place was attacked, in like Manner as he had done the Year preceding, sundry Sums of his own Money (which he might have employed much better) to compleat those required of us from Fort *St. David*, the Northern Settlements and our own People at the Fort; Mr. *Morse* did not take a separate Bond for each

each Advance; but on the 1st of *September*, when we had full Assurance the *French* had projected a Descent, and intended to invade *Madras* by Land, he desired in a regular Council held that Morning, a Bond might be given him for thirty thousand Pagodas, he had thus advanced, which being unanimously agreed to, a Bond was accordingly drawn out as soon as could be, and signed that very Day; which Bond upon my Resolution at *Pondicherry*, to come to *England*, I desired him, that I might not return quite naked, to assign over to me, as what Effects could be recovered of mine, would come into his Hands; to this Proposal Mr. *Morse* consented, and it is this Bond I had the Honour to present to you upon my Arrival, and is partly the Subject of the present Enquiry; I cannot but persuade myself, you are so well satisfied the Money was honourably and duly advanced for the Company's Service, when they were in Want of Cash, before the *French* came against us, that I flatter myself you will report it in such Manner to the next General Court, that the Payment thereof may be no longer deferred.

With regard to the other Bonds, you desire to be informed upon what Occasion the Money was borrowed, by whom, of whom, and when; the Bonds themselves express by whom, of whom, and when; The Occasion was this; in treating for the Ransom Mr. *Morse* and myself, to whom it was by the Council more particularly referred, were soon made sensible, it was necessary to disburse a further Sum, beside that mentioned in the publick Treaty: This

[72]

we communicated, as we had constantly and faithfully done every other Step taken in this Affair, to the Council, who being of Opinion, that as the Terms of the Treaty appeared highly for the Company's Interest in the Situation of their Affairs at that Time, it was more adviseable to lay down such a Stake * than to lose the Benefit of it, by suffering the Enemy to remain, and live at Discretion, in the Seat of their Presidency, and at Liberty to destroy it at Pleasure.

A further and distinct Sum being then agreed on, and agreed by the Council to be paid, our next Difficulty was how to raise the Money; it was not practicable for us to do so, but by giving the Company's Bonds for the same, to such as would supply us; and, as almost all the Money, and such valuable Effects belonging to private Persons that could readily be removed and secreted, had been carried out of Town, and secured in the Country, before the *French* invested the Place, the Proprietors were not easily prevailed on, to bring them in again, even under such a Security; they could not recall them immediately, and, I believe, would not have consented to do so at all, had they not been as much convinced as the late Governour and Council were, that the Use to which they were to be applied, was greatly for the Company's Interest.

* The Governour and Council of *Bengal* have paid down Twenty and Thirty Thousand Pounds at a Time to the Nabob, to make Peace with him, and obtain the Dispatch of a Year's Shipping: The Gentlemen at *Madras* thought they might well venture to do so for the Preservation of so famous and valuable a Settlement.

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[73]

As it is part of the Resolution of the General Court, that you should enquire into what Money or other Consideration was paid or given for the several Bonds, I take the Liberty to acquaint you that it was impossible for us to raise the Whole in Money, a considerable Part was made good in Diamonds, which were brought out of the Country for that sole Purpose; I cannot ascertain the exact Value, but to the best of my Recollection, it might amount to near one half of the whole Sum borrowed.

It remains only to say, to whom this Money and these Diamonds were given or paid; permit me to say rather, that in certain Conjunctions, Negotiations arise, which require not only to be conducted with some Degree of Secrecy, but that the Secret be kept inviolable afterwards, there being a Sort of Faith, which ought to be preserved, even with one's Enemies; you will readily conceive this whole Negotiation to be of such a Nature, as ought not, or cannot be with any Propriety publickly, or more explicitly revealed, nor can it answer any valuable Purpose to the Company if it were, from whence I hope I shall stand excused, if I declare no further than that Part of the Money was appropriated to pay six Months Salary, and two Months Diet to your covenanted Servants, with a Month's Arrears to the Garrison, beside sundry Disbursements to the Officers and Sailors of the *Princess Mary*, to your Officers and Military, that were going to *Cuddalore*, and some other little Advances, we judged necessary towards our future Establishment; the rest of

of the Money, with the Diamonds, was actually and *bona fide*, applied to the Purpose already mentioned, which in the Opinion of those concerned in this Business, would have redounded very much to the Honour, the Credit and real Advantage of the Company; the late Governour and Council of Fort *St. George*, still thought themselves bound by their Duty to do every Act that might tend to that good End, even in the State they were; they thought they were warranted and authorized by Reason and Equity to do so; and I trust that you are by this Time convinced no indirect Application has been made of the Money and Diamonds, for which those Bonds were given; I flatter myself again that what I have here offered, with respect to them, will be satisfactory to you, and have the Honour to be

S I R S,

London,
May 3, 1749.

Your most obedient Servant,

W. MONSON.

A Copy of the Resolution of the General Court of the 22d of *March* 1748, was likewise sent with a Letter from the Secretary to Mr. *Stratton*; who, on the 4th of *May* 1749, returned an Answer to the Court of Directors: What he said in regard to the Bonds dated the 30th of *September* 1746, being pretty much to the same Purpose as what Mr. *Monson* had offered, I shall not trouble you with a Repetition; but with respect to the Bond dated the 1st of *September* 1746, he says,

“ The

“ The Bond claimed by Mr. *William Monson* for
 “ Thirty Thousand Pagodas, I must suppose to be
 “ that Bond the Governour and Council signed and
 “ gave to Mr. *Morse* for that Sum, dated the 1st
 “ of *September* 1746, which was before the Settlement of Fort *St. George* was invested by the
 “ *French*, or before they came against that Place,
 “ and consequently of a different Nature from those
 “ Bonds already mentioned; for this Sum was advanced by Mr. *Morse*, at different Times, in order to carry on your Business at the Fort, and to supply your other Settlements of Fort *St. David*, *Vizagapatam*, and *Ingeram*, with Money
 “ for the like Purpose, but did not ask for a Bond in Council till the Day it was signed: Nor was this the first Instance of the Kind; Mr. *Morse*, I am informed, did the same the Year preceding; and Mr. *Benyon*, I am informed also, has frequently advanced his private Cash for your Service, without any Consideration, and waited for the Arrival of Supplies before he reimbursed himself; and from the Situation of your Affairs on the Coast that Year, I must believe you are sensible, your Governour and Council of Fort *St. George* could not have made an Investment on the Coast, so as to have enabled them to have dispatched the expected Shipping in Time, if they had not borrowed several Sums of Money at Interest, the large Number of Bales that were purchased on the Coast that Year, which have been all received here (except those taken in *Madras*) will evince the Truth of what I now assert:

[76]

“ assert: I must also do Mr. *Morse* the Justice to
 “ declare to your Honours, that I have Reason to
 “ believe that he paid Interest for the Money that
 “ he supplied your Cash, some Months before he
 “ required this Bond from the Council, which I
 “ apprehend he can sufficiently make appear to
 “ your Honours on his Arrival here; and I am
 “ further to assure you, that I do firmly believe all
 “ Money received, for which your Governour and
 “ Council gave Bonds, was actually and *bona fide*
 “ advanced, and paid for your Interest and Service.

The Directors were now to draw up the Case for the Council; which they so very partially stated, that though the Council, whose Opinion was read at the quarterly General Court in *June*, were clear, that the Company were liable to pay the Bonds dated the 30th of *September 1746*, they expressed a Doubt of some Collusion, Fraud, and Breach of Trust in the late Governour and Council, relating to the Bond of the 1st of *September 1746*, and therefore, “ that it was not proper to pay that Bond “ yet:” The Reason of that Doubt proceeded, I believe, from the Directors Manner of Stating what Mr. *Edward Fowke* had wrote them, as his Reason for not signing it: Mr. *Fowke* made no Objection in Council when the Bond was agreed to be given; and the Objection he made to Signing it afterwards, seems to be rather to the Form and Manner of its being tendered to him, than any Doubt of the Money having been applied for the Company's Use.

The Directors don't seem to have been more nice
 and

[77]

and exact in stating the Case relating to the Bonds dated the 30th of *September*; they laid great Weight and Strefs upon what Mr. *Fowke* had said, about his not Signing the Bond for Thirty Thousand Pagodas; but they take no Notice (either because it was not in Writing, or that they were willing it should be forgot) of what he said in one of their Committees about those Bonds, when, upon some Questions being put to him, he declared, that he had no Doubt the Money was paid; and further, that it was his Opinion, No Ransom could have been obtained even for Two Million of Pagodas, if a seperate Sum had not been agreed for beside.

You have heard read the State of the Case, as it was laid before Council, and the Council's Opinion thereon; that Opinion did not seem to satisfy the General Court, with Respect to the Bonds, dated the 30th of *September*; you were present at that Court, and therefore I need not take up much of your Time, by repeating all that was said there; it is not uncommon in all such Assemblies to have a great deal said very forreign to the Purpose, and I believe a great many that spoke that Day had not been previously consulted, and were therefore left to the Impulse of those Passions and Prejudices which they had imbibed from the Notions that had been for some Time before instilled into them; the Directors affected to have it thought that they were not against the Payment of the Bonds, but the Effects of their former Policy operated too strongly against them, and perhaps it gave them no great Concern, as they thought it would still keep
 the

the Bondholders in a longer State of Dependance; but you will give me Leave to trouble you with a few Remarks upon some of the Arguments that were made Use of against paying these Bonds; some who were perfectly ignorant of the Application of the Money, were possessed with a Notion, that it was actually in the Place, and by Collusion with the Company's Servants, was paid into their Cash, and Bonds given for it, and also that that Money was really in Cash, and taken by the *French*, and that this was contrived on Purpose to make the Company accountable for what otherwise would have been taken from them; if this really had been the Case, the Arguments of those would have been just, who exclaimed against the Signing of those Bonds as an iniquitous Proceeding; the Fact is, that when the *French* took Possession of the Town, the Company had not to the Value of a Thousand Pounds in Cash, nor did the *French* possess themselves of Cash to that Amount. And therefore the Bondholders not entering at first into the Purpose for which the Money was applied, endeavoured only to shew, how improbable it was from the Circumstances of the Case, that there could be any Collusion between their Factors and the Company's Servants: At length it was urged by some of them, that the Money was borrowed and paid in Consequence of the Ransom Treaty. In Answer to which, it was insisted upon, that no Act of the Governour and Council, in the Circumstances they were after the *French* were in Possession of the Place, could be valid or binding; that, in Consequence, the Treaty
itself

itself was null and void; and of which the *French* themselves were so sensible, that they acted a most egregious Farce, in giving what they were pleased to term an Act of Liberty; and that a Bond signed to a Highwayman or Street Robber, was equally as binding: Perhaps I am not exact in reciting the very Expressions of the Gentleman who made Use of this Argument; but, as you were present at the Debate, you will allow, that what I have said agrees in Substance; and I am very ready to allow, that the Act of Liberty was so far impertinent, that it was neither necessary or material; but I cannot agree with him, that the Governour and Council of *Madrass*, when the *French* were in Possession of the Place, were in the same Circumstances as a Man that is attacked by a Robber. It is well known, and that Gentleman ought to have known, that there is always subsisting a Power of entering into Treaties and Engagements between the Parties at War; and that such Treaties and Engagements are, by the Laws of Nations, looked upon as sacred and valid. In the present Case, there was not the least Force or Compulsion; the *French* proposed the Terms upon which they would evacuate the Place, and the *English* were at Liberty to accept those Terms, or to evacuate the Place themselves: The most that can be said, and indeed nothing worse could be said, is, that the Governour and Council were induced to accept the Terms, upon Motives very different from the Interest of the Company; but it is ridiculous to suggest, that they were forced or compelled to it by the *French*: I suppose this is
not

not the first Instance, that a Place has been ransomed, after the Enemy was in Possession of it; and we find, that since *Madras* was taken, it is an express Condition in the Treaty between Admiral *Knowles* and the Governour of Fort *Louis*, that, “ For what Lenity the Admiral is disposed to shew
“ the Town and Inhabitants, the Conditions shall
“ be settled between Governour *Chatteauoye* and
“ him to Morrow.” These Conditions were to be settled after the *English* were in Possession of the Place; and though they had no other Foundation than the Admiral’s Lenity, yet, after they were settled, were no doubt deemed as valid and binding, and as punctually complied with, as if they had been settled before the Admiral had taken Possession.

I believe, Sir, by this Time I have almost tired your Patience by the Length of this Discourse; it is indeed swelled beyond the Compass of a Letter; the Subject is copious, and though I resolved from the Beginning to omit many Things, yet I did not think what I proposed to say would have taken up so much Room; you will, I am afraid, have too much Occasion to remark some Defects in the Style, as well as Connection in several Parts; but as I have not Time to correct those Faults, I must rely upon your Goodness and Candour to excuse them: My chief Intent, when I first set down, was to explain to you, that the whole of the Misfortunes, which we have met with Abroad, has not been entirely owing to the ill Conduct of the Gentlemen of *Madras*, which so much Pains has been taken to have thought and believed, but on the contrary to a
long

long Course of weak Administration of your Affairs at home; and at last to the unaccountable Conduct of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty’s Squadron, and the Venality and Folly of the Nabob: My Intent was to shew you, moreover, that had the Treaty of Ransom been duly complied with, the Company would have been great Gainers thereby; one of the finest forreign Settlements in the World would have remained in its full Lustre and Credit, and many of his Majesty’s Subjects, with a vast Multitude of good Inhabitants, had been preserved from Ruin and Misery. How far what I have said is a Proof thereof, I submit to your Judgment; and also in what Degree prudent those Measures were, that left the Safety of the Company’s Settlements and Estates absolutely to the Caprice of Men, over whom their Servants had no Controul; whether it be to the precarious Aid of a little Squadron at so great a Distance, and subject to such Variety of Accidents, or to the more precarious Wisdom and Honour of a Mahomedan Government. I am with greatest Esteem,

S I R, &c.

London,
March 15, 1749.



CONTENTS of the APPENDIX.

- No. 1. *Letters and Papers concerning the Neutrality.*
2. *Extract from the Diary, of the most material Occurrence at Madrafs, from the 18th of August 1746, to the 13th of November, when Mr. Morse, &c. arrived at Pondicherry.*
 3. *State of the Garrison at Madrafs, September 1746.*
 4. *Translate of the Capitulation of Madrafs.*
 5. *Copy of Mons. de la Bourdonnais Commission.*
 6. *Letter to Mons. de la Bourdonnais.*
 7. *Translate of the superiour Council of Pondicherry. Their Protest against the Ransom. Answer to the Protest. And their Ratification of the several Articles of Ransom.*
 8. *Madrafs in Account with the Ransom.*
 9. *Estimate of the Company's Losses and Expences incurred by the Loss of Madrafs.*

A P P E N D I X.

No. 1.

Anno 1742.

COPY of Proposals made by the *French East-India Company*, to the *English East-India Company*, in order to establish a Neutrality betwixt the two Companies, in case of a War between the two Crowns; transacted with *H—y L—w—r*, Esq; during his Residence at *Paris*; which Proposals were approved off by their Eminences Cardinal *Fleury* and *Tencin*, and afterwards laid before his Majesty by Monsieur *Orry*, Comptroller General, and returned to the *French Directors* with this Answer; That his Majesty would ratify any Conditions stipulated between the two Companies.

Memorandum by the French, and their Proposals comprized in three Articles.

Memorandum.

As War is an inevitable Ruin to Trade, it seems convenient for the reciprocal Good of both Companies, to guard against all Accidents, in case of a War between *France* and *England*, by a

Convention to be approved off by both Companies.

Article 1st.

In case of a War between the two Powers in *Europe*, there shall be no Hostilities in any of their Settlements in the *East Indies*, most of which lie contiguous to each other, but they shall continue to live in Amity one with another, as they have done for Forty Years past.

Article 2d.

The Ships of either Company, finding themselves under a Necessity to touch at any of their Settlements in the *East Indies*, be they *English* or *French*, or at the Isles of *France*, or *Bourbon*, or *St. Helena*; not being informed of a Declaration of War between the two Nations, they shall not be stopped or put under any Difficulties upon any Pretence whatsoever, by any Ships of War, or the Companies Ships that may happen to meet; but, on the contrary, they shall have free Liberty to embark their Men and their Effects, and shall sail upon paying for the Necessaries they may have been furnished with, be it Wood, or Water, or any Thing the Settlement shall be in a Condition to supply them with.

Article 3d.

The Ships of either Company meeting at Sea, shall not attack one another; but, on the contrary, shall furnish each other with any Thing they shall be in a Condition to spare.

The

The following are Translates and Copies of Letters that passed on this Occasion.

H—y L—w—r, *Esq;* to *Monf. D—s,*
dated at Boulogne, Nov. 15th, 1742.

S I R,

THE Liberty I now take is to assure you of my Respects, and of the grateful Sense I shall ever retain of the Favours you have been pleased to honour me with, the Continuance of which I earnestly sollicit.

The Confidence you was pleased to repose in me during my Residence at *Paris*, is the greatest Mark you can give me of your Esteem; I have transmitted to *London*, the Articles for settling a Neutrality between the two Companies, and I make no doubt, but our Directors will meet next *Wednesday* to consult on this important Occasion; I hope soon to receive a satisfactory Answer, which I shall do myself the Honour to communicate to you; my Sentiments are, that as the Proposals are so much to the mutual Advantage of both Companies, to live in good Friendship in *India*, it cannot fail of Success. I am,

S I R, &c.

F 3

Monsieur

Monfieur D—s to H—y L—w—r, Efq;
dated at Paris, Nov. 19, 1742.

S I R,

I Have had the Honour to receive your Letter of the 15th Current, by which I heard with Pleasure, the agreeable News of your Arrival at *Boulogne*; I was charmed with every Occasion of obliging you here, my Business prevented me the Satisfaction of cultivating your Friendship equal to my Wishes, during your Residence at *Paris*.

I heartily wish our Project may succeed, it will unavoidably redound to both our Reputation, as it tends only to prevent great Losses and Expences to the two Companies. I have the Honour to be, &c.

S I R, &c.

H—y L—w—r, Efq; to H—y G—h, Efq;
dated at *Boulogne*, Nov. 11, 1742.

S I R,

Since I had the Honour to wait on you in *England*, I have spent Part of my Time at *Paris*, from whence I returned last Night to *Boulogne*; during my Stay there I most frequented those Gentlemens Company I knew Abroad, which gave me many Opportunities of discoursing with them of Affairs in *India*; and among other Things, I ventured to take upon me

me to sound how far a Neutrality there, in case of a War, might be agreeable to the *French*; this Subject, when I first started it, was thought necessary to be kept secret for a little Time, for a Reason not proper to be mentioned here; but as soon as I could make a Judgment, it was relished by those I most consulted with; I wrote to Mr. — about it, desiring him to communicate the Purport of that Letter to you; since which I have been intrusted a good deal more on this and many other Affairs, which I shall communicate to you when you think proper; but I never took upon me to say, I was in any shape authorized from your Court of Directors, to treat on any Affair of this Consequence, nor shall, I hope, incur any Censure for so doing; but as I had great Reason to believe I could be freely entrusted, I ventured to conduct it as far as I could; in Consequence of which, after sundry Meetings, the *French* agreed to confine their Proposals to three Articles, which they gave me, and under this Cover is Copy of them; desiring at the same Time, they might be laid before your Court, in order to know their Sentiments; to this give me leave to add, that such in the Ministry, whose Sanction will be still necessary, have been consulted, and made no Objection to them on their Side; but till they know what Additions, Diminutions, or how far they might be acceptable in *England*, they would appear no further in it; but one Thing I have already told them, that I apprehended since

Queen *Anne* had resigned all Title to any Share of Prizes that might be taken by the Men of War, which was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament; I believed it would be a difficult Matter to extend the Neutrality to the Westward of the Cape of *Good Hope*, but to the Eastward of that Place you were sole Masters; before I conclude, give me Leave here to say, I shall think myself very happy if the Steps I have ventured to take, may meet with your Approbation; I was moved by no other Spring than a zealous Attachment to the Service of your Company, as I will give Place to no one in my best Wishes that their Affairs may ever prosper; I shall now wait your Orders, and as soon as you please to honour me with them, they shall be punctually executed, as I desire nothing more than to approve myself on all Occasions,

S I R, &c.

H—y G—h, *Esq;* to H—y L—w—r, *Esq;*
dated at London, Nov. 19, 1742.

S I R,

I Have received your Favour, and have mentioned the Affair of a Neutrality between the two Companies; we think such a Thing can be of no Service further than as it may be agreed on as in the last War betwixt the Settlements, as was done between *Madras* and *Pondicherry*; it would be for our Interest at all Events to get
Men

Men of War there, and though hitherto they have done us little Service in those Parts, yet we think as the *French* Ships are now richly laden, it would be a strong Temptation to look after them. I am,

S I R, &c.

H—y L—w—r, *Esq;* to *Monf. D—s*, dated
at Boulogne, Dec. 10, 1742.

S I R,

I Should sooner have done myself the Honour of answering your Favour of the 19th ult. but that I waited to know the Result of the Councils from our Court of Directors, which I have but just received, by which I very easily perceive the Affair of a Neutrality will have long Consequences before it is perfected; the Reason of such Delay I can easily account for, but so soon as I can hear of any Thing that can be depended upon, I will not fail to do myself the Honour to give you the earliest Notice. I am,

S I R, &c.

H—y L—w—r, *Esq;* to H—y G—h, *Esq;*
dated at Boulogne, Dec. 13, 1742.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of your Favour of the 19th ult. by which I observe you do not think it necessary to treat with the *French*
on

on the Subject of a Neutrality ; in Obedience to which I have wrote to those Gentlemen at *Paris* I consulted on this Occasion, in such a Stile, as to leave a Door open to renew this Treaty again, if hereafter you should judge it proper ; I hope the Steps I have taken will not lessen me in your Esteem ; and am,

S I R, &c.

Some Time after this, Mr. *L—w—r* returned to *England*, and wrote another Letter to *Monf. D—s*, who sent him this Answer from *Paris*, dated *May 13, 1743*.

S I R,

I Received with much Pleasure, the Letter you did me the Honour to write me from *London* ; be assured, that no Body honours and respects you more than I do, and that nothing could give me more Pleasure than Opportunities to convince you thereof.

I cannot conceive what Reasons can be given, for opposing the Success of a Project, which has no other End than the Security and Tranquillity of the Trade of each Company ; the Execution of which may prevent them Expences, and perhaps very considerable Losses ; your Company has more to lose than ours, as they carry on a more considerable Trade, therefore the greater Advantage is on their Side ; I am assured our Government will approve the Treaty, if Things were favourably disposed with you, and if my
coming

coming to *London* would determine them, I would undertake it with Pleasure, and bring with me the proper Powers. I am,

A P P E N D I X.

No. 2.

EXtract from the Diary delivered the Court of Directors of the most material Occurrences at *Madrafs*, from the 18th of *August 1746*, the first Time the *French* came against it, to the 13th of *November*, when *Mr. Morse*, &c. arrived at *Pondicherry*.

Sept. 7th. *Mr. Smith*, Engineer, Bombardier and Gunner, died this Day of a Fever ; and the Incapacity of the Mates for a due Discharge of those Offices being so notorious, *Mr. Jones* was desired to take that Trust upon him, as the most able Man then in Town.

This Afternoon about Three o'Clock, the Enemy began to play upon us from nine Mortars, which they had planted behind the Garden House, and which with the six to the Southward, continued throwing their Bombs the rest of the Day and Night.

Sept. 8th. A Party of the Enemy appearing this Morning to the West Side of the black Town, Lieutenant *Gingen* was ordered with some Men from the North Curtin, and the little Body
of

[92]
 of Reserve to oppose them if they attempted to enter that Way; but with Instructions if he found himself overpowered, to retreat in Time to the *Choultry* Gate, and upon making the Signal agreed on, he should be let in.

This Day and Night the Enemy fired from both their Bomb Batteries on the white Town, and 'tis computed have thrown to this Time near if not full Seven Hundred Shells.

Sept. 9th. Lieutenant *Gingen* reports that some of his Men had been plundering in the Black Town, and had broke into a House where there was Arrack; that he had ordered them, and taken all Measures in his Power, to oblige them to repose themselves in the Day Time, as no Bombs had fallen that Way, but could not prevail with them to do so; that with too much Liquor, and too little Rest, most of them were become in a Manner incapable of standing to their Arms in the Night, or of being properly serviceable.

The Enemy played both their Bomb Batteries so briskly, most Part of this Day and Night, the last especially, that it was judged they had thrown near Five Hundred Shells since Day break; some of the Ships also firing on the Town in the Night, accompanied with frequent Alarms on the Land Side, occasioned many of the Military Topasses, and all those of the Gun Room to desert, by dropping down from the Walls next the Sea, through some of whom it is not to be doubted, but the Enemy would learn the

the Disposition of our People, and the Condition they were in, as they had from Time to Time from some or other of the Roman Catholicks, received Intelligence of every Measure taken in Town; most of the *Europeans* in the Gun Room having also left their Posts before Eleven at Night, when the Gunner going the Rounds, found but Eleven of his Crew upon Duty, whereby some of the Batteries became quite exposed and defenceless; particularly that called the Gunners Battery, where only the Commanding Officer, and one more remained: Advice being also brought this Day, that the Enemy were preparing to raise a large Battery of eighteen Pounders, and had sent for almost all their Seamen on Shore to join in a general Assault, as it was thought the next Night, many of the Inhabitants became importunate with the Governor and Council to surrender.

Lieutenants *Holland* and *Gingen*, (old *Eckman* through long Fatigue, being in a Manner incapable of further Duty) being asked if in our Circumstances they thought the Town tenable, replied, that considering the great Extent of the Place, and in how many Parts it was open to easy Assaults, the Number of Men the Enemy were said to have to make them, and the few effective ones they had to oppose them; they must confess they doubted if it could be maintained; but that for themselves, be the Event what it might, they were ready to stand to their Posts,

Posts, and behave as Officers ought while they had Life.

The Hour thus approaching that must determine the Fate of *Madras*, it was judged necessary to come to some final Resolution; and that we might take the most prudent and becoming one, our unhappy Circumstances would admit, the Strength of the Enemy, and our Power of Opposition were more particularly weighed.

The Enemy, by the best Intelligence that could be got, and best Judgment that could be formed, had, or would have on Shore next Morning, upwards of Three Thousand *Europeans*, with at least Five Hundred *Coffrys*, and a Number of *Cephoys* and *Peons*; and though the two last should not be deemed qualified to act in a real Assault, it is supposed they might serve as well as any, mixt with a few of the worst *Europeans*, to make false Alarms in the Night, either in the Black Town, the Copang, or upon the Island; and so keep even our few Men harrassed, divided, and diverted from their grand Attacks; and as it was past all Doubt, that the Enemy had been long apprized of the State of our Garrison, and had been of old well acquainted with our Town, and its weak Parts, it might be presumed they had not neglected to bring with them all Engines and Instruments of War, proper to make their Advantage of our Defects, more especially as our Destruction seems to have been their Point in View ever since the Year 1739, when

when this same *Monf. de la Bourdonnais* came to *Pondicherry* with a Force considerable enough, in Hopes and Expectation that a Declaration of War would soon have followed, and have given him Liberty to have acted then, and had moreover for above a Year past been preparing; and the Gentlemen no less industriously at *Pondicherry*, to put their long since projected Design in Execution, now the wished-for Occasion presented, the Barrier of Peace no longer subsisting.

The Extent and Condition of our Black and White Town, with the Number and Quality of our Men, being next considered, it was found the Extent of both Towns, was full two Miles, that is to say, the former near seven thousand Feet, and the latter above four thousand three hundred; the Cannon all withdrawn from, or nailed up, in the Black Town, before Mr. *Smith* died, in Consequence of his and the Officers Opinion that it would be impracticable with our Men to defend it, as all the Walls are low, those on the East and West Side, without so much as a Ditch before them, that on the North at twenty Feet Distance from the Wall, and an open Entrance to go between, the Points to the North and West by much too small to discourage or repel the Attacks of a *European* Enemy; and that at the South West Angle many Years ago deemed incapable of sustaining the dead Weight of Cannon, much less the Shock of firing them; the Reflection naturally occurring hereon being, that if it could not be maintained with what Cannon there was upon the Walls, it must be an easier Conquest to the
Enemy

[96]

Enemy without them, who in that State might make themselves Masters of it at Pleasure, and without Expence.— Supposing them thus possessed of the Black Town, what Advantage would it give them over the White Town?

At the North End of the White Town, runs a hollow Curtin, above six hundred Feet long, from East to West (dividing it from the Black Town) at each End whereof stands a Bastion, one Flank of each, carrying two Guns each, defends the Wall, but no Ditch or other Defence without it, two large Gates in it, and the Houses of the Black Town within sixty Feet of it.

On the East Side, towards the Sea, from North to South, is above sixteen hundred Feet, the Wall where it is tolerably high, is so narrow, that only one Man can pass at a Time, and consequently no Room for small Arms, to any good Purpose; from fishing Point at the North East Angle of the Town to the Half Moon Battery, is eleven hundred Feet of the sixteen hundred, between which lyes those called the Gunners and Gunners Mates Batteries, scarce above Man's Reach from the Ground, carrying only a Front Fire to the Sea, without Flanks, nor duely defended by the Flanks of the others, any more than the South Face of fishing Point; the North Face of said Point entirely undefended, and a Gate opening from the Black Town almost under the said North Face, renders the whole extremely weak and defective.

At the South End runs another hollow Curtin, almost four hundred Feet in Length, from East to West,

[97]

West, in the same Manner as at the North End, and defended exactly the same, except that there is but one Gate close under one of the Bastions, and the Houses of the Copang somewhat further from the Wall.

The West Side towards the Land almost seven-hundred Feet from South to North, has in some Parts no Wall at all, * in others a very defective one, and but one small Battery about Mid-way, between the two Bastions, without proper Flanks to scour the River, which towards the North End runs in a Curve Westward, causing that End of the Town to be so much wider than the South; the River in some Places very shallow, especially towards the Southward, where there is no Wall; no Communication from one End to the other, but thro' the Streets of the Town; the whole as weak and defective as the other Side.

Now to maintain a Place of this Extent, whose Fortification is thus by far the great Part so irregular and imperfect, and where there is any Shew of Regularity labouring under the Defects above-mentioned, it is presumed would require one quarter Part at least of the Enemies Number of effective Men, to be commanded by a proper Number of Officers duely qualified; whereas it is found that

* What Mr. *Barnet* calls the long unflanked Garden Wall, was a Brick and half thick laid in Mud, and was so decayed, that by the Advice of Mr. *Smith*, it was, after Mr. *Barnet* wrote his Letter, great Part pulled down, lest it should fall upon firing the Cannon of the Bastion, and a Parapet breast high made with the Materials, as well as Time would permit.

[98]

our Garrison (to say nothing of the Officers) consists not of above two Hundred effective *Europeans* in the Military, exclusive of about twenty Vagabond *Portuguese*, the worst Men in the World for our Service at this Time, and did not at first of above forty *Europeans* in the Gun-room, whereof not more than Eleven are now to be found, according to the Gunner's Report; of about Eighty Sailors the *Princess Mary's* Crew; next, if one quarter Part of the Topasses should be esteemed faithful and effective, and one quarter Part is the Excess that have the least Right or Pretension (if any of them have) to be so ranked or supposed of both Characters; and lastly, if to these be added, one third Part of our Inhabitants, and with those Gentlemen's Pardon not near that Proportion are any wise in a Capacity to give the least Aid or Assistance in Defence of the Place; the whole Compound of Soldiers, Sailors, Gun-room, Topasses and Militia, could not exceed four Hundred effective Men; but extracting from the two last Ingredients only one eighth Part of this whole, as may be fully and as justly done without Injury or Partiality to any one of them, there will then remain altogether but three Hundred and fifty (not one eighth Part of the Enemy's Number of *Europeans* only) to be supposed good and effective, allowing whom to have been so, yet are now for the most Part extremely harrassed and fatigued, by being three Days exposed to the excessive Heats at that Season, and as many Nights without Rest or Repose, through the Necessity of constant Duty, as well as Apprehension and Dread of the Bombs, whose

[99]

whose Effects, for want of some Place Proof, have generally proved fatal to those who slept.

Such being the State of our Place, and such the Condition of our People to defend it; omitting here to take Notice of a Multitude of other Deficiencies and discouraging Circumstances, there appears not the least Probability of our being able to prevail against our hungry Enemies, should they assault us even the next Night, or should they continue bombarding a Day or two longer, though we might not perhaps lose many Men thereby, yet all who remained would necessarily become more enfeebled, and less capable of Resistance than at present.

It is upon these Considerations, and seeing moreover no Hopes of his Majesty's Squadron returning to our Relief, nor Succour coming to us from the Country Government, *Agreed*, That to wait the Assault, whether the Enemy attacks the White Town first, or first possess themselves of the Black, would be only to expose the whole to plunder, most of the few *English* in it to massacre, and the Town itself to their Discretion.

And as the Value and Importance of this Settlement to the Company, appears to us of a different Nature and Quality from the common Towns in *Europe* to their Sovereigns, it seems more for the future Interest and Credit of the Company, and our Country in these Parts, to redeem it if possible out of the Hands of the Enemy, though at the Expence of a very heavy Ransom, than to sacrifice the Lives of the best Part of our few Countrymen, and the Properties of all the Inhabitants, without a

Prospect of maintaining the Place thereby, and consequently, without any Advantage accruing to the Publick by our Obstinacy.

Resolved therefore, to send a Deputation in the Morning, to *Monf. de la Bourdonnais*, to see what Terms can be obtained.

Sept. 10. *Mess. Monson* and *Hallyburton* are desired, and do consent to go to the *French* Camp for that Purpose.

Mr. Hallyburton returns to Town, with *M. de la Bourdonnais's* Conditions signed by him, *Mr. Monson* detained in the Camp till an Answer comes back.

Mr. Hallyburton returns to the Camp with the Articles of Surrender accepted, and signed by the Governour; *M. de la Bourdonnais* enters the Town with Part of his Men, the rest remain at *Cbindadre Pettab*, their grand Camp.

Sept. 11. to 15. *M. de la Bourdonnais* sends all the *English* Soldiers and Sailors on board the *French* Ships in the Road.

The Magazines, Warehouses, &c. delivered over to *M. de la Bourdonnais's* Officers and Commissaries.

Conferences with *M. de la Bourdonnais* concerning the Ransom.

Contest between him and the Governour of *Pondicherry* concerning the same.

Sept. 16. Remonstrance to *M. de la Bourdonnais* in Writing, touching his Parole of Honour, to accept a Ransom for the Town, and demanding the Execution thereof.

M. de la Bourdonnais puts the Chief of the *Pondicherry* Officers under Arrest, with *M. Paradis*.

Sept. 24. Articles of Ransom prepared ready to be executed.

Received a Protest from the Governour and Council of *Pondicherry* against *M. de la Bourdonnais* and the Ransom.

Sept. 25. Answer to the above Protest, &c.
APPEN-

APPENDIX. N^o 3.

State of the Garrison.

<i>Europeans</i> in <i>Madras</i> Garrison, as by the Muster Rolls, <i>Septemb. 1. 1746.</i>	—	300
Deduct.		
<i>Portuguese</i> Sentinels, Vagabond Deserters from the Military and Ships at <i>Goa</i> , the worst Men in the World for the Service at that Time	—	23
<i>Lewis Caldorra</i> , Sentinel, a Country <i>Portuguese</i>	—	1
<i>Anthony de Cruz</i> , Rollier, ditto	—	1
<i>Jacob de Rosario</i> , and <i>Michael de Rosario</i> , two Drummers — Slave Boys	—	2
<i>Hannibal Julian</i> , a Black, sent from <i>England</i>	—	1
<i>Luke Scheilds</i> — a <i>Fleming</i> , in Prison for corresponding with the <i>French</i> , and assisting the Prisoners to escape	—	1
<i>Adrian Miller</i> — deserted	—	1
Serjeants upon the Rolls, not in the Service	—	3
Sentinel — ditto	—	1
Deduct.		34
In the Hospital, as by the Surgeons monthly Report of <i>Septemb. 1. 1746</i> , and his Certificate	—	66
More who ought to have been there	} at least	32
Old Men and Boys	—	66
Remains (exclusive of the 23 <i>Portuguese</i> first mentioned) <i>Europeans</i> to be supposed good and effective, <i>British</i> Subjects and Foreigners, Protestants and Catholics, including Commission Officers	—	200

V I Z.

Lieutenants	_____	3
Ensigns	_____	7
Drums	_____	6
Serjeants, Corporals, and Sentinels	—	184

First Lieutenant, *Peter Eckman*, an ignorant superannuated *Swede*, was a common Soldier Fifty Years ago; became afterwards a Serjeant at Fort *St. David*, and for certain Services, got an Ensign's Commission, then a Lieutenant's, and by Length of Life became the First.

Second Lieutenant, *John Holland*, a Gentleman about Forty Years of Age, of great Honour and Spirit, and many other amiable Qualities, but never saw any other Service than upon the (hitherto) peaceable Parades of *Madras* and *St. David*.

Third Lieutenant, *Rodolphus Gingen*, a *Swiss* Gentleman, and as brave a one, I believe, as any of his Nation, of great Honour, and some Experience; having seen Actions in the Service of the Princes of *Europe*.

One Ensign was a Serjeant in the Troops here, came out from the Company six or seven Years ago as an Ensign; and, I believe, may be a good Garrison Officer.

Three Ensigns were a few Years ago common Soldiers, rose to be Serjeants, and were chosen out of that Rank as Vacancies fell, but never saw other Service than relieving the Guards.

One Ensign has been sent to *England* since the Loss of *Madras*, on Suspicion of having corresponded with the Enemy.

One Ensign had been a common Soldier many Years under the Duke of *Marlborough*, and since in *India* quite superannuated.

One Ensign a very Youth.

The

The Sergeants and Corporals cannot be supposed to be very well qualified, since the 2d and 3d Lieutenants have often complained, they could scarce pick a Man out of their Companies fit for either Trust.

The Topasses, of which the major Part of the Garrison consisted, every one that knows *Madras* knows to be a black, degenerate, wretched Race of the antient *Portuguese*, as proud and bigotted as their Ancestors, lazy, idle and vitious withal, and for the most Part as weak and feeble in Body as base in Mind: Not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary Requisites for a Soldier.

APPENDIX. N^o 4.

Translate of the Capitulation of Fort St. George and the Town of Madras. Delivered the Court of Directors.

Conditions made by *Monf. de la Bourdonnais*, General of the *French* before that Place, to *Mess. William Monson* and *John Hallyburton*, Deputies from *Mr. Morse*, Governour of the said Fort and Town.

Fort *St. George* and the Town of *Madras*, and their Dependencies, this 21st Day of *September*, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, shall be delivered up to *M. de la Bourdonnais* with the whole Garrison, Officers, Soldiers, and Council, and all the *English* in general that are in the Fort and Town, shall remain Prisoners of War.

All the Council, Officers, Servants, and other *English* Gentlemen of the better Sort, shall have Liberty to go and come wherever it shall seem good to them, even to *Europe*, on Condition that they shall

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shall

shall not bear Arms against *France* offensively or defensively till they are exchanged, according to the Terms prescribed to the *French* by Mr. *Barnett*.

To facilitate the *English* Gentlemen the Ransom of the Place, and to render valid the Acts which shall in Consequence pass, the Governour and Council shall cease to be Prisoners of War, the Moment they shall enter into Negotiation, and M. *de la Bourdonnais* obliges himself to give them an authentic Act twenty-four Hours before the first Sitting.

The Articles of the Capitulation being signed, those of the Ransom shall be regulated (*a l'amiable*) amicably between M. *de la Bourdonnais*, and the *English* Governour, or his Deputies, who shall engage to give up in good Faith all the Effects, Merchandize already received from the Merchants, or to be received, the Books of Accounts, Magazines, Arsenals, Vessels, Ammunition and Provision, and all other Goods belonging to the Company, without being permitted to reserve any Thing, whether in Matters of Gold or Silver, Merchandize, Moveables, or other Effects whatever contained in the Fort, the Town or Suburbs to whomsoever they belong, without excepting any Thing, in such Manner as is the Right of War.

The Garrison shall be conducted to Fort *St. David* as Prisoners of War, and if by Ransom the Town of *Madras* be re-delivered, the *English* shall be at Liberty to repossess their Garrison to defend themselves against the Country People, for that Effect there shall be returned to the *French* by the *English*, an equal Number of Prisoners; and if they have not at present a sufficient Number of them, the first *French* Men that shall be made Prisoners after the Capitulation, shall be free to the compleat Number of their Garrison.

The

The Sailors shall be sent to *Cuddalore*, and the Exchange of them shall begin with those who are actually now at *Pondicherry*, and the others shall pass in their own Ships to *England*; but they cannot bear Arms against *France* until an Exchange has been made of a like Number of Sailors in *India* or *Europe*, but in *India* by Preference.

On these Conditions the Water Gate shall be delivered up to M. *de la Bourdonnais*; at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Gates of the Town shall be relieved by his Troops; they shall make a Declaration to M. *de la Bourdonnais* of all Mines, Countermines, and other subterraneous Works charged with Powder.

Made and signed in the *French* Camp this 21st of September 1746.

Signed,

Mabé de la Bourdonnais.

APPENDIX. N^o 5.

*Translate of Mons. de la Bourdonnais Commission.
Delivered to the Court of Directors.*

From the KING.

IT is ordered, that all Captains and Officers of the *India* Company's Ships, do acknowledge the *Sieur Mabé de la Bourdonnais*, Captain of a Frigate, and Governor of the Isles of *France* and *Bourbon* for their Commander, and to obey him as such, be it that he shall go on board any of the said Ships, or that he may judge proper to send them on any particular

particular Expedition; under Pain of my Displea-
sure. Done at *Versailles* this Eleventh Day of
April 1745.

Signed,

LOUIS.

And underneath,

PHILLIPEAUX.

Given for Copy,

- Mahé de Bourdonnais.
- Sieur de Fonbrun.
- Quintin de la Mettree.
- Goupil.
- De Bouloc.

APPENDIX. N^o 6.

*Translate of a Letter to Mons. de la Bourdon-
nais, upon his Re-demanding his Parole to
ransom the Town. Delivered the Court of
Directors.*

*To Mons. de la Bourdonnais, Governour for the Most
Christian Majesty of the Isles of France and
Bourbon, Captain of his Majesty's Ships, and
General for the King.*

FORCED by your Arms, we have capitulated
with you for the Surrender of our Fort and
Town; after having adjusted the Lot of the Priso-
ners, in every Case which might happen, we de-
manded of you the Ransom of the Place, and it
was agreed in Writing, that it should be regulated
(*a l'amiable*) in a friendly Manner, according to
the

the Terms; we demanded of you a further Expla-
nation, and this was your Answer Word for Word.
“Gentlemen, I do not sell Honour. The Flag of
“my King shall fly over *Madras*, or I will die at
“the Foot of the Walls. In regard to the Ran-
“som of the Town, and in every Thing that is
“interesting, you shall be satisfied with me (and
“taking the Hat of one of the Deputies you said)
“here is nearly the Manner how we will regulate
“Matters; this Hat is worth six Rupees, you shall
“give me three or four for it, and so of the rest.”
Relying on your Parole of Honour, we gave up the
Place, and the next Day we began a Conference on
the Subject, and have adjusted the Conditions, the
Articles being ready to sign; what then must have
been our Astonishment this Day, to see you re-de-
mand of us your Parole; be not displeas'd, Sir,
that we require of you, by the Law of Nations,
established between the Kingdoms of *France* and
Great Britain, to maintain our Capitulation, wherein
you have promised the Ransom of our Town, and
the Price has in Consequence been regulated. Thus,
Sir, far from giving back your Parole, we demand
of you in the Name of the Most Christian King,
and the King of *Great Britain*, the immediate Exe-
cution of our Capitulation, and of your Parole upon
the Conditions and Price of Ransom for the Town,
and to do us Justice, dated $\frac{27}{9}$ September 1746.

- NICHOLAS MORSE.
- WILLIAM MONSON.
- JOHN STRATTON.
- THOMAS EYRE.
- EDWARD HARRIS.
- JOHN SAVAGE.

APPEN-

APPENDIX. N^o 7.

Translate of the Governor and superior Council of Pondicherry; their Protest against the Ransom; with an Answer to their Protest, and their Ratification of the second Articles of Ransom.

On the Part of the King,
And the *India* Company.

IN Consequence of this Day's Debate, the Council has declared, and do declare by these Presents to M. *Mabé de la Bourdonnais*, Knight of the Order of *St. Louis*, Governour of the Isles of *France* and *Bourbon*, and Commander in Chief of the Company's Squadron now at *Madras*, and to Mr. *Morse* formerly Governour of the Town, now Prisoner of War, and to the Gentlemen formerly of Council of the said Place, also Prisoners of War, that the Treaty of Ransom, made by the pure Will, and without lawful Authority, of M. *Mabé de la Bourdonnais*, and with Prisoners who cannot engage for other than themselves, especially in an Affair of this Importance, is totally void, that we annul it, and regard it as if no such Thing had happened, and that Affairs at *Madras* shall rest upon the Foot they were the Moment that the Capitulation was signed, and the Place given up to the victorious Arms of his Majesty. At *Pondicherry* the 30th of *September*, 1746.

(L. S.)

LE MAIRE. DUPLEIX.
PARADIS. LEGOU.
BURYERES. MIRAN.
GUILLARD.

By the Council,

M I N O S.

On

On the Part of the KING of *Great Britain*,
And the *East-India* Company.

To Mr. Dupliex, and the superiour Council of *Pondicherry*.

THE annexed is Copy of a Paper, signed by the Council of *Pondicherry*, which they delivered me in a tumultuous Assembly, or to speak more properly, which they threw at me without any Respect. Politeness has Laws, which I imagined were immutable, even from the Victor to the Vanquished, but I have just now proved the contrary; my good Fortune has failed me. I have nothing to say at present, but to answer to your Protest.

I have been besieged by M. *de la Bourdonnais*, and to him I have surrendered my Town. I made a Capitulation in Haste; it was agreed nevertheless, that the Ransom of *Madras* should be made after a friendly Manner. Notwithstanding this Clause, in sending back the Capitulation, signed by me, I charged my Deputies to demand upon that Article, his decisive Parole of Honour, and without that Condition I had been constrained to have carried Matters to the last Extremity. He gave me his Parole in the Terms which you see in the Remonstrance I made to him, demanding the Execution of it; in Consequence we are agreed upon the Price of the Ransom; ought I to address myself then to any other than my Conqueror: This is for me an Authority strictly lawful, and the only Authority established in all Times by the Laws of War, and I have nothing to do with a separate Power. I keep fast to my Capitulation, and the Conditions agreed upon. I therefore protest in my Turn, in
the

the Name of my King, against all those who may oppose the full and entire Execution of them, and I render them responsible for all that may happen therefrom; I complained further of the injurious Suspicions that have been scattered in Public; it has been said openly, and it has been wrote that the *English* would not fulfil their Agreements. If our Hostages, if the Parole of Honour of all *Madras* are not sufficient to satisfy the *French* Gentlemen of *Pondicherry*; the Respect which is due to a Nation like mine, ought at least to have suspended a Judgment thus insulting, till the *English* had failed of their Word, which will never come to pass.

NICHOLAS MORSE.

Madras,
Septemb. 25, 1746.

We approve of the above.

W. MONSON.
JOHN STRATTON.
THOMAS EYRE.
EDWARD HARRIS.
JOHN SAVAGE.

Extract from the Articles agreed on between the superior Council of Pondicherry, and Mons. de la Bourdonnais, dated the 13th of October 1746.

THE Council engage themselves, and give their Parole, to keep the Articles of the Treaty which M. de la Bourdonnais has made, and sent them an authentick Copy of, as the *English* shall keep theirs.

Given

Given for Copy—Conformable to the Original. Drawn by us, our Secretary, and the principal of the Squadron at *Madras*, 21st of *October* 1746.

LAURENS.
SIEUR DE FONBRUN.
GOUPIL.
DE BOULOC.
GIBLOE DUCRAY.
QUINTIN DE LA METTREE.

MAHE DE LA BOURDONNAIS.

The Diary entire, the general Letter from *Pondicherry*, of the 18th of *January* 1746-7; the Articles of Ransom, with the other Letters and Papers that passed between the *English* and *French* at *Madras* afterwards, and delivered the Court of Directors, are too long to be inserted here; these, it is presumed, are sufficient to make appear, in some Degree, how candid and ingenious the Directors Proceedings have been.

APPENDIX. N° 8.

Madras in Account with the Ransom.

BY the Company's Buildings, which cost not less than 400,000 Padogas, when Materials and Labour were much less costly than will ever be again. To rebuild such hereafter will cost at least 500000 N. B. There was good Reason to believe, that the Government of *Pondicherry* would have dismantled and demolished

molished the whole Town, but more especially the Company's Buildings, if they had not received by the *Centaur*, *Mars* and *Brilliant* fresh Instructions, in Consequence of our having taken *Cape Breton*, which caused the *French* to alter their Measures.

By Loss of Revenues, which would have been saved by the Ransom, viz.

For 3 Years, from <i>October</i> 1746, near	} 200000
For only 7 Years, from <i>October</i> 1749, full	

500000

N. B. From the Nature of Things, there must doubtless be a great Loss in the Revenue for many more Years, if not forever after; but I shall make no Estimate of it, as it is not wanted to swell this Account.

By the Deficiency in the Investment for three Years only. As upwards of 10000 Bales of Callicoes were provided on the Coast, in 1744 and 1745, which cost about 1,000,000 of Pagodas, and as upwards of 6000 Bales would have been provided in 1746, had not the Place fallen into the Enemy's Hands in the *September* of that Year, when above 4000 were actually ready; it is not to be doubted but 200,000 Pagodas a Year might have been paid the *French* for three Years (*suiwant les Termes*) and 3000 Bales a Year, or 9000 in the three Years have been sent Home beside, from which, if for what has been provided in 1747 and 1748, and what possibly

possibly may be in 1749, 3000 Bales be deducted, there remains a Deficiency of 6000 Bales, which would have been provided, by virtue of the Ransom Treaty, more than is at present, and which at 100 Pagodas per Bale, is 600,000 Pagodas. whereon, if a Nett Gain of only 80 per Cent. be reckoned the Difference is _____

480000

N. B. From what has been received here since the Loss of *Madras* about 2500 Bales must be deducted, that were provided at *Fort St. David* and the Northern Settlements in 1746, before the Place was lost.

N. B. If the supposed Advance of 80 per Cent. be objected to, let a Statement be made from the Invoices and Sales of, with the Accounts of Freight and Duties on, all *Choromandel* Coast Goods, from those sent in 1744, to this Time.

By 4 Ships Demurrage in *India*, though this Deficiency in the Investment _____

50000

N. B. For how many Years more there may be a Deficiency in the Investment, or how great it may be, it is impossible to determine, considering the present and very different State of *Pondicherry* and *Madras*.

By the *Princess Amelia*, lost by the *French* being in Possession of *Madras* _____

120000

N. B. It was greatly to be apprehended several other Outward-bound Ships, would have suffered the like Fate.

By the Merchants Ballances, and the *Pettab* Ballances about _____

50000

H

Pagodas-1,700000

By half the Military, Gunners, and other Stores, agreed by the Treaty to be left, which, except the Ordnance, have certainly been used and spent by the *French*. I shall not compute their Value.

By various other lesser Losses, and extraordinary Expences, the Company must sustain by the *French* destroying, or even only remaining in *Madras*. Neither shall I particularly enumerate these, as they are not wanted to fill up this Account.

By what it was supposed the Company would have given, even had not the Value of the Place to them been altogether adequate to the Ransom, to have preserved from Ruin, this most estimable and greatly admired Seat of their Presidency; and to have averted the additional Disgrace, and Indignity to the *English* Name, and Reputation in the *Indies*; through an envious and malicious Enemy remaining Masters of it; living at Discretion in it, and at Liberty to destroy it at Pleasure.

By what it was supposed the Company would cheerfully have given, even had not the Value of the Place to them been altogether adequate to the Ransom, from Principles of Humanity, Equity and Generosity; for the Redemption of the Estates and Properties of so great a Number of Inhabitants, who had paid so long, and so largely for their Protection; yet, in the Days of their Danger, Distress and Sorrow found none; I shall not presume to rate this Article.

By

By various other Considerations not immediately relative to Money, but which it was judged might shortly conduce not less to the Publick Interest and Utility.

	Pagodas
To the Ransom Price —	1,100,000
To the Difference of Expences in three Years at <i>Madras</i> , had the Ransom Treaty stood good, and the Place and People remained thereby in their late happy and flourishing State —	100,000
	1,200,000

APPENDIX. N° 9.

Estimate of the Company's Losses, and extraordinary Expences incurred by the Loss of Madrafs, and within Three Years after. Referred to in Page 24.

Taken by the *French* in the Town, viz.

	£.	[120]
Silver, Woollen Goods and Velvets, Copper, Iron, Lead, and Stores for Use and Sale, to the Value of about _____	73000	
Plate, House Furniture, Horses, Horse Furniture, Mint Necessaries, Materials for Weighing, Jeak Horses, red and white Lead, Oil, packing Stuff, Arrack, Wine, &c. small Articles, about _____	12000	
Callicoes, — about 1600 Bales, cost Pagodas 160000		
Salt Petre ————— 7000 Bags ————— 20000		
Red-Wood ————— 800 Landys ————— 2000		
182000 at 8 Shillings each	72800	
	157800	
	20000	

The Merchants Ballances and Pettah Ballance about _____

Had the above Callicoes, Salt-Petre, and Redwood come safe to <i>England</i> , as most probably they would with the other Ships, and a Gain thereon have arisen of 80 <i>per Cent.</i> Nett, the Difference is _____	58240	
Loss of Revenues in Three Years, very near _____	80000	
In 1744 and 1745, upwards of 10000 Bales of Callicoes, Prime Cost about 1,000,000 of Pagodas, were provided and sent to <i>England</i> ; and in 1746, upwards of 6000 Bales would have gone, if the Place had not been taken in the <i>September</i> of that Year; and as there is no Reason to believe that the Investment would have decreased during the War, nor much immediately afterwards, the Deficiency may be supposed to be, in three Years at least, 12000 Bales; which, at 100 Pagodas a Bale, is 1,200,000 Pagodas, or 480,000 <i>l.</i> Principal, whereon a Nett Gain of 80 <i>per Cent.</i> if they arrived safe, as most probably they would, is,	384000	[121]
Lost by the <i>Princess Amelia</i> , seized by the <i>French</i> in <i>Madrafs</i> Road, about _____	40000	

The extraordinary Demurrage on a great Number of Ships, incurred by the Loss of *Madrafs*, I must leave to the Directors to state. The

The extraordinary Expences here upon Mr. *Boscawen's* Expedition, I must likewise leave to those Gentlemen.

The extraordinary Expences at Fort *St. David*, by and since the Loss of *Madras*, are so very great, I dare not venture to name the Sum, the Directors may inform you.

The above Losses, Expences, Deficiencies and Disappointments incurred by the Loss of *Madras*, have caused the Company to be so low in Cash Abroad, that the Governour and Council at *Bengal* to carry on their Business, have been obliged to borrow an immense Sum at 9 *per Cent. per Annum*, infomuch, that they have paid, or incurred a Debt for, Interest there in 1747, 1748, and 1749, to the Amount of ——— You must excuse me if I refer this also to the Directors to inform you.

There may be other Capital Articles of Loss and Expence incurred by the Loss of *Madras*, of which I am not apprized. I do not estimate the Charge of putting the Town and Buildings in the State they were before the War, nor do I take Notice of many lesser Items of extraordinary Expence, both at Home and Abroad, nor of the Deficiencies in the Investment and Revenues that may be for the Time to come.

Sound

Sound Politicians hold the Credit and Reputation of a State to be essential to its Interest and Prosperity. I know not how to rate the Loss the *English* have sustained herein in *India*; but it appears, that had the proffered Neutrality been accepted in 1742, or could the Directors have prevailed with themselves to have laid out agreeable to their own Sense of the Necessity, one tenth Part only of their late boasted Savings any Time between 1740 and 1745, it would have prevented this Shame and Indignity falling upon them; it would have prevented the vast National Expence of Naval Armaments in the *Indies*; It would have prevented the Losses and Expences above stated, and the Ruin of one of the finest forreign Settlements in the World.

F I N I S.

0200

