

THE DIARY OF JAMES MILLER. 1745-50.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

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The transcript of the diary has been made by Chetham's Librarian, Mr. Charles T. E. Phillips, who writes:—

“I have endeavoured to keep strictly to the original spelling, and most of the punctuation in the copy I have put in.”

Nothing is known of James Miller, but one can see from the contents of the diary that he must have had a good education, in that the spelling and construction of the sentences is above the average of that period.

Some of the dates given are incorrect, but it should be borne in mind that the diary was not written until nearly four years after the time at which it commences.

The dates are all 'Old Style.'

7-21 DECEMBER, 1745.

James Miller, his book, made at Madrassupatam¹ in East India.

September ye 14—Ano Domini 1749.

I left Manchester December 7th 1745 and join'd the Highland army at Preston,² then march'd with them to Lancaster, Kendall from thence to Penwrith, nothing extraordinary happen'd only at Clifton Moor about 2 miles from Pn'th where the Duke's advance and our rear had a smart skirmish³ and several were kill'd and wounded on both sides, but night coming both partys withdrew. That night we left Penwrith and marched to Carlisle⁴ by break of day; the next morning the P. set out for Scotland.

December 17th, he ordered Townly's⁵ regiment, and a

¹ Madras.

² Prince Charles Stuart's Army was in Manchester on 9/10 December, 1745. It reached Preston on 12 December, Lancaster on 3, Kendal on 15, and Penrith on 17 December.

³ At Clifton Moor, 18 December.

⁴ The Army reached Carlisle on 19 December.

⁵ Francis Towneley. See D.N.B. He had raised a Regiment of 300 men which is referred to in the Prince's Orders as the Manchester

13 January, 1746—September, 1747.

highland company captain. commander to take care of the town and garrison.

DECEMBER, 1745—13 JANUARY, 1745/6.

The Duke came before the town the day following [21 December. ED.] and was supply'd with cannon from Whitehaven, being 6 of 18 id 3 of 24 pounders and in a few days they rais'd a facheene¹ Battary opposite the Castle. They play'd very Briskly upon us for seven or eight days, and we return'd this prity sharply considering our mettle being but small; upon the ninth day our Officers finding themselves unable to hold out much longer, sent to the Duke to desire Terms of capitulation, but the Duke wou'd not agree with our desires, upon the 2nd of Jany. we surrender'd the town and yielded ourselves Prisoners, the Officers were confin'd in the Town Goal and the Private persons in the Cathedral Church, there being no other place in the town large enough to contain so large a Number.

[The following extracts from *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, by Chevalier de Johnstone, 2nd ed. 1821, explain these occurrences.

p. 94.

“We marched all night, and arrived at Carlisle about seven o'clock in morning of the 19th of December. Next morning,

Regiment. See Ogilvy's Regiment *Orderly Book*—Special No. of Vol. II. of *The Journal*—p. 22, footnote 2.

¹ Fascine.

13 January, 1746—September, 1747.

before the break of day quitted Carlisle, where the Prince left the unfortunate Mr. Townly, with English regiment raised at Manchester, in the command of the town; and Mr. Hamilton, with some companies of the regiment of the Duke of Perth, in the command of the castle.

pp. 105-6.

“Messrs. Brown and Gordon, two officers in the service of France, who had been left at Carlisle, joined us on our arrival at Glasgow; and informed the Prince, at the town and castle were taken by the Duke of Cumberland two days after their departure, being totally incapable of resisting, for twenty-four hours, the heavy artillery of the enemy; that, by the capitulation the Duke of Cumberland had granted to the garrison their lives, with an assurance that they should not be tried for having borne arms.

pp. 107-8.

“The garrison of Carlisle was confined in the prisons of London; and the Duke of Cumberland, on his arrival there, on the 5th of January, had so little regard for good faith as to maintain that they were not bound in honour to observe capitulation with rebels. Thus twelve of the unfortunate officers of the English regiment, with Messieurs Townley and Hamilton at their head, were afterwards anged and quartered in London; and the head of Tow'nley still remains exposed n Temple-bar, one of the gates of the city.”]

We were barbarously treated, the souldiers rifling us and

taking very thing of value from us both Money and Cloaths, they did not allow us any Provisions for three days, and on the fourth but one small Bisket a Man. They broke open a well in the Body of the Church which had not been used for upwards of an hundred years.

We was oblig'd to drink that or die of thirst, after we had been there five days, which I really believe was for want of natural subsistence. The Gentlemen¹ were took Jany. ye 12. for London. The day following about four score were took out of the Church and March'd for [? York.—Ed.] Castle and upon the third day the Remainder were took for Lancaster and Chester Castles, guarded by a party of Marr Ker's Dragoons² who used us very barbarously, dragging us threw the dirtyst places they cou'd find. We arrived at Lancaster Jany. 18 and orders were given to the jaylor to load us with heavy irons, The Government allowed us fourpence but our jaylor perceiving it wou'd be more beneficial thought proper to keep our pay and provide: us with Victuals which were but very indifferent consisting of cow-heads, livers, lights and the refuse of the Market, which threw most of us into the Flux, upwards of 80 poor prisoners died while remain'd there.

August 1st 1746, 49 of us Marched to Carlisle and were

¹ i.e., Officers.

² Lord Mark Kerr's, now (1924) the 11th Hussars (Prince Albert's Own).

guarded by Buff's¹ Additional Companys, we left nigh one hundred behind us who had sien'd [? signed. Ed.] for transportation. We came to Carlisle the 5, and were confined in the County Goal, the Town Mr.² having the principal command over us, as to paying us, bedding, and other agreeable necessarys, thought to have imposed upon us by allowing us one pound of Brede a day and Beef twice a week. We made our address to Carteret Wils(on) the King's Solicitor who recover'd our fourpence a day,

Aug. 8. Peter Taylor one of our Brother prisoners got out of jayl but was took at up Kendal, his escape Occasion'd us to be closely confin'd in the Castle.

I was arraign'd Sep. 9 where by the Advice of a Friend I unfortunately pleaded guilty.

Sept. 19. I rec'd Sentence of death and upon the 26th rec'd my death warrant with Orders to prepare for another world against the 15 of Novr. but on 14 recd, a Reprieve. 20 poor souls suffer'd at Carlisle, 7 at Penwrith and 6 att Brampton. We remain'd in confinement at Carlisle 'till the Duke of NewCastle³ sent one of the King's Messengers and Lieutenant George

¹ Major-General Thomas Howard's Regiment, now (1924) The Buffs (East Kent Regiment). It was stationed at Carlisle.

² Town-Major.

³ Thomas Pelham-Holles, one of the two Secretaries of State.

Corden¹ to enlist as many as were fit and able, acquainting us that we were oblig'd to go to the East Indies upon a secret Expedition against the French.

[This was the Expedition under the command of Rear-Admiral the *Hon.* E. Boscawen, generally referred to as 'secret.' He was sent out to take command of all "his Britannic Majesty's" forces in the East Indies, both on land and sea.

His Fleet consisted of (Clowes's *History of the Royal Navy*, III. p. 130:—

Namur, 74 (Flag-ship).	Captain	Samuel Marshall.
Vigilant, 64.	„	William Lisle.
Deptford, 60.	„	Thomas Lake.
Pembroke, 60.	„	Thomas Fincher.
Chester, 50.	„	Richard Spry.
Ruby, 50.	„	Joseph Knight.
Deal Castle, 24.	„	John Lloyd.
Swallow (sloop), 16.	Commander	John Rowzier.
Apollo, 20 (Hospital Ship).	Lieutenant	Robert Wilson.
Basilisk, 8 (Bomb).	Commander	William Preston.

The Fleet carried soldiers—2 Independent Companies—Marines, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery, the latter composed of :—

¹ Gordon, of Colonel James Laforey's Regiment of Marines. This was the sixth of the ten Marine Regiments which were raised in 1739-40. They were all disbanded in 1748.

Captain John Goodyer.		1st Lieutenant William Hislop.
Captain-Lieutenant Samuel Cleaveland.		2nd Lieutenant John Worth.
Lieutenant- Fireworkers.	{ Peter Innes. Andrew Ferguson. Horatio Spry.	John Lindsay. Edward Neille.
Serjeants ... 3	Bombardiers ... 8	Gunners ... 24
Corporals ... 3	Cadets ... 2	Matrosses ... 68
		Drummers ... 2

(Public Record Office. Muster Rolls and Pay Lists. W.O. 10. 34/38 January, 1748, to April, 1750.) ED.]

We march'd to Penwth. upon the 27 of Sep. 1747 and was civilly treated by Mr. Gorden the first day, most of the men complaining for rant of shoes he told them they should be provid'd with everything necessary When we halted, In the Morning before we march'd from Penwrith he brought a shoemaker with a large Bundle of shoes, and before he wou'd allow any to fit himself he ordered silence and read his warrant which was to this Effect,—that there was a Fleet fitted out at Spithead upon an Expedition into the East indies, and that 12 independant companys were raising for the afforsaid expedition and who ever had inclination to list was to sign the warrant, After hearing that, none listing except two who where immediately supplyd with shoes and other necessarys, he used us very harshly and made us march very long stages. In a few days we came to York but Mr. Gorden had arrived the day before and acquainted the prisoners at York that we had all listed, upon

which they readily consented excepting two. We halted one day at York and march'd the next day for Portsmouth guarded by a Party of Blands Dragoons.¹ We came to Portsmouth upon the 20 of Octo. and brought to South Sea Castle where we remained two or three days 'till Admiral Boscoren, Major Mompesson² and several other Gentle[men] came who order'd us out in two Ranks, the York Prisoners in the Front when Major Mompesson (acquainted us of the intended Expedition, and then asked every man If he was willing to go, those who answer'd in the negative being about 25 were closely confined and an express immediately sent to the Duke of Newcastle to know what to do with us who had refused, the express return'd in two days and half with a strict command to take Captain Taylor and six more whom he call'd Ringleaders, to be heavy Loaden with Irons and brought back to Carlisle and then executed, and the rest to be put on board and used as the Admiral thought fit, we finding no good at last consented to go and was on board the *Royal Duke* a merch't Ship belonging to the East India Company, then lying at Anchor in Spithead.

¹ Now (1924) the 3rd The King's Own Hussars.

² Possibly Thomas Mompesson, who in 1740 was 2nd Lieutenant in Lowther's Regiment of Marines.

The 25 of Oct^r set sail from thence to St. Hellens.

The 2 of Nov^r came to an anchor being becalm'd. Set sail from thence and came to Torbay the 10.

Set sail upon the 11 to the westward.

Got clear of land the 13. At night had very bad weather and contrary wind. The first land we made was the rock of Lisbon Dec. 2.

On the 10 San Porosancho,¹ came to an anchor at Madara the 13 of Dec. Madara is an island belonging to the Portuguis who are very courteous to strangers, they are of a Tawny Complexion. The Island produces excellent wines, great and plenty of Lemon, Oranges and great variety of other fruits and spices. We set sail from there the 24, saw the Pike of Tenerief the 29, supposed to be the highest hill in the world.

Jany. 12, 1747-8 Moored our ship at St. Iago,² where most of us had liberty to go on sho[re], and supply ourselves with necessaries, it: is a portuguis settlement. There is a church nigh the sea side. They have a large town within a few miles of the Beech, but we was not permitted to stay on shore but one night. The island produces plenty of coaca nut, tamoreen lemons and oranges, there are great quantities of Catle, Fowlls, etc. and

¹ Porto Santo, a small island about 30 miles N.E. of Madeira.

² The largest of the Cape Verd islands.

wou'd wrather exchange for Old Cloathes than money.

We sail'd from thence the 23 for the Cape of Good Hope, cross'd the equinoctial line Feb. 3 and the Tropik of Capricorn the 20.

The first land we made was the Cape of Good Hope upon the 24 of March 1748 in calm weather. Came to an anchor in Table Bay belonging to the Dutch, came on shore, and incamped here the 9 of April where a great many deserted from us. Four of them was brought in by the Dutch soldiers upon the 18, and were tryed by a General Court Martial. Two of them where shot in the afternoon viz. Wm. Main and David Cain.

The 29 we broke up Camp, and went on Board our Respective Ships.

Set sail from thence the 8 of May. Setled account with my Cap'n from the 25 of Oct. to the 24 of April, cros[sed] the Tropick of Capric'n the 18 of June in our course to the East Indian Seas.

23rd the first land we made was the island of Marice¹ belonging to the French. They fier'd sharply upon us from their Forts, and our ships return'd them as merrily, we came to an Anchor and lay there till the 28, when we set sail from thence for Fort St. David.²

¹ Mauritius, called by the French *Isle de Maurice*.

² On the Coromandel Coast, East Indies, 13 miles S. of Pondicherry.

[The attack on the island of Mauritius, resulted in failure. It is mentioned By Boscawen in a Dispatch to the Lords of the Admiralty, dated at Fort St. David (Cuddalore), 17 October, 1748. (Public Record Office. *Admiral's Dispatches*. admiralty. No. 1/160.):—

“At daylight [23 June, 1748 ED.] the Enemy began to fire at us. . . . Hereupon I ordered the *Pembroke*, which was nighest in, to fire, and disturb them at work, and sent Captain Lloyd, the two principal Engineers and an Artillery Officer, in her to run along the shore, by the harbour's mouth, to reconnoitre the Coast.”

“As soon as We were to the Northward of all, for the greater Dispatch I left the care of the Fleet to Capt. Lisle, and made the best of my way with the *Namur*, *Deptford* and Bomb Tender, who had on board the Commanding Officer of the Artillery & Chief Engineers, for Fort St. David, to settle matters with Admiral Griffin¹ and the Governour² There, concerning the Ships, and Disposal, and landing the Troops, that if it was agreed to undertake the Siege of Pondicherry this season, as little time might be lost as possible.”—:Ed.]

July 10. .We cross'd the Equinoctial Line, with abundance of Thunder and Lightning.

July 22 saw the island of Ceylon a Dutch settlement.

The 27 we came to an anchor in Fort St. David's Road and upon the 30th we disembark'd and incamped about 2 miles from the Fort. We settled accounts with our Cap'n from the 24 April to the 24 of June.

[When Boscawen arrived, the Government of Fort St. George was seated at Fort St. David, whither it had been removed when Fort St. George capitulated to the French forces under M. de la Bourdonnais on 10 September, 1746.

In the Register of Burials belonging to St. Mary's Church,

¹ Thomas Griffin, R.N., who had been in command of the British Squadron prior to Boscawen's arrival.

² Charles Floyer.

Fort St. George, there is a gap of three years, 1746-9, the last entry of a burial being in October, 1746, immediately following which is this 'Note':—

“From this time Fort St. George, contrary to the articles of capitulation and agreement, was under the Government of the French, till the 21st August, 1749, when it was restored by the articles of peace signed at Aix la Chapelle the latter end of the preceding year, and the Honourable Edward Boscawen, Rear-Admiral the White Squadron, General and Commander-in-Chief, on an expedition to the Last Indies, took possession of this town and its dependencies the said 21st day of August, 1749.” (*Fort St. George, Madras*, by Mrs. F. Penny. 1900. p. 159.)

After a few days' rest at Fort St. David, Boscawen decided to proceed against Pondicherry at once, and to attack it by land and sea.

The land force was under the command of Major Stringer Lawrence. Its composition is given in Boscawen's Despatch of 17 October, see *ante*, as being :—

	OFFICERS.	OTHER RANKS.	TOTAL.
Marine Battalion	32	818	850
<u>1st</u> { Battalion of	33	591	624
<u>2nd</u> { Independents	34	593	627
India Company's Battalion	28	725	753
Artillery } ranks not given			148
Seamen }			1097
			4099

Miller, it is presumed, belonged to one of the Battalions of Independents.

From this point onwards extracts are given from Boscawen's Dispatch, above quoted, corresponding with the dates of Miller's diary, in order to make the events as recorded by him more clear.—ED.]

[Boscawen. 28 July. “As I have before acquainted Their Lordships I arrived at Fort St. David the 27 July, and Capt. Lisle with the Fleet two days afterwards; and as We had agreed to undertake the Siege [*i.e.*, of Pondicherry. ED.] I immediately set about landing the necessary Stores and Troops from the Ships and formed a Camp about a Mile from the Fort. All the people still continued very healthy, as they had done the whole Voyage, which obliges me again to mention the Air Pipes, as I believe them to have been of infinite Service.

“Rear Admiral Griffin on my Application to him, consented to land all the Marines serving in the Squadron under his Command, to join those of mine, which together made a very good Battalion of seven hundred Men; and in Justice to him I can but say he showed himself very ready to do every thing in his Power for forwarding our Undertaking. The Ships he has left with me are the *Exeter*, *York*, *Harwich*, and *Eltham*, as I make no Question he has informed Their Lordships.

On the 1st of August I sent the *Exeter* to anchor off Pondicherry, and two days after, the *Chester*, *Pembroke*, and *Swallow*, Sloop, to join her; and ordered Cap. Powlett to take the Soundings all about, to see how nigh the Ships could safely come to the Town upon Occasion, and cut off all Communication on that Side.”]

Aug. 8 early in the morning we decamp'd and forded a small River.

Upon the 9 we advanc'd a few m. nearer, at sun set all of us order'd into the field and expected to march towards the French, they having ingaged our Advance gaurd, but an express arriving, they ordered us to our tents, with a strict command to ly upon our Arms all night.

Early the next morning we march'd privately till we came to the place fix'd upon for our incampment.

The 11, our Advance Guard attack'd about four hundred that were entrench'd and drove them out. About four o'clock in the evening, we decamp'd and march'd about three miles, and lay upon our Arms all night.

The 12 we pitched our Tents nigh to Arikapoung.

13 the Grenadiers and Picquit advanc'd under the walls of the Fort with an intent to storm it but met with a very smart repulse from the Fort and an Adjacent Battery, great numbers were killed and wounded at their retreat.

[Boscawen, 8-13 August, in his Despatch :—

“Every thing being prepared, The Army began to march on the 8th August; I went with them myself, and left the Management afloat to Capt. Lisle, with directions to proceed down with the whole squadron, anchor two miles to the southward of the Town, and remain there till further orders.

“I forgot to inform Their Lordships of my having dispatched the *Deal Castle* from Mauritius, with Letters to the Dutch Governours at Colombo and Negapatam, advising them of my Intentions against Pondicherry, and desiring they would assist me in it; and in Consequence of it, a Lieutenant and sixty Men came this day from Negapatam, with Letters from the Governours acquainting me their several Garrisons were so extremely weak, it was not in their Power to send more at present, but they expected Recruits from Batavia, and if they arrived in time would send me a further Supply, which they did afterwards of a Capt. and sixty Men more, who joined Us the 25 of Sepr. in the Camp before Pondicherry.”

“We continued our March the 9th & 10th of August, without any Appearance of the Enemy, but on the 11th they made a show of about 300 Foot, and some Horse, at an Entrenchment they had thrown up; which they presently¹ abandoned on our people's advancing towards them. This Post was situate by a small River, and very. defensible; and about a Mile from it, on the other side the Water, was the Fort of Aria Coupan, which is situate on the Side of another River, from whence it takes its Name.

“A Deserter came over to Us here from whom I learnt the Garrison of the Fort consisted only of 100 men, Whites and Blacks; on which I resolved to make an attempt the next morning with the Grenadiers and Picquets to gain a Lodgment in the Village almost adjoining to it, and there raise a Bomb Battery, as the Fellow said they greatly dreaded a Bombardment, their Magazine not being Bomb Proof; and herein we should have succeeded, as We soon got possession of the Village, but the Blacks who were employed to carry up the entrenching Tools, on a Shot coming amongst them, all ran away, and as the Enemy flanked Us from two [Batteries they had raised on the other Side Aria Coupan River, it was thought best to retire

“In this attack [13 August. ED.] We had one Lieut, killed, & four Officers wounded, amongst whom was Major [John] Goodyer,² the Commanding Officer of the Artillery, by a Cannon Ball in his Legg; The Loss of this Officer was almost

¹ i.e., immediately.

² He was killed.

the greatest We could have sustained, as he was a very able One, and would have carried on our Approaches for Us, in a quite different Manner to what the Engineers did.

“The next morning the whole Army decamped, and marched to the place where the Grenadiers and Piquets lay leaving a Detachment in the Entrenchmt. to secure that Pass, and our Communican. with Fort St. David; and in the Afternoon I landed 1,100 Seamen, who I had caused to be disciplined on board the several Ships, & exercised in Platoons, to join the Army; with a Lieutenant, and a Proportion of Petty Officers from each Ship, and Capt. Lloyd of the *Deal Castle* to command the whole; who mounted Guards, and did all other Duties with the regular Troops.”]

The 16 threw up an intrenchment, and raised a Battery, but it cou'd not be brought to bear upon the Fort.

The 17 the French raised a Mud Battery. We erected another opposite the mud one but little execution is done as yet.

The 19 about fifty horse sallied out and drove our Men out of their Trenches but a Reinforcement from our Camp forced them to retreat, and about five hours afterwards they blew up their Magazeen and retir'd to a Mud Battery upon the other side the water. Our advance guard march'd to the Fort. The French fier'd very smartly from their Mud Battery but were soon stop'd by our Cannon; the India companys incamped nigh the Fort.

[Boscawen. 16-19 August. “Having landed four twelve and four eighteen pounders, on the 16th at Night, We began to work on a Battery of four Guns, which was compleated, and opened the next morning, but the Engineers having in the Dark, through Fear, or some other Infatuation, placed it quite differently from what was intended, it could be of no Effect, for there was a Tope of Trees between ours, and the Enemies Battery, so that only an Angle of this last could be seen,—By which their Lordships may judge what was to be expected from these Gentlemen in future.

“The next day [18 August. ED.] I sent for the Engineer belonging to the E India Company, as he was reckoned a Men of great Abilities, to employ him about raising another Battery in a more proper Place; but found him as bad, if not worse than our

own: The Artillery Officers then undertook themselves to make a Battery, which they compleated and opened the next Morning, with such Success, as that the Enemy made a most hazardous Attempt with a Troop of 60 European Horse, supported by as many Fort; and some Bea Poys to destroy it. Our advanced Guard in the Trench adjoining to the Battery at first gave way, but having rallied again, drove the Enemy back with considerable Loss; the Commanding Officer of the Horse, and four Troopers being taken Prisoners; though they carried off with them Major Lawrence of the Company's Battalion, and Capt. Bruce of the Independent Companies, by their keeping their Posts when the Men gave way.

“Soon after, the Enemy's Battery We were firing against blew up; & destroyed (as We were informed afterwards by Deserters) one hundred Men; and We having immediately on this, got some Royals into the Village, and begun to bombard the Fort, about two O'Clock in the Afternoon that blew up likewise; Our People directly marched, and took Possession of it, & found the Garrison were withdrawn but in great Haste having left their Clothes & every thing behind.”]

The 21, the first Battalion of Independants, the Train and Batalion of Sea-men:

Upon the 23 the General and his baggage march'd in the evening. The Mareenes and our Battalion decamped and march'd to the Fort were we halted about four hours, then the whole forded a small river and advanced a good way into the country, came by a beautifull Church and Sumer house, about half a mile from thence we came within view of Pondichery; a small distance from us a large party of French had intrench'd themselves, we advanced towards them with a few field pieces and soon made them abandon it. The Mareens and our Battalion had orders to take Possession were we lay upon our Arms all night and the day following, being the 27. 20 men of a company were order'd to remain their that night; the rest march back and

pitch'd their tents.

[Boscawen. 20-6 August. "On the 20th I removed our Camp to Aria Coupan, & from that day, to the 25th We were employed repairing the Fort, and putting it in a Condition of Defence, which being compleated, We crossed the River of Aria Coupan, and that Evening got Possession of a strong Post in the bound Hedge of Pondicherry, about a Mile from the Walls, the Enemy having to my great Surprize abandoned it on our advancing, though it was very capable of Defence by a small Number of Men, and so situated as to have cost us a great many in the Attack, had it been disputed."]

The 28 they threw several shels into our Camp about 300 weight. One of the shells burst nigh the general's guard and another a small space from the magazeen.

The-day following we encamp'd about half a mile further from the town. In the evening we began to dig trenches and a great number employ'd to make Fasheen.

The 31 they fierd briskly upon us all day we being intrench'd, and in the evening about 500 of them sallied out but were vigorously repulsed and a great number kill'd and wounded, the skirmage lasted about an hour and fier'd briskly on both sides, but the French were forced to Retreat with great loss.

Sep. 1, they fired briskly upon us all day from their walls, at night we threw up an intrenchment.

[Boscawen. 27 August—1 September. "This post being to the North West part of the Town, I ordered the Ships down to the Northward of it, and on the 28th opened our Communication with them that way, and began to land Trenching Tools and other Necessaries that were wanting to break Ground before the Place and in the mean time kept ordering out the Engineers to reconnoitre, and lay plans before me for carrying on the Attack, but could get nothing produced for some days, when the principal of them brought me a Plan for raising a Battery to batter a Breach, without proposing any thing to take off the Enemy's Defences. The second indeed brought me one which seemed feazible, and therefore I set him about executing it

immediately, and We accordingly broke Ground the 30th at Night. The 1st September the Enemy made a Sally upon our Entrenchments with 500 Whites and 6 or 800 Blacks, but were repulsed by our advanced Guard of 100 Men, with considerable Loss; Monsr. Paradis their chief Engineer, and Director of all their military Affairs being mortally wounded, three or four others of their best Officers killed, and about 100 Men killed or wounded.”]

2nd a great N^r shot shells and other amunition landed which was convey'd to this Camp; at night threw up another trench.

The 3 the French fier'd briskly upon us and threw a great n^r of shels, but did litle execution. James Forbes had his leg shot off and expired when brought to the Camp. Threw up another intrenchment and a great quantity of amunition landed this day.

The 4, Our Punes¹ brought to the Camp upwards of an hundred prisoners that were marching from Madraspatam to assist them att Pondicherry, the major part being Europeans, the French kept a continuall fier all day but did litle execution. The 6 a great N^r of Fasheens brought down to the Trenches in order to erect Battary.

The 8, Numbers of the working Party were kill'd and wounded by a two Gun Battary which flanked us. 9 They fier'd briskly upon us all day. Their was a skirmage betwixt the French horse with some few of their Punes, several of ours where wounded and a good many taken prisoners, they being short of Amunition.

10 We had severall kill'd and wounded in the trenches, two

¹ i.e., Peons. Indian foot-soldiers: obs. Now only used as meaning an orderly or messenger.

Europeans from the French surrender'd themselves to the General, we have had very bad weather of late, the Rains have been so great that our Trenches is fill'd with water and Mud, being almost unpassable, being so deep that it takes us to the wast and are oblg'd to stand in them twenty four hours and to pass and repass everything to the assistance of our Brother Soldiers. The Duty is very hard upon us, having scarce a night's rest in a week.

11. Nothing extraordinary happen'd except some few kill'd and wounded.

13. We had a great many employ'd in erecting a Blind¹ and a great many kill'd and wounded by grape shot and shells.

14. A great number of the working party kill'd and wounded.

15. Early in the morning the Picquets of four Battalions were order'd out and as we imagined were to convoy the Culy² to the Camp, who were loaded with amunition and other stores, but it proved otherwise there being a large party of French who had intrenched themselves nigh to the water side with a view to hinder us from a free passage from the Camp to the water side. We were conducted into a large wood by a party of our horse and was imadiately saluted by the French, both sides fier'd briskly for the space of two hours and a great N^r of the Picquets wer kill'd and wounded and but few of them they being int[rench]ed, One

¹ i.e., blindage: a screen or structure used in sieges to protect men from an enemy's fire.

² Coolies; hired labourers.

Officer of the India Company's and a Lieut. of our Company both dangerously wounded, our commanders thought proper to retreat, they having two Field pieces and had the opportunity of being Reinforced from the Town. In the Trench one man killed and some few wounded.

16, we Erected a three Gun Battery and mounted three twelve Pounders in the Trenches, some few kill'd and wounded.

17. A Party of the French Punes assembled themselves in a Wood and thought to have Flanked us in our Trenches but a Party of our Punes drove them out, without receiving any damages with the assistance of one of our Platoons from the Tranches.

18, we lay pritty secure in the Trenches, we having planted two 18 Pounders against that Flanking fasheen Battery that as been so destructive to our men. They left their cannon as soon as our men began to play upon them.

19. Nothing extraordinary happen'd except some few kill'd and wounded.

20, We fier'd briskly upon [them] all day from our two Battarys, and great preparations made day and night [to] finish an eight Gun Battery. Very few kill'd and wounded.

21, Both partys kept a continual fier all day and at night we finished a eight gun Battery and mounted eight 24 Pounders upon it within 200 yards of the wall.

22, We sent out a small party of men to convoy two Guns, some amunition and other stores. The French having

intelligence issued out in great numbers and drave our Culys from the Stores and took our Guns and amunition and brought them to the Town before we had time to send them any assistance, but our men stay'd by the water side 'till the boats brought two other Guns and Amunition, which were safely convoy'd to the camp.

24, We finish'd our Battarys and the 25 began to play very very hotly upon the Town both guns and Mortars, and continued all day, we had some kill'd and wounded, this day three diserters from the French came in.

[Boscawen. 11-25 September. "Our Engineers continued working every Night, without making scarce any Progress, and did not begin on the Batteries, though they were not above 150 Yards advanced from the Place where We first broke Ground, till the 11th Septem. & these were not compleated till the 25th when they began to play. They consisted of One of eight Guns; six 24, & two 18 Pounders; one of four Guns; two 24, & two 18 Pounders; one Bomb Battery of 5 large Mortars, and 15 Royals, and another of 15 Cohorns.¹

"The Enemy on their Part were not idle having in the mean time raised three Fascine Batteries to play upon our Trenches, which annoyed Us a good deal, and put Us to the Necessity of making two Batteries, one of the three, the other of two Guns to play against them, till the grand Batteries were finished; and these two Batteries were likewise built by the Artillery Officers, who undertook it voluntarily, that the Engineers might not be diverted from the Main Point.

"Upon our first breaking ground I desired Capt. Lisle, to order the Bomb Ketch in, and to bombard the Citadel Night and day, which She continued to do but a very few days, before the Enemy began to bombard her, and had got her Length² so exactly, as for one Shell to Stave her Boat astern, and another throw the Water in upon her Decks; so that She was obliged always to heave off in the days."]

¹ i.e., Royal and Cohorn mortars—small types of mortar with bores of 5-8" and 4-6" in diameter respectively.

² Range.

26. Our Shipping came before the Town and fier'd very hotly upon it, In covering their boats while they layed their warfs for the Ships to haul up near the Town.

27. 5 of our Ships came to their warfing and engaged with the Battarys on the sea side of the town from 7 in the morning till 5 in the Evening.

28. The ships lay quiet but not for any damage they recd, the French blew up one of our Magazeens but did litle mischief only four Men wounded.

The 29 and 30 made preparations for raising the siege our men folling sick so fast, that we cou'd scarce get a Relief for our trench and they having damaged several of our Guns our General thought)roper to leave the place till, the Monsoons were over.

October the 1 we got our guns ready and upon the 2 and 3 got them clear off the ground and brought them on board our Shippis.

4. Set our Platforms on fire which day I was sent to the King's Hospitall having been sick in the Camp 8 or ten days of the bloody Flux but thank Almighty God I return'd to my Company in pritty good health upon the 4 of Nov.

[Boscawen. 26 September—7 October. "The Season being now far advanced, and the Enemy having formed an Inundation in the Front of our .Works, so as to render it impossible for Us to carry them on any further, I found nothing left for it, but to endeavour to annoy them as much as possible, and thereby reduce them to a Necessity of surrendering; and with this View I ordered Capt. Lisle to extend the Men of War before the Town in Line of Battle, and warp in and begin firing the Morning after our Batteries were opened; which he did, but finding himself not nigh enough in, presently ceased, warped nigher in that Night,

and began firing at day Light; The Enemy at first returned it pretty briskly, but soon desisted and lay still till towards Noon, when finding our Fire slackened they began again; and left off as soon on our Ships renewing their Vigour, and continued quiet all the rest of the day towards the Sea, though they plied out Batteries warmly on the Land Side.

“In this Canonade the Ships expended a considerable Quantity of Ammunition and as I found it had not answered my End, I ordered Capt. Lisle to haul off in the Night out of Gun Shot, but remain in a Line as before to appear ready to haul in again; which they attempted to do, but the Wind having come in from the Sea in the Night, prevented their getting far enough off, and the Enemy began canonading, and bombarding them, in the Morning; one Shell fell on the *Chester's* Bowsprit and disabled it, as the *Harwich's* Mainmast had been the day before by a Shot; and these were the only Damages done to any of the Ships. Neither was there any body hurt, except one Man killed on board the *Vigilant*, and poor Capt. Adams of the *Harwich*, who had the Misfortune to lose his Thigh and died the next Morning. I knew very little of him myself, as he had been so short a time under my Command, and I all the while ashore, but Capt. Lisle speaks of him as a very good Officer, and a Loss which is truly to be lamented.

“Our Batteries continued firing, and beat down great Part of the Defences where We intended our Attack, but as We could not advance our Works, On Account of the Inundation aforementioned, nor had time or Men sufficient to begin a New Attack, We had only to endeavour to make a Breach in the Curtain at the Distance we were, and which was now found by the Shells from our Cohorns falling short to be at least 800 Yards, from the Walls, though the Engineers had always insisted they were within 600. This was not attended with better Success than our other Efforts had been, for instead of it's beating down the Wall, the Enemy opened a marked Battery of six Guns in the very Curtain We were battering, and began to open another in the Curtain adjoining to it; though their Fire was before superior to That of ours, having disabled seven of our Guns; wherefore on the 30th of September, I called a Council of War, wherein it was determined to embark our Stores and Cannon as fast as possible, and raise the Siege, as Their Lordships will please to see by the Copy of it here enclosed (marked B) & to which I beg leave to refer.

“From the 1st to the 4th October We were wholly employed in getting off our things; and all being then out of the Batteries except the disabled Guns, which were now encreased to nine quite un[s]erviceable, We set Fire to the Batteries, and withdrew

the Guard from thence; on the 5th We reimbarked the Sailors; & the 6th at Day Light in the Morning began our March for Fort St. David with Drums beating, and Colours flying, in the Face of the Enemy, who never offered to form in any considerable Body to attack Us, but followed Us about two miles, skirmishing at a Distance with our Rear;—We pursued our March to the Entrenchment where the French first appeared leaving a Guard of 400 Men to wait the Demolition of Aria Coupan Fort, which was blown up that Evening, as We knocked off the Tronions immediately from the Guns, and I had caused the Mines to be ready made. The Enemy made some show of harrassing us the next Morning in our March, but when We moved, scarcely followed Us at all; & We reached Fort St. David that Evening. The several little Rivers We had to pass this day, were so swelled, and the Roads so full of Water from the heavy Rain that fell the Night before, as to make it evident, We had moved but just in time, as another such Shower would have rendered them entirely unpassable in many Places.

“The Independant Companies are quartered here within the Bounds, and the Marines returned on board their respective Ships, who came hither the Morning after Us, agreeable to the Orders I had given for that Purpose; they are now watering and getting ready for the Sea; and I intend sending some directly to the Malabar Coast to clean and cruize There; and have some thoughts of following them myself unless any thing happens to prevent me, as the Enemy will undoubtedly come on that Coast in the N.E. Monsoon, as they have done for two Seasons past.”]

The 5 settled Acct. with my Captain from the 24 of June to the 24 of August.

Upon the 1st of this instant Orders were given out that every man should provide for himself and receive his pay weekly. Every Man to have 2 drams and a pound and a half of rice p. day.

The first Battalion does duty at Cudelore and ours nigh the genl. Lodgings at the Garden house. The Mareens and Sailors went on Board their Respective Ships which most sail'd to Trincamala, iheir to Remain during the Monsoons.

20, the General order'd an Advertisement to be put up

which he recd, in pacquet from England, containg an account that the Allied Army and the King of France had agreed upon a cessation of Armes for six months.

April the 9 1749.

A Pacquet arriv'd from England having been 8 months upon her passage. She brought an account that the Allied Army and the King of France had agreed up[on] A Peace but upon what Termes I can't tell.

April 10. The Governor of Fort St. David sent out a detachment of Europeans and punes with four pieces of Cannon in order to quell some Robbers who prevented the Country Inhabitants from carrying down their Goods to trade with the Merch. to the great detriment of the Trade at Fort St. David, they reside in a very strong city Walled Round. They have a Petty King or Nabob to Govern them and were formerly in Possession of this part of the country.

11. A Command of men being one Capt. 2 Lieut. 3 Sergeants 4 Corporals and 110 private men embarked at Fort St. David and were to have landed at Fort Nova¹—a Dutch Settlement, and were to march up the Country to the assistance of the Governor's Fo[rt].

[This seems to refer to the Expedition against the kingdom of Tanjore. See Orme's *Military Transactions . . . in Indostan*, Vol. I, 4th ed., 1803, pp. 109-18.—ED.]

1 Porto Novo—a Portuguese, *not* Dutch, settlement, 20 miles S. from Fort St. David, at the mouth of the river Val-aru, or Wellaru, N. bank.

12. At Night it began to rain very heavily, attended with much Thunder and Lightening. The 13 it continued with more violence, the wind being so high that it blew up trees by the Roots, and such a storm at sea that the Ships lying in Fort St. David's Road were oblig'd to slip their cables and put out to sea, but the wind blowing right in Shore they cou'd not get out, but most or all sunk or drove to pieces upon shore. The *Namure*, our Admiral's Ship of 74 guns and upwards of 600 men, the *Pembroke* 60 guns and about 400 men were both lost and but 24 poor [] saved out of Both Ships. Guns of distress were continually firing all day and we hear that a great number of country ships were lost, we have not heard any certain account of the ships our men embark'd in, only of the *Pink* whose ship's crew are safe arrived. But the ship is in a very shatter'd condition. The *Dealcastle*, a forty, lies nigh Pondichery, with her sides almost beat out, but the Hands are all safe. The *Lincoln* and the *Winchelsea* two East India Merchant Ships, were both lost, the hands of the former were all saved but the latter were all buried in the deep, we hear no Tydings of the *Appollo* a 40 Gun Ship, and are much afraid she shared the same fate, Wm. Hargreaves went on board the said ship.

The 15. A Capt's Command were order'd to the water side to take care of the wreck that is drove on shore.

The 18, John Coppock and Thomas Keighly left us and went to the French, and for this 6 or 7 days our men have been going to the French by 6 or 8 every Night, upon which Generall

Boscawen order'd a Field day, it being the 25, and when we was all drawn up he came and made a very Eloquent Speech acquainting us that he was sorry so many of our Brother Soldiers after behaving so very well in the late Siege shou'd disert from us, but he acknowledg'd it was chiefly through Temptation, and he assured us that we was all to return with him to Great Brittain except those who had an inclination to stay in the East India Company's service at Fort St. David or Fort St. George, the latter being shortly deliver'd up to us by the French, and for their encouragement they was to receive 40 Rupees advance and to return in three years.

May the 2nd two of our men diserted but were took up the day following by four coolys, who brought them before the Generall, he order'd them into close custody, and a Generall Court Martial was set to try them upon the 4, but when they came to the court they both Plead'd Guilty, and in the afternoon were both shot, they where both Protestant and died very Penitent.

May 12, Governor's Forces return'd after a fruitless attempt, being overpowered by numbers. The enemy had not many guns or scarce a man wou'd have return'd, their instruments of War are chiefly Arrows and Swords which they use with abundance of art, but have litle courage considering their Numbers. Very few of the Governor's party recd, damage except about: 800 Poones who were order'd to guard a Pass by the River Side, but where most of them cut off and a great

Number of those who escaped death were miserably, wounded. The Enemy gives great encouragement to Europeans. It is no hardship to them to raise 30 or 40 thousand, but they are cowardly and very ill disciplin'd.

May the 18. Samuell Toy, soldier, belonging to the first Batallion whas took up by some Poons being out of the Bounds, they brought him before the General who order'd him to be closely confined. The same day the arms and accoutriments of both Batallions were strictly review'd and an account of the Camp Equipage order'd to be given in, there is various constructions amongst us what will be the issue, but as yet at no certainty.

The 19 the above Toy was tryed by a General Court Martial, found guilty, condemned and ordered to prepare for death against the 20th, but when brought into the Field, the General was pleas'd to Pardon him.

May the 28. The Governor of Fort St. David sent out a Stronger Detachment against Davicut¹ who are gone by sea.

June the 8 we heard they had rais'd a Battery and planted six 24 Pounders against the Fort and in a few days took possession of the place.

June 27th, the Generall and his Retinue went to view the Fort, which they found to be a very plentiful place affording everything necessary for the subsistence of Europeans. The

¹ Devy Cotta, a fort near the mouth of the river Coleroon, 27½ miles S. from. Fort St. David.

General upon his passage recd, a Pacquet from England.

July 4 the General returned.

The 6th we recvd two months pay being due to us from the 24 August to the 24 October last past.

The 11 we recd, our full pay which is 17 Fanams per week.

The 18 we recd, two Fanams¹ and 34 cash² a man, for the odd cash that was stopped out of our full pay from the time we recd. 15 Fanams and 30 Cash.

August the 10 a Genll Court Martial set upon John White for lifting his hand against an officer, both belonging to the second Batallion.

The 11 he recd, orders to prepare for death early the next morning. The Battl. was order'd into the Field and the Prisoner came to the ground prepar'd for his Execution where he and the Minister pray'd together for some time, and when everything was ready the Field Officer came up and acquainted him that the Generall thought proper to reprieve him for a few days, and in a few days he receiv'd his pardon.

¹ Fanam; about 32 = 1 Pagoda = 8s. 4d.

² Cash. A copper coin of account; the smallest coin was equivalent to 4 cash; 80 cash = 1 fanam.

Upon the 12 orders were given out for a field day upon the 13, and when we was drawn up the Generall came and gave liberty for all who had inclination to stay in the Companys Service that they was to receive a Bounty of 40 Rupees and to return at 3 years end.

Upon the 14 and 15 near two hundred listed into the above service.

The 16 we embarked on board the Fleet.

18 about 2 o. clock we set sail for Fort St. George.

The 19 in the evening we came before the Fonem (?), being about 30 Leagues from Fort St. David.

July¹ the 21 we came on Shore. Took Possession of the Garrison and reliev'd the French Guards. This day we receiv'd our provisions but no Arrack.

The 22 we received our pay but no Provision nor Arrack.

Sept. 3rd we recvd. our Arrack as usual but had not Liberty to go out of the Garrison except a Sergeant or Corporal be with us, and to return as soon as we had provided ourselves with necessaries. There are two Beautifull Churches in the White Town, the one a Protestant and the other a Portaguie. Our Church as (*sic*) been Robbed of gret many of her ornaments since the French took it. It is a very airy Temple having no glass Windows which makes it very suitable for the heat of the place.

1 Obviously should be "August." Madras was surrendered to the French on 10 September, 1746, and restored to the British on 21 August, 1749.

There is a great many very good houses in this Town, but the French have let most of them run to ruin for want of repairing, here is as been a good Library, but sadly demolished since the English left it. Provisions are reasonable enough considering such a large Fleet lying before the Place who are constantly carrying on Board. The soldiers cannot get such good meat as they could wish by reason the Gentry and shipping engross¹ it all to themselves.

Oct. 4, our Picquets were raised in the dead of the Night and march'd about four Miles to a Place nigh St. Thomas's Mount, not one of the Private Men knowing the occasion of so sudden and private a march, and were very much alarm'd when they heard, cannon was the first salutation which the Picquets immediately return'd with a voly of small Arms and fir'd so briskly upon them for the space of half an hour, that they forthwith surrender'd. They brought back to Fort St. George a Portague Priest² who we afterwards heard was the occasion of the Fray, he having committed several outrages in that part by abusing the people who traded to Madrass and intended to cut off the communication of trade betwixt us and the Portuguese. He is since sent on board the *Dealcastle* and it is thought he will be delivered up to the King of Portugall with an account of his past behaviour.

¹ To buy up wholesale; to monopolize.

² Antonio de la Purificacion. He was deported to Europe.

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[This refers to the attack on and acquisition of San Thomé, a town on the coast, 4 miles S. from Madras. The incident is described by Orme—*Military transactions . . . in Indostan*, 4th edition, 1803. [Vol. I. p. 131](#), in the following passage:—

“Mr. Boscawen, during his stay at Madras, discovered that the Indian Roman Catholics residing at St. Thomé, who composed the greatest part of the inhabitants of this place, were, by the influence of their priests, attached to the French, as brethren of the same persuasion. By the constant intercourse arising from the vicinity, the priests of St. Thomé were enabled to get intelligence of the transactions of the English at Madras, and never failed to communicate them to Mr. Dupleix, who gave out that Murzafa-jing had made over the property of St. Thomé to the French company. Mr. Boscawen, to remove the present inconveniences, and to prevent the greater detriments which would arise by the establishment of a French garrison in the town, took possession of it for the English company. The town had for many years belonged to the Nabobs of Arcot; and after the death of An’war-odean Khan seemed to belong to nobody, for there were no officers, either civil or military, acting with authority in the place. All the suspected priests were banished: and one of them, who had been sent by Mr. Dupleix from Pondicherry, was transported to Europe. The English flag was hoisted in the town, and a small redoubt, capable of containing about 30 men, was raised at the mouth of the river.”

The English flag was hoisted at San Thomé on 11 October, 1749. See *Vestiges of Old Madras*, by Lieut.-Colonel H. D. Love. John Murray. 1913. Vol. II. pp. 398-401. *Indian Records Series.*—[J.H.L.]

Oct. 6 orders were given out that we was all to be under arms by 4 o’clock the next morning and those that had an inclination to stay in the Company’s service, where to turn out of the Ranks imadiately and the rest to embark with all speed. About 10 of our Company inlisted, but when we came On Board our Men found the ship so throng and a great many other inconveniences that they went on shore the next day by great numrs. with one of our Lieuts. who had got a Captain’s commission. We had only two and twenty left in the whole Company.

The 11 We set Sail for Fort St. David, and cast anchor there the 12 where the Generall went on shore,

The 16 of Oct^r two men was Tried on board the *Vigilant*

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and both convicted the same day. The Captain of the *York* was try'd on Board the said ship, haveing Fought a Duel and kill'd his Antagonist but was Acquitted, it being prov'd that the Deceased was the occasion of the quarrell.

18, The *Ruby* set sail for the Straights of Malacca, in search of the *Rboda* and a French East India Man who we hear have turn'd Pirates.

19 the Generall came on board with Mrs. Moss who is going for England. She is the Wife of Nicholas Moss, Esq^r.¹ Governor of Fort St. George at the time the French took it. The same day we unmoor'd ship and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope.

¹ Morse was a great-great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, and grandfather of Nicholas Vansittart, 1st Lord Bexley. He died on 28 May, 1772, and is buried in the English Burial-ground on the island, now known as St. Mary's Cemetery. See *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 336.

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Oct^r. 21 we came in sight of Ceylon being very calm.

26, we cross'd the Equinoctial line about 2 o'clock in the after noon, it being very squally.

Nov^r. 24 we cross'd the Tropick of Capricorn in pleasant weather.

Dec. 4 calm with rain, this day we recd, from the *Harwich* and *Eltham* 24 tun of Water there being no other in Company. The remainder of the Fleet was unable to keep up with us.

Dec^r. 15 in the afternoon we sounded at 15 or 16 leagues distant from land but cou'd not come at any ground with 112 fathom of Line.

The 16 we left the Land being about 4 leagues distant in the Latitude of 33 and 20.

17 lost sight of the Land.

The 18, moderate Gales but such violent swells that with Rowling and Pitching that our ship broke her fore Top Sail Yard. In the afternoon we doubled. The day following we saw a very high land.

Dec. 22, Moderate Gales. The *Bomb* and *Dorrington* joined us the latter left us at the Cape and as since been at the Moco.. The day following we lost sight of them both.

Dec. 26, Strong Gales but one ship in Company. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in Table Bay but cou'd not cast any nearer than 9 or 10 miles, the wind being foul. The next day we heaved up anchor and moored nigher the Town.

Dec. 28, the Admiral and the rest of the Gents, went on shore; this day and ship's company was allow'd fresh Provisions.

29 the *Deptford* came in, having lost a great numr. of men and above an hundred sick on board.

30. Came to an anchor, the *Dorrington* having been drove from her Anchors the Night we came in. Came to anchor, the *Chester*, *York* and *Young Eagle*, in very good condition.

Jany. 17, the *Sheerness* and *Dorrington* set sail for England.

23 we weigh'd anchor and set sail for St. Helena and arriv'd there 10 of February but cou'd [not come] to an anchor till the 11, took in fresh water and set sail from thence upon the 13 for the island of Ascention.

Feb. 20 came to an anchor at the Island of Ascention and

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got a great quantity of Turtle on Board. Set sail in the evening.

April 13 about 5 o'clock in the afternoon we joyful saw the land of Great Britain.

14 came to an anchor at St. Hellins.

[The MS. ends abruptly. ED.]