

100 of the garrison, and all together forcing their way into the palace, they got the Nabob into his palankeen, and escorted him to the camp surrounded by 200 Europeans with fixed bayonets; the malecontents not daring to offer him any outrage as he was passing, nor on the other hand was any injury offered to them: for notwithstanding such proceedings in more civilized nations rarely happen, and are justly esteemed mutiny and treason; yet in Indostan they are common accidents, and arise from such causes as render it difficult to ascertain whether the prince or his army is most in fault. The Nabob had certainly no money to pay his troops; so far from it that the English had now for two years furnished all the expence of their own troops in the field: but it is a maxim with every prince in India, let his wealth be ever so great, to keep his army in long arrears, for fear they should desert. This apprehension is perhaps not unjustly entertained of hirelings collected from every part of a despotick empire, and insensible of notions of attachment to the prince or cause they serve; but from hence the soldiery, accustomed to excuses when dictated by no necessity, give no credit to those which are made to them, when there is a real impossibility of satisfying their demands; and a practice common to most of the princes of Indostan, concurs not a little to increase this mistrust in all who serve them: for on the one hand the vain notions in which they have been educated inspire them with such a love of outward shew, and the inveterate climate in which they are born renders them so incapable of resisting the impulses of fancy; and on the other the frequent reverses of fortune in this empire dictate so strongly the necessity of hoarding resources against the hour of calamity, that nothing is more common than to see a Nabob purchasing a jewel or ornament of great price, at the very time that he is in the greatest distress for money to answer the necessities of the government. Hence, instead of being shocked at the clamours of their soldiery, they are accustomed to live in expectation of them, and it is a maxim in their conduct to hear them with patience, unless the croud proceed to violence; but in order to prevent this they take care to attach to their interests some principal officers, with such a number of the best troops as may serve on emergency to check the tumult, which is rarely headed by a man of distinction. But when

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his affairs become desperate by the success of a superior enemy, the prince atones severely for his evasions, by a total defection of his army, or by suffering such outrages as the Nabob Mahomed-ally would in all probability have been exposed to, had he not been rescued in the manner we have described.

As soon as the Nabob arrived in the camp, major Lawrence began his march, and in order to avoid the enemy's cavalry struck into the thick woods, which skirt the plain of Trichinopoly to the south: the approach of the army seemed to determine the king of Tanjore to furnish the assistance they were coming to demand; and not to give him any unnecessary umbrage by proceeding abruptly to his capital, the Major resolved to halt for some time at a distance, and encamped at Conandercoil, a town in the woods half-way between Trichinopoly and Tanjore; where, at the expiration of ten days, he received advice from Mr. Palk, who had been deputed to the king, that he had prevailed upon him to declare openly, and that orders were given to Monac-gee the general to assemble the Tanjorine troops. On which the English army proceeded to Tanjore, where it was determined to remain until they were joined by the reinforcement expected from Fort St. David.

Of all the Nabob's cavalry, no more than fifty accompanied him, the rest remained encamped under the walls of Trichinopoly, and a few days after the departure of the English army went in a body, and informed captain Dalton that they intended to go over to the enemy, with whom they had made their terms, desiring, at the same time that he would not fire upon them as they were marching off. This, as he was very glad to get rid of such a dangerous incumbrance, he readily promised, and they went away unmolested at noon-day.

The enemy, having now no other immediate object, gave their whole attention to blockade the city, which they were in a condition to effect without much difficulty; for their superiority in Europeans deterred the garrison from venturing without the walls to interrupt their night patrols, as was their custom when they had only the Mysoreans and Morattoes to encounter. However captain Dalton took the precaution of undermining in a dark night the posts of Warriore and Weycondah, to the west of the city; the defences of Warriore were ruined, but the explosion failed at Weycondah.

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The late supplies of provisions being entirely reserved for the use of the garrison, the inhabitants were left to provide for themselves, and rice was now sold in the market for half a crown the measure, about an English quart, which was fifteen times dearer than the common price; and fire-wood was scarcely to be procured at any rate. This scarcity soon obliged them to quit their habitations, and in less than a month this spacious city, which had formerly contained 400,000 persons, was left almost desolate; for the military people who remained in it, soldiers and artificers of all denominations, did not exceed 2000 men; of these the Nabob's Peons, as being capable of no other service than to give an alarm, were posted between the outward and inward wall; their number was about 1000: the Sepoys, 600, were stationed round the ramparts, and the Europeans, about 200, were appointed, some to guard the gates, whilst the rest lay on their arms every night, in readiness to march to any quarter where the alarm might be given.

Vigilance supplied as much as possible the defect of numbers; nevertheless it was visible that the city, thus slenderly garrisoned, would run great risque if the enemy attempted a vigorous assault by night; nor were they entirely without such intentions; for the French prepared scaling ladders, and often sent parties to sound the depth of the ditch; but these were always discovered and beaten off before they could accomplish their design. In the mean time Mr. Dupleix strenuously importuned Mr. Brenier, who had succeeded Mr. Astruc in the command, to attempt an escalade at all events, and suggested to him a method of getting the information he wanted by sending one De Cattans an intelligent officer, as a deserter, into the town: the man was promised the command of a company, and thirty thousand rupees; for which he not only undertook to find out the proper spot where they should place their scaling ladders, but also to maintain a correspondence with the French prisoners, who were to break loose, and seize the arms of the guard, and attack the quarters of the English whilst the assault was made on the walls. He was admitted into the city, and said that he came to offer his service to the English, being disgusted by an unjust censure, which had been cast on his conduct in the late battle at the golden rock: an over-strained affectation

1753. of frankness in his behaviour gave captain Dalton some suspicions, and two spies were set to watch his actions, who at different times discovered him measuring the calibre of the guns, taking a survey of the works, and fathoming the height of the wall with a lead and line, after which he threw notes through the windows to the French prisoners. There was in the garrison a French soldier whose fidelity to the English might be depended on; this man engaged to detect his countryman still more effectually, and suffered himself to be chastized in his sight by captain Dalton for some pretended neglect; after which he affected such a resentment for this treatment, that De Cattans gave him his entire confidence, offering him a great reward if he would assist in the execution of his plan. The soldier said he was not made for great enterprizes, but offered to desert the first night he should be on guard at the barrier, and to carry a letter, provided De Cattans would assure him of pardon for having deserted from the French. This the other readily agreed to, and gave him a pardon in form signed with his name, to which he added the title "of plenipotentiary of the marquis Dupleix." At the same time he delivered to him a letter for Mr. Brenier, which contained a full and exact description of the defences of the place, and some commendations on his own address in deceiving the English commandant, whom he described as a very young man, that placed more confidence in him than any of his own officers. The soldier carried the letter to captain Dalton, who immediately caused De Cattans to be arrested; at first he denied the fact, but on seeing his own writing, desired that he might not suffer the disgrace of being hanged, but have the honour of being shot by a file of musketeers. He was told that his fate could not be decided before major Lawrence arrived; captain Dalton, however, desirous of drawing the enemy into a snare by the same means which they had employed against himself, promised the criminal to intercede for his pardon, provided he would write a letter to Mr. Brenier, and prevail upon him to attempt an escalade at such a part as he, captain Dalton, should dictate; this De Cattans readily agreed to; the place fixed upon was Dalton's battery, on the west side, not far from the northern angle, as being more accessible than any other from without; but the defences and retrenchments within



were stronger than any where else. A black fellow undertook to carry the letter for eight rupees, and Mr. Brenier, giving him twenty, sent him back with a letter to De Cattans, promising to put his plan into execution, and desiring him to write frequently. In vain did the garrison watch several nights successively, hoping that the enemy would make the assault; but the various reports which they received of major Lawrence's arrival, kept them in such a continual bustle and alarm, that they could not spare a night for the execution of this enterprize, notwithstanding they appeared convinced of its practicability.

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The Myforeans finding that the explosion made at Weycondah, had done little damage, took possession of this post, and mounting two small pieces of cannon on the rampart, encamped 300 horse and some Peons under the walls; and as the garrison of Trichinopoly had not lately ventured into the field, those troops slept in perfect security without a single centinel. Captain Dalton receiving intelligence of their negligence, resolved to beat up their quarters, and chusing a time when it was very dark, a party of 400 men, mostly Sepoys, marched up close to the tents, and made a general discharge amongst them before they were once challenged. The Sepoys got some horses and arms, and the whole party retreated out of reach before the enemy were sufficiently roused to do more than fire a few shot at random.

At length, after remaining a month closely blockaded, and obliged to be continually on their guard, the garrison received advice that the Major was approaching; he was joined by the Tanjorine army, consisting of 3000 horse, and 2000 matchlocks, under the command of Monac-gee, as also by the expected reinforcement from Fort St. David, of 170 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. On the 7th of August, the army arrived at Dalaway's choultry, situated close to the southern bank of the Caveri, six miles east of Trichinopoly, where they were detained the next day by the falling of a heavy rain, which rendered the country between the choultry and city impassable. This obliged them to strike to the south-west, and the 9th in the morning they continued their march, escorting a convoy of several thousand bullocks provided by the Nabob, and said to be laden with provisions; signals

1753. from the top of the rock in Trichinopoly, not only apprized them that the enemy were in motion, but likewise pointed out the dispositions they were making. Their cavalry in different parties extended from the French rock to the golden rock: at the sugar-loaf rock, as being the place where major Lawrence would first come within their reach, they kept their main body of Europeans and Sepoys, together with their artillery; and a detachment took possession of the golden rock. The major, when arrived about a mile south-east of the sugar-loaf, halted, and having considered the enemy's disposition, formed and ordered his march in consequence of it. To preserve the baggage and provisions from the enemy's fire, he determined not to attempt a passage through the posts they occupied; but to march round the golden rock, whilst the convoy with the Nabob and his retinue, escorted by the Tanjorine troops, moved on at some distance on the left flank of the Europeans and Sepoys. It was necessary at all events to drive the enemy from the golden rock, since their fire from hence might greatly incommode the line of march: but as a suspicion of the major's intention to pass that way, would naturally induce them to reinforce this post, he resolved to divert their attention, by halting, and forming as if he intended to march directly, and attack their main body at the sugar-loaf rock. This stratagem had the desired effect: monsieur Brenier, not an acute officer, recalled the greatest part of his detachment from the golden rock, and with much bustle got his troops in order, to receive the major: who in the mean time detached the grenadiers and 800 Sepoys from the front of the line, ordering them to defile behind the convoy which still proceeded on, and to march with all possible expedition and attack the golden rock. Mr. Brenier did not perceive this motion before it was too late to prevent the effect of it; he however instantly sent forward 1000 horse at full gallop to intercept the English party, and at the same time detached 300 Europeans to reinforce the guard at the rock. The cavalry soon came up with the English party, and endeavoured to retard their march by caracolliing and galloping about as if they intended to charge: but the grenadiers did not suffer themselves to be amused by these motions, and fired hotly upon them without slackening their pace, nor made a halt until they had mounted the

the rock, drove the enemy down, and planted their colours on the top, which they accomplished before the enemy's party of infantry, marching from the sugar loaf rock, had got half way : who seeing the post they were sent to reinforce lost, had not the heart to make a push to recover it ; but halted, and taking shelter behind a bank, began to cannonade the grenadiers and Sepoys at the golden rock with four field pieces. By this time Mr. Brenier, with the rest of the French troops, had proceeded a little way from the sugar loaf rock, to support his advanced party ; but seeing them halt, he halted likewise. So that the main body of the English troops continued their march, and secured the possession of the golden rock without interruption : the Tanjorines soon after came up with the baggage, and were ordered to remain with it in the rear. The English artillery were now warmly employed against the cannon of the enemy's advanced party, of whom none but the artillery men were exposed, for the rest kept close behind the bank. The English battalion was drawn up in the open plain without shelter, and in this situation suffered considerably, whilst their artillery did little mischief to the enemy ; however the shot that flew over the bank went amongst a large body of horse who were drawn up in the rear of the advanced party, and flung them into confusion ; which captain Dalton observing, he sallied from the city with two field pieces, and the cavalry finding themselves between two fires, hurried out of reach, some to the east, and others to the west. In the mean time several of the English battalion were struck down, and major Lawrence observing that the enemy's main body made no motion to join the advanced party, determined to make a push, and drive these troops from the advantageous ground of which they had taken possession. The grenadiers, with 200 more Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, were ordered to march and attack them, whilst major Lawrence remained at the golden rock with the rest ready to support them if repulsed, or if successful, to join and pursue the advantage by driving the beaten party on the enemy's main body. The success of this attempt depending in a great measure on making the attack before the enemy's main body could move up to the succour of their party, the English for more expedition marched without any field pieces ; but the artillery was notwithstanding not idle, for

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1753. for they fired continually from the main body to deter the enemy's cavalry from attacking the flanks of the party as they marched. The officer appointed to lead the attack, instead of following his orders, which directed him to come to the push of bayonet without hesitation, sent word that he could not execute them without artillery, and that he was halted, waiting for it. Upon this major Lawrence instantly quitted the main body, and galloping up, put himself at the head of the party, and led them on. The troops, animated by his example, marched on with great spirit, keeping their order, notwithstanding they were galled by a very smart fire from the enemy's artillery, which killed several men, and amongst them, captain Kirk, at the head of the grenadiers: these brave fellows, whom nothing during the war had ever staggered, could not see the death of the officer they loved without emotion. Captain Kilpatrick seeing them at a stand, immediately put himself at their head, and desired them, if they loved their captain as much as he valued his friend, to follow him, and revenge his death: roused in an instant by this spirited exhortation and example, they swore in their manner, that they would follow him to hell. In this temper they pushed on; and in order to prevent the enemy from retreating to their main body, marched to gain their right flank: the enemy had not courage to stand the shock, but quitted the bank in great precipitation, and leaving three field pieces behind them, ran away towards Weycondah, exposed great part of the way to the fire of the two field pieces which captain Dalton had brought out of the city, every shot of which, for several discharges, took off two or three men. The enemy's main body now, when too late, began to move to the assistance of their party, but seeing them irretrievably defeated, and perceiving at the same time the main body of the English advancing from the golden rock, they lost courage, and without waiting to give or receive a fire, ran off in great confusion towards the five rocks, exposed to a severe cannonade from the rear division of the English artillery which had been left at the golden rock with the baggage; the Tanjore horse remained spectators of their flight without taking advantage of it, by falling on them sword in hand, which if they had done, few would have escaped; so that the loss which they sustained in Europeans did not exceed 100 men killed and



and wounded: of the English battalion about 40 men were either killed or disabled, and on both sides, principally by cannon shot. 1753.

Monac-gee endeavoured to excuse his neglect, by alledging that the solicitude of the Nabob and his commissaries for the safety of the convoy, made him unwilling to leave it exposed to the enemy's cavalry which hovered round in large bodies: but this was no good reason; for major Lawrence immediately on the enemy's retreat sent him orders to pursue, and the battalion were marching back to secure the convoy. As soon as the enemy were out of sight, the army with the convoy proceeded to the city, where on taking an account of the provisions before they were lodged in the magazines, it was found that the quantity did not exceed 300 bullock loads, and this not a little damaged: which, in weight not being more than 30,000 pounds, was scarcely sufficient to supply the Europeans and Sepoys ten days. It would be difficult to find an example of so great a negligence, in so essential a service, which had cost so much pains and risque, excepting in the irregular and indolent administration of a Moorish government in Indostan; and indeed the English themselves were much to blame for trusting this important charge entirely to the conduct of the Nabob and his officers, who had loaded the rest of the bullocks, for there were near 4000, with their own baggage, and a heap of trumpery not worth the carriage.

The enemy removed their tents and baggage as soon as it was dark from the sugar-loaf rock to Weycondah, where they encamped all together in so strong a situation, protected by the fire of that post, that they could not be attacked with any prospect of success. The Mysoreans had always drawn their provisions from their own country; and as there was little probability of procuring plenty to the city whilst the enemy remained on the plain, the major, as soon as the troops were a little refreshed, marched out, and taking a circuit encamped at the five rocks, intending to intercept their convoys coming from the eastward, and thus retaliate the distresses which they had so often brought upon his army. At the same time Monac-gee, in order to secure the communication with Tanjore, undertook to reduce Elimiserum, where the enemy had left a garrison of 200 Sepoys and a few Europeans, who submitted to him after a little resistance.

Major

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Major Lawrence now ordered De Cattans to be hanged in sight of the enemy's advanced guards: he died with great resolution, but shewed much concern that he had endeavoured to betray captain Dalton, who had received him with so much hospitality and kindness. As the English had condescended to employ this delinquent against his own countrymen, after he was detected, his life ought to have been spared.

The enemy still remaining at Weycondah, major Lawrence made a motion towards them on the 23d, upon which they decamped in a hurry, and leaving part of their baggage, with a gun and some ammunition behind, made a disorderly retreat to Mootachellinoor, a strong post on the bank of the Caveri, which secured their communication with Seringham: the next day major Lawrence took possession of the ground they had abandoned with an intention to send forward some artillery near enough to cannonade them; but this design was unexpectedly frustrated, for the next day a reinforcement, equal to the whole of the English force, appeared on the bank of the Coleroon. It consisted of 3000 Morattoes, a great number of Peons, and some Topasses under the command of Morari-row, together with 400 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with six guns.

Most of these Europeans arrived in the end of June from the island of Mauritius, where they had been disciplined; and Mr. Dupleix committed a great error in not sending them immediately, together with Morari-row's troops, to Trichinopoly; more especially as the signal defeat of the French and Mysoreans at the golden rock might have convinced him that they would hardly be able to prevent the English, when reinforced by the troops of Tanjore, from making their way good to the city with the convoy: but his vanity on this occasion confounded his good sense; for treating the battle of the golden rock as a trifling skirmish, and attributing the ill success of it to some pretended accidents common to the fortune of war, he seemed to disdain sending any farther assistance to an army which he confidently asserted could not fail to overpower their enemies in a very few days; he therefore detained this force to make conquests in the Carnatic; but the wilful disposition of Morari-row frustrated in a great measure this design: for regarding no injunctions excepting those of the Mysorean, who was afraid to give him

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him positive orders, the Morattoe traversed the province according to his own inclination, without keeping his force united, or acting in concert with the troops of Pondicherry. However Mr. Dupleix pursuing his plan as well as he was able, detached immediately after the capture of Chillambrum a large body of Sepoys, accompanied by some Morattoes, to attack the pagoda of Verdachelum; this force was led by one Hassan Ally, who had long been commander in chief of the French Sepoys, and had distinguished himself so much in this employment that the French king had honoured him with a gold medal in token of his services; this man was taken at Seringham with Mr. Law, and the English knowing his capacity kept him a close prisoner at Fort St David; from whence, however, he had lately contrived to escape, being carried through the guards in a basket which they imagined to contain lumber. The garrison of Verdachelum consisted only of 50 Sepoys commanded by a serjeant, who surrendered after a slight resistance; from hence Hassan Ally, joined by 50 Europeans, proceeded to Trinomalee, where they found Morari-row with the greatest part of his force assisting, according to his promise, the troops of Velore, who were laying close siege to the place. The army of the besiegers now amounted to 6000 cavalry, 5000 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans, including the 50 which Mortiz-ally kept in his own pay. The garrison, 1500 men, commanded by Barkatoola, a faithful servant to the Nabob, and a gallant officer, defended themselves with much bravery, making frequent sallies, and in one they surprized and beat up the quarters of the Morattoes, killing many of their horses; this loss, the most sensible that the Morattoes can feel, determined Morari-row to look out for easier conquests; and leaving the Phouf-dar's troops to continue the siege as they could, he marched away, with an intention to lay siege to Palam Cotah, a fort in the neighbourhood of Chillambrum. Here he was joined by a party of 350 Europeans, who endeavoured to prevail on him to march with them and attack the English settlement of Devi Cotah; but Morari-row, apprehensive of the loss he might suffer in this attempt, refused to accompany them. On this difference they separated, the French marching towards the woods of Wariore-pollam, in hopes of levying contribution from the Polygar; and the Morattoe to Trinomalee. Here, a few days after

1753. his arrival, he received letters from the regent informing him of his distress, since his convoys from Mysore began to be intercepted, and desiring him in the most pressing terms to move immediately to Seringham with his whole force; and Mr. Dupleix informing him at the same time that he intended to send all the Europeans he could bring into the field, the Morattoe, calling in all his stragglers, hurried back to Chillambrum, which was appointed the place of general rendezvous; from hence the whole reinforcement proceeded by very expeditious marches to Trichinopoly, in sight of which they arrived on the 24th of August.

Their appearance at so critical a conjuncture did not fail to raise the enemy's spirits, who testified their joy by firing salutes and exhibiting fireworks for three days successively, at the same time making the necessary preparations for coming to the plains again; whilst the English and their allies saw themselves under the necessity of taking their measures to act again on the defensive, under the same disadvantages to which they had been constantly subject, excepting in the short interval since the last defeat of the enemy: but even in this interval they had not been able to get more provisions than sufficed for the daily consumption; for as their force was not sufficient to spare considerable escorts at a distance for the time necessary to collect large supplies, what they received came daily in small quantities, about 100 bullock loads at a time, which indeed had lately joined the camp without much difficulty. But it was evident that the enemy's detachments would not scour the plain again as usual: the Major therefore, to diminish the risk of his convoys coming from the eastward, quitted the neighbourhood of Weycondah as soon as their reinforcement appeared, and encamped on the same ground which he had formerly occupied a little to the north of the Facquire's Tope. The enemy three days after quitted Mootachellinoor, and encamped at the five rocks, where their army covered a great extent of ground, for they had likewise been reinforced from Mysore. From the great superiority of their numbers, the Major expected that they would attack him in his camp, and ordered his men to sleep on their arms; but they contented themselves with following their former plan of intercepting the convoys. And the very next day, the 28th, near 3000 horse, Morattoes and Mysoreans, attacked an  
escort



escort of 100 Europeans with great vigour; but the men, accustomed to such encounters, preserved themselves and the convoy by not parting with their fire, although the enemy rode several times to the very bayonets.

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The presidency of Madras hearing of the reinforcement which Mr. Dupleix had sent to Seringham, determined to strengthen their own army with all the men that could be spared for the field, and sent them in one of the company's ships to Devi Cotah; and the Major, in order to facilitate the junction of these troops, as well as to protect his convoys, determined to encamp farther to the eastward; and sending off his baggage in the night, marched at day break the first of September over the plain in full view of the enemy, and pitched his camp at a little distance to the south-east of the French rock. This ground was well chosen, for the right flank was protected by some pieces of artillery mounted on the rock, which were flanked by the cannon of the city. The front of the camp was for the most part secured by a morass, and the rear by swamps and rice fields. The Tanjorines were exceedingly delighted with the security in which they here found themselves, for they had before began to droop with apprehensions of having their quarters beat up by the Morattoes; and Monac-gee exerting all his influence amongst his countrymen, prevailed on the merchants who dealt in rice, to bring frequent supplies of grain, although in small quantities. The enemy's scouts gave them such good intelligence of the approach of the convoys that few escaped unattacked, but being constantly supported by detachments of Europeans, they made their way good to the camp; not indeed without some loss, since it was impossible in the tumult to prevent the bullocks and cooleys from flinging down their loads and taking flight. However, what arrived was sufficient for the daily wants, but so little more, that if two or three convoys had been cut off, the army would have been obliged to have had recourse to the small stock which was laid up in the city. The enemy, as if determined to reduce them to this distress, moved from the five rocks, and encamped at the sugar loaf, extending from hence to the golden rock. Here the regent and Morari-row having intelligence of the reinforcement of which the English were in expectation, pressingly intreated the French to attack their camp before those troops arrived; but Mr.

1753. Astruc declined the attempt, and contented himself with waiting for less hazardous opportunities of diminishing their force: at length the English reinforcement arrived on the 19th of September, at Kelli Cotah, a fort 15 miles east of the city: and never perhaps had two armies remained 18 days in so extraordinary a situation, both encamped on the open plain without a bush on it, at about two miles distance from each other, so that with their glasses they could see one another sitting at dinner in their tents; and a cannon shot from the advanced posts might easily reach the opposite camp: but as the swamps in the rear of both the camps did not permit either to move farther back, both refrained from commencing a cannonade; the English desired nothing more than to keep their battalion unimpaired until the arrival of their reinforcement; but for this very reason the French ought to have taken all opportunities of diminishing their number. Major Lawrence now apprehending nothing so much, as that the enemy might send a large detachment to intercept his reinforcement, determined if possible to divert their attention by cannonading their camp; and the day in which the troops were ordered to march from Kelli Cotah, an eighteen pounder, sent from the city, was mounted about half a mile south-west of the French rock, on the bank of the water-course that intersects the plain, and early in the morning the 16th of September, it began to fire smartly; every shot was seen to strike amongst the tents of the French battalion, who after having bore the insult patiently for two hours, detached their three companies of grenadiers with a large body of their allies, horse and foot, to attack the party posted with the eighteen pounder; upon which motion the Major immediately threw a reinforcement into the water course of 250 Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and three field pieces under the command of captain Charles Campbell, who defended it so well that the enemy were obliged to desist from their attempt, and retreat to their camp, not without a considerable loss; for they had bore for some time a smart cannonade from five pieces of cannon upon the south-west cavalier of the city, as well as from the artillery at the watercourse. This repulse, seconded by a continuance of the fire from the 18 pounder, either deterred or diverted them during the rest of the day from giving attention to the reinforcement, who having continued their march without molestation, joined

joined the camp in the evening. The whole consisted of 237 Europeans, with the captains Ridge and Calliaud, lately arrived from Europe, and 300 Sepoys. The junction of these troops inspired the army with as much joy as the doubtful expectation of their arrival had caused anxiety and solicitude; and to retaliate on the enemy the same marks of exultation which they had lately employed on a like occasion, the tidings were announced to them by a discharge of all the artillery in the camp and city.

There being now no more reinforcements to expect, and the vicinity of the enemy having greatly augmented the difficulties of getting provisions and fuel, major Lawrence, as soon as the troops just arrived were refreshed, determined to bring on a general battle, which if the enemy declined he resolved to attack them in their camp.

The tents and baggage were sent at night to remain under cover of the artillery of the city; from whence at the same time 100 Europeans, all who could be spared from the garrison, marched out and joined the army. Every thing being prepared, major Lawrence quitted the ground near the French rock, and at day break, the 20th of September, the army appeared at the Facquire's Tope, and remained for some hours drawn up, offering the enemy battle; but they shewing no inclination to accept the defiance, the Major sent for his tents again, and encamped on the spot on which he was drawn up, resolving to attack their camp the next day: as the success of this hardy enterprise depended greatly on preventing the enemy from entertaining any suspicion of his intention, he cannonaded their camp, with an eighteen pounder, at different intervals during the rest of the day; hoping to make them believe that he purposed nothing more than to harass and incommode them. At night the tents were struck, and sent back again towards the city, and the whole army was ordered, after taking their rest in the open field, to be under arms at four in the morning.

The enemy's camp extended on each side of the sugar-loaf rock, but much farther to the west than to the east: most of the Morattoes were encamped on the east, the French quarters were close to the west of the rock, and beyond these the Mysoreans extended almost as far as the golden rock, occupying the ground for a considerable way behind the two rocks. The rear of the camp was covered with thickets.



1753. thickets and rocky ground. The French had flung up an intrenchment in front of their own quarters, and intended to have continued it along the left flank, facing the west; but on this side had only finished a small part, separated about 300 yards from the western extremity of their intrenchment in front, which interval was left open without defences: the Morattoes had likewise flung up an intrenchment in their front to the east of the sugar-loaf: at the golden rock, which commanded the left flank and the front of the ground on which the Mysores were encamped, the French had stationed an advanced guard of 100 Europeans, two companies of Topasses, and 600 Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of a partizan of some reputation. Major Lawrence being apprized of these dispositions, projected his attack to take the utmost advantage of them. At the hour appointed the army quitted the Facquire's Tope, and marched in profound silence towards the golden rock: the battalion consisting of 600 men formed the van in three equal divisions; the first was composed of the grenadier company of 100 men commanded by captain Kilpatrick, the picket of 40, by captain Calliaud, and two platoons, each of 30 men, under the command of captain Charles Campbell: the artillery, six field pieces, with 100 artillery men, were divided on the flanks of each division: 2000 Sepoys, in two lines, followed the Europeans. the Tanjorine cavalry were ordered to extend to the eastward, and to march even with the last line of Sepoys. The moon had hitherto been very bright; but a sudden cloud now obscured it so much, that the first division of the battalion came within pistol shot of the golden rock before they were discovered; and giving a very smart fire, mounted it in three places at once, whilst the enemy, who had barely time to snatch up their arms, hurried down after making one irregular discharge, and ran away to the camp with such precipitation, that they left their two field pieces, ready loaded with grape, undischarged. Animated by this success, the men called out with one voice to be led on to the grand camp, and the Major availing himself of their alacrity, remained no longer at the rock than was necessary to break the carriages of the enemy's guns, and to form his troops again. Their disposition was now changed, the three divisions of Europeans were ordered to march, as near as they



could, in one line in front through the camp of the Mysoreans, in order to fall at once upon the left flank of the French quarters: the Sepoys were divided on each flank of the battalion, but at some distance in the rear. Had the camp, like those in Europe, been covered with tents, it would have been impossible to have penetrated through it in this order; but in an Indian army none but the men of rank can afford the expence of a tent, and the rest shelter themselves as they can in cabbins made of mats, so slight that they may be pushed down by the hand. The Tanjorine cavalry, intermixed with matchlocks and peons, had halted during the attack of the golden rock, on the plain nearly opposite to the front of the French intrenchment, and they were now instructed to move directly up to it, in order to create what confusion they could with their fire arms and rockets. The battalion received the orders for continuing the march with loud huzzas, and the whole proceeded with the greatest confidence, as to a victory of which they were sure; the drums of the three divisions beating the grenadiers march, the gunners with their portfires lighted on the flanks, and the Sepoys sounding with no little energy all their various instruments of military music. This did not a little contribute to augment the consternation which the fugitives from the rock had spread amongst the Mysoreans, who were already taking flight, when the English entered their camp. The Europeans marched with fixed bayonets, and recovered arms, but the Sepoys kept up a smart fire upon the swarms that were taking flight on all sides. The French discovered by the fugitives which way the attack would fall, and drew up to oppose it, facing the west; the left of their battalion was behind the finished but detached part of their intrenchment on this side; and the rest extended towards the intrenchment they had thrown up in front of their camp; which their line, however did not reach by 100 yards; but a bank running at this distance parallel to that intrenchment, served to defend the right flank of their battalion: in this position they derived no advantage from that part of their works on which they had most depended. To the left of their battalion was a body of 2000 Sepoys, who inclined to the left, intending to gain the flank of the English battalion, and the same number were designed to form their right wing; but these, by some mistake, in this scene of  
hurry

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hurry and confusion, posted themselves on the sugar-loaf rock. The English troops advancing were prevented by the interruptions which they met with in the Mysore camp from keeping up in a line; so that the first division had outmarched the second, and the second the third; however as soon as they came nigh the enemy, whom they discovered by the portfires of their guns, the hindermost quickened their pace; but nevertheless the whole line was not completely formed before they came within twenty yards of the enemy, by which time the Sepoys to the right had advanced from the rear, in order to oppose those on the enemy's left: the artillery in the hurry could not keep up with the battalion. The French artillery had for some time fired with great vivacity, but most of the shot flew too high, and killed several of the flying Mysoreans. The action commenced just as the day began to dawn: Mr. Astruc, with indefatigable activity prevailed on his men to wait and receive the English fire before they gave theirs: amongst those who suffered in this onset was captain Kilpatrick, who commanded the division on the right; he fell desperately wounded; upon which captain Calliaud put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and took the command of the whole division; the French Sepoys on the left scarcely stood the first fire of the right wing of the English Sepoys, but took flight: which captain Calliaud perceiving, he wheeled instantly round with his division, and gaining the left flank of the intrenchment, behind which the left of the French battalion was posted, poured in a close fire upon them; and the grenadiers pushing on with their bayonets, drove them crowding upon their center: the whole line was already falling into confusion, when a well-levelled discharge from the center and left of the English battalion in front completed the route, and they ran away in great disorder to gain the other side of the bank on their right, where Mr. Astruc endeavoured to rally them: but the grenadiers pursuing them closely, renewed the attack with their bayonets, and put them again to flight: every man now provided for his own safety, without any regard to order, running towards the golden rock, as this way was the only outlet not obstructed; but as soon as they got to some distance on the plain they dispersed and took various routes. The left wing of the English Sepoys had hitherto taken no share in the engagement, for by keeping

keeping too much to the left of the battalion, they came to the outside of the French intrenchment, on the ground to which the Tanjorines were ordered to advance; however, as soon as they perceived the French battalion in confusion, they pushed on to the sugar-loaf rock, and with much resolution attacked and dispersed the body of the enemy's Sepoys posted there, who from the beginning of the action had employed themselves in firing random shot indiscriminately upon friends and foes. The victory was now decided, and the English troops drew up on the French parade. A body of Morattoes were the only part of the Indian army which made any motions to draw off the attention of the English during the engagement; they seeing one of the field pieces left with a few men at a distance behind the rest, galloped up, and cutting down the men, got possession of it; but perceiving the battle lost, they did not venture to carry it off: nevertheless they did not immediately quit the camp, where they were soon after joined by several other bodies of cavalry, encouraged by their example: but the English artillery in a few rounds obliged them to retire again, and they followed the rest of the fugitives, who were retreating towards Seringham by the pass of Mootachillinoor. It was some hours before the whole got into the island, for the throng consisted of 30,000 men of all sorts on foot, and 16,000 horse, besides a great number of oxen, camels, and elephants. The Tanjorines were ordered to set out in pursuit of the French troops, who were taking flight, dispersed on all sides over the plain; but they could not be prevailed on to quit the spoil of the camp, which they were very busy in plundering.

The tents, baggage, and ammunition of the French camp, together with eleven pieces of cannon, one an eighteen pounder, were taken; 100 of their battalion were either killed or wounded, and near 100 more, amongst whom was Mr. Astruc, with ten officers, were made prisoners: several were afterwards knocked on the head by the people of Tondiman's woods, 65 were taken straggling in the Tanjore country; and a detachment of Sepoys, sent out by captain Dalton from the city, brought in 21 of those who were making their way to the island by the pass of Chucklypolam: so that the whole of their loss was at least 300 Europeans, with their best officer; for such un-



1753. doubtedly was Mr. Astruc: it might have been much more, had the Tanjorines exerted themselves as they were ordered. Of the English about 40 Europeans were killed and wounded.

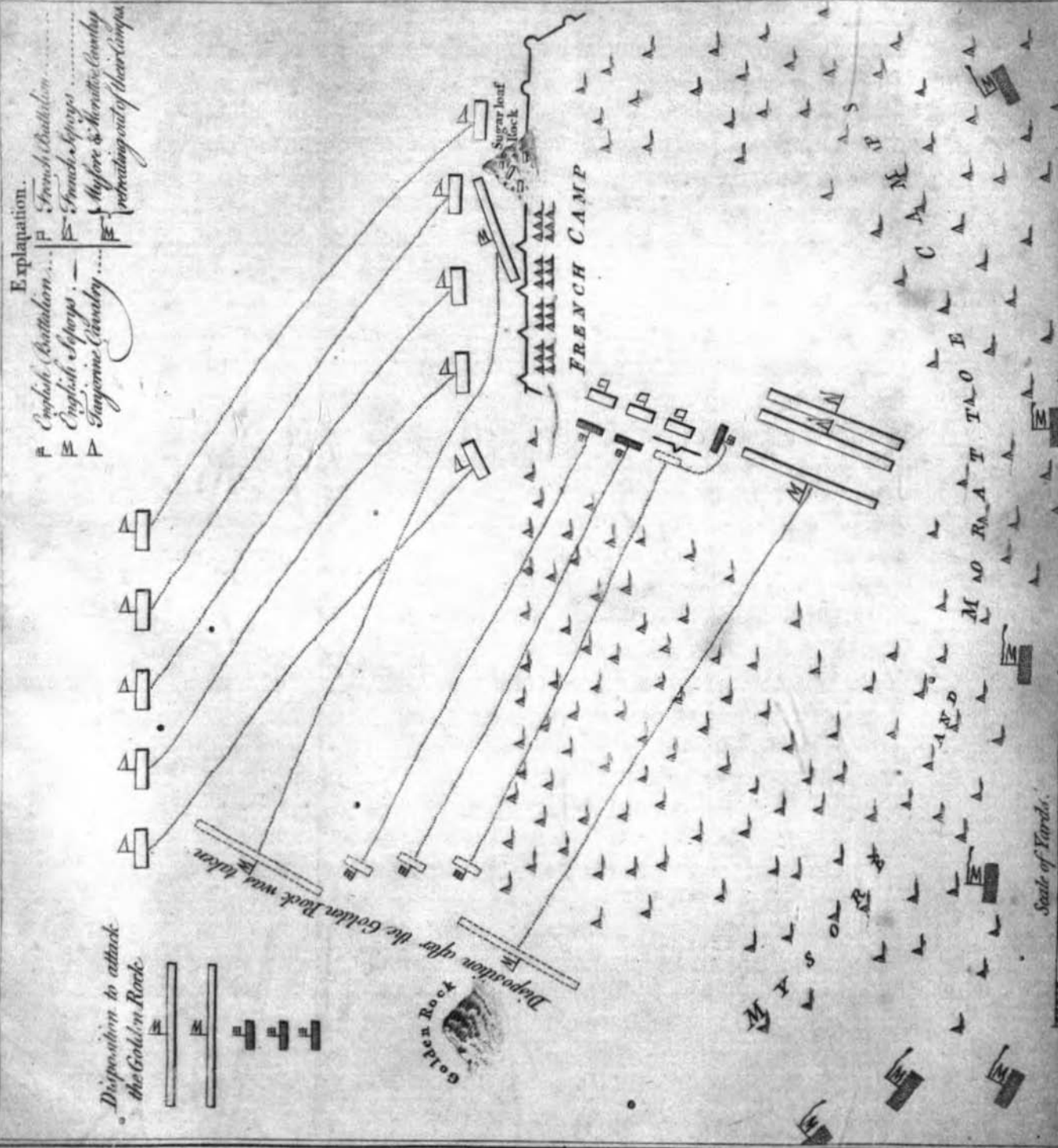
This action was decided entirely by the musketry; for the English artillery were not brought into the engagement; and the French cannon were ill pointed, and irresolutely served, even before the conflict became hot and general; after which the event could not remain long in suspense between two bodies of men, whose dead fell within 20 yards of each other. There are few instances of a victory in which the sagacity and spirit of the general, as well as the resolution of the troops, are more to be admired. The French themselves confessed that they had no suspicion of the intentions to attack them; nor did chance interfere to substract from the merit of this success: for major Lawrence, before he quitted his camp at the French rock, had predicted most of the events which concurred to produce it. The Nabob's standard was now planted in the enemy's camp; and the English flag, displayed on the top of the sugar-loaf rock, proclaimed the triumph of their arms to the country several miles round.

The Tanjorines, elated to excess, although they had contributed nothing more than their appearance in the field to gain the victory, proposed, immediately after the battle, to follow the enemy, and besiege them in Seringham; but major Lawrence paying no attention to this rhodomontade, moved with the army in the evening to lay siege to Weycondah.

This place, now a fort, was originally nothing more than a pagoda and choultry, situated at the top of a rock about 30 feet high. The rock was afterwards inclosed by a square stone wall, carried up as high as the top of the rock itself, and built thick enough to afford a rampart about five feet in breadth, besides a slender parapet, which has loop-holes to fire through: on the western side is a gateway, of which the top communicates with the rampart on either hand: the enemy's garrison consisted chiefly of Sepoys. A watercourse served instead of a trench to shelter the English troops; who having cut embrasures through the bank about 400 yards from the wall, battered it with two eighteen pounders, and at the same time threw shells from a mortar and two cohorns. By the next evening the wall was



*A PLAN of the ATTACK of the French, Myfore & Morattoe CAMPS by Major Lawrence, Sept. 21. 1754.*





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beaten down, within 12 feet of the ground. Early the next morning some of the garrison endeavoured to make their escape, through a Sally-port on the north, to a large body of horse, who were waiting at a distance to receive them: these fugitives were discovered by some of the English Sepoys on the right, who immediately ran to prevent any more from getting out; and at the same time 600 other Sepoys, who were under arms in the watercourse, set out of their own accord, without well knowing what was the matter, and ran directly to the breach, regardless of the commands of their officers, who assured them that it was not yet practicable; but nothing could stop the tumult: they made several ineffectual attempts to mount the breach, notwithstanding they were warmly fired upon by the enemy from above. At length, finding it impracticable to succeed this way, they all ran to the gate, which some endeavoured to force, whilst others fired up, to drive the defenders from the ramparts: but this attempt likewise proving ineffectual, a resolute Englishman, serjeant to a company of Sepoys, mounted on the shoulders of one of them, and getting hold of some of the carved work of the gateway, clambered up to the top; and those below handing up to him the colours of his company, he planted them singly on the parapet: here he was soon joined by about 20 of his company, who followed his example; and whilst some of these were engaged with the enemy, others went down on the inside of the rampart, and opened the gate. Those without instantly rushed in like a torrent; which the enemy perceiving, they hurried down from the rampart, and ran up the steps, to gain the choultry and pagoda at the top of the rock; but the English Sepoys followed them so closely, that they had not time to make any dispositions to defend themselves there before they were attacked at the push of bayonet: in the first fury several were killed; but the rest, about 400, flinging down their arms and calling for quarter, were spared.

From Weycondah the army removed, and encamped at the French Rock, where they now abounded in as much plenty as they had hitherto suffered distress; for none of the enemy's parties ventured on the plain, and the country people, no longer terrified by the apprehension of losing their noses, brought in provisions in such abundance, that rice, which three days before was sold at four measures for the rupee,

1753. now sold at sixteen; and at this rate a stock was laid in sufficient to supply the garrison for six months at full allowance. Captain Dalton seeing this object of the general solicitude provided for, and the city in all other respects out of danger, quitted the command of Trichinopoly, and some time after returned to Europe.

The approach of the rainy monsoon in the middle of October made it necessary to carry the troops into cantonment: the city itself would certainly have afforded them the best shelter: but the stock of provisions laid up for the use of the garrison would soon have been consumed by the addition of such a number of mouths: and as little danger was to be apprehended from any attempts which the enemy might make during the absence of the army, provided the garrison were commonly vigilant, major Lawrence preferred to remove to Coiladdy, on the frontiers of Tanjore, from whence the wants of the army might constantly be supplied, without the necessity of fatiguing the troops by employing them to escort convoys. Four hundred Sepoys and the sick of the battalion, with 150 Europeans, were sent into Trichinopoly, to augment the garrison; a detachment was left to defend Elimiserum; and the rest of the English troops marched on the 23d of October to their winter quarters: they were accompanied by the Nabob, with the few troops he commanded; but the Tanjorines quitted them, and proceeded to their capital, in order to be present at the celebration of a great festival which falls out at this time of the year. It was with great reluctance that major Lawrence saw them depart, judging from experience, that nothing but the last necessity would induce the king to send them back, notwithstanding that he promised, with much seeming complacence, that they should take the field, and rejoin the Nabob, as soon as the monsoon was past.

During these transactions to the south of the Coleroon, the English arms had likewise gained some successes in the Carnatic. The retreat of Morari-row from before Trinomalee increased the courage of the garrison, who signalized themselves so much by frequent and vigorous sallies, that the presidency of Madras determined to send a reinforcement to their assistance; and 500 Sepoys detached from the garrison of Arcot, arrived in the middle of September in sight of the place: but finding all the avenues blockaded, they concerted measures



measures with the governor, Berkatoola, to favour their junction, by making a general sally, on a certain quarter of the enemy's camp, which the Sepoys promised to attack at the same time in the rear. This plan was executed with so much vigour, that notwithstanding the enemy took the alarm time enough to bring the greatest part of their troops into action, they were entirely defeated: the general of the Vellore troops being killed on the spot, and Hussan-ally, the commander of the French Sepoys, taken prisoner mortally wounded. This loss of their commanders struck the army with so much consternation, that they immediately raised the siege. 1753.

In the same month the presidency were much alarmed by the attempts of Mahomed Comaul, the most considerable of the adventurers, who in these times of confusion set up the standard of independency. This man commanded a body of horse at the siege of Arcot; and after the army of Raja-saheb was dispersed by the battle of Covrepauk, kept together his own troops, and immediately levied contributions not only sufficient to attach them to his service, but also to engage others to enlist under his banner: however, alarmed by the fate of Chunda-saheb at Seringham, he judiciously determined to remove out of the reach of danger into the country of Nelloor, the north-east part of the Nabob's dominions, not doubting that its distance both from Arcot and Madras would enable him to establish himself in those districts: he succeeded even beyond his expectation, for he found means to surprize the capital of Nelloor itself, from whence he obliged Nazeabulla, the governor, to flee to Arcot. The English and the Nabob had so many enemies to fight, and so few troops to send into the field, that they could spare none to check the enterprises of Mahomed Comaul, who having enjoyed the fruits of his successes without interruption for a year, extended his views, and prepared to attack the pagoda of Tripetti. This temple, one of the most famous in the Decan, is situated on the top of a mountain, about fifty miles north-east of Arcot. The feast of the god to whom it is dedicated is annually celebrated in the month of September, and the offerings made by the concourse of pilgrims who arrive from all parts to assist at it, amount to so great a sum, that the Bramins, beside what they reserve to themselves, pay the government an annual revenue

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revenue of 60,000 pagodas, or 24,000 pounds sterling. This revenue the Nabob assigned over to the English as a reimbursement in part of the great expences they had incurred in the war; and as neither the Bramins nor the pilgrims are solicitous to whom this money is paid, provided the feast goes on without interruption, it was the intention of Mahomed Comaul to get possession of the pagoda before the feast began. The presidency of Madrafs, alarmed for the safety of a place in which the company was so much interested, sent a detachment of forty Europeans, two companies of Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon, with orders to march and defend the pagoda: they were to be joined on the road by Nazeabulla, the Nabob's brother, at the head of a large body of troops, but these not coming up in time, the detachment proceeded without them. When arrived near Tripetti they were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole of Mahomed Comaul's force, 5000 men, horse and foot; the detachment had just time to take shelter in a neighbouring village, where the enemy immediately attacked them, and although constantly repulsed, they did not desist from their attempts before the night set in; when the detachment having lost several of their Europeans, and expended all their ammunition, retreated; the next day they were joined by Nazeabulla Cawn's army, with whom the day afterwards they proceeded again towards Tripetti. Mahomed Comaul met them on the plain, and the action began by a cannonade, which having created some confusion amongst the enemy, ensign Holt, who commanded the English detachment, marched up with his Europeans and Sepoys to improve the advantage; but before they came near enough to give their fire, a shot from a wall-piece killed ensign Holt. However the men, not disconcerted by this accident, pushed on under the command of their next officer, ensign Ogilby, and attacked the enemy with great vivacity, who were already wavering, when a lucky shot from one of the field pieces killed the elephant of Mahomed Comaul. His army seeing the standard of their general fall to the ground, as usual took flight, and with so much precipitation, that before he had time to mount a horse, they left him at the mercy of his enemies. He was taken prisoner and carried to Nazeabulla Cawn, by whose order he was instantly beheaded. His death removed the most dangerous disturber

disturber of the Nabob's government in this part of the country, for he was a very brave and active man: there were several other chiefs of less consequence, who were constantly making inroads into the districts of Ponomalee, Chinglapett, and Arcot, and gave frequent employment to the garrisons of these places; but they always retreated as soon as they heard that a detachment of Europeans was marching against them.

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The enemy at Seringham seemed so little inclinable to take advantage of the absence of the English troops cantoned at Coiladdy, that they did not even send parties on the plain to prevent the country people from going daily with provisions to the market in Tritchinopoly where the garrison were as well supplied and lived in as much tranquillity as if both sides had agreed in form to a cessation of hostilities: the enemy, however, convinced that the English would never have attempted to attack their camp at the sugar-loaf rock if they had not been joined by the cavalry of Tanjore, determined to leave no means untried to deprive them of this resource in future. Accordingly the regent gave Succo-gee, the king's minister and favourite, a sum of money more considerable than the first bribe, and Mr. Dupleix sent a letter penned in the Malabar language by his wife, in which he threatened the king, that if he dared to give the Nabob and the English any more assistance, the Morattoes should lay waste his country with fire and sword, and that if this should not be sufficient to terrify him into a neutrality, he would bring down the Soubah Salabad-jing, with his whole army, from Golconda. The effect of these practices, both on the king and his minister, was soon visible; for Succo-gee taking advantage of the timorous and suspicious character of his master, prevailed on him to remove the general Monac-gee from the command of the army, by representing him as a man in such close connexion with the English, that he might probably, from a reliance on their friendship, be induced to form projects dangerous even to the king himself; who, alarmed at the same time by the menaces of Dupleix, determined to preserve his country by breaking the promise he had made to the Nabob and major Lawrence, to send his troops to Coiladdy as soon as the rains were over. Having brought him thus far, the next step was to make him join the enemy; this likewise

1753. likewise Succo-gee undertook to effect, and the king it is said was on the point of signing the treaty, when a sudden and unexpected event stopped his hand.

In the beginning of November the French at Seringham received a reinforcement of 300 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 1000 Sepoys, with some cannon; but instead of giving any signs that they had recovered their spirits by this increase of their strength, they determined to remain quiet until major Lawrence should be ready to quit Coiladdy, in hopes that the garrison of Trichinopoly would be lulled into security by seeing them remain inactive so long after the arrival of their reinforcement, and entertain no suspicion of the design they were meditating, when the time should come for carrying it into execution.

This design was nothing less than to storm the city of Trichinopoly in the night by surprize. The part which the French chose to make the assault upon was Dalton's battery, on the west side, near the north-west angle of the town, the same indicated by the letter which captain Dalton had prevailed on the spy De Cattans to write to the French commander Mr. Brenier; it had formerly been a part of one of the four gateways to this city. The entrance into an Indian fortification is through a large and complicated pile of building, projecting in the form of a paralelogram from the main rampart; and if the city has two walls, it projects beyond them both: this building consists of several continued terrasses which are of the same height as the main rampart and communicate with it: the inward walls of these terrasses form the sides of an intricate passage, about twenty feet broad, which leads by various short turnings at right angles through the whole pile, to the principal gate that stands in the main rampart; for some space on each hand of Dalton's battery, the interval between the outward and inward wall of the city was much broader than any where else. Captain Dalton, when intrusted with the command of the garrison, had converted that part of the gateway which projected beyond the outward wall into a solid battery, with embrasures; leaving the part between the two walls as it stood with its windings and terrasses: an interval was likewise left between the backside of the battery, and the terrass nearest to it, which lay parallel to each other; so that an enemy who had gained the battery could not get to the terrass



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rafs without defcending into the interjacent area, and then mounting the wall of the terrafs with scaling ladders: the battery, however, communicated with the rampart of the outward wall of the city, but being, as that was, only eighteen feet high, it was commanded by the terraffes behind it, as well as by the rampart of the inner wall, both of which were thirty feet high. Upon one of the inward cavaliers, fouth of the gateway, were planted two pieces of cannon, to plunge into the battery, and scour the interval between the two walls, as far as the terraffes of the gateway; and two other pieces mounted in the north-west angle of the inward rampart, commanded in like manner both the battery and the interval to the north of the terraffes. The French were, by De Cattan's letter, and by deferters, apprized of all thefe particulars, and notwithstanding the many difficulties they would have to furmount in attempting to force their way into the town through this part of the fortifications, they preferred it to any other, becaufe it was more acceffible from without; for a rock level with the water almoft choaked up the ditch in front of the battery.

On the 27th of November, at night, the greateft part of the enemy's army croffed the river: the Myforeans and Morattoes were diftributed in different parties round the city, with orders to approach to the counterscarp of the ditch, and divert the attention of the garrifon during the principal and real attack, which was referved for the French troops. Of this body 600 Europeans were appointed to efcalade, whilft Mr. Maiffin, the commander, with the reft of the battalion, 200 men, and a large body of Sepoys, waited at the edge of the ditch, ready to follow the firft party as foon as they fhould get into the town. At three in the morning the firft party croffed the rock in the ditch, and planting their scaling ladders, all of them mounted the battery without raifing the leaft alarm in the garrifon: for although the guard appointed for the battery confifted of fifty Sepoys, with their officers, and fome European gunners, who were all prefent and alert when the rounds paffed at midnight, moft of them were now abfent, and they who remained on the battery were faft afleep; thefe the French killed with their bayonets, intending

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not to fire until they were fired upon: but this resolution was immediately after frustrated by an unforeseen accident; for some of them attempting to get to a slight counterwall which lines the backside of the battery, fell into a deep pit, which had been left in the body of the battery itself, contiguous to that wall: none but the most tried soldiers can refrain from firing upon any unexpected alarm in the night, and upon the screaming of those who were tumbling into the hole, several muskets were discharged. The French now concluding that they were discovered, imagined they might intimidate the garrison by shewing how far they were already successful, and turning two of the twelve pounders upon the battery against the town, discharged them together with a volley of small arms, their drums beating, and their soldiers shouting their usual military cry, "*vive le roy.*" Fortunately the main guard, the barracks of the garrison, and the quarters of the officers were in the north part of the town, not more than 400 yards from the battery. Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded, remained so ill of the wounds he had received in the last engagement, that he was unable to remove from his bed; lieutenant Harrison, the next in command, came to him upon the alarm to receive his orders, which he gave with the usual calmness that distinguished his character on all occasions, directing lieutenant Harrison to march instantly with the picquet, reserve, and the Sepoys who were not already posted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order the rest of the garrison to repair to their respective alarm posts, with injunctions not to stir from them upon pain of death. The enemy having drawn up their scaling ladders into the battery, sent two parties down from it into the interval between the two walls: one of these parties carrying two petards, and conducted by a deserter, entered the passage which led through the terrasses, intending to get into the town by blowing open the gate which stands in the inward rampart: the other party carried the ladders, and were appointed to escalate; whilst the main body remained upon the battery, keeping up a constant fire upon the terrasses, and upon the inward rampart. But by this time the alarm was taken, and the cannon from each hand began to fire smartly into the interval between the two walls, and upon the battery. Lieutenant Harrison, with the main guard,

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guard, was likewise arrived upon the rampart, from whence the greatest part of them passed to the terrasses. The musketry of the assailants and defenders were now employed with great vivacity against each other, but with some uncertainty, having no other light to direct their aim except the frequent flashes of fire: notwithstanding the hurry and confusion, lieutenant Harrison had the presence of mind to station a platoon upon the rampart, directly above the gate, ordering them to keep a constant fire upon the passage immediately below, whether they saw any thing or not: nothing could be more sensible or fortunate than his precaution; for the platoon killed, without seeing them, the man who was to apply the first petard, as well as the deserter who conducted him, and both of them fell within ten yards of the gate. Those appointed to escalade, fixed their ladders on the south side of the terrasses, and a drummer, followed by an officer, had already mounted to the top, when a party of Sepoys came to this station, who killed the drummer, wounded and seized the officer, and then overturning the scaling ladders overset the men who were upon them: the ladders broke with the fall, and the assailants called for more; but were disappointed; for the rest which had been brought were shattered and rendered useless by the grape-shot fired from the two pieces of cannon planted upon the cavalier: it was soon after found that the man who was to manage the second petard was killed. Thus defeated in all their expectations they determined to retreat, and went up to the battery again, where the whole now resolved to make their escape; but this for the want of their ladders was no longer practicable, except by leaping down eighteen feet perpendicular, either upon the rock or into the water. Desperate as this attempt appeared near one hundred made the experiment; but what they suffered deterred the rest from following their example, who, in despair, turned, and recommenced their fire from the battery upon the defenders. Lieutenant Harrison, with the greatest part of his Europeans, were assembled upon the terrass nearest the battery, and the two bodies, separated only by an interval of twenty feet, kept up a smart fire upon each other as fast as they could load: but the defenders had the advantage of firing under the cover of parapets from a situation twelve feet higher than the enemy upon the battery, who were totally exposed from head to foot,



1753. and were likewise taken on each flank by two pieces of cannon, as well as by the fire of some parties of Sepoys posted on the main rampart on each hand of the gateway. Thus galled, unable to retreat, and finding that resistance served only to expose them more, they desisted from firing, and every man endeavoured to shelter himself as he could; some in the embrasures of the battery, others behind a cavalier contiguous to it, and the rest in the interval between the two walls; the garrison, nevertheless, trusting to no appearances of security, continued to fire upon all such places in which they suspected them to be concealed. At length the day, long wished for by both sides, appeared; when the French, flinging down their arms, asked for quarter, which was immediately granted. The officers from the rampart ordered them to assemble in the interval between the two walls, from whence they were conducted, in small bodies at a time, by a party of Europeans into the city, through the gateway they had assaulted. Three hundred and sixty Europeans were thus made prisoners, of which number sixty-seven were wounded; thirty-seven were found killed upon the battery and in the rest of the works: those who escaped by leaping down were taken up by their own troops waiting on the outside of the ditch; but the French themselves confessed, that of the whole number, which was near one hundred, every man was much disabled; and some few were killed. Thus ended this assault, which after exposing the city of Trichinopoly to the greatest risque it had run during the war, ended by impairing the French force more than any other event since the capture of Seringham, nevertheless we do not find that lieutenant Harrison received any recompence for his gallant and sensible conduct in this hazardous and important service: he died some time after, without being promoted from the rank in which he served when he saved the city.

The firing was heard by the outguards at Coiladdy, where the next evening a messenger arrived from the city, upon which major Lawrence immediately detached a party to reinforce the garrison, and prepared to follow with the rest of the army, but heavy rains prevented him from arriving before the 3d of December. In the mean time the enemy on the third night after the assault crossed the river again, with all the Myfore cavalry, eight thousand men, dismounted, who



who had promised the regent to make a more successful attack upon the city; but finding the garrison alert they retreated without attempting any thing.

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The king of Tanjore, who, notwithstanding the alliance he was entering into with the French, knew nothing of their intentions to storm Trichinopoly, was not a little astonished at the news, and the loss which they sustained in the attempt made him repent that he had shewn so much inclination to abandon the Nabob and the English: the French finding that their misfortune produced a change in the intentions which the king had begun to entertain in their favour, determined to waste no more time in negotiating with him, but prepared to send a party of Morattoes to ravage his country. The king having intelligence of their design sent a body of troops under the command of his uncle Gauderow to Tricatopoly, a fort eighteen miles east of Trichinopoly, where they were ordered to remain and punish the Morattoes: for this phrase, in the vain language of the princes of Indostan, is synonymous to fighting, and is not seldom made use of even by those who lose the battle. •The king making a merit of this resolution to the Nabob, pretended that Gauderow only waited on the frontiers until the whole army was assembled, which would then immediately march to Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence, willing to put the sincerity of this profession to the test, wrote to the king that his troops would be of little service whilst they were commanded by so unexperienced an officer as Gauderow, and desired that Monac-gee might be reinstated in the command, of which he was the only man in the kingdom capable. This commendation served to confirm those suspicions of the general which had been raised in the king's mind by the artifices of his minister; and major Lawrence being informed of the alarm which the king had taken from his remonstrances in Monac-gee's favour, resolved to make no farther mention of his name, lest the consequences should be fatal to him: but requested that the Tanjorine troops might join him without delay, even under the command of Gauderow. None however came; for the Morattoes having sent a small party to amuse Gauderow, their main body of 1200 men penetrated into the kingdom at the end of December by another road,

1753. road, and as they had threatened began to lay the country waste with fire and sword.

This was the first motion which any of the enemy's parties had made since the assault of Trichinopoly: in the mean time several convoys were escorted from Tricatopoly to the English camp.

In the Carnatic the districts which acknowledged the Nabob had received no molestation from his enemies since the defeat of Mahomed Comaul at Tripetti, which happened in the month of September. The troops which Mr. Dupleix was able to send into the field from Pondicherry had lately been employed in besieging Palam Cotah, the same fort which they had refused to reduce for Morari-row. This place, with the circumjacent territory, is the only part in the Carnatic which does not depend on the Nabob of Arcot; it belongs to the Nabob of Cudapah. Examples of such sequestrations occur in every province of the Mogul empire, which amongst the rest of its feudal institutions allots to every Nabob a certain revenue arising from the product of lands, for his private expences: but as the basis of the Mogul government consists in regulations which deprive all its officers of any pretensions to real estates, and in obliging them to acknowledge that they hold nothing by any other title than the favour of the sovereign; the lands thus allotted to a Nabob are rarely situated in the province governed by himself, but are generally chosen in the most distant part of one of the neighbouring provinces; so that in this institution the Mogul's authority over all his officers appears in its utmost majesty; since the inhabitants of a province see the Nabob appointed to rule them, excluded from the right of appropriating to himself any part of the territory over which his jurisdiction, notwithstanding, extends. Hence likewise a perpetual source of disputes is established between the Nabobs of neighbouring provinces, who never fail to give one another reason to complain of violence committed in these sequestered lands. The Nabob of Cudapah applied to the presidency of Madras to assist the governor of Palam Cotah, on which they ordered a detachment of thirty Europeans, and two hundred Sepoys, to march from Devi Cotah and relieve the place. The detachment did not take the field before the enemy

enemy had made a practicable breach which they intended to storm the next day : but lieutenant Frazer having concerted measures with the governor, contrived to introduce his party that very night, and the enemy at day-break hearing English drums beating in the place, suspected what had happened, and immediately raised the siege.

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END of the FOURTH BOOK.

## B O O K V.

1753. **W**HILST these events were passing in the southern parts of the Decan, others of great consequence to the interests of the French nation, happened at Golcondah, and in the northern provinces of the Soubahship.

Notwithstanding the death of Ghazi-o-din Khan, which happened in October, 1752, the Morattoe generals, Balagerow and Ragogee Bonfola, continued the war against Sallabadjing and Mr. Buffy, who, as in the preceding year, marched westward towards the country of Balagerow; he, as before, began to burn his own villages, and the Morattoe cavalry in several skirmishes, were repulsed with slaughter by the French troops and artillery. These losses soon induced Balagerow to make proposals of peace, which was concluded about the middle of November at Calberga, a considerable town and fortress about 50 miles west of Beder; Sallabadjing giving up to Balagerow several districts near Brampoor, in exchange for others in the neighbourhood of Aurengabad, which had been given to him by Ghazi-o-din Khan. As soon as this peace was ratified, Balagerow returned with his part of the army to Poní, and Ragogee Bonfola with his towards Nagpore, the capital of his estates, about 350 miles north-east of Aurengabad, in the middle of the province of Berar.

Mr. Buffy having brought the Soubah's affairs to this state of apparent tranquillity, asked and obtained the province of Condavir, adjoining to the territory of Masulipatnam, of which the French company were already in possession; but Condavir was far less than the extent of his views, and he was meditating much greater requests, when they were interrupted by a renewal of hostilities with Ragogee Bonfola, who resenting that Sallabadjing had not consented to several demands,



demands, which he preferred when Balagerow was treating, loitered on the way until the other Morattoe, whom he feared, was returned to his capital; and then, about three weeks after the separation, appeared again before Calberga, where the army of Sallabadjing still remained.

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His cavalry, as usual, ruined the country, intercepted convoys, and attacked such parties as they could surprize with superior numbers: but avoided, as much as possible, any encounter with the French troops: which however they could not always escape; but were exposed several times to the French artillery, by which they suffered considerably. He nevertheless continued his depredations, and Mr. Buffy wishing, for the sake of his own views, to relieve Sallabadjing from all military operations, advised him to give Ragogee several districts in the neighbourhood of Berar, who on this cession retreated to his own country, about three weeks after he had recommenced hostilities. But these pacifications produced an effect contrary to that which Mr. Buffy had expected from them; for the cessions made to the Morattoes, had deprived many of Sallabadjing's officers of their pensions and employments, and consequently encreased their aversion to the influence which Mr. Buffy maintained in his councils. Shanavaze Khan, the first promoter of this discontent, no longer appeared at the head of the faction; but another more dangerous opponent encouraged the disaffected, and thwarted Mr. Buffy: this was Seid Laskar Khan, the Duan, who under Nizam-al-muluck had held the post of captain-general of the Soubah's army, in which character he likewise accompanied Nazirjing into the Carnatic. From the opinion entertained of his abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier, it was believed that Nazarjing would have escaped his fate, if he had not deprived himself of the counsels of this officer, by sending him to suppress some commotions at Aurengabad, soon after the army retired from Pondicherry to Arcot; he was at Aurengabad when Sallabadjing and Mr. Buffy arrived there, in the preceding year; and although he detested, more than any one, the favours which the Soubah conferred upon his European allies, he dissembled his sentiments so well, that Mr. Buffy believing him his

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1753. friend, had persuaded Sallabadjing to appoint him Duan, or Vizier; but as soon as Seid Laskar Khan found himself well-established in this post, he threw off the mask, and on all occasions contradicted the inclinations of his prince, whenever he thought they were dictated by the influences of Mr. Buffy; and now more than ever, when he saw the extent of his demands for the French nation. It happened that in the beginning of the year 1753, a few days after the peace with Ragogee, Mr. Buffy fell dangerously ill at Calberga, and although his constitution surmounted the first attacks of his distemper, he remained much enfeebled; and his physician being convinced, that his recovery depended on a total relief from those continual and anxious occupations, to which Mr. Buffy could not refuse himself, whilst he remained either in the camp, or court of Sallabadjing, he advised him immediately to retire, and to sequester himself from all business at Masulipatnam, until he should be perfectly recovered. Accordingly, Mr. Buffy departed from the camp in January, but left all the French troops and Sepoys with Sallabadjing, who soon after his departure proceeded without interruption to Hyderabad. The officer who now commanded the French troops, had neither experience, nor capacity sufficient to penetrate and counteract the intrigues of a faction in a Moorish court; and the Duan resolved, during Mr. Buffy's absence, to break the union between these too powerful auxiliaries and his sovereign. This was no easy task; for Mr. Buffy had persuaded Sallabadjing, a prince deficient both in personal courage and sagacity, that the French battalion were not only the principal support of his government against foreign enemies; but also the best security of his person and authority against intestine plots and commotions. The Duan therefore found it necessary to accustom him by degrees to the absence of these favourite troops: it was equally necessary to prevent them from entertaining any suspicion of this design, for they were too formidable to be removed abruptly; Mr. Buffy having joined to the battalion of Europeans, a body of 5000 Sepoys, paid by himself and acting entirely under his own orders. The Duan therefore neglected for some time to furnish the pay of the French army at the usual periods, pretending that several considerable districts at a distance from Hyderabad,

Hyderabad, had failed in the payment of their revenues to the treasury; and when the French officers, as he expected, complained loudly of their own distresses, he told them that he knew no other method of satisfying their demands, unless by sending them to collect the revenues of the Soubah from those who withheld them: this proposal they very readily accepted, expecting, from the custom of Indostan, that they should receive considerable presents, besides the sums which they were charged to levy. Still it would have been difficult to have obtained Sallabadjing's consent for their departure, had not their own misconduct convinced him that it was necessary for the peace of the city; where, since Mr. Buffy's departure, the discipline to which he had accustomed them was so much relaxed, that they daily committed disorders, for which, the persons aggrieved, were continually demanding justice at the gates of the palace.

As soon as the Duan had thus removed and separated the greatest part of the French troops, into several different parts of the country, he invented some pretext to persuade Sallabadjing, that it was necessary he should return without delay to Aurengabad; and even prevailed upon him, to permit no more than a small detachment of their Europeans and Sepoys to accompany him. He then instructed the governor of Golcondah, to furnish no pay to those who remained in the city, and to distress them by every other means, excepting open hostilities; and the same orders were given in the countries, to which the several detachments had been sent to collect their arrears. This treatment, so different from what the French had hitherto received, he thought would lead them, of their own accord, to ask their dismissal from a service, in which they should find that nothing more was to be got.

Accordingly, the soldiers and Sepoys disappointed of their pay, began to clamour and desert; but the French officers stood firm to their duty, and contributed their own money to appease their troops. This resource, however, was very inadequate to the necessity, and the danger encreasing every day, they wrote to Mr. Buffy, that his immediate return to Hyderabad, was the only means left to save the national affairs in the Decan. Mr. Buffy, not being yet recovered

1753. from his illness, hesitated; but was soon after determined by a peremptory letter from Mr. Dupleix, threatening to make him responsible for the consequences of his absence from the important command with which the nation had intrusted him with such unlimited confidence. He left Masulipatnam about the end of June, having previously sent orders to all the detachments stationed abroad, to be at Hyderabad, about the time that he expected to arrive there himself. He arrived on the 23d of July, and found all his troops assembled in the city; they were 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys. This force, and his own presence, imposed respect upon the governor, and all the other officers of Sallabadjing's administration. They immediately consented to furnish some money in part of the arrears, which the Duan had withheld with so much artifice, and Mr. Buffy out of his own stock, and by his credit with the bankers, procured more, which all together was sufficient to appease the troops; whom, nevertheless, in the first days after his arrival, he had with much difficulty been able to restrain from open tumult and violence in the city. But although the present distress was removed, yet no provision was made for the future; and from the late practices, every obstacle was still to be expected from the disposition of the Duan, who, at this very time, refused to furnish the pay, and subsistence of the small detachment which had accompanied Sallabadjing to Aurengabad. Mr. Buffy saw the only remedy; and determined to proceed with his whole force to that city, as soon as the rains should cease, which, in that part of the Decan, continue from the beginning of July to the end of September. The march from Golcondah to Aurengabad is at least 300 miles: nevertheless, he found means from his own resources to make the necessary preparations, and left Golcondah in the beginning of October.

Notwithstanding the evil disposition of Seid Laskar Khan, and his adherents, Mr. Buffy had several friends, who were men of importance in the court of Aurengabad; Sallabadjing himself was at this time very much in debt to his own army, and moreover, in apprehensions of another rupture with Ragogee the Morattoe; so that the boldness of Mr. Buffy's resolution, in marching uncalled for to Aurengabad,



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rengabad, created no little perplexity in the councils of the Soubah, and more in the mind of his minister, who even deliberated with himself, whether he should not take refuge in the impregnable fortrefs of Doltabad, about eight miles from Aurengabad; he however judged better, and tried negotiation, making many excuses and apologies, proffering to surrender the seals of his office, and requesting that Mr. Buffy would confer them upon some other person. Mr. Buffy penetrated the artifice of this seeming humility, which was practised by the Duan, only because he knew that Mr. Buffy would not risque the obloquy and reproach of having moved him from his office, as the preparatory means of obtaining the ambitious demands of his own nation from Sallabadjing. Both therefore were equally willing to treat, and an able agent, in whom both had equal confidence, soon adjusted the terms of reconciliation. The ceremonials of the first interviews, both with Seid Laskar Khan and Sallabadjing, were dictated by Mr. Buffy, and agreed to by them.

Every thing being settled, the French army advanced on the 23d of November from the ground where they had halted several days, waiting for the conclusion of the terms of reconciliation. About eight miles from Aurengabad, they were met by Seid Laskar Khan, accompanied by twenty-one other lords of distinction, all riding in the same line on their elephants, attended by their respective guards and retinues, and surrounded by a great number of spectators. When near, the elephant of Seid Laskar Khan bowed first; on which all the other lords dismounted likewise, as did Mr. Buffy, who embraced first Seid Laskar Khan, and then the other lords. All then mounted again, and proceeded in military order towards the Soubah, who waited for them, accompanied by a great number of troops, in a tent, pitched at some distance from this interview. He embraced Mr. Buffy at the entrance of the tent, and was saluted by the French artillery. When seated within, Mr. Buffy made his offerings, which consisted of several elephants, some horses, and jewels; all his officers likewise presented gold rupees. After which Sallabadjing arose and came out of the tent, holding Mr. Buffy by the hand, who assisted him to mount his elephant, and then mounted his own, as did all the lords.

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The procession was now magnificent and immense, consisting of a great army, all the nobles, and most of the inhabitants of one of the first cities in Indostan. The pomp, when arrived at the palace, was saluted by numerous and repeated discharges of cannon. As soon as the court was ranged, Sallabadjing made presents to Mr. Buffy, of the same kind and value as he had just before received from him, and then dismissed the assembly. Mr. Buffy then proceeded to the house of Seid Laskar Khan, who confirmed and swore to the executing the terms which Mr. Buffy had insisted upon. They were, that “the provinces of Mustaphanagar, Elore, Rajamundrum, and Chicacole, should be given for the support of the French army; and that the patents should be delivered in three days: that the sums which Jaffer ali Khan, at that time governor of those provinces, might have collected before Mr. Buffy should be able to settle the administration of them, should be made good from the Soubah’s treasury, in case Jaffer ali Khan himself should delay, or evade the payment of them: that the French troops should, as before the separation, have the guard of the Soubah’s person: that he should not interfere in any manner in the affairs of the province of Arcot; and that all other affairs in general, should be conducted with the concurrence of Mr. Buffy. In return, Mr. Buffy swore to support and befriend Seid Laskar Khan in his office of Duan.” The patents for the four provinces were prepared without delay, and delivered to Mr. Buffy, who sent them immediately to Mr. Moracin, the French chief at Masulipatnam, with instructions to take possession.

These acquisitions added to Masulipatnam, and the province of Condavir, made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orixá, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles from Medapilly to the pagoda of Jagernaut. These countries are bounded by a vast chain of mountains, which run nearly in the same direction as the sea-coast, and are in most places about eighty or ninety miles distant from it, although in some few not more than thirty. They are covered with impenetrable forests of bamboes, and in their whole extent there are no more than three or four passes, which according to Mr. Buffy’s account,

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account, may be defended by 100 men against an army. The province of Condavir extends between the river Kriftna and Gondegama, which gains the sea at Medapilly; the limits of the other four provinces are not exactly ascertained; nevertheless it appears that Mustaphanagar joins to the north of Condavir; that Elore lays to the northwest of Mustaphanagar; that Rajamundrum is bounded to the south of these two provinces; and that Chicacole, much the largest of the four, extends 250 miles from the river Godaveri to the pagoda of Jagernaut. The revenues of the four provinces were computed at 3,100,000 rupees; of Condavir, at 680,000, and the dependencies of Masulipatnam were so much improved that they produced this year 507,000; in all 4,287,000 rupees, equal to more than 535,000 pounds sterling: all these rents, excepting those of Masulipatnam, and its dependencies, which seemed already to have been carried to the height, might be greatly improved. So that these territories rendered the French masters of the greatest dominion, both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed in Indostan by Europeans, not excepting the Portuguese, when at the height of their prosperity. Nor were commercial advantages wanting to enhance the value of these acquisitions, for the manufactures of cloth proper for the European markets are made in this part of the Decan, of much better fabric, and at much cheaper rates than in the Carnatic: in Rajamundrum are large forests of teak trees, and it is the only part of the coast of Coromandel and Orixá that furnishes this wood, which is equal in every respect to oak; Chicacole abounds in rice and other grain, of which great quantities are exported every year to the Carnatic. Although it was intended that the French should not hold these countries, any longer than they maintained the stipulated number of troops in the Soubah's service, yet it is evident that he could not have given them an establishment in any part of his dominions, from which it would be so difficult to expel them, in case they neglected to fulfil their obligation: for, defended on one hand by the chain of mountains, and having on the other all the resources of the sea open, they might, with a few precautions, defy the united force of the Decan. This the Duan, Seid Laskar Khan knew, and dreaded so much, that he had offered Mr. Buffy a much larger tract of country, in the inland

1753. inland parts of the Soubahship, provided he would desist from demanding these provinces.

Mr. Bussy passed the remainder of the year 1753, at Aurengabad, employed in regulating the discipline of his troops, in providing means for their pay and subsistence, and in making preparations to act in concert with the army of Sallabadjing, against the Morattoo Ragoonie Bonsola.

Upon the death of Ghazi-o-din Khan, the emperor, Hamed Schah conferred the office of captain-general of the army upon Sche-abed-din, the son of Ghazi-o-din Khan, although at that time a youth, not more than 16 years of age; but a diligent education, and very uncommon natural talents, with the constant advice of the preceptor of his infancy, enabled him to conduct himself in this great office, not only without folly, or indecision, but with so much artifice and boldness, as soon convinced all the omrahs of the court, that he was much more to be dreaded than despised; and indeed, he never rejected any crime which promoted the end he intended to accomplish. For some time his uncle Sallabadjing, remained in apprehensions that he would march into the Decan, to revenge his father's death; but he had at that time taken so great a part in the distracted affairs of Delhi, that he had neither leisure or opportunity to interfere so far from the capital. We shall defer to give any account of these events, until the consequences of them come to affect or influence the English affairs in another part of Indostan.

The English themselves could not refrain from admiring the sagacity of Mr. Dupleix's conduct, which, by making the war in the Carnatic subservient to his views on the northern provinces, had by degrees led his nation to the great establishments of which they were now in possession. At the same time they had the satisfaction to know that these successes of their enemies could not be imputed to any defects in their own conduct; for so far from having a force sufficient to make head against the French, in two parts of the country so distant from each other as Golcondah and Trichinopoly; their whole force collected was always much inferior to what the French were able to oppose to them in the southern parts of the Decan; where nothing but efforts of valour, scarcely



to be paralleled, had carried them through the two wars of Chundafahab and the Mysoreans. It was equally fortunate for the nation, that chance should have placed during these arduous times, a man of much sagacity, indefatigable application, and a perseverance equal to Dupleix's, at the head of the presidency; such was Mr. Saunders, who came to the government a little before the death of Nazir-jing; and, convinced by that event of the ambitious schemes of Mr. Dupleix, determined to oppose them to the utmost of his strength, notwithstanding he had no instructions from the company to engage in hostilities; and notwithstanding the two nations were at peace in Europe, he had with the same spirit continued the war, never discouraged by adverse turns, nor dreading the event of desperate attempts when necessary to retrieve them. The two governors had during the whole course of hostilities carried on a sharp and acute controversy by letters; and Mr. Dupleix, who had even before the event happened, persuaded himself that Mr. Buffy would obtain the northern provinces, had, towards the end of the year 1753, affected to shew an inclination to terminate the war in the Carnatic; and in the beginning of the year 1754, consented to treat in form. When it was agreed that a conference should be held in the town of Sadrafs, belonging to the Dutch, on the road between Madrafs and Pondicherry.

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The deputies, on the side of the English, were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart: on the French, the father Lavour, superior of the French Jesuits in India; Mr. Kirjean, nephew to Mr. Dupleix; and Mr. Bauffet, a member of the council of Pondicherry. They met on the 3d of January; the two governors superintending and directing their proceedings by letters, which were no more than twelve hours in coming from Pondicherry, and only six from Madrafs. The English deputies opened the conference by proposing as the basis of the negotiation, that Mahomed-ally should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, with the same authority as had ever been possessed by any former Nabob; and that the king of Tanjore should be guaranteed in the peaceable possession of his kingdom. The French then produced their ideas of a basis, and the whole of their terms together: their basis implied the acknowledgment of Salabad-jing as Soubah of

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1754. the Decan, and the immediate release of the French prisoners taken during the war: the English, in return for their acquiescence to these two articles, were to be exempted from the ground rent of Madras, a small fine formerly paid to the government of Arcot; they were to keep possession of the country of Ponomalee; and some establishment was to be made for Mahomed-ally after his difference with the Myforean concerning Trichinopoly was conciliated. It was impossible to have made proposals more directly opposite; for by acknowledging Salabad-jing without restrictions, the French would become arbiters of the fate of the English in the Carnatic, as they would of the French, if Mahomed-ally was acknowledged: so that each side required of the other to give up every thing before they had well begun to treat of any thing. However the business did not stop, and the French deputies produced seven patents, which they called their authorities for interfering as they had done, in the affairs of the Mogul government, and for making the present demands: two of these were patents from Murzafa-jing; one appointing Mr. Dupleix commander in all the countries from the river Kristna to the sea; the other, Chunda-saheb governor of the Carnatic: four were from Salabad-jing; two confirming the two foregoing; another giving the countries of Arcot and Trichinopoly to Mr. Dupleix after the death of Chunda-saheb; the other appointing Mortiz-ally of Velore, lieutenant under Mr. Dupleix in these countries: the seventh and last piece, which the French called the most authentic, was a letter from the Great Mogul, confirming all that Salabad-jing had done in favour of Mr. Dupleix and his allies. The French deputies then asked what titles the English had to produce; who replied that they consisted of patents from Nazir-jing, Gazi-o-din Khan, and the Great Mogul, appointing Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic: here again was a flat contradiction, and of such a nature as could not be adjusted without sending the deputies to Delhi. The French, notwithstanding, insisted that the titles should be examined; and being told that the Nabob's were at Trichinopoly, desired that they might be immediately sent for; nevertheless they in the mean time delivered copies of their own to be scrutinized by the English deputies. But Mr. Saunders, convinced that this examination would multiply discussions, without removing any of the suspicions

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and objections which prevailed with both sides on the validity of the adversary's titles, came close to the point, and ordered his deputies to propose that the English and French should be put in possession of lands of equal value in such different parts of the province as might prevent future disputes; that the commerce of the two companies in the Carnatic should be established on equal terms of advantage; that security should be given to the Mysoreans for such a sum of money as upon an equitable adjustment of their account might appear to be due to them; that a pension should be assigned to Raja-saheb, the son of Chunda-saheb; and that the French prisoners should be released; provided Mr. Dupleix would acknowledge Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic. These proposals left the French superior by the whole of their possessions to the northward, which were of much greater value than what the English would have been content to take, subject to an equality with them in the Carnatic: a moderation which would have been inconsistent with the continual success of the English arms, if the expences of the war had not already greatly hurt the commercial interests of the East-India company, restrained, by their charter, from enlarging their capital. The acknowledgment of Mahomed-ally appeared the only difficulty in Mr. Saunders's proposal; but even this might be removed by the English acknowledging Salabad-jing, on condition that he would confirm Mahomed-ally in the Nabobship; and that the French would likewise agree to concur equally with the English in supporting this prince in his government. But Mr. Dupleix was so intoxicated by his connexions with Salabad-jing, and his notions of his own authority in the Carnatic, that he rejected Mr. Saunders's proposal with disdain. It was now no longer possible to mistake his views, or to doubt that he had any other intention than to leave the English in possession of a fortieth part of the territories dependant on Arcot, on condition that they would tamely suffer him to keep and govern all the rest with absolute sovereignty. Big with these ideas, he ordered his deputies to insist strenuously on the validity of his titles: and whilst they were explaining the various events, which had led their nation to the acquisition of such important prerogatives, the English deputies discovered that the Mogul's letter to Mr. Dupleix wanted the usual signature, which is a seal engraved with his

1754. name and titles, and stamped with ink at the head of the patent. They likewise observed that the seal impressed on the wax which had secured the cover of the letter, appeared by the date to be thirty-three years old, and consequently belonged to a former emperor. These defects naturally gave them many suspicions, which were much confirmed, when, on desiring an explanation from the French deputies, they immediately recalled all their papers, giving for a reason, that they would not submit them to any farther examination before the Nabob's patents were produced. This in reality was no reason at all; they, however, consulted Mr. Dupleix on the objections made to the Mogul's letter, who replied, that the piece he had delivered to them was only a duplicate, to which the writer in the secretary's office at Delhi, might have thought it needless to affix the seal of signature, and that with the same negligence the first seal which came to hand might have been taken up by him to seal the cover; but that the original brought by the Mogul's officer deputed from Delhi, had the seal of signature affixed to it, which was dated in the first year of the reign of the late emperor Hamed Schah; and that the letter itself was dated in the fifth year of his reign, the same in which it was received. It now became necessary to examine the original, and to enquire whether it was the custom in the secretary's office at Delhi to pay so little attention to duplicates; but Mr. Saunders, and the English deputies, thought that what they had already seen and heard was a sufficient proof that the copy was a forgery, and concluded the same of the original, and the rest of the French papers: the French deputies nevertheless persisted to defend the authenticity of them; and least the abrupt manner in which they had withdrawn them from farther examination should be interpreted as a proof that they themselves knew their pieces could not stand the test, they now gave another reason for this part of their conduct, alledging that they had recalled them only for fear copies should be taken in order to direct Mahomed-ally in making out those patents he had promised to produce. This blundering apology exposed their cause more than any remarks which their adversaries had hitherto made; for it was a tacit acknowledgment, that they themselves were convinced of the possibility of forging patents with so much dexterity that the artifice could



could not be detected. It might have been asked, by what means they arrived at this conviction; and the English deputies might have added, as the natural consequences of this principle laid down by their adversaries, that if Mahomed-ally could avail himself of such arts, Mr. Dupleix might have made use of them likewise: this argument, however, was not produced, either because it did not occur, because it would have exploded the pretensions arising from patents on both sides: but this the English ought to have wished, since it would have reduced the conference to a plan of equality, which would give them a right to demand an equal share of the countries to the northward, or to insist that the French should relinquish them; after which the English might have consented to recede from this demand, on condition that Mr. Dupleix should acknowledge Mahomed-ally in the Carnatic; but arguments have very little influence in treaties, and both sides had already made use of such sharp invectives on the conduct of their adversaries during the war, that it was manifest neither had any hopes of bringing about a reconciliation. Thus the conference broke up on the eleventh day after it began, leaving both sides more exasperated than ever.

In the mean while hostilities did not cease. The body of 1200 Morattoes, who had slipped by Gauderow, pushed through the kingdom of Tanjore even to the sea-coast; plundering and burning the villages, destroying the grain, and driving off the cattle: the consternation and mischief which they spread through the country, convinced the king of his imprudence in having set so little value on the alliance of the English, as well as on the abilities of his general Monac-gee; and with the usual suppleness of weak minds when involved in dangerous circumstances, he now strenuously solicited major Lawrence to march to his relief; and reinstated Monac-gee in the command of the army. The violent rains had swelled the rivers, and rendered the roads so bad, that it was impossible for the English to march into his country; but Monac-gee went in quest of the enemy without delay, at the head of 3000 horse. The Morattoes, ignorant of the country, had imprudently got between two branches of the Caveri near the sea, and a sudden flood swelled both the channels so much, that they were

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1754. were inclosed in an island from which they could not get out again before the waters subsided. Whilst they were waiting for this at the head of the island, Monac-gee marched and encamped to the eastward of them, near a pass which he knew would be fordable sooner than any other part of the two arms by which they were enclosed; and the instant that the waters were sufficiently fallen, crossed over, and coming upon them by surprise, attacked them in the angle of the island, where it was so narrow that his troops extended from one arm to the other in their front. The Morattoes, thus pent up, seeing no other means to escape but by cutting their way through the Tanjorines, exerted themselves with their usual bravery, augmented by despair: but on the other hand, the Tanjorines were inflamed by the desire of revenging the injuries their country had suffered from these cruel freebooters, and Monac-gee, sensible that the continuance of his master's uncertain favour would depend on the success of this day, animated his troops, who loved him, by his own example; fighting in the thickest throng with the utmost intrepidity. Valour on both sides being thus equal, the superiority of numbers decided the victory: 800 of the Morattoes were killed, and most of the rest were wounded and taken prisoners. To deter them from invading his country in future, Monac-gee ordered all the dead bodies to be hanged upon trees; and all the prisoners, not excepting those who were wounded, to be impaled alive in sight of the high roads. Having disgraced his victory by this cruelty, he returned with the horses of the slain in triumph to Tanjore. The English hoped that this success would induce the king to send his troops to join them; and the victorious general expected that the service he had rendered would confirm him in his master's favour: but both were disappointed; for the envy of the minister Succo-gee increasing with the merit of his rival, he persuaded the king that there was no longer any necessity to be at the expence of keeping his troops in pay, since the severe blow which the Morattoes had received, would doubtless deter them from making another incursion into his country. The king therefore, after complimenting Monac-gee on his success, told him there was no farther occasion for his service, and disbanded his army.

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The number of French prisoners in Tritchinopoly, obliged major Lawrence to augment the garrison to 300 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys; 150 of the battalion likewise remained sick in the hospital; so that the whole force with which he kept the field was no more than 600 Europeans, including the artillery men, and 1800 Sepoys; the French battalion, reinforced in December with 200 men, was now equal to the English, and they had moreover four companies of Topasses, each of 100 men, distinct from their battalion; they had also 6000 Sepoys, and the Mysoreans and Morattoes remained as before, with little alteration in their numbers. Notwithstanding this superiority, the enemy did not venture to quit the island and encamp to the south of the Caveri.

The plain of Tritchinopoly having been so long the seat of war, scarce a tree was left standing for several miles round the city; and the English detachments were obliged to march five or six miles to get firewood. Their provisions came chiefly from the Tanjore country; but the merchants would not venture nearer than Tricatapoly, a fort eighteen miles east of Tritchinopoly, from whence, when a sufficient quantity was collected, they were escorted to the camp. What came from Tondiman's country was brought at appointed times to the skirts of his woods, within six or seven miles of the camp. The detachments sent on these services were seldom less than 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, a force which the enemy's cavalry, unsupported by Europeans, were always afraid to attack; and seven convoys were safely escorted from the beginning of January to the middle of February; at which time a convoy was in readiness, much larger than any of the former, for it consisted of a great quantity of military stores, as well as provisions, the carriage of which required no less than 3000 oxen: the escort was therefore made stronger than usual, being composed of the grenadier company of 100 men, 80 other Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and four pieces of cannon; this force, although more than one third of the army, was scarcely adequate to the convoy; and, what was still more unfortunate, the command of the party fell, by the rotation of military duty, to an officer of little experience, and less ability: however, as the enemy had lately exerted themselves

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1754. so little, little danger was apprehended; and it was imagined that a party of Tanjorine horse which lay encamped at Cootaparah, five miles north-east of Elimiserum, would join the escort upon any emergency: but these, whether inadvertently, or from a malicious design of avoiding the service expected from them, quitted their post the 12th of February, the very day that the escort marched; which, however, arrived without interruption at Tricatapoly in the evening, from whence they set out with the convoy the next day, and gained Kelli Cotah, where they passed the night: this fort is situated about five miles to the east of Cootaparah, and the road between these two places lies through the skirts of Tondiman's woods. The enemy at Seringham receiving intelligence that the party were returning, determined to meet them with a sufficient force; 12000 horse, Morattoes and Mysoresans, 6000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, with seven pieces of cannon, crossed the river in the night, and posted themselves a little to the east of Cootaparah. The convoy continuing their march at day-break the 15th, advanced two miles from Kelli Cotah without any suspicion of danger; when they discovered at a distance several bodies of cavalry moving on all sides amongst the thickets and underwood. The commanding officer nevertheless made no change in his disposition, which happened to be the very worst that could have been imagined; for he had distributed the troops in small bodies along each side of the line of bullocks and carts, and even in the front and rear kept no more than a single platoon. The Morattoes were commanded by Morari-row and Innis Khan, who soon discovered the weakness of this order of march, and resolved to take advantage of it without waiting for the French troops. On a sudden, all the different bodies of cavalry, which surrounded the convoy, set up a shout in concert, and galloping up at full speed charged every part of the line almost in the same instant; some pushing on to the intervals which separated the different platoons, and then falling on their flanks, whilst others attacked them in front. The onset was so sudden and impetuous, that few of the English troops had time to give more than a single discharge, after which, what resistance they made, was all pell-mell, and in confusion, every man trusting only to himself, and resolving to sell his life as dear as possible.

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Most of the Sepoys flung down their arms and fled at the beginning of the onset. The bullocks, terrified by the tumult, increased it by pushing on all sides to get away, sometimes against the enemy, sometimes upon the escort. The fight however continued until the French troops came up, who obliging the Morattoes, much against their will, to sheathe their swords, offered quarter, which was accepted: 138 soldiers were made prisoners, and of these 100 were wounded, 50 were killed on the spot: of eight officers five were killed, and the other three were wounded; amongst them the commanding officer, mortally. Lieutenant Revel, the same who served at the defence of Arcot, commanded the artillery in this action: this brave man seeing the day lost, and the enemy on the point of getting possession of the cannon, suffered himself to be cut down without making resistance, rather than quit the work in which he was employed, of spiking up one of the field pieces. The garrison of Elimiserum, as soon as they heard the firing, marched to secure the village of Cootaparah, that the convoy might take post in it: but all was lost before they arrived there.

This was by far the severest blow which the English troops had suffered during the course of the war; it took off one third of the battalion; but what rendered the misfortune irreparable, was the loss of that gallant company of grenadiers, whose courage on every occasion we have seen deciding the victory, and who may be said, without exaggeration, to have rendered more service than the same number of troops belonging to any nation in any part of the world. The whole convoy, provisions, military stores, and 7000 pounds in money, fell into the enemy's hands, who returned with their booty and their prisoners to the island. They soon after set the Sepoys at liberty, who returned to the English camp; and they permitted the two surviving English officers to depart on their parole, which was taken in the name of Sallabadjing.

The presidency of Madras, as soon as they heard of this misfortune, sent a detachment of 180 men, under the command of captain Pigou, to Devi Cottah, by sea; and about the same time hopes were entertained of reinforcing the army with a body of cavalry, which had lately arrived at Arcot, under the command of Maphuze Khan,

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1754. the Nabob's elder brother. This man, taken prisoner when his father was killed at the battle of Ambour, was carried by Chundasaheb to Pondicherry, where he remained until Nazir-jing came into the province, when Mr. Dupleix, at the request of this prince, released him. On Nazir-jing's death he seemed inclinable to follow the fortunes of Murzafa-jing, with whom he went out of the Carnatic; but after his death retired to Cudapah, where he had remained until he took it into his head to come back to the Carnatic with 2000 horse, and as many Peans, to serve, as he said, the Nabob his brother. He nevertheless on his arrival at Arcot declared he could proceed no farther without receiving a sum of money to satisfy his troops: this his brother Abdul-wahab promised to supply, upon which it was expected that he would march immediately to Trichinopoly. The experience of the late disaster convinced major Lawrence, that the party at Devi Cottah was not strong enough to march to the camp, and dreading to leave the city exposed to another assault, by moving to join them, he ordered them to wait at Devi Cottah, until Maphuze Khan came up, and determined in the mean time to maintain his ground on the plain, notwithstanding he had only 400 Europeans in the field. The smallness of this number rendered it impossible to bring provisions from such a distance as the Tanjore country, and indeed the king, not doubting but that the late defeat of the escort would oblige the English to retire from Trichinopoly, discouraged his merchants from supplying them any longer. Tondiman's country therefore remained the only resource, a party of 300 Sepoys were detached, with orders to collect them in Killanore, a village in the woods, about twelve miles from the city. The detachments of Europeans employed to escort them were not permitted to move farther than five miles from the camp, at which distance they halted, and sent forward a detachment of Sepoys, who met the provisions, escorted by the party of Sepoys from Killanore, at the skirts of the wood, and returned with them from thence to the post where the Europeans were halting. In this service they were much assisted by the activity and vigilance of Mahomed Iffoof, an excellent partizan, whose merit had raised him from a captain of a company, to be commander in chief of all the Sepoys in the English service, into which he first enlisted under captain

tain Clive, a little before the battle of Covrepauk : he was a brave and resolute man, but cool and wary in action, and capable of stratagem : he constantly procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, planned the marches of the convoys so well, that by constantly changing the roads, and the times of bringing the provisions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for three months. The enemy, however, getting intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanore, sent, in the end of March, a party to attack that place; but they were repulsed by the Sepoys stationed there. About the same time the regent detached 1000 horse, and 1000 Sepoys, with some pieces of cannon, to his own country, which the Morattoe Balagerow had entered, and was plundering : but soon after he received a reinforcement of 2000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row's brother, which more than compensated the draught he had made from his army : even this reinforcement did not tempt the enemy to quit the island, and encamp on the plain, although it was evident that this measure would inevitably oblige the English either to retire or bring on a general action. In the mean time the English camp, although not distressed for provisions, had little hopes of receiving any reinforcements to enable them to stand their ground if the enemy should take this step ; for the detachment at Devi Cottah could not prudently move until they were joined by Maphuze Khan, who cavilling with his brother about the pay of his troops, had got no farther than Conjeveram, and shewed no inclination to proceed from thence before his demands were satisfied. Major Lawrence therefore, as the only resource, represented to the presidency the necessity of endeavouring to recover the king of Tanjore to the Nabob's interest, and Mr. Palk, who had during his former residence at Tanjore, made himself acceptable to the king, was sent thither again in the middle of April. He now found the king difficult of access, and more than ever under the influence of his minister Succo-gee, who was carrying on a treaty with the Mysoreans, and had prevailed on his master to imprison Monac-gee, under pretence that he had not accounted regularly for the monies which had been issued for the expences of the army. The representations made by Mr. Palk, prevented the



1754. king from concluding the treaty with the Myforeans, but did not induce him to send his troops to Tritchinopoly. In these circumstances, which the enemy's generals, if indued with common sagacity or activity, might soon have rendered desperate, it was discovered that the army had for some time been exposed to the danger of treachery from a person in whom, by the nature of his office, major Lawrence had been obliged to repose the utmost confidence.

One day in the beginning of April, a Bramin informed the servant of captain Kilpatrick, that as he was washing himself that morning at the river side, some of the enemy's Colliers crossed the river, and gave a parcel to some Colliers belonging to the English camp, whom he heard, although indistinctly, saying something about a letter, and Mahomed Iffoof the commander of the Sepoys; he added, that he knew the men who had taken the parcel, and desired assistance to seize them. The Colliers were immediately taken up, and one of them, without hesitation, delivered a woollen parcel, containing a letter directed to Mahomed Iffoof, which captain Kilpatrick immediately carried to the major, in whose presence it was opened, and interpreted by Poniapah, the principal linguist. It was from the regent of Myfore, sealed with his seal of signature, and on the back was stamped the print of a hand, a form equivalent with the Myforeans to an oath. The letter desired Mahomed Iffoof, and another officer of Sepoys, to meet, according to their promise, some persons who were to be deputed by the regent, with powers to adjust the time and manner of betraying the city of Tritchinopoly; in reward for which service the regent promised, if the plot succeeded, to give Mahomed Iffoof a sum of money equal to 160,000 pounds sterling, a considerable command in his army, with some lands; he agreed likewise to reward, in the manner that Mahomed Iffoof should recommend, such friends as he might employ in the enterprize. On this Mahomed Iffoof, the other officer of Sepoys mentioned in the letter, the Bramin who gave the information, and the Colliers he had accused, were imprisoned; and captain Kilpatrick, with captain Caillaud, were appointed to examine them. The Bramin was a writer to the commissary of the army, and had lately been confined upon a suspicion



suspicion of having embezzled some money; he persisted in his story; but the Colleries said, that the parcel was first discovered by them lying on some steps, near the place where they were washing, and that asking one another what it might be, they concluded it was something belonging to a person who had washed there in the morning, or to the Bramin himself who was then washing very near them: so they agreed not to touch it, and went away; but one less scrupulous than the rest, in hopes that it might contain something of value, returned and took it up. Mahomed Issoof, and the other Sepoy officer, declared they knew nothing of the matter. Poniapah the linguist interpreted the depositions, and gave it as his opinion, that the Bramin knew more of the letter than he had discovered. The next day the prisoners were examined again, when the Bramin was assured that his life should be spared if he would reveal the truth: upon which he declared, that the day before he accused the Colleries, he went to Seringham, in consequence of a message from the regent of Mysore, desiring to see him; when the regent offered him a reward of 100,000 rupees, if he would contrive to make use of the letter in question, so as to prejudice Mahomed Issoof in the minds of the English; he added, that he undertook the commission partly for the sake of the reward, and partly from desire to be revenged on Mahomed Issoof, who had been the principal author of his late imprisonment. The Colleries were again examined separately, and agreed, without any variation, in the deposition they made the day before; upon which they, as well as Mahomed Issoof, and the other Sepoy officer, were released, and declared innocent.

However, suspicions were entertained that the whole truth had not been told, and that some person, of much more consequence than an insignificant writer, such as the Bramin, was at the bottom of this daring iniquity: the Bramin was therefore sent back to prison, and remained there several days, often urged to discover more; but still persisting in his second deposition. At length, major Lawrence finding that gentle methods produced nothing, determined to try the effect of terror, and ordered Poniapah, the linguist, to acquaint him, that he must prepare to die the next morning, unless he confessed the whole

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whole truth, and support it by proofs. The linguist returned and said, the prisoner had now confessed that he had been advised to go to the king, and propose the scheme of the letter by one Gopinrauze, a man who resided in Tritchinopoly, and formerly served as an interpreter to the English commandant of the garrison. Gopinrauze was immediately examined; he said he knew nothing of the affair, but appeared confounded and frightened, upon which Poniapah the linguist said he was certainly guilty. Whilst the examination of Gopinrauze was carried on in the camp, the Bramin confined in the city, contrived to send a message to Mahomed Iloof, desiring to see him, having something of importance to communicate. Mahomed Iloof repaired to the prison, taking the precaution to carry another person with him to be a witness of the conversation; when the prisoner made the following declaration. That serving in the commissary's department, under Peramrauze the principal agent and interpreter to the English commissary, he had several times been sent to Seringham to solicit the release of his master's family, who had been taken prisoners, when the convoy coming from Tricatapoly was defeated. After several journies he procured their liberty, and a little while afterwards Poniapah proposed to him, as he was known in the enemy's camp, to carry a letter, and deliver it either to the king, or some of his principal officers; the Bramin answered, that it was a dangerous business, for which he might be hanged; to which the linguist replied, that he should be able to save him by saying that he employed him as a spy. The Bramin desired time to consider, and immediately went and consulted his master Peramrauze, who advised him to comply with Poniapah's request. Poniapah, however, apprehensive of a discovery, told him that it was not proper to write the letter in the English camp, but directed the prisoner to write it himself when arrived in the enemy's camp; which instruction he obeyed. The letter was addressed to two principal officers, desiring they would persuade the regent to write to major Lawrence, and request him to send Poniapah to Seringham in order to hear some proposals relating to the dispute with the Nabob concerning Tritchinopoly. The next day messengers from the regent came to major Lawrence, by whose orders Poniapah proceeded to Seringham;

ham; the Bramin accompanied him, and was present during his whole conversation with the regent: who began by exclaiming against the Nabob for his breach of faith, and asked what reasons the English could have for supporting him in it. Poniapah answered, that he had assisted them in defending Fort St. David, when attacked by the French in 1748. Poniapah then asked the regent what he had in his heart; who replied, that if the English would pay him all the expences he had incurred during the war, he would go away; or if they would give him the city, he would pay their expences: or lastly, if the Nabob and his whole family, would come and throw themselves at his feet, beg for mercy, and own themselves beggars, that would satisfy him. Why, said he, do the English stay here and spend their money to no purpose; my expence is no greater than it would be if I remained in Mysore. Poniapah replied, that he knew the English would give up the city, if their expences were reimbursed; for that he had seen a letter to this purport, written by the governor of Madras, five or six months ago. The regent said he was ready to make the agreement, but that it must be kept a secret from the French, for he would not trust them, knowing that they wanted the city for themselves. Poniapah assured him, that the business might be concluded as soon as Mr. Palk arrived at Tanjore; and in answer to questions made by the regent, he told him, that the English got all their provisions from Tondiman's country, that there were only provisions for two months in the city, and likewise revealed several other interesting particulars of their condition. The regent assured him, that if the negociation succeeded, he would give him a great reward in money, a number of villages, and the command of a thousand Bramins: for Poniapah himself was a Bramin. The conference then finished, and Poniapah, at his return to camp, reported to the major such part of it only as could not prejudice himself; he likewise ordered the Bramin to say nothing of what he had heard to any one, excepting his master Peramrauze, and to tell him only such particulars as he himself intended to relate to the major. Some time after the commissary's business requiring the Bramin to go to Tanjore, Poniapah was averse to his departure. On his return from thence he was confined

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1754. confined under a guard of Sepoys, for a deficiency in some money which had been intrusted to him; but Peramrauze promising to be responsible for him, Mahomed Iffoof, after much sollicitation, released him: as soon as he came out of his confinement, his master sent him to Poniapah, who told him, that so much time had been lost by his journey to Tanjore, and his confinement after his return, that the regent, who had heard nothing of the business since they went to Seringham together, must imagine they had trifled with him; it was necessary therefore, he said, that the Bramin should go to the regent without delay. The Bramin consenting, Poniapah gave him instructions how to conduct himself; in consequence of which he advised the regent to write to Mr. Palk at Tanjore, desiring him to get permission for Poniapah to come again to Seringham: he added, that if the regent could in the mean time contrive to prevent the English from receiving provisions, they must inevitably retire; that as the Neloor Subahdar was the only person who knew how to conduct their convoys, it was necessary to get him killed, which might easily be effected, since he often went abroad with small parties; but as a surer method to remove him, the regent ought to write a letter addressed to him, pretending that he had promised to betray the city. The regent wrote the letter without hesitation, and delivered it to the Bramin, who returning from Seringham, was taken up with the letter concealed in his cloaths, by some of the English troopers: they carried him a prisoner to the camp, but without discovering the letter; he was extricated out of this difficulty by Poniapah, who being ordered to examine him, reported that he had been to visit some relations at Elimiserum. As soon as he was released, he went to his master Peramrauze, and gave him some hints of the business he had been doing at Seringham. The next day he laid the letter on the steps by the river side, and as soon as he saw one of the Colleries take it up, went and gave information to captain Kilpatrick's servant.

Mahomed Iffoof, on hearing this account, went to Peramrauze, and asked him, what he knew of the affair. The man threw himself at his feet, and implored his mercy; but Mahomed Iffoof immediately secured him, and returning to the camp, related to major Lawrence

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