

what the Bramin had declared, on which Poniapah was seized and imprisoned.

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The Bramin repeated to the court of enquiry, without addition or deviation, all he had declared to Mahomed Iffoof: being asked, what induced him to accuse Gopinrauze, he said, that when major Lawrence had determined to put him to death, unless he discovered his accomplices, Poniapah, who was ordered to acquaint him of this resolution, advised him to accuse somebody, and asked him whether he had lately had any conversation with Gopinrauze; he replied that he had met him at the house of Peramrauze, on the evening after his return from Seringham, and that they had conversed together in private near a quarter of an hour, whilst a number of Sepoy officers and other persons were assembled in the house, in order to see the experiments of a conjurer, who had been sent for by his master, to discover in what manner the money was lost, for which he, the Bramin, had been confined on his return from Tanjore: upon this, Poniapah advised him to accuse Gopinrauze, and to stick to that, that would do. Peramrauze was likewise examined, and his evidence coinciding with the declaration of the Bramin, in all the points of which the Bramin had declared him to have any knowledge, Poniapah was condemned, and some time after blown off from the muzzle of a cannon. He confessed nothing; his antipathy to Mahomed Iffoof arose from his jealousy of the influence which this officer had obtained in the camp, by which his own importance was much diminished. This complicated treachery shews to what dangers the affairs of Europeans in Indostan may be exposed, by not having persons of their own nation sufficiently versed in the languages of India, to serve instead of the natives as interpreters.

The regent, in telling Poniapah that the maintenance of his army at Seringham had not distressed his finances, dissembled the truth; for his expences had been so great, that he could hardly find money to pay his own troops, and had none to satisfy the demands of the Morattoes. This Morari-row perceiving, began to tire of the war, and desirous of some plausible pretext to break with him, demanded to be paid his arrears, which by the account he made out, amounted to a

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1754. million of rupees ; but the regent having never refused to supply him with money whenever he demanded it, thought he had already overpaid him. This occasioned some sharp altercations, and Morari-row, as the shortest way to bring the regent to his terms, took all his Morattoes from Seringham, and encamped with them on the 11th of May to the north of the Coleroon, declaring that he would not return before the money was paid.

The next day, the 12th of May, a party of 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and two field pieces, under the command of captain Calliaud, marched from the camp at four in the morning, intending to wait about two miles to the south of the sugar loaf rock, for a convoy of provisions which was ordered to advance out of the woods. The post in which the party intended to halt, had formerly been one of those reservoirs of water called tanks, which occur so frequently in the arid plains of this country, where that element is procured with so much difficulty. These tanks are generally dug square, the sides of some being 500 feet long, and of others not more than 100 ; with the earth taken out is formed a mound, which encloses the tank at the distance of forty feet from the margin of the water. The tank in which the party intended to take post was, through age and neglect, choaked up, but the mound remained. Mahomed Iffoof riding at some distance before the advanced guard, was surprized as he ascended a little eminence by the neighing of his horse, who was immediately answered by the neighing of several others ; proceeding, nevertheless, to reconnoitre, he discovered the French troopers posted behind a bank on the other side of the eminence, who immediately discharged their carbines at him, and then mounted. Captain Calliaud, on hearing the firing, formed his party, and rode up to the advanced guard, where he met Mahomed Iffoof, who told him that the enemy were lying in wait to intercept the convoy, and that he believed a body of French troops had taken post in the tank where they themselves intended to halt ; it was immediately determined to attack them. The day was just beginning to dawn ; the troops were formed in one line, the Sepoys on the right, and the Europeans on the left ; and captain Calliaud concluding that the enemy would expect the attack in front,
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ordered the Sepoys, under the command of Mahomed Iffoof, to wheel and attack them on the left, whilst he himself with the Europeans fell on their right flank. The onset was vigorously made by both divisions almost in the same instant, and the enemy finding themselves unexpectedly between two fires, abandoned the tank with precipitation; the English immediately took possession of it, and a little while after, day-light enabled them to discover that the numbers of the enemy were 250 Europeans, with four field pieces, 1000 Sepoys, and 4000 Mysore horse, who now divided into two bodies, one on each side of the tank, and began a smart cannonade, which was answered by the English field pieces. Major Lawrence was at this time so much indisposed, that he had the day before been obliged to go into the city; and captain Polier commanded in his absence, who no sooner heard the firing than he marched to the relief of the party with the rest of the army. The rest of the enemy's army at the same time crossed the Caveri, but the difference of the distance enabled the English to get to the tank some time before them: those of the enemy who were engaged with captain Calliaud's party, fearful of placing themselves between two fires, made no effort to intercept captain Polier's division; but contented themselves with cannonading them from the right and left as they advanced: a shot disabled one of his field pieces, and on his arrival at the tank he found that one of those with captain Calliaud had suffered the same misfortune; some time was spent in fixing these guns on spare carriages, during which the enemy's main body came up, and being joined by the rest of their troops, the whole now formed together within cannon shot to the right of the tank, their line extending a great way beyond it towards the city. Their numbers were 700 Europeans, fifty dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10,000 horse, of which fortunately none were Morattoes. The English army consisted of no more than 360 men in battalion, 1500 Sepoys, and eleven troopers. However, encouraged by their officers, the men shewed no dismay at the superiority of the enemy's force, and prepared with great alacrity to fight their way back to the camp. The Europeans defiled first out of the tank into the plain, marching onward in a column, ready on the first occasion to face about to the enemy.



1754. on the right. The Sepoys then followed in a line, which terminating in a right angle with the rear of the battalion, extended to the left of it. The French battalion relying on the superiority of their artillery, which were seven field pieces, did not come near enough to do much execution with their musketry; but their Sepoys moving into the rear of the English Sepoys, fired very smartly, and killed and wounded many of them, as well as some of the Europeans, amongst whom captain Polier received a wound. However, the English troops proceeded without making a halt, until they took possession of another tank, situated about a mile from that which they had quitted. Just as they had got into this post, captain Polier received a second wound, which disabling him from farther service, he gave up the command to captain Calliaud. The enemy now seemed determined to let the English escape no farther; and threatened a general assault on the tank, for their Sepoys and cavalry drew up on three sides of it, whilst the French menaced the other. Major Lawrence, although very ill, ordered himself to be carried to the top of one of the city gates, and contemplating from thence the dispositions of both armies, trembled for the fate of his own; but it happened otherwise. The three English field pieces were brass six pounders, and capable of discharging a great quantity of grape shot; and the artillery men, with their usual dexterity and calmness, fired them with such vivacity and good aim as the French battalion advanced, that in a few minutes they struck down near a hundred men, which execution staggering the rest, their line halted, irresolute whether to proceed or retreat: captain Calliaud seized this instant, and rallying with all the Europeans, gave them a discharge of musketry so well levelled, that it immediately flung them into disorder, and breaking their ranks they ran away in great confusion: their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain, for they would not stop before they were out of the reach of cannon shot, and then could not be prevailed upon to return to the attack. The Sepoys and Mysore cavalry, who had been hitherto kept at bay by the English Sepoys, seeing their European allies retreating, immediately desisted from the engagement, and the whole retreated together by Weycondah to the island. The English contented with their success, which was indeed



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deed greater than could have been expected, did not pursue, but continued their march quietly to the camp; their loss was seven Europeans killed, and forty-eight, with six officers out of nine, wounded, and 150 Sepoys were either killed or wounded. The enemy suffered much more, having near 200 of their battalion, and 300 Sepoys killed or wounded. The convoy which had returned into the woods, receiving information of the enemy's retreat, set out again, and arrived the same night at the camp, which was in such want of provisions, that if the enemy had only taken the resolution of encamping near the ground where they had fought, the English army would have been obliged to march away the next day to Tanjore.

The enemy reflecting with much vexation upon their disgrace, thought it necessary to perform some exploit which might re-establish their reputation: but thinking it desperate to attack the English in their camp, they determined to wreck their vengeance on the Polygar Tondiman, whose attachment to the English had alone enabled them to stand their ground at Trichinopoly, so long after they could get no more provisions from the Tanjore country. Accordingly the second night after the engagement, M. Maissin with all his Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and 2000 horse, marched into the Polygar's country, with an intention to commit every kind of ravage; but the inhabitants alarmed, removed their effects, and drove their cattle into the thickest parts of their woods, where it was impossible to follow them, and the enemy found nothing but empty villages to burn, except at Killanore, where after dispersing the English Sepoys stationed there, they took three or four hundred bags of rice, and an iron gun. Vexed that they had with much fatigue been able to do very little mischief in this country, they resolved to fall on the dominions of the king of Tanjore, and plundering as they went, appeared before Kelli Cottah, which surrendered on the second day.

Major Lawrence not doubting but that the war thus unexpectedly carried into his country would convince the king of the necessity of acting again in conjunction with the English, determined to avail himself of the first impression which these hostilities might make upon

1754. upon his mind, and prepared to march away to Tanjore. The guards at Elimiserum and the other out-posts were drawn off: 100 of the battalion were sent into the city to augment the garrison to 400 Europeans, and the rest of the army set out the 23d, at two in the morning, proceeding through Tondiman's woods.

Orders at the same time were sent directing the reinforcement which was waiting at Devi Cotah to march and join the army at Tanjore. The party which had been sent under the command of lieutenant Frazer to raise the siege of Palam Cotah, returned in the month of January to Devi Cotah, from whence another was sent in the month of February to make an incursion into the districts of Chillambrum, where the French had just collected a very large harvest of rice: this detachment consisted of thirty Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, commanded by a volunteer of no experience. They destroyed and set fire to a great quantity of grain, which they found piled up in stacks in the fields; but hearing that the enemy's principal magazine was at Manarcoile, a pagoda, twelve miles south-west from Chillambrum, they marched against the place, and summoned the French serjeant who commanded in it. The man perceiving that they had no battering cannon, answered their summons by a defiance. The English officer believing, nevertheless, that he should by the fire of his musketry alone oblige the garrison to surrender, remained before the place, making some very awkward and insufficient dispositions to reduce it. The French garrison at Chillambrum apprized of this by the serjeant, marched and came upon them by surprise, and the serjeant falling at the same time with 100 Sepoys, the party was entirely routed, and the officer, with nine of his Europeans, were made prisoners. The detachment, under the command of captain Pigou, arriving soon after this at Devi Cotah, deterred the enemy for some time from committing any hostilities in this part of the country; but finding at length that these troops, whilst waiting for orders to march to Trichinopoly, did not venture to make any incursions into their territories, Mr. Dupleix re-assumed his intentions of reducing Palam Cotah; and in the end of April, a party consisting of eight hundred Sepoys and seventy Europeans, with three pieces

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pieces of battering cannon, and some field pieces, appeared before the place; the governor immediately applied for assistance to the company's agent at Devi Cotah: some time was lost in debating whether the troops intended for the re-inforcement of the army at Trichinopoly ought to be exposed on this service: but, at length, exact intelligence being received of the enemy's numbers, it was concluded that they could run no risk in attacking them; and they marched, accompanied by five hundred Sepoys. Early the next morning they arrived within four miles of Palam Cotah; when the enemy, discovering them, immediately spiked up their heavy cannon, blew up and threw into ponds and wells all their ammunition, and marched away towards Chillambrum. Five hundred Sepoys were detached with orders to harass them until the main body should come up; but they had so much the start, and continued their march with such precipitation, that the pursuit was vain. Two days after a report prevailed that the Morattoes who had entered the kingdom of Tanjore, intended to intercept the English troops in their return to Devi Cotah; to prevent which they immediately quitted Palam Cotah. The French at Chillambrum hearing of their departure, marched out in hopes of gaining some advantage over them in the retreat; and their advanced guard of Sepoys came up before the first division had crossed the Coleroon; ensign Richard Smith, with the rear guard of three hundred Sepoys, was ordered to make head against them, and kept them at a distance until the rest had gained the other bank; but as soon as he began to retreat with the rear guard, the enemy, now augmented to the number of one thousand Sepoys, pressed hard upon him, and the freshes of the Coleroon happening to descend at this time, the river was risen so much since the first division began to cross, that it was now scarcely fordable: the rear, however, having no other resource, determined to cross it at all events, and were all the while exposed to the enemy's fire from the thickets which covered the bank, by which twenty men were wounded, and some of the shortest size were drowned in the stream. A few days after his return to Devi Cotah, captain Pigou received orders from major Lawrence to proceed to Tanjore.

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The major pursuing his march through the woods, was met the day after his departure from Trichinopoly by the Polygar Tondiman, whom he received with the respect due to his fidelity and attachment to the English cause. The same day likewise came an express from the king of Tanjore, fraught with compliments for the resolution which the major had taken to come to his assistance, and pressing him to hasten his march. Indeed what had just happened in his country rendered the major's approach every day more and more welcome. From Kelli Cotah the enemy went to Coiladdy, which having taken on the 24th, they immediately cut through the great bank, which preventing the waters of the Caveri from running into the channel of the Coleroon, may be called the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore country.

This, therefore, was the greatest mischief they could do to that nation, and struck them with so much consternation, that the king thinking it necessary to shew some appearance of vigour, ordered his uncle Gauderow to march with 1500 horse to Tricatopoly, and punish the enemy; but this unwary general was surprized the next day by an enemy he did not expect. The Nabob, during the course of the war, had made several proposals to induce Morari-row to return to his own country, but the exorbitance of the demands on one side, and the distress for money on the other, had hitherto been insurmountable obstacles to the conclusion of the treaty. The same causes having now separated the Morattoes from the Mysoresans, the Nabob entertained hopes that he should get rid of this dangerous enemy without expence. But Morari-row lay at Pitchandah, brooding schemes, and determined not to depart before he had got a certain sum of money from one or other of the contending parties, and perhaps from both. The march of Gauderow to Tricatopoly, instantly suggested to him that a severe blow struck upon these troops by the Morattoes would infallibly induce the king of Tanjore, already terrified by the incursions of the French and Mysoresans, to furnish the money necessary to purchase his retreat; if disappointed in this expectation, he at least would have the satisfaction of taking vengeance for the severe blow which the Morattoes had sustained from

Monac-gee in the beginning of the year. Animated by the double motive of interest and revenge, he crossed the two rivers in the night with 3000 of his best troops, who fell at day-break upon Gauderow's party so furiously that only 300 with their general escaped; the rest were all either killed, or taken prisoners. Two days after this defeat, the English arrived at Tanjore, where they were joined by the detachment from Devi Cotah, of 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, under the command of captain Pigou. Major Lawrence being at this time much indisposed, deputed captain Calliaud to act in conjunction with Mr. Palk in the conferences with the king on the measures necessary to be taken.

They found that although the late misfortunes had convinced the king of his imprudence in withdrawing his assistance from the English, as well as in displacing his general Monac-gee, they had not weaned him from his affection to Succo-gee, whose counsels had brought such distress upon himself and his country. Seeking, as irresolute minds generally do, to reconcile incompatibilities, he wanted to employ the general without removing his mortal enemy the minister. However, finding that the dismissal of Succo-gee was the only condition on which the English would accept of his alliance, and hearing at the same time that they daily expected considerable reinforcements, such as might enable them to carry on the war without him, he at length consented to banish Succo-gee from his presence and councils, and not only reinstated Monac-gee in the command of the army, but likewise appointed him prime minister. Mr. Palk and captain Calliaud, to secure the king from a relapse, insisted that the disgraced minister should immediately quit the kingdom, and he departed with his family, giving out that he was going to visit some famous pagoda at a great distance, the usual pretext of such great men of the Indian religion, who think it necessary to retreat from danger, or are obliged to retire from power. This change, so essential to the interests of the Nabob and the East-India company, was effected within seven days after the arrival of the army at Tanjore, and Monac-gee received his commissions from the king in ceremony on the 7th of June, and immediately began to levy new troops to

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1754. repair the loss which the Tanjorine army had lately sustained; but as it required some time to collect the recruits, major Lawrence requested the presidency to hasten the junction of Maphuze Khan, and of the reinforcements which were arrived at Madras from Bombay and Europe; so that the whole might march from Tanjore to Trichinopoly in one body.

Accordingly a detachment of 400 men in battalion, half Europeans and half Topasses, together with 500 Sepoys, marched to join Maphuze Khan at Conjeveram, and from thence to proceed with him to Tanjore. This man, as fond of being at the head of a body of troops as he was incapable of employing them to any good purpose, shewed no inclination to quit the country about Arcot, giving for a reason that Abdulwahab Khan had failed to advance the money necessary to satisfy his troops. Under this pretext he moved up and down the country, levying contributions from such forts and polygars as were not strong enough to resist him. At length receiving assurances from the presidency that they would furnish him with money, provided he would march immediately to the southward, he set up his standard at Conjeveram in the month of May; and assured them that he would proceed without delay; but Mr. Dupleix, well acquainted with his character, confounded this resolution, by ordering the garrison of Gingee, with some other troops, to take the field. This body, although much inferior to Maphuze Khan's force, frightened him so much that he declared he could not proceed unless he was joined by a detachment of Europeans: in the mean time the enemy, encouraged by his imbecility, advanced from Gingee, and took the fort of Outramaloor, which lays about 20 miles nearly west from Sadras, and flushed by this success they proceeded to another fort still nearer to Conjeveram: but ensign Pichard, who had now joined Maphuze Khan with a platoon of Europeans, prevailed upon him to march against the enemy, who on their approach retreated to Outramaloor; ensign Pichard finding Maphuze Khan not a little elated with this acknowledgment of his superiority, persuaded him to follow them, and attack the fort, which being in a ruinous condition, a general assault was given, which succeeded, and the enemy ran away in a panick



panick to Gingee, where they shut themselves up. This success, nevertheless, did not induce Maphuze Khan to proceed as he had promised to Tritchinopoly; but he returned to Conjeveram with a resolution not to quit it again until he had received the money he had so often demanded. The presidency finding he was not to be influenced by any other motive, paid him 50,000 rupees, and agreed to pay as much more after he had crossed the Coleroon; this and the junction of the large detachment sent to accompany him, left him without any farther pretences for delay, and he began his march from Conjeveram in the beginning of July.

Morari-row returning, after the victory he had gained over Gaude-row, to his camp on the other side of the Coleroon, pursued the rest of his scheme, writing to the Nabob, who was then just arrived at Tanjore, that if he would give him security for the payment of 300,000 rupees, he would return to his own country, and never more be an enemy either to him, the English, or the Tanjorines. The Nabob having no money, applied, as the Morattoo had foreseen, to the king of Tanjore, who after many meetings consented to furnish it, and the articles were drawn up and signed, stipulating that 50,000 rupees should be paid as soon as the Morattoes arrived at Volcondah, 100,000 more when they came to the pass of the western mountains; and the remaining 150,000 when they arrived in their own country. Whilst this transaction was carrying on at Tanjore, Morari-row acquainted the regent of Mysore that he was in treaty with the Nabob, but offered if the Mysorean would pay him the arrears he had so often demanded to return to his assistance: the regent sent him what money he could spare, about 50,000 rupees, which the Morattoo no sooner received than he marched away with all his troops to Volcondah, and in the beginning of July left the province and went to his own country, which lays about 130 miles north-east from Arcot. Here Morari-row, after he surrendered Tritchinopoly to Nizam-al-muluck in 1746, was permitted to erect a principality, dependant indeed on the Soubah of the Decan, but independant of his own nation: as all new states are conducted with more vigour and attention than such as have been long established, he soon made himself admired and

1754. respected by his neighbours, enlisting none of his countrymen but such as were of approved valour, and treating them so well, that they never entertained any thoughts of quitting him: on the contrary the whole army seemed as one family; the spirit of exploit which he contrived to keep up amongst them by equitable partitions of plunder, rendered them fond of their fatigues, and they never complained but when they had nothing to do. The choice he made of his officers still more discovered his capacity; for there was not a commander of 100 horse who was not fit to command the whole; notwithstanding which every one was contented in his particular station, and they all lived in perfect harmony with each other, and in perfect obedience to their general. So that this body of troops were, without exception, the best soldiers of native Indians at this time in Indostan. Besides the qualities common to the rest of the Morattoe nation, such as activity, stratagem, great dexterity in the management of their horses and sabres, they had by their conflicts against Europeans surmounted in a great degree the terror of fire-arms, although opposed to them with the steadiest discipline; and what is more extraordinary, were even capable of standing against the vivacity of a cannonade from field pieces: although this terrible annoyance, never made use of in India before the war we are commemorating, continued to strike all other Indian troops with as much terror as their ancestors felt when regular musketry was first employed against them.

Immediately after the departure of the English army, the garrison of Trichinopoly received two or three convoys from the woods, upon which the enemy crossed the Caveri, and encamped on the plain, first at Chucklypollam, and afterwards to the south of the city, changing their camp several times, between Elimiserup and the five rocks: their patrols constantly traversing this line rendered it impossible for the Sepoys at Killanore to pass with any more provisions, and the garrison were obliged to live on their stock, which with sparing management might last for three months. More than one had already elapsed before the treaty with the Morattoes was concluded at Tanjore; after which major Lawrence, anxious to return, pressed Monac-gee to march. Few of the generals of India have any notion

of the value of time in military operations, and Monac-gee either pretended or found such difficulties in recruiting his cavalry, that he declared he could not be ready before the end of July. Wearied with these delays, and hoping that such a mark of his impatience would excite the Tanjorines to follow him, major Lawrence, accompanied by the Nabob, marched away with the English troops from Tanjore on the 22d, and encamped at Atchempettah, a town in the woods belonging to the Colleries, about twelve miles west from Tanjore: five days after Monac-gee set up his standard and joined him with the Tanjorine army; but he now declared that his troops would be greatly dissatisfied if they proceeded any farther before Maphuze Khan with the reinforcement that accompanied him came up. The Nabob likewise pressing major Lawrence to wait for those troops, he much against his will consented, but obliged Monac-gee to collect a quantity of provisions sufficient to replace what should be consumed by the English troops in the field and in Trichinopoly, during the delay occasioned by this resolution.

At this time a revolution, little expected by any one in India, happened in the government of Pondicherry. The directors of the English East India company had in the preceding year, made representations to the ministry of Great Britain, on the hostilities in which they were involved on the coast of Coromandel, and solicited the support of the government either to terminate or carry on a war, which their own resources were little able to continue against the French company, strongly supported by the administration of France. The British ministry soon conceived the necessity of interfering vigorously, to stop the ambitious projects of Mr. Dupleix, and began a negotiation with the French ministry on the subject. Mr. Duvelaer, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them resided for many years in the East Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the ministry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderness, at that time one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, who by much application and frequent enquiries from all persons capable of giving true information, had gained an extensive knowledge of the



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the subject; however intricate and little understood. This minister finding that the French endeavoured as usual, to gain time under the pretence of negotiating, prevailed on the King to order a squadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the East Indies. This vigorous resolution convinced the French administration, that a perseverance in their schemes of making conquests, and obtaining dominions in Indostan, would soon involve the two nations in a general war; for which France was in no wise prepared: and they consented that the disputes of the two companies should be adjusted by commissaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in possession of, at the time when the treaty should be concluded. It now remained only to choose such commissaries, as would implicitly fulfil these intentions, and the French themselves, were so fully convinced that Mr. Dupleix, was not a man fit to be trusted with a commission, which contradicted so strongly every part of his conduct since the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foresaw the English ministry would suspect the good faith of every pacific profession they had lately made, if they should offer to nominate Mr. Dupleix a commissary to adjust the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative, they of their own accord, and without any application from the English ministry, took the resolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry; and appointed Mr. Godeheu, a director of the French company, their commissary to negotiate the peace, and at the same time commander general, with absolute authority over all their settlements in the East Indies. The English company empowered Mr. Saunders, and some other members of the council of Madras, to treat with Mr. Godeheu.

On the 1st of August, Mr. Dupleix received advice of these resolutions, and the next day, a ship anchored at Pondicherry with Mr. Godeheu on board. He landed immediately, proclaimed his commission, and took upon him the administration of the government; which Mr. Dupleix resigned to him with the same affectation of composure and serenity, that he had always shewn on every other disappointment or reverse of fortune. By this reasonable conduct, he preserved himself from an ignominy which was ready to be exercised

cised upon him, in case he had proved refractory, for Mr. Godeheu was furnished with one of those orders signed by the king, which supercedes all forms of the French laws and jurisprudence, by declaring the person against whom it is directed a criminal of state, and renders all other persons guilty of high treason, who refuse to assist in carrying the mandate into execution. His successor Mr. Godeheu not having occasion to make use of this extremity of his power, treated him with much respect, and even permitted him to continue the exhibition of those marks of Moorish dignity, which both Murzafa-jing, and Sallabad-jing, had permitted him to display, when they appointed him Nabob of the Carnatic. These were of various flags and ensigns, various instruments of military music, particular ornaments for his palankeen, a Moorish dress distinguished likewise with ornaments peculiar to the Nabobship; and in this equipage, he went with great solemnity to dine with Mr. Godeheu on the feast of St. Louis.

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Mr. Godeheu immediately on his arrival acquainted Mr. Saunders of the intentions for which he was sent to India; and as a proof of his earnestness to accomplish them, sent back to Madras the company of Swiss foldiers which Mr. Dupleix had made prisoners as they were going in Massoolas from Madras to Fort St. David in the beginning of the preceding year. The two governors entered into a correspondence, and both seemed desirous of agreeing to a suspension of arms, but until it should be concluded they seemed attentive to lose no advantage which might be gained in the field.

The orders sent to hasten Maphuze Khan found him after many unnecessary delays just arrived at Fort St. David, with no inclination to proceed any farther. This indeed now scarcely depended on his own choice, for his troops, grown refractory from their conviction of his incapacity, refused to march before they received more money; notwithstanding the presidency had paid 50,000 rupees when they set out, and the remaining 50,000 was not due before they crossed the Coleroon; but major Lawrence having no expectation of essential service from such troops with such a commander, thought it unnecessary to waste either more time or money to procure their assistance, and ordered the detachment of Europeans to leave them behind.

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1754. On the 14th of August the detachment arrived at Atchempettah, and the next day the whole army was reviewed in presence of the Nabob and Monac-gee. The English troops consisted of 1200 men in battalion, part of them Topasses, with 3000 Sepoys, and 14 field pieces: the Tanjorines were 2500 cavalry, and 3000 infantry mostly armed with muskets, and they had with them some pieces of cannon: the Nabob had only his guard of fifty horse. On the 16th the army marched and encamped at Natal-pettah, a village in the woods, six miles to the east of Elimiserum, and proceeding the next day, entered the plain about a mile to the south-east of this place, intending to pass between the sugar loaf and the French rocks. The enemy, informed by scouts of their approach, marched from their camp at the five rocks to oppose their passage.

A deep watercourse, supplied from the Caveri to the eastward of Chucklypollam, intersects the plain nearly at an equal distance between the French rock and Elimiserum, and strikes to the south of the sugar loaf rock; a large bank ran along that side of the watercourse which was nearest to the enemy, who by taking possession of this bank might have obliged major Lawrence either to have altered the course of his march, or to have engaged them under a very great disadvantage: but their commander, Mr. Maissin, for reasons not publicly avowed, neglected to avail himself of this advantage. The English army advancing close by Elimiserum in a direct line from thence to the city, perceived and were surprized at this neglect; and major Lawrence immediately ordered the advanced guard, consisting of 400 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans with two field pieces, to proceed briskly and secure that part of the bank and watercourse over which he intended to march. As they approached the enemy cannonaded them, but did nothing more; and the whole army soon after crossed the bank without interruption; after which they halted and formed in two lines, extending obliquely between the sugar loaf and the French rocks from the watercourse towards the city. The first line was composed entirely of the English troops; the battalion with the field pieces in the center, and the Sepoys on each wing: in the second line was the baggage, accompanied by the Tanjorine cavalry and Peons, with the rear



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rear guard of 100 Europeans, and 400 Sepoys: in this order they waited for the enemy, who were drawn up in a line parallel to them, at about the distance of a mile: their battalion having been reinforced the night before with 200 men, consisted of 900 Europeans, and 400 Topasses, who with their Sepoys were on the right near the sugar-loaf rock: the Mysore cavalry, about 10,000, extended so far to the left, that many of them were drawn up to the westward of the city: as their line approached the French advanced three field pieces, which cannonaded the left of the English line, but were soon silenced by a superior fire; however, the enemy continued to advance until they came within cannon shot, when they were fired upon from ten pieces of cannon, which they answered with eight. The English fire was much hotter and better directed than the enemy's, and in a few rounds struck down more than fifty of the French battalion; upon which the whole went suddenly to the right about, and marched away towards their camp at the five rocks, in the same order as they had advanced. Major Lawrence preparing to follow them received intelligence that his convoy was exposed to a danger which demanded his whole attention: the rear guard by some mistake quitted their station during the cannonade, and formed upon the right of the first line, and Monac-gee likewise quitted the convoy, and drew up the Tanjorine cavalry in a separate body at a distance, in order to prevent the Mysoreans from falling upon the right flank of the army and baggage. Hidernaig, the best officer of the Mysoreans, happened to be in this part of the plain, and seeing the baggage left without protection, ordered some of his troops to amuse the Tanjorines in front, whilst he himself with another body galloped round the French rock, and fell upon the rear of the convoy, amongst which they created no small confusion, and seized thirty-five carts, some of them laden with arms and ammunition, and others with baggage belonging to the English officers. Major Lawrence, as soon as he discovered the mistakes which had given rise to this disorder, directed the rear guard to march back to their station; but before they arrived the enemy were gone off with their booty towards Chuckly-pollam. A party of 500 Topasses and Sepoys, with two guns, had crossed the Caveri, and were advancing at this time from

1754. Seringham to take possession of the French rock, which being perceived by captain Kilpatrick, he sallied with a part of his garrison, and cannonaded them so briskly that they retreated in great confusion to the island. Some time was spent in re-assembling the scattered bullocks and coolies: after which the army continued their march, and encamped near the walls to the south of the city. Eight Europeans were killed by the cannonade, and amongst them captain Pigou, an officer of promising hopes, whose death was much lamented; near 100 of the French battalion were killed and wounded; but the irresolution and faintness of their behaviour this day was not imputed so much to want of courage, as to orders, which it was supposed their commander Mr. Massin had received, to avoid a general engagement.

The stock of provisions brought with the army were deposited in the city for the use of the garrison, and major Lawrence determined to get supplies for his camp as usual from Tanjore and Tondiman's country; but as it was necessary to drive the enemy from the plain before this could be effected with facility, he moved on the 20th of August to the Facquire's Tope, hoping to provoke them to fight. This motion produced a different but a better effect, for at noon they set fire to their camp, and retreated to Moota Chellinour, opposite to the head of the island. In the evening Monac-gee, with the Tanjorines, invested Elimiserum, where the enemy had a guard of 150 Sepoys, and thirteen Europeans, with one piece of cannon; which after very little resistance surrendered on the 22d; and a garrison of 100 English Sepoys, with a few artillery men were left to secure it.

Major Lawrence finding that the enemy shewed no inclination to quit Moota Chellinour, marched from the Facquire's Tope on the 1st of September, and encamped nearer to them, to the north-west of Warriore pagodas. They had made an inundation on each flank of their camp; the Caveri was in their rear; and they had flung up works and mounted cannon to defend their front, which was accessible only by one road leading through rice fields covered with water. Notwithstanding the advantages of this situation, they had not courage to continue in it; but suspecting that the English intended to attack them they crossed the river in the night, and retreated to Seringham. The English took possession of the post they had abandoned,

done, and finding that they had done much mischief to the water-courses which from this place supply the ditches and reservoirs of Trichinopoly, they employed some days in repairing them; after which major Lawrence, in compliance with a promise he had made to the king of Tanjore, detached Monac-gee with the Tanjorine troops, accompanied by a party of 220 Europeans, 600 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, under the command of captain Joseph Smith, to Coiladdy, in order to protect the coolies employed there in repairing the great bank which the enemy had ruined in the month of May. The rainy season being now set in, the rest of the English battalion and Sepoys went into cantonments in Warriore pagodas, on the 13th of September.

At this time a squadron, under the command of admiral Watson, consisting of three ships, of 60, 50, and 20 guns, with a sloop, as also several of the company's ships, arrived on the coast, having on board the 49th regiment of 700 men, under the command of colonel Adlerson, with 40 of the king's artillery men, and 200 recruits for the company's troops. The French likewise had received during this season, 1200 men, of which number 600 were a body of hussars, under the command of Fitcher, a partizan of some reputation; but the rest were only raw recruits: so that both sides now were able to bring into the field an equal force of about 2000 Europeans; but the English troops were in quality so much superior to the French, that if this long and obstinately contested war had now rested on the decision of the sword, there is no doubt but that the French would soon have been reduced to ask for peace on much less advantageous terms than the presidency of Madras were obliged to accede to, in obedience to the orders they now received from Europe. Mr. Godeheu himself was sensible of this disparity, and dreading at the same time the advantages which the English might derive from their squadron, he shewed a moderation in his proposals sufficient to induce Mr. Saunders to agree to a suspension of arms, before the terms of the treaty were adjusted.

The allies on both sides were included in this suspension, which was proclaimed at Madras, Pondicherry, Trichinopoly, and in all other places on the coast of Coromandel, where the English and

1754. French had troops, on the 11th of October; from this day it was to continue until the 11th of January. As soon as it was proclaimed, major Lawrence, who now received a commission appointing him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service, quitted Trichinopoly and came to Madras, where he was presented by the president, in the name of the company, with a sword enriched with diamonds, as a token of their acknowledgment of his military services. These distinctions, however, did not countervail his sense of the neglect which had been shewn him, by sending colonel Adlercron, an officer of superior rank, to command the English troops in India.

The two armies at Trichinopoly, whilst remaining in expectation of the suspension of arms, had attempted nothing decisive against each other since the French retreated to the island. The French indeed detached a strong party to cannonade the workmen repairing the great bank at Coiladdy; and these troops appeared several times in sight of captain Smith's detachment, but were by the vigilance of this officer prevented from giving any interruption to the work: some other parties likewise molested the coolies repairing the watercourses at Moota Chellinoor, but they desisted as soon as Mahomed Issoof, with six companies of Sepoys were stationed there. In other parts of the province very few disturbances had happened since Maphuze Khan had marched from Conjeveram to Fort St. David, where he still remained. The Phousdar of Vellore, soon after he released captain Smith in April, made overtures, offering to acknowledge Mahomed-ally; upon which the presidency of Madras gave him in writing a promise of their protection so long as he conformed to the allegiance due from him to the Nabob; and Abdul-wahab the Nabob's brother, made a treaty with him on the same occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1754, Sallabad-jing accompanied by Mr. Buffy and the French troops took the field to oppose the Moratoc Ragogee Bonfola, who as he had threatened, had began to ravage the north-eastern parts of the Soubahship. No details of this campaign, any more than of the others in which Mr. Buffy has acted, are hitherto published, and all we know from more private communication is, that the army of Sallabad-jing and his allies advanced as far as Nagpore the capital of Ragogee, near which, after many skirmishes,

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misfies, a peace was concluded in the month of April; and at the end of May Mr. Buffy came to Hyderabad, resolving to proceed into the newly acquired provinces, in which Mr. Moracin had, although not without difficulty and opposition, established the authority of his nation. Jaffer-ally, who had for some years governed Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, when summoned, resolved not to resign them; and finding Vizeramrauze, the most powerful Rajah of these countries, with whom he was then at war, in the same disposition with himself, he not only made peace, but entered into a league with the Rajah; and both agreed to oppose the French with all their force: in consequence of which treaty they applied for support to the English factory at Vizagapatnam, as also to the presidency of Madras; the English encouraged them in their resolution, but were too much occupied in the Carnatic to furnish the succours they demanded. The interests of the Indian princes and Moorish governors perpetually clashing with one another, and with the interest of the Mogul, will perhaps always prevent the empire of Indostan from coercing the ambitious attempts of any powerful European nation, when not opposed by another of equal force; much less will any particular principality in India be able to withstand such an invader. Mr. Moracin, not having troops enough at Masulipatnam, to reduce the united forces of the Rajah and Jaffer-ally, made overtures to Vizeramrauze, offering to farm out to him the countries of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole at a lower rate than they had ever been valued at. Such a temptation was perhaps never resisted by any prince in Indostan, and Jaffer-ally finding himself abandoned by his ally, quitted his country full of indignation, and determined to take refuge with Ragogee, who was at that time fighting with Sallabad-jing and Mr. Buffy: travelling with this intention to the westward he fell in with a large body of Morattoes, commanded by the son of Ragogee, whom he easily prevailed upon to make an incursion into the Chicacole countries over the mountains, which till this time were deemed impassable by cavalry; but a Polygar, who had been driven out of his territory by the Rajah, and accompanied the Nabol in his flight, undertook to conduct them through

1754. through defiles and passes known to very few except himself. The Morattoes under this guide entered the province of Chicacole, whilst the Rajah thinking such an inroad impossible, lay negligently encamped near his capital; where falling upon him by surprize, they gained an easy victory over his troops, and the Rajah hurried away to Masulipatnam, to demand assistance from the French. In the mean time the Morattoes carried fire and sword through the province, and more particularly directed their ravages against his patrimonial territory. Amongst other depredations they burnt the Dutch factory of Bimlapatnam, in which they found several chests of treasure; but they offered no violence to the English factory of Vizagapatnam. Mr. Moracin immediately detached all the force he had, about 150 Europeans, and 2500 Sepoys, to join the Rajah's army, who now marched against the enemy; but the Morattoes kept in separate parties out of his reach, until they had got as much plunder as they could find means to carry away; which having sent forward with a considerable escort, they, in order to secure their booty from pursuit, marched with their main body and offered Vizeramrauze battle. The fight was maintained irregularly for several hours, but with courage on both sides: the Morattoes, however, at last gave way before the French artillery: they nevertheless remained some days longer in the neighbourhood, until they heard that their convoy was out of reach of danger; when they suddenly decamped, crossed the Godaveri at a ford which they had discovered, and passing through the province of Elore, coasted the northern mountains of Condavir, until they got out of the French territories, who rather than expose their provinces to a second ravage by opposing their retreat, suffered them to proceed without interruption through several difficult passes where they might easily have been stopped. In the month of July Mr. Bussy came from Hyderabad to Masulipatnam, from whence he went to the city of Rajahmundrum, and settled the government of his new acquisitions, in which the French were now acknowledged sovereigns, without a rival or competitor; for the Morattoes, content with the plunder they had gotten, shewed no farther inclination to assist Jaffer-ally Khan in the recovery of his governments; who having no other resource left,
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flung himself upon the clemency of Salabad-jing, and went to Aurangabad, where he made his submission.

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As soon as the suspension of arms was declared in the Carnatic, Mr. Watson, with the squadron, left the coast, in order to avoid the stormy monsoon, and proceeded to Bombay. In the end of December commodore Pocock arrived at Madras with a reinforcement of two men of war, one of 70, and one of 60 guns. By this time Mr. Saunders and Mr. Godeheu had adjusted, as far as their powers extended, the terms which were to restore tranquillity to the Carnatic.

They were only impowered to make a conditional treaty, which was not to be deemed definitive until it had received the approbation of the two companies in Europe, who had reserved to themselves the power of annulling or altering the whole or any part of it. This conditional treaty stipulated as a basis, that the two companies were for ever to renounce all Moorish government and dignity; were never to interfere in any differences that might arise between the princes of the country; and that all places, excepting such as should be stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, were to be delivered up to the government of Indostan. The governors then proceeded to give their opinion what places each might retain without a risk of engaging them in future wars, either with one another, or with the princes of the country. In the Tanjore country the English were to possess Devi Cotah, the French, Karical, with the districts they at that time held: on the coast of Coromandel the English were to possess Madras and Fort St. David; the French, Pondicherry, with districts of equal value; and if it should appear that the English possessions in the kingdom of Tanjore and in the Carnatic together, were of more value than the French possessions in those countries, then the French were to be allowed an equivalent for this difference in a settlement to be chosen between the river of Gondecama and Nizampatnam: districts near Masulipatnam were to be ascertained of equal value with the island of Divi, and of these districts and the island a partition was to be made as the two nations could agree in the choice: to the northward of the districts of Masulipatnam, in the Rajamundrum and Chiacole countries, each nation were to have four or five subordinate factories, or simple houses of trade, without territorial revenues, chosen

1754. so as not to interfere with one another. Upon these conditions a truce was to take place between them and their allies, on the coast of Coromandel, until the answers should be received from Europe concerning this convention. Both nations obliged themselves, during the truce, not to procure any new grant or cession from the princes of the country, nor to build forts; but they were permitted to repair such fortifications as were at this time in their possession. Neither were to proceed to any cessions, retrocessions, or evacuations, until a definitive treaty should be concluded in Europe, at which time were to be settled the indemnifications which each was to receive for the expences incurred by the war.

The truce to which this conditional treaty gave birth, specified that if either of the European nations committed any acts of hostility, or incroached upon the possessions of the other, commissaries were to be appointed to examine and adjust the dispute; but if the Indian allies of either side committed violences against either of the two nations, both were to unite in repulsing them: it was likewise agreed to proceed to an exchange of prisoners as far as the number taken by the French extended; this was only 250, whereas the English had 900.

This convention was in reality nothing more than a cessation of hostilities for eighteen months; since there was no positive obligation on either of the companies to adopt the opinions of their representatives expressed in the conditional treaty. In the mean time the French were left to enjoy, without interruption, the revenues of all the territories which they had acquired during the war. These incomes, according to the accounts published by themselves, were, from Karikal in the kingdom of Tanjore, 96,000 rupees; from the eighty villages in the district of Pondicherry, 105,000; from Masulipatnam with its dependencies, from the island of Divi, Nizampatnam, Devrecottah, and Condavir, all contiguous territories, 1,441,000; from the four provinces of Elore, Mustapha Nagar, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole, 3,100,000; from lands in the Carnatic, to the south of the river Paliar; 1,700,000; from the island of Seringham and its dependencies, which Mahomed-ally had given up to the Mysores when they came to his assistance, and which the

the Myforeans now gave to the French, 400,000; in all 6,842,000 rupees, equal to 855,000 pounds sterling.

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The accessions which the English had made during the war to the usual incomes of their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, were no more than 800,000 rupees, drawn annually from lands lying to the north of the Paliar, mortgaged by the Nabob to reimburse the great sum of money they had defrayed on his account in military expences. It was therefore evident that no motive of ambition had induced them to carry on this war: on the contrary, the continuance of it was deemed, and perhaps with reason, incompatible with the existence of the company; otherwise it would be impossible either to account for, or excuse the conduct of the directors, by whose orders the presidency of Madras was obliged to conclude a truce on such precarious and unequal terms as would enable the French to recommence the war with double strength, if the conditional treaty were not accepted by their ministry in Europe; who for this very reason might be strongly tempted to reject it. However the English kept one advantage in their power, by not releasing 650 prisoners whom they had taken during the war more than the French had taken from them; and they derived another advantage of the greatest consequence, by the removal of Mr. Dupleix from the government of Pondicherry. He departed on his voyage to Europe on the 14th of October, having first delivered his accounts with the French company to Mr. Godeheu, by which it appeared that he had disbursed on their account near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from monies which he borrowed at interest from the French inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. Mr. Godeheu referred the discussion of these accounts to the directors of the company in France, who pretending that Mr. Dupleix had made these expences without sufficient authority, refused to pay any part of the large balance he asserted to be due to him: upon which he commenced a law-suit against the company; but the ministry interfered and put a stop to the proceedings, by the king's authority, without entering into any discussion of Mr. Dupleix's claims, or taking any measures to satisfy them.

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However, they gave him letters of protection to secure him from being prosecuted by any of his creditors. So that his fortune was left much less than that which he was possessed of before he entered upon the government of Pondicherry in 1742. His conduct certainly merited a very different requital from his nation, which never had a subject so desirous and capable of extending its reputation and power in the East-Indies; had he been supplied with the forces he desired immediately after the death of Anwar-o-dean Khan, or had he afterwards been supported from France in the manner necessary to carry on the extensive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chundasaheb in the Nabobship of the Carnatic, given law to the Soubah of the Decan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itself, and have established a sovereignty over many of the most valuable provinces of the empire; armed with which power he would easily have reduced all the other European settlements to such restrictions as he might think proper to impose: it is even probable that his ambition did not stop here, but that he intended to expel all other Europeans out of Indostan, and afterwards from all other parts of the East-Indies, for he was known often to say, that he would reduce the English settlements of Calcutta and Madras to their original state of fishing towns. When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion. But military qualifications were wanting in his composition to carry effectually into execution projects which depended so much upon the success of military operations; for although sufficiently versed in the theory of war, he had not received from nature that firmness of mind, which is capable of contemplating instant and tumultuous danger with the serenity necessary to command an army; nor were there any officers at Pondicherry of sufficient abilities to oppose such as we have seen commanding the English forces;

forces; for as it was Mr. Dupleix's custom to remove the commander after a defeat, no less than six had been employed by him in this station with equal ill success since the beginning of the year 1752: the only man of distinguished capacity who served under him, was Mr. Bussy, and his conduct to this officer shewed that he knew the value of merit, and was capable of employing it to the utmost advantage; for although Mr. Bussy had by his expedition to the northward acquired much reputation, and a great fortune, he beheld his successes without the least envy, and implicitly followed his advice in all affairs of which Mr. Bussy, by his situation, might be a better judge than himself; from whence it may be presumed, that instead of persecuting he would have agreed as well with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, if this officer had come into India with a commission dependant on his authority; but his pride could not with patience see an equal pursuing schemes so different from his own, in a country where he was laying the foundation of so much greatness and reputation for himself. Here, therefore, envy obscured his understanding, and warped his mind to injustice: in his private life he is nevertheless acknowledged to have been friendly and generous to such as had any merit, without being implacably severe to those whose incapacity or misconduct disconcerted his schemes. The murder of Nazir-jing is the only act of atrocious iniquity which is imputed to him; but even in this no proofs have ever appeared that he either instigated the Pitan Nabobs, or concurred with them in planning the assassination of that prince. He no sooner quitted Pondicherry than the antipathy, which many had conceived against him, from the haughtiness and pride of his demeanor, subsided; and all his countrymen concurred in thinking that his dismissal from the government of Pondicherry was the greatest detriment that could have happened to their interests in India.

The treaties were published on the 11th of January, the day on which the former suspension of arms ended, and two days after Mr. Saunders quitted the government of Madras, and proceeded to England. At the end of January Mr. Watson, with his squadron, arrived from Bombay at Fort St. David, having made the passage against a contrary monsoon, with almost as much expedition as if they had sailed at a favourable season of the year. In the beginning

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1755. of February Mr. Godeheu, having fulfilled the principal intentions of his commission, quitted Pondicherry and returned to France, leaving the power of the governor much more limited than it had been in the time of Mr. Dupleix. The two presidencies, now at peace with each other, gave their whole attention to manage their respective territories, revenues, and alliances, to the best advantage, without infringing the truce.

The Mysoreans could not be made to understand that they were no longer at liberty to commit hostilities against the English or the Nabob; and the regent, when advised by the French to return to his own country, said that he was under no obligation to regard any treaties that he had not made himself: that therefore he should never leave Seringham until he had got Trichinopoly, which he did not despair of effecting even without their assistance: finding, however, that the French thought themselves obliged to acquaint the English of any schemes that he might put in practice for this purpose, he offered the commanding officer 300,000 rupees if he would retire with the French troops to Pondicherry, and leave him at liberty to carry on his projects without controul: the English, however, were under no apprehensions of the effects of them, and at the request of the Nabob a detachment of 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinivelly to assist in reducing them to his obedience. Maphuze Khan, who arrived at Trichinopoly in the end of December with 1000 horse, was appointed by the Nabob his representative in those countries, and joined his troops to the English detachment; the Nabob himself likewise resolved to accompany them some part of the way.

This army, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Heron, an officer lately arrived from England, set out in the beginning of February from their cantonments at Warriore pagodas, and halted thirty miles to the south of Trichinopoly, at a village called Manapar, where the Polygars of this part of the country had previously been ordered to send their agents to settle their accounts with the Nabob. The four principal Polygars obeyed the summons; and their agents gave obligations promising to pay the tributes that were due; but the Nabob knowing the deceitful character of these chiefs in general, desired that

that the army might remain at Manapar until the money was paid, and sent officers to collect it; who on their return reported that the Polygar Lachenaig, after paying a part, refused to pay the remainder. Upon this it was resolved to attack his country, and the army after marching ten miles to the south-west of Manapar, in the high road leading to Dindigul, came in sight of his woods, which lay about two miles to the west of that road.

The subjects of this, as well as of all the other Polygars in these southern parts of the peninsula, are Colleries, a people differing in many respects from the rest of the Indians, and hitherto little known to Europeans; they sally in the night from their recesses and strongholds to plunder the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of their cattle, which if they cannot bring away alive, they kill with their long spears: by constant practice in these exploits they acquire so much dexterity and audacity that they will for hire undertake to steal and bring off a horse even from the center of a camp; they are so far from thinking it a disgrace to be accounted thieves, that they value themselves upon excelling in the profession, and relate to strangers stories of desperate and successful thefts accomplished by their countrymen, with as much complacency as other people commemorate the heroic actions of their ancestors; and indeed when booty is the object, they regard danger and death with indifference, of which the English officers themselves saw a very striking example, whilst they were besieging the French and Chundasaheb in Seringham. Of the party of Colleries employed at that time by the English to steal the enemy's horses; two brothers were taken up and convicted of having stolen, at different times, all the horses belonging to major Lawrence and captain Clive; the prisoners did not deny the fact; but being told that they were to be hanged, one of them offered to go and bring back the horses in two days, whilst the other remained in prison, provided that both should be pardoned. This proposal being agreed to, one of them was released; but not appearing in the stipulated time, major Lawrence ordered the other Collery to be brought before him, and asked him the reason why his brother had not returned, bidding the prisoner prepare for death if the horses were not produced before the next evening; to this the Collery with great composure replied, that he was surprized the English should be so weak

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as to imagine that either he or his brother ever had any intentions of restoring so valuable a booty, which would make the fortunes of their whole family; seeing they had it in their power to retain it, at no greater expence than his single life, which had often been hazarded for a single meal: he added, that the English could not blame them for having contrived the escape of one of the two, when both, if unavoidable, would willingly have died rather than restore the horses. The man uttered this ridiculous apology with the appearance of so much indifference to the fate that threatened him, that it moved both the laughter and compassion of the audience; and captain Clive interceding with major Lawrence, he was dismissed without any punishment. Father Martin, a Jesuit; who resided ten years in the neighbouring country of Morawar, describes the Colleries as more barbarous than any savages in any part of the globe; asserting, that when two of the nation, either male or female, have a quarrel with one another, each is obliged by an inviolable custom to suffer and perform whatsoever torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on himself or any of his family; and that the fury of revenge operates so strongly amongst them, that a man for a slight affront has been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to have the atrocious satisfaction of compelling his adversary to commit the like murders in his own family; but fortunately for the honour of human nature, none of the English officers have hitherto been able to distinguish any traces of these diabolical practices, and the Jesuit stands single in his assertion. The whole country possessed by the Polygar Lachenaig is fortified either by nature or art; for it is surrounded by hills lying at some distance from one another, which being craggy and covered with bushes and loose stones, are impassable to any excepting the Colleries themselves; and from hill to hill are flung up works peculiar to the rude but cunning character of these people; for they consist of a thick wall, composed of large stones laid upon one another, without cement, and flanked at proper distances by round towers made of earth, well rammed down; before the wall is a deep and broad ditch, and in front of the ditch a broad hedge of bamboes, so thickly set that it cannot be penetrated without the hatchet or fire.

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The army began early in the morning to attack a part of this barrier: the field pieces were placed upon an eminence from whence they commanded the towers that defended the face of attack; the Colleries appointed to guard the towers not being accustomed to the annoyance of cannon shot, soon abandoned them; but numbers, nevertheless, armed with matchlocks, and bows and arrows, persisted in defending the hedge, hiding themselves within it, and firing with excellent aim through the smallest intervals; whilst others appeared on the hills on each hand, leaping and bounding, by the help of their long spears, from stone to stone, with the agility of monkeys, and howling and screaming in hopes to terrify the assailants; but as soon as they found themselves within reach of their fire, they gained the summits again as nimbly as they had descended: returning, however, in the same manner as soon as the firing ceased. At length, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the army, after having lost several men, forced their way through the barrier, when Mahomed Issooof was detached with 500 Sepoys, some Europeans and a field piece, to attack the principal town, distant about four miles from that part of the barrier through which they had forced their way; but before the detachment came within sight of the town, they were unexpectedly stopped by another circumvallation of the same kind, but stronger than the first: here the enemy had assembled their whole force, and defended themselves with much more obstinacy than before; insomuch that Mahomed Issooof, after losing 100 Sepoys and 12 Europeans, was obliged to send for succours from the main body; from whence a party of 100 Europeans was immediately detached to his assistance; but before they arrived, the enemy having expended all their ammunition, abandoned their defences and disappeared. The army then proceeded without any interruption to their principal town, which they found likewise deserted, the enemy having retired with their cattle to the hills out of the reach of farther pursuit: however, Lachenaig finding that they shewed no inclination to quit his country, renewed his negotiation, and in a few days paid the remaining part of his tribute. The Nabob now returned to Trichinopoly, and the army, together with Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Madura, where they arrived in ten days. This city, since the death of Allum Khan, which happened

1755. pened in April 1752, had remained in the possession of another partizan in the interest of Chundasaheb's family, who regarding his government as a transitory possession, and intent upon nothing but amassing wealth, had neglected to repair the fortifications, and kept only a slender garrison, very insufficient to defend a place of such extent: he, therefore, now retired with his garrison to Coilgoody, a strong pagoda, situated about eight miles to the east, and the army entered Madura without the least opposition. Here they received a deputation from the Polygar Morawar, whose country adjoins to the western districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The Polygar apologized for his conduct during the war in siding with Chundasaheb and the Mysores, desired to be pardoned for that offence, and intreated to be received into alliance with the English, under whose protection he promised to remain faithful to the Nabob. As a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he offered to give the company two settlements on the sea-coast of his country, opposite to Ceylon, which, as he justly observed, would greatly facilitate their future communications with Tinivelly, for they had at present no other way of approaching that city but by a tedious and difficult march of several hundred miles; whereas reinforcements might come by sea from Madras or Fort St. David in four or five days to the settlements he intended to give, from which the march to Tinivelly was no more than fifty miles. These offers colonel Heron deemed so advantageous, that without consulting the presidency, he entered into an alliance with the Polygar, and as a mark of the English friendship, gave his deputies three English flags, with permission to hoist them in their country, wheresoever they should think proper. After this business was concluded, and the necessary regulations made to establish the Nabob's authority in the city, colonel Heron determined to attack the fugitive governor in Coilgoody. The greatest part of the Sepoys were sent forward in the evening, under the command of Mahomed Issoof, with orders to invest the pagoda closely until the battalion came up; but by some mistake they halted at the distance of two miles from the place, and the governor receiving by his spies intelligence of colonel Heron's intentions, fled in the night, leaving however the greatest part of his troops to defend it. The next day the
battalion

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battalion set out from Madura, with two eighteen pounders; but the march lying through a rugged road, the carriages of these cannon broke down, and there were no spare carriages to replace them; so that when the troops appeared before the pagoda, they had none of the common preparations necessary to attack it, having even forgot to provide scaling ladders. Colonel Heron, however, thinking it a disgrace to retreat after he had summoned the place, determined to force his way into it by burning down the gate with bundles of straw; an expedient which probably was suggested to him by his Indian domestics, in whom he placed great confidence; for we have seen the natives employing this method of attack at Achaveram. The most resolute men in the army regarded the attempt as rash and impracticable; but colonel Heron, to silence their remonstrances, set the example, and carried the first torch himself. Excess of courage, however, desperately or absurdly employed, seldom fails to interest those who are spectators of it, and often obliges them to participate of the danger, even against the convictions of their reason: Mahomed Isfoof, the commander of the Sepoys, who had more than any one ridiculed the madness of this attempt, no sooner saw colonel Heron exposing himself in this desperate manner, contrary to all military rules, than he followed his example, and accompanied him with another torch; so that the two principal officers of the army were now seen acting the part of volunteers, leading a forlorn hope. Success, however, contrary to the general expectation, rewarded their endeavours, and in less than an hour the gate was burnt down, when the soldiery rushed in, and in their first fury put several of the garrison to the sword: they were then permitted to plunder, and nothing as usual, escaped them; for finding in the temples of the pagoda a great number of little brazen images, worshipped by the people of the country, and particularly by the Colleries, they tore them down from their pedestals, hoping to sell them at least for what the weight of the metal might be worth. After this exploit, for which the people of the country held them in utter detestation, the troops returned to Madura; where leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys for the security of the city, the rest of the army, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Tinivelly, and arrived there about the middle of March.

1755. This town is without defences, and no body appeared to oppose their entrance into it: the renters of the open country followed the example of the capital, and acknowledged the Nabob without hesitation; but many of the neighbouring Polygars made pretences to evade the payment of the tribute due from them. The most considerable of these chiefs was Catabomanaig, whose country lies about fifty miles north-east from Tinivelly; and it being imagined that the inferior Polygars would not hold out long after he should have submitted, a detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were sent to reduce him.

Some days after another detachment, consisting of 100 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were sent to attack the fort of Nelli-cotah, situated forty miles to the south of Tinivelly. These troops set out at midnight, and performed the march in eighteen hours: the Polygar, startled at the suddenness of their approach, sent out a deputy, who pretended he came to capitulate, and promised that his master would pay the money demanded of him, in a few days; but suspicions being entertained of his veracity, it was determined to detain him as a pledge for the execution of what he had promised, and he was delivered over to the charge of a guard.

The troops were so much fatigued by the excessive march they had just made, that even the advanced centinels could not keep awake, and the deputy perceiving all the soldiers who were appointed to guard him, fast asleep, made his escape out of the camp, and returned to the fort; from whence the Polygar had sent him only to gain time, in order to make the necessary preparations for his defence. This being discovered early in the morning, it was determined to storm the place, of which the defences were nothing more than a mud wall with round towers. The troops had brought no scaling ladders, but the outside of the wall was sloping, and had many clefts worn in it by the rain, so that the assault, although hazardous, was nevertheless practicable. It was made both by the Europeans and Sepoys with undaunted courage, in several parties at the same time; each of which gained the parapet without being once repulsed, when the garrison retired to the buildings of the fort, where they called out for quarter; but the soldiers, as usual in desperate assaults, were

so much exasperated by a sense of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, that they put all they met to the sword, not excepting the women and children, suffering only six persons out of four hundred to escape alive; sorry we are to say, that the troops and officers who bore the greatest part in this shocking barbarity, were the bravest of Englishmen, having most of them served under colonel Lawrence on the plains of Trichinopoly: but those who contemplate human nature will find many reasons, supported by examples, to dissent from the common opinion, that cruelty is incompatible with courage.

Meanwhile the Polygar Morawar was so delighted at the success of his negotiation with colonel Heron, that as a farther proof of his good intentions to the English, he ordered 5000 men, under the command of his brother, to march and assist them in reducing the Polygars of Tinivelly; but the king of Tanjore and Tondiman having many years been at implacable variance with the Morawar, beheld the marks of favour which had been shewn to him with the utmost jealousy, and represented their detestation of them in the strongest terms to the presidency of Madras, alledging that they themselves could have no reliance on the friendship of the English, if they saw them making treaties with their mortal enemies. The presidency, unwilling to give umbrage to these allies, whose assistance they might probably soon stand in need of again, directed colonel Heron to break off all farther communication with the Morawar: these orders, however, did not arrive before the Morawar's troops were advanced within five miles of Tinivelly; when they were abruptly told, that if they did not immediately march back to their own country they would be treated as enemies: not, however, imagining that the English would proceed to such extremities, they remained in their camp, and endeavoured to commence a negociation; but the orders which colonel Heron had received were so peremptory, that he thought himself obliged to march and attack them; on this they decamped with such precipitation, that they left behind them a great part of their baggage, with some horses, which were plundered by the Sepoys of the advanced guard.

The revenues which had been collected during this expedition,

1755. did not amount to the expences of the army: part of the tributes were embezzled by Maphuze Khan, and part was likewise diminished by the presents which colonel Heron, with too much avidity, consented to receive from those who had accounts to settle with the government. In the mean time Maphuze Khan, in concert with colonel Heron's interpreter, contrived every means to make the state of the province appear less advantageous than it really was; and then made an offer to take the farm of the Madura and Tinivelly countries together at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 rupees: this proposal was seconded, as usual, by the offer of a considerable present, which colonel Heron accepted, and gave him the investiture of the countries.

Whilst these transactions passed to the southward, the Mysoreans remained encamped at Seringham, where the regent had been diligently employed in schemes to get possession of Trichinopoly: his principal reliance for the accomplishment of this design, was on a bramin, who persuaded him that he had made a strong party in the city, and that he had seduced many of the garrison: the man even carried his imposture so far, that he mentioned the time when, as he pretended, the regent's party in the city desired he would make the attack. The regent, elated with this chimerical hope, could not refrain from revealing a secret, which gave him so much satisfaction, to M. de Saussay, the commander of the French troops, who immediately sent intelligence to the garrison: captain Kilpatrick returned him thanks for the information; but to shew the contempt in which he held the military character of the Mysoreans, he desired de Saussay to acquaint the regent, that if he would venture to make the attack, the gates of the city should be left open to receive him. Soon after the regent received news from Mysore, informing him, that a large army of Morattoes, under the command of Balagerow, who had levied a contribution from his country in the preceding year, was approaching again to the frontiers; and that Salabad-jing, at the head of his army, accompanied by the French troops under the command of Mr. Buffy, was likewise advancing to demand the Mogul's tribute, which had never been paid since the death of Nizam-al-muluck. Alarmed by this intelligence, he immediately prepared to return to his own country, and on the 14th. of April, the great drum,

the signal of decamping, was beaten, and the whole army crossing the Caveri marched away; leaving the French in possession of the island of Seringham, and the other territories which the Nabob had made over to him on his arrival, and of which he had from that time collected the revenues. 1755.

It is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himself with more weakness than the Mysorean in the course of this war: the Nabob procured his assistance by a promise which he never intended to perform; and indeed, had the Mysorean been endowed with common sagacity, he might have foreseen that the possession of Trichinopoly, the object of all his endeavours, would have been the greatest misfortune that could have happened to him, since it would certainly sooner or later have involved him in a war with the Mogul government, which probably would have ended in reducing the kingdom of Mysore itself, like the Carnatic, to be a province of the empire. The Nabob's breach of faith in refusing to deliver up the city to him, only served to exasperate his eagerness to get possession of it, which rendered him as great a dupe to the promises of Mr. Dupleix, as he had been to those of the Nabob; for it is certain, that he at last discovered it himself, that the French never intended to give him Trichinopoly if they had succeeded in taking it: nor was he less deluded by his ally Morari-row, who after persuading him to assist the French against the Nabob, deserted him as soon as his treasures began to fail. At length, after having wasted three years, absent from his own country at the head of an army of 20,000 men, he was obliged to return without receiving the least compensation for the expences he had incurred, or any security for the reimbursement of them: for what reliance he might have upon the conditional treaty was little better than chimerical, since many unforeseen events might render that convention abortive.

The presidency of Madras hearing of Salabad-jing's approach to the western confines of the Carnatic, entertained suspicions that he might be tempted, notwithstanding the conditional treaty, to enter the province; from this apprehension they sent orders to colonel Heron to return immediately with the troops under his command to Trichinopoly: however, Maphuze Khan prevailed upon him to remain

1755. remain until he received a second and more peremptory order, which came soon after; upon which he recalled the detachment which had been sent against the Polygar Catabomanaig, and prepared himself to quit Tinivelly. The detachment had been as far to the north-east as Shillinaikenpettah, the principal fort of the Polygar, who on their appearance entered into a negociation, paid some money in part of the tribute due from him, and gave hostages as security for the rest; some money was likewise received from several inferior Polygars, but the whole collection did not exceed 70,000 rupees: as soon as the troops received the orders to return, they summoned Catabomanaig to redeem his hostages; but he knowing that they would not venture to stay any longer in his country, made some trifling excuses, and without any concern suffered them to carry the hostages away with them. On the 2d of May colonel Heron quitted Tinivelly, but instead of proceeding directly to Trichinopoly, suffered himself to be persuaded by Maphuze Khan to march against Nellitangaville, a fort situated about thirty miles to the west of Tinivelly, belonging to a Polygar who had with much contumacy refused to acknowledge the Nabob's authority; on the march he was joined by the detachment from the north-east. It was the misfortune of colonel Heron to place the utmost confidence in his interpreter, and to be constantly betrayed by him; for before the army arrived in sight of the fort, this man had informed the Polygar that they had no battering cannon, and that they would not remain long before the place: the Polygar, therefore, secure in his fort, which was built of stone and very strong, answered the summons with insolence; upon which the field pieces and two cohorns fired smartly upon the walls for several hours; but this annoyance producing no effect, another message was sent, offering that the army should retire, provided he would pay 20,000 rupees. The Polygar relying on the information which he had received from the interpreter, and encouraged by this relaxation in the terms which were at first proposed to him, answered with great contempt, that such a sum could not be raised in his whole country, and that he knew the value of money too well to pay a single rupee. By this time the army were much distressed for provisions of all kinds, and the Sepoys ready to mutiny for want of pay; both which

Maphuze

Maphuze Khan had promised, but had neglected to supply; it was therefore determined to march away to Madura, where they arrived, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, on the 22d of May. 1755.

Colonel Heron stayed no longer here than was necessary to refresh the men and settle the garrison, in which he left a thousand Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul-saheb, an officer of some reputation, and next in rank to Mahomed Isloof. The army had now to pass one of the most difficult and dangerous defiles in the peninsula, situated in a country inhabited by Colleries, who had, ever since the departure of the army from Madura, threatened vengeance for the loss of their gods at Coilgoody, and had already given a specimen of their resentment by cutting off a party of Sepoys, which the commanding officer of Madura sent out to collect cattle. A Collery discovered them in the night lying fast asleep, without any sentinels, and immediately went and brought a number of his cast, who, coming upon them by surprize, stabbed every one of them. The defile, called the pass of Nattam, begins about twenty miles to the north of the city, and continues for six miles through a wood, impenetrable every where else, to all, excepting the wild beasts and Colleries to whom it belongs. The road of the defile is barely sufficient to admit a single carriage at a time, and a bank running along each side of it, renders it a hollow way: the wood is in most parts contiguous to the road, and even in such places where travellers have felled part of it, the eye cannot penetrate farther than twenty yards.

The army quitted Madura on the 28th of May; a party was sent forward to take post at a mud fort called Volsynattam, near the entrance of the woods, where the rest joined them in the evening, and the whole passed the night here. The next morning at day-break they prepared to march through the defile: and it being reported that the Colleries had cut down many trees to obstruct the way, a detachment of Europeans, pioneers, and Sepoys, were sent forward under the command of captain Lin, with orders to clear the pass of these incumbrances, and to scour the woods on each side with their fire; but captain Lin neither finding such obstructions, as had been reported, nor even discovering the least appearance of an enemy, continued his march,

1755. march, and halted at the town of Nattam on the farther side of the wood. Some time after the rest of the army entered the pass in the following order of march: some companies of Sepoys led the van; these were followed by a serjeant and twelve Europeans; and immediately after them came the first division of artillery, with the tumbrils containing military stores; then followed the battalion led by captain Polier, after whom marched the rear division of artillery and tumbrils, which were followed by a serjeant and twelve men, and these by some companies of Sepoys: then followed the baggage of the whole army, carried by bullocks and coolies, with several elephants and camels belonging to Maphuze Khan, and accompanied by some Sepoys to protect them. The rear of the whole line was closed by a guard of 20 Europeans, 40 Caffres, and 200 Sepoys, with a six pounder, under the command of captain Joseph Smith: colonel Heron with a few horse proceeded before the line. Nothing could be blamed in this disposition, excepting that the commanding officer should have been in the center with the battalion, or with the rear guard, which ought to have been stronger: but the report from captain Lin's party, who had passed without interruption, removed every apprehension of danger, and relaxed the spirit of precaution. The whole army had entered the defile, and proceeded, wondering they saw nothing of an enemy of whom they had heard so much; when, by the carelessness of a driver, one of the heaviest tumbrils belonging to the rear division of artillery stuck in a flough, out of which the oxen were not able to draw it: the officers of artillery, however, imagining that they should soon be able to extricate it, suffered the troops marching before them to go on without calling out, or sending to bid them halt; and the officer who commanded in the rear of the battalion, seeing several of the tumbrils following close up with him, did not suspect what had happened, and kept on his way: most of the Sepoys, who marched behind the rear division of artillery, were likewise suffered to pass the carriage in the flough, and proceeded in the rear of those tumbrils which were going on. In the mean time the carriage resisted several different efforts which were made to remove it, and choking up the road, prevented the other tumbrils which followed, as well as the three field pieces which formed the rear division

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division of artillery, from moving on, and these stopped the whole line of the baggage: thus the front division and main body of the army were separated from the rear, which by the absence of those Sepoys belonging to it, who were suffered to proceed, was likewise deprived of a great part of its force. The Colleries, although unperceived, kept spies near the road, watching every motion, but cunningly refrained from making any attack, until the main body had advanced two miles beyond the tumbril, which caused the impediment, when numbers of them began to appear near the rear guard of the baggage; but the fire of a few platoons soon obliged them to retreat; and as they remained quiet for some time, it was imagined that they would not venture to make another attempt: but on a sudden they appeared in much greater numbers at the other end of the line, where the tumbril had embarrassed the road, and attacked the rear division of artillery: here the whole number of troops did not exceed a hundred men, of which only twenty-five were Europeans: this force not being sufficient to protect all the carriages, the two officers of the artillery prudently determined to give their whole attention to the preservation of their field pieces, and of the tumbrils, which carried their powder and shot. These happened to be all together in the rear of such carriages as were laden with other kinds of military stores; but fortunately some of the wood on the right hand was cut down, and afforded an opening which commanded the road in front where the enemy were assembled; the officers therefore contrived to get their field pieces into the opening, from whence they fired smartly; but the Colleries nevertheless maintained the attack for some time with courage, and with a variety of weapons; arrows, matchlocks, rockets, javelins, and pikes; every one accompanying his efforts with horrible screams and howlings, and answering every shot that was fired upon them with the same outcries; but finding themselves much galled, they at length quitted the road, and retired into the thickets on each side, from whence they renewed the fight with equal vigour, and with better success, since the artillery men were obliged to divide their attention to many different parts at once: many of the Colleries now pushed into the road amongst the tumbrils and carriages, and with their long spears flabbed the draught bullocks, and wounded or drove

1755. back the few Sepoys who remained to guard them: upon the artillery they were not able to make any impression; for the gunners, sensible that the cannon were their only resource, fired them with great vivacity and much effect; and captain Smith likewise sensible of the necessity of protecting the artillery at all events, detached, although he could ill spare them, an officer with a company of Sepoys from the rear guard to their assistance. At length the confused outcries of the enemy were on a sudden changed to one voice, and nothing was heard on all sides but continual repetitions of the word *swamy*, meaning gods, which expression they accompanied with violent gesticulations and antic postures, like men frantic with joy; for some of them cutting down the tumbrils they had seized, discovered in one of them most of the little brazen images of their divinities which the English had plundered at Coilgoody. It seemed as if they could not have received more delight in rescuing their wives and children from captivity; however, after their gods were conveyed out of the reach of danger, they renewed their attacks, and continued them at different intervals for several hours. Mean while no assistance came from the battalion, nor did one of the messengers, sent by captain Smith to inform the commanders in chief of the distress of the rear, return. It was now four in the afternoon, when the enemy, after having desisted some time from their attacks upon the artillery, sallied at once again unexpectedly into the road amongst the baggage, coolies, and market people of the army, killing, without distinction of age or sex, all they met. From this moment every thing was hurried into the utmost confusion; every one flung down his burden; and men, women and children pressing upon one another, fled to the rear guard as their only sanctuary: captain Smith, unwilling to aggravate the sufferings of the poor wretches by firing upon them, took the resolution of marching back out of the defile into the plain, where he drew up his men in a little field enclosed with a bank, and placing his field piece in the center of it, waited for the enemy; who satisfied with the havock they had committed, did not venture to attack him, but retreated and disappeared as soon as the defenceless multitude they were driving before them had got out of the wood. Some Lascars and Sepoys were now sent forward to clear the road of the incum-

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branches of baggage with which it was scattered; after which the rear guard, divided half before and half behind the field piece and its tumbril, proceeded; and, fortunately meeting with no interruptions from the enemy, soon joined the rear division of artillery, who had been waiting with the utmost anxiety, expecting every moment to be attacked again: great therefore was their joy at being thus reinforced. It was now dusk, and no time was to be lost; captain Smith therefore immediately collected what bullocks had escaped the enemy's slaughter, destroyed the carriage which had been the first cause of the confusion of the day, and drew off all the field pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition, leaving behind the rest of the stores, with the whole baggage of the army, for want of means to carry them away: about two miles farther in the pass he came up with the battalion whom he found lying on their arms, without either the commander in chief, or any one of the captains amongst them: for these five officers had all been suddenly taken ill about noon with the extreme heat of the day; and had proceeded in their pallankins through the wood, to the post where the advanced guard under the command of captain Lin was halting: from this misfortune, the subordinate officers, left without orders, had not ventured to make any dispositions to succour the rear, notwithstanding they knew the danger to which it was exposed. Captain Smith now took the command of the battalion, and marched with them through the wood to the station where the advanced guard and the rest of the officers were waiting. Here the army passed the night, and the next day reached the town of Nattam, where they were joined by a detachment from Trichinopoly: Maphuze Khan accompanied them no farther; but returned to Madura. The army continuing their march without any interruption, arrived on the 5th of June in sight of Trichinopoly, and encamped at Warriore pagodas: colonel Heron was soon after recalled to Madras, where his conduct during this expedition was tried by a court martial, by which he was rendered incapable of serving the company any longer.

The government of Pondicherry saw this expedition into the southern countries with a jealous eye, because they saw the advantages which would accrue to the Nabob, if the territories of Madura and Tinivelly, which had so long been rent from the power of Arcot, should again

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be annexed to its government: they remonstrated, not only that the expedition was in itself a breach of the truce with Mr. Godeheu, but that these countries belonged to themselves in virtue of various rights derived from Chundasaheb, and the king of Mysore. Their arguments were answered by pretensions equally specious; and Mr. Deleyrit the governor of Pondicherry, naturally a man of moderation, did not think it worth while to interrupt the expedition at the risque of renewing the war so early after the cessation of hostilities; but on the first occasion acted as the English had set the example.

There lieth about thirty miles north of Trichinopoly, and immediately N. W. of the straits of Utatoor, a large tract of woodland country, called Terriore, of which the chief is stiled *Rheddy*, a diminutive of Rajah or king. This country during the war before Trichinopoly had been overrun by a detachment of the Mysore army, assisted by some of the French troops, who deposed the Rheddy then reigning, and placed one of his cousins in his stead. The Mysoreans, when they retreated from Trichinopoly to their own country, left the French government the representatives of all their rights and pretensions in the Carnatic; and the new Rheddy having for some time evaded to pay his tribute, Mr. Deleyrit, in the month of June sent 500 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of M. Maissin, to punish his disobedience. Captain Calliaud, who had lately been appointed to the command of Trichinopoly, prepared to oppose the attempt; but was forbidden by the presidency of Madras, who having enquired into the titles which the French asserted to the vassalage of Terriore, was satisfied of their validity. M. Maissin after some opposition took the principal town in the middle of the woods, deposed the Rheddy, and reinstated his antecessor. Encouraged by this success, and more by the forbearance of the English, he marched against the Polygars of Arielore and Wariore pollam. The woods of these chiefs are almost contiguous, and both are extensive. That of Arielore begins about fifty miles to the N. E. of Trichinopoly, and stretches north to the river Valaru; but Wariore lies farther to the Eastward, and extends Southward almost to the Coleroon. Both Polygars had at different times, during the war of Trichinopoly paid money to redeem the skirts of their country from the ravages of the Morattoes;

Morattoes; but had never made any submissions of fealty either to the French or Mysoreans; and at this time claimed the protection of the Nabob, whom they acknowledged as their only superior. The presidency of Madras, therefore, now, without hesitation, ordered Calliaud to march from Trichinopoly, and moreover threatened to send a force from Madras, if Maissin persisted. M. Deleyrit deterred by this vigour, ordered him to desist, and distributed his troops into the uncontested districts, subject to Pondicherry, nearer the sea coast. 1755.

Meanwhile, the presidency of Madras, recommended to the Nabob to come from Trichinopoly and settle with his family at Arcot, where Abdul-wahab had created many disorders in the administration, lavishing away the revenues with a spirit of dissipation that would soon have ruined the province, even if it had long enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity. The Nabob acquiesced to this advice, and on the ninth of July quitted Trichinopoly, escorted by 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of captain Polier. It was at first intended that they should proceed directly across the Caveri and Coleroon in the high road to Arcot; but the rivers were at this time swelled, and still more risque was apprehended from Maissin's party, then lying before Arielore. It was therefore resolved to proceed through the country of Tanjore to Fort St. David, where measures might be taken for the rest of the rout, according to exigencies. When arrived at the village of Condore, the king sent his general Monac-gee with a numerous train, to make his compliments to the Nabob. This interview, like most others between persons of such rank in Indostan, passed in the strongest and falsest protestations of an inviolable friendship; amongst other professions, Monac-gee said, that his master kept 5000 horse ready to serve the Nabob, if necessary, in the Carnatic; and the Nabob, whilst he extolled with admiration this excessive mark of the king's love and friendship, whispered to captain Polier that it was all a lie. From Condore they proceeded by the nearest road to Fort St. David, where admiral Watson with the squadron under his command was then lying, having returned in the middle of May from the bay of Trincomalee, to which they had repaired in order to avoid the setting in of the southern

1755. southern monsoon, because it is sometimes attended by a hurricane. The Nabob went on board the admiral's ship, the Kent, of sixty-four guns, and having never before seen the interior structure and arrangement of such a machine, could not suppress his astonishment, when conducted into the lower deck. The presidency of Madras, seeing no probability of any interruption to his progress from Fort St. David, advised him to continue his march without delay, but accompanied by the same escort. On the nineteenth of August he arrived within a mile of Arcot, and encamped on the plain, resolving by the advice of his dervises to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city, which fell out on the twenty-first. In the mean time, colonel Lawrence, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Palk, deputed to invite him at Madras, arrived at his camp, and contributed to increase the splendour and reputation of his entry into his capital, from which he had been absent ever since the death of Nazir-jing. On the thirtieth, he came to Madras, where after several conferences with the presidency he consented to make over to the company some farther assignments on the revenues of the country, in order to reimburse the great expences they had incurred in the war. This important point being settled, it was determined that he should proceed with a strong detachment to collect the revenues that were due to him from such chiefs as had hitherto withheld them with impunity, more particularly from several polygars in the northern parts of the province. It was agreed that half the monies which might be collected, should be paid to the company; and that a member of the council of Madras, should accompany the Nabob, in order to see this agreement punctually fulfilled. The previous measures for the expedition were not settled before the monsoon set in, after which it was necessary to wait some days until the first violence of the rains had abated; so that it was the latter end of October, before the detachment took the field. It consisted of 300 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys, and was commanded by major Kilpatrick.

It soon appeared that whatsoever submissions had been made in the provinces of Madras and Tinivelly, during the expedition of colonel Heron, had proceeded intirely from the dread of the English troops, whose intrepidity as well as the efficacy of their arms, far exceeded

ceeded the modes of any warfare which had ever been seen in these countries; and they were no sooner departed than the Colleries swarmed abroad again into all the subjected districts that lay exposed to their depredations, whilst their chiefs confederated to prevent by more effectual means the establishment of Maphuze Khan's authority. From this time, these countries became a field of no little conflict, and continued so for several years, which renders it necessary to explain the various interests which produced the present confusions, fertile afterwards of more.

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When Allum Khan in the beginning of the year 1752 marched from Madura to the assistance of Chunda-sahab, then besieging Trichinopoly, he left the countries of Madura and Tinivelly under the management of three Pitan officers, named Mahomed Barky, Mahomed Mainach, and Nabi Cawn Catteck; the first of these was generally known by the appellation of Mianah, the second of Moodemiah; but Nabi Cawn Catteck by his own proper name. The Nabob Mahomedally, when asked by the presidency of Madras for proofs to invalidate the pretensions of the government of Pondicherry, produced a writing said to be signed by these three officers, and dated the twenty-ninth of November, 1752; by which they acknowledged his sovereignty over the countries of Madura and Tinivelly; and professed themselves his servants and subjects. At this time, Chundasahab indeed had perished; but the Nabob himself was involved in such difficulties by the resentment of the Mysoreans, that there does not appear any reason why the Pitans should give such a declaration; unless they did it from a conviction of the very little advantage which the Nabob could derive from it. It is certain they never afterwards heeded these professions of obedience, but continued to act without controul, and acted only for themselves; granting immunities, remitting tributes, and even selling forts and districts for presents of ready money. This venality coinciding with the spirit of independance and encroachment common to all the Polygars, procured them not only wealth, but attachments. In this mode of licentious government, they continued agreeing amongst themselves in the division of the spoil, and ruling with much power, until the expedition of colonel Heron; when Mianah, who commanded in the city of Madura, abandoned

755. abandoned it, and took refuge with the neighbouring Polygars of Nattam; Moodemiah and Nabi Cawn Catteck, retired from Tinivelly to the Polygar of Nellitangaville, better known by the name of Pulitaver. All the three only waited for the departure of the English troops, to dispute the dominion with Maphuze Cawn, when left to himself.

Amongst other alienations, Moodemiah had sold to the king of Travancore, a range of districts extending thirty miles from Calacad to Cape Comorin; and lying at the foot of the mountains which separate Travancore from Tinivelly. The fort of Calacad with several others of less defence were sold with the districts. The kingdom of Travancore is the most southern division of the Malabar coast, ending on that side, as Tinivelly on the eastern, at Cape Comorin. It was formerly of small extent, and paid tribute to Madura; but the present king, through a variety of successes, some of which had been gained against the Dutch, had added to his dominion, all the country as far as the boundaries of Cochin; so that it now extended 120 miles along the sea, and inland as far as the mountains leave any thing worth conquering. With the assistance of a French officer, named Launoy, the king had disciplined, in the method of European infantry, a body of 10,000 Naires: the people of this denomination, are by birth the military tribe of the Malabar coast, and assert in their own country even prouder pre-eminences than the Rajpoots, who in other parts of India are likewise born with the same distinction. Besides these Naires, the king maintained 20,000 other foot, of various arms; but had very few horse, because little advantage can be derived from their service in his country, which is every where either covered with hills, or intersected by rivers. The districts which the king had purchased of Moodemiah, were maintained by about 2000 of his irregular foot, who having no enemies to oppose, were sufficient for the common guards and military attendance, which in Indostan always support the authority of the government in the collection of the revenues. But these troops on the arrival of the army with colonel Heron at Tinivelly, were so terrified by the reports of their exploits, and especially by the sanguinary example in their neighbourhood, at the sacking of Nelicotah, that they abandoned not only their districts, but the fort of

of Calacad likewise, which were soon after taken possession of by a detachment of 300 horse and 500 foot, sent by Maphuze Khan from Tinivelly. As soon as the English troops retired from before Nelli-tangaville, and it was known that they were recalled to Tritchinopoly, Moodemiah went to Travancore in order to encourage the king to recover the districts which his troops had abandoned; at the same time the Pulitaver, besides letting loose his Colleries to plunder, formed a camp ready to move and join the Travancores as soon as they should arrive. Maphuze Khan received intelligence of these schemes and preparations, on his return from Nattam and Madura, and immediately proceeded to Tinivelly.

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Besides the 1000 Sepoys belonging to the Company which were left with him by colonel Heron, he received 600 more, raised and sent to him by the Nabob; but these were in no respect equal to the company's, who had been trained in the campaigns of Tritchinopoly; and Maphuze Khan himself, having no military ideas, excepting that of levying troops, had augmented the force he brought with him from the Carnatic to 2500 horse, and 4000 foot. Five hundred of the horse, and a thousand of the foot, were left to defend the city of Madura and its districts; but the company's Sepoys proceeded with him to Tinivelly. Before he arrived there, Moodemiah had returned with 2000 Naires, and the same number of other foot, which the king of Travancore had entrusted to his command. They were joined by the forces of the Pulitaver near Calacad; where the troops stationed by Maphuze Khan in these parts, assembled, gave battle, and were routed: three hundred of the Nabob's Sepoys were in the action, who, to lighten their flight, threw away their muskets, which were collected by the Pulitaver's people, and regarded by them as a very valuable prize. Immediately after this success, the enemy invested the fugitives in the fort of Calacad; but before they could reduce it, the troops of Travancore returned home, pretending they were recalled by the emergency of some disturbances in their own country; however it is more probable, that they retreated from the dread of encountering the army, and more especially, the cavalry of Maphuze Khan, which were approaching. Moodemiah went with them, and the Pulitaver retired to his fort and woods, against which

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Maphuze Khan proceeded, and encamped near the fort, which he could not take; but in this situation repressed the incursion of the Pulitaver's Colleries into the districts of Tinivelly, and content with this advantage, gave out with ostentation that he had settled the country. These vaunts were soon contradicted. In the month of September, Moodemiah returned from Travancore, with a larger body of troops, and again defeated those of Calacad, who in this battle suffered more than in the former; for 200 of their horse and 500 Sepoys were made prisoners; and, what aggravated the loss, it was the time of harvest, when the rents are collected, of which the Travancores took possession, and maintained their ground. Maphuze Khan, nevertheless, continued before the Pulitaver's place; whose troops in the month of November, cut off a detachment of two companies of Sepoys which had been sent to escort provisions; they were of those belonging to the company, and the commanders of both were killed. No other military events of any consequence happened in these parts during the rest of the year.

The reduction and maintenance of Madura and Tinivelly, were not the only interests in the southern countries, which perplexed, and occupied the attention of the English presidency. In the month of June, they were surprized by a quarrel between their own allies the king of Tanjore and the Polygar Tondiman, which had proceeded to hostilities, before any suspicions were entertained of the animosity. It was obvious that this quarrel, if not timely reconciled, would produce the defection of one or other of them to the Nabob's enemies. The presidency, therefore, immediately ordered them, in peremptory terms, to cease all military operations; proffering, however, their mediation; and ordered captain Calliaud to enquire into the causes of the dispute; who after two journies to Tanjore, and several conferences with the king, with Monac-gee, and with Tondiman's brother, could only collect the following obscure account of it; so averse were all parties to tell the truth. In the year 1749, the king sent Monac-gee to attack Arandanghi, a fort of strength and note, belonging to the lesser Moravar. Monac-gee finding his own force insufficient, asked assistance of Tondiman, who stipulated in return, the cession of Kelli-nelli-cotah and its districts, valued at 300,000

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rupees a year. Arandanghi was reduced, Tondiman took possession of the districts, and pressed Monac-gee for the patents of cession under the king's seal; but the king disavowed the act of his general; on which Monac-gee purloined the use of the seal, and delivered the patents thus apparently authenticated, according to his promise. Towards the end of 1749, Tanjore, as we have seen, was invaded by Murzafa-jing and Chundasaheb: the subsequent wars suspended the dispute between the king and the Polygar, whilst the common danger continued; but that passed, the broil was at this time renewed with inveteracy. Monac-gee, having when disgraced in 1753 taken refuge with Tondiman, still bore him good will; working on which, and the king's timidity, captain Calliaud stopped the hostilities which were begun, and prevented the renewal of them until the end of September; when the king grown impatient, peremptorily ordered Monac-gee to march: at the same time, Tondiman could not be induced to make any step towards an accommodation, but said he should defend himself. On this, Calliaud made preparations at Trichinopoly, as if he intended to take the field against both, which stopped the progress of the Tanjorines for some days more, when they moved again; but Monac-gee having, by the king's order, demanded assistance from the little Moravar, contrived to make him withhold his troops; by which, with the pretences of want of money, and the fear of Calliaud, he protracted his inactivity until the end of December, and then returned to Tanjore, without having done Tondiman any harm.

In the Carnatic, no events tending to hostilities between the governments of Madras and Pondicherry happened during the rest of the year after the French troops retreated from before Arialore; but a tedious and intricate controversy was maintained between them concerning some districts in the neighbourhood of Carangoly and Outramalore, which the French had taken possession of, without any right they could prove. The dispute, however, after some sharp altercations, was settled by an agreement to divide the contested districts equally between the two nations.

The French commissary, Mr. Godeheu, had continued Mr. Buffy in the management of affairs in the northern parts of the Decan, with the same authorities as had been given to him by Mr. Dupleix: Mr. Buffy remained in the ceded provinces from his arrival at Masulipatnam

1755. patnam in July 1754, to the end of that year, continually employed in settling the government, and often either marching in person, or sending detachments to collect the revenues from the Polygars or chiefs of the woodland countries, who, trusting to their wilds and fastnesses, never pay but at the point of the sword. In the beginning of the year 1755, he returned to Hyderabad, where he found Salabad-jing ready to proceed with all his forces against the kingdom of Mysore, in order to collect a long arrear of tribute, which, he pretended, was owing from this country to the Mogul government. The French company was by treaty in alliance with the regent of Mysore, who well deserved their services, in return for the expences he had incurred in assisting them during the war of Trichinopoly. On the other hand, the French troops with Mr. Buffly were obliged to assist Salabad-jing against any powers whom he might think proper to treat as enemies; for it was on this condition, without any exception of the Mysoreans, that he had given the northern maritime provinces to the French company. In this perplexity, Mr. Buffly resolved to distress the Mysoreans as little as possible by military operations, and to use his best endeavours to reconcile their differences with the Soubah. But when his army entered their country, Mr. Buffly, contrary to his inclination, was obliged to co-operate in the reduction of several forts; although he all the while corresponded with the ministry of Mysore, recommending terms of accommodation. The regent was still before Trichinopoly, and the ministry suspecting that any manifestation of eagerness to make peace, would induce more imperious conditions, shut themselves up with the best of their forces, and seemed determined to sustain a siege in the capital of Seringapatnam. But an unexpected event, of which Mr. Buffly took advantage, soon made them change this resolution; for Balagerow, at this very time, was advancing from Poni with a great army of Morattoes, in order to levy contributions in the country of Mysore; and the ministry judging it better to pay one, than fight two enemies, followed Mr. Buffly's advice, and invited Salabad-jing to come and encamp his whole army under the walls of Seringapatnam; acknowledging his authority, and consenting to pay on account of the arrears due to the Mogul government, five millions and two hundred thousand rupees. At the same time,

time, Mr. Buffy negotiated with Balagerow, to dissuade him from ravaging the Myfore country; who finding he could not prosecute his intentions without incurring the hostilities of Salabad-jing, and perhaps gratified by a part of the contributions levied, returned quietly to Poné. Salabad-jing quitted Seringapatnam in April, and in his return to Hyderabad exacted the submissions and levied the tributes due from several Polygars of Viziapore. The army arrived at Hyderabad in the beginning of July, and were not employed in any other military operations during the remainder of the year.

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The English squadron found no enemies to encounter, nor any other occasion of active service on the coast of Coromandel since their return from Bombay in the month of January; but it may be supposed that their appearance awed the government of Pondicherry, and contributed not a little to produce that moderation which prevailed in the French councils after the conclusion of the conditional treaty. They came from Fort St. David to Madras in the end of July, and departed from thence on the 10th of October, in order to avoid the northern monsoon. On the 10th of November, they arrived at Bombay, where they found several of the company's ships lately arrived from England, with a considerable number of troops, sent with an intention to be employed on a special expedition projected in London.

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The East-India company, whilst uncertain of the event of the negotiation in India, received advices of the acquisitions which Mr. Buffy had obtained from Salabad-jing; and concluding very justly that negotiations alone would not induce the French to quit such great advantages, they determined to strike at their power in the northern parts of the Decan by more effectual means. Aurengabad, the capital of this division of the Mogul empire, lies no more than one hundred and fifty miles west of Bombay, and the country of the Morattoes between both: a friendly intercourse had for some time been kept up by the presidency of Bombay with the Saha Rajah; and from the frequent hostilities which had been carried on by his general Balagerow against Salabad-jing, it was imagined that the Morattoes might be rendered very instrumental in removing the French troops from the service of this prince: it was therefore determined to assist Balagerow with a force of Europeans the first time he should march

1756. march against Salabad-jing, who it was hoped would be so much alarmed by this measure as to consent to dismiss the French troops from his service, on condition that the English retired from the banners of the Morattoes: and if he persisted in his attachment to the French, it was determined to weary him into a compliance by vigorous hostilities, in conjunction with the Morattoes.

This enterprize required a commander of much experience in the military and political systems of the country; and captain Clive, who was at this time preparing to return to India, offered to conduct it: the company had rewarded the services which this officer had already rendered, by appointing him governor of Fort St. David, and by obtaining for him a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service; but from that dependance on the ministry to which their affairs will always be subject, whilst engaged in military operations, the court of directors, in compliance with very powerful recommendations, appointed lieutenant-colonel Scot to command the expedition. This officer went to India in the preceding year, in the post of engineer-general of all their settlements, but died soon after his arrival at Madrafs. The company, however, for fear that this or any other accident might prevent him from undertaking the expedition, desired colonel Clive to proceed to Bombay before he went to the coast of Coromandel, that if necessary he might be ready to supply colonel Scot's place. The troops sent from England for this service were three companies of the king's artillery, each of 100 men, and 300 recruits; who arrived at Bombay in the end of October; where colonel Clive finding that colonel Scot was dead, proposed to the presidency to undertake the plan recommended to them; but they, possessed by too much caution, imagined that it could not be carried into execution without infringing the convention made by Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu: this judgment, however, had no foundation either in the truce or in the conditional treaty, in which all mention, both of Salabad-jing and of the French troops in his service, seemed to have been studiously avoided. The court of directors had explained their whole plan to the presidency of Madrafs; but the ship which had the letters on board was unfortunately wrecked on a rock lying eight hundred miles to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, within sight of the continent of Africa; and the pre-

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presidency of Bombay not providing for such an accident, but fearful that the letters they might write on this subject would be intercepted by the French, contented themselves with only sending to Madras advices of the arrival of colonel Clive with the troops, without explaining their destination; however, slender as this information was, it served to suggest to some members of the council the whole extent of the company's intentions; in consequence of which they formed a plan for the conduct of it, which they recommended in the strongest terms to the presidency of Bombay; but before these letters arrived, that presidency had taken the resolution of employing all their force, in conjunction with Mr. Watson's squadron, against another enemy, who had long been formidable to the English commerce on that side of India.

The Malabar coast, from cape Comorin to Surat, is intersected by a great number of rivers, which disembogue into the sea; it appears that from the earliest antiquity the inhabitants have had a strong propensity to piracy, and at this day all the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruize upon those of all other nations which they can overpower. The Mogul empire, when it first extended its dominion to the sea in the northern parts of this coast, appointed an admiral called the Sidde, with a fleet to protect the vessels of their Mahometan subjects trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, from the Malabar pirates, as well as from the Portuguese. The Morattoes were at that time in possession of several forts between Goa and Bombay, and finding themselves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul's admiral, they made war against him by sea and land. In this war one Conagee Angria raised himself from a private man to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was entrusted with the government of Severndroog, one of their strongest forts, built upon a small rocky island which lies about eight miles to the north of Dabul, and within cannon shot of the continent; here Conagee revolted against the Saha Rajah, or king of the Morattoes, and having seduced part of the fleet to follow his fortune, he with them took and destroyed the rest. The Saha Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the main land, within point blank shot of Severndroog; but Conagee took these forts likewise, and in a few years got possession

1756. possession of all the sea coast, from Tamanah to Bancoote, extending 120 miles, together with the inland country as far back as the mountains, which in some places are thirty, in others twenty miles from the sea. His successors, who have all borne the name of Angria, strengthened themselves continually, insomuch that the Morattoes having no hopes of reducing them, agreed to a peace on condition that Angria should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Saha Rajah, by paying him a small annual tribute; but they nevertheless retained a strong animosity against him, and determined to avail themselves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.

In the mean time the piracies which Angria exercised upon ships of all nations indifferently, who did not purchase his passes, rendered him every day more and more powerful. The land and sea breezes on this coast, as well as on that of Coromandel, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, since the land-winds do not reach more than forty miles out to sea: there was not a creek, bay, harbour, or mouth of a river along the coast of his dominions, in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles, to serve both as a station of discovery, and as a place of refuge to his vessels; hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them, as to take them. His fleet consisted of grabs and galivats, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulk head which terminates the forecastle: as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption: on the main deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point for-
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wards through the port holes cut in the bulk head, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons: they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight; the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of bamboes split, and these carry only petteraroes, which are fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel; but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders: they have forty or fifty stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour.

Eight or ten grabs, and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, generally composed Angria's principal fleet destined to attack ships of force or burthen. The vessel no sooner came in sight of the port or bay where the fleet was lying, than they slipped their cables and put out to sea: if the wind blew, their construction enabled them to sail almost as fast as the wind; and if it was calm, the gallivats rowing towed the grabs: when within cannon shot of the chace they generally assembled in her stern, and the grabs attacked her at a distance with their prow guns, firing first only at the masts, and taking aim when the three masts of the vessel just opened all together to their view; by which means the shot would probably strike one or other of the three. As soon as the chace was dismasted, they came nearer and battered her on all sides until she struck; and if the defence was obstinate, they sent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded sword in hand from all quarters in the same instant.

It was now fifty years that this piratical state had rendered itself formidable to the trading ships of all the European nations in India, and the English East-India company had kept up a marine force at the annual expence of fifty thousand pounds to protect their own ships, as well as those belonging to the merchants established in their colonies; for as no vessel could with prudence venture singly to pass by Angria's dominions, the trade was convoyed at particular times up and down the sea coasts by the company's armed vessels. But as

1756. this force consisted only of four grabs, two of which, however, mounted twenty guns, and six gallivats, it was deemed capable of nothing more than to protect the trade; and indeed it scarcely ever did any mischief to the enemy, who sailing much better than the Bombay fleet, never fought them longer than they thought proper: in the mean time, Angria seldom failed to take such ships as ventured to sail without company along his coast. About twenty-eight years ago they took the *Darby*, a ship belonging to the company, richly laden from England, and more lately a three mast grab of the Bombay fleet: they likewise took a forty gun ship belonging to the French company; and in February, 1754, they overpowered three Dutch ships, of 50, 36, and 18, guns, which were sailing together, burning the two largest, and taking the other. In 1722, commodore Matthews with a squadron of three ships of the line, in conjunction with a Portuguese army from Goa, attacked one of their forts called *Coilabby*, but by the cowardice of the Portuguese the attempt proved unsuccessful: and two years after that expedition, the Dutch with equal ill success attacked *Gheria* with seven ships, two bomb vessels, and a body of land forces. From this time his forts were deemed impregnable, as his fleet was with reason esteemed formidable. Elated by his constant good fortune, the pirate threw off his allegiance to the Morattoes: it is said that he cut off the noses of their ambassadors who came to demand the tribute he had agreed to pay to the *Saha Rajah*. The Morattoes who were in possession of the main land opposite to Bombay, had several times made proposals to the English government in the island, to attack this common enemy with their united forces, but it was not before the beginning of the present year that both parties happened to be ready at the same time to undertake such an expedition. The presidency then made a treaty with *Rama-gee Punt*, the *Saha Rajah's* general in these parts, and agreed to assist the Morattoes with their marine force in reducing *Severndroog*, *Bancoote*, and some others of *Angria's* forts, which lie near to *Choul*, a harbour and fortified city belonging to the Morattoes. Accordingly commodore James, the commander in chief of the company's marine force in India, sailed on the 22d of March in the *Protector* of 44 guns, with a ketch of 16 guns, and two bomb vessels; but such was the exaggerated opinion

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opinion of Angria's strong holds, that the presidency instructed him not to expose the company's vessels to any risque by attacking them, but only to blockade the harbours whilst the Morattoe army carried on their operations by land. Three days after the Morattoe fleet, consisting of seven grabs and sixty gallivats, came out of Choul, having on board 10,000 land forces, and the fleets united proceeded to Comara-bay, where they anchored in order to permit the Morattoes to get their meal on shore, since they are prohibited by their religion from eating or washing at sea. Departing from hence they anchored again about fifteen miles to the north of Severndroog, when Rama-gee Punt with the troops disembarked in order to proceed the rest of the way by land: commodore James now receiving intelligence that the enemy's fleet lay at anchor in the harbour of Severndroog, represented to the admiral of the Morattoe fleet, that by proceeding immediately thither they might come upon them in the night, and so effectually blockade them in the harbour that few or none would be able to escape. The Morattoe seemed highly to approve the proposal, but had not authority enough over his officers to make any of them stir before the morning, when the enemy discovering them under sail, immediately slipped their cables and put to sea. The commodore then flung out the signal for a general chase; but as little regard was paid to this as to his former intention; for although the vessels of the Morattoes had hitherto sailed better than the English, such was their terror of Angria's fleet, that they all kept behind, and suffered the Protector to proceed alone almost out of their sight. The enemy on the other hand exerted themselves with uncommon industry, flinging overboard all their lumber to lighten their vessels, not only crowding all the sails they could bend, but also hanging up their garments, and even their turbans, to catch every breath of air. The Protector, however, came within gun-shot of some of the sternmost, but the evening approaching, commodore James gave over the chase, and returned to Severndroog, which he had passed several miles. Here he found Rama-gee Punt with the army besieging, as they said, the three forts on the main land; but they were firing only from one gun, a four pounder, at the distance of two miles, and even at this distance the troops did not think themselves safe without digging pits, in which

1756. they sheltered themselves covered up to the chin from the enemy's fire. The commodore judging from these operations, that they would never take the forts, determined to exceed the instructions which he had received from the presidency, rather than expose the English arms to the disgrace they would suffer, if an expedition in which they were believed by Angria to have taken so great a share, should miscarry. The next day, the 2d of April, he began to cannonade and bombard the fort of Severndroog, situated on the island; but finding that the walls on the western side which he attacked, were mostly cut out of the solid rock, he changed his station to the north-east between the island and the main; where whilst one of his broadsides plied the north-east bastions of this fort, the other fired on fort Goa, the largest of those upon the main land. The bastions of Severndroog, however, were so high, that the Protector could only point her upper tier at them; but being anchored within a hundred yards, the musketry in the round tops drove the enemy from their guns, and by noon the parapet of the north-east bastion was in ruins; when a shell from one of the bomb vessels set fire to a thatched house, which the garrison, dreading the Protector's musketry, were afraid to extinguish: the blaze spreading fiercely at this dry season of the year, all the buildings of the fort were soon in flames, and amongst them a magazine of powder blew up. On this disaster the inhabitants, men, women and children, with the greatest part of the garrison, in all near 1000 persons, ran out of the fort, and embarking in seven or eight large boats, attempted to make their escape to fort Goa; but they were prevented by the English ketches, who took them all. The Protector now directed her fire only against fort Goa; where the enemy, after suffering a severe cannonade, hung out a flag as a signal of surrender; but whilst the Morattoes were marching to take possession of it, the governor perceiving that the commodore had not yet taken possession of Severndroog, got into a boat with some of his most trusty men, and crossed over to the island, hoping to be able to maintain the fort until he should receive assistance from Dabul, which is in sight of it. Upon this the Protector renewed her fire upon Severndroog, and the commodore finding that the governor wanted to protract the defence until night, when it was not to be doubted that some