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suspected no other attacks, and from this confidence the soldiers, fatigued with a march of twelve miles, were permitted, as soon as they had taken possession of the garden, to lay down their arms; and the officers neglected to station guards, or to take the usual precautions which are generally thought indispensable against a surprize. In a few minutes the whole army had quitted their arms, and every man was straggling according to his own inclination: some were cutting wood to dress their meal, some were cooking it, some were eating, and others were laid down to sleep: the Coolies and the Indians conducting the camels, carts, and oxen laden with the baggage, discharged it promiscuously in the court before the garden-house, and then dispersed. Such was the general disorder, when a large body of forces, horse and foot, were discovered approaching in good order from the westward. These were the Nabob's army, consisting of 6000 horse and 3000 foot, under the command of his sons Maphuze Khan and Mahomed-ally, who having united the forces they separately commanded, had arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimondalum, four miles to the west of Fort St. David.

Every man ran to his arms in confusion, and their terror prevented them from conceiving the advantage of their situation in the garden, the walls of which secured them from the attack of cavalry: but imagining that their safety consisted in recrossing the river before they should be attacked, they hurried out of the garden into the open plain; all, excepting the artillery, in much disorder. The enemy came up before they reached the river. The Peons of the Nabob's army, joined by those belonging to the English, intermixed with the cavalry, and kept up a constant but irregular fire, whilst the cavalry advanced sword in hand in various onsets; but they were always repulsed by the fire of the artillery.

As soon as the French troops had gained the bank, they plunged into the river, where the water was four feet deep; and many flung away their arms before they reached the other side: but the artillery continued to preserve their courage, and saved the field-pieces, transporting them over the river one after another, and turning them again upon the enemy as soon as they were landed on the opposite bank.

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The English at Fort St. David were apprized of the arrival of the Nabob's army at Chimondalum; and the whole garrison, excepting 50 Topasies, sallied out as soon as they perceived the French retreating, but did not come up in time to assist in interrupting their passage over the river. Having prevailed upon the Nabob's army to accompany them, they advanced in pursuit of the French, but did not overtake them until they had marched six miles on the other side of the river. By this time the French troops had recovered from their panic, and were drawn up in such good order, that it was not thought prudent to attack them. They continued their march to Ariancopang, where they arrived at seven in the evening, having been in motion, with very little respite, for 24 hours. On a review of the state of their army, it was found that 120 of their Europeans had been wounded, and 12 killed. They had left behind them at the garden all the baggage which was come up before the Moors appeared. The English, on their return from the pursuit, found several chests of musquets, and other military stores; but a body of the Nabob's cavalry had plundered all the rest of the baggage as soon as the French quitted the garden.

Mr. Duplex judging, from the ill success of this expedition, that any open attempts against the English at Fort St. David would be frustrated whilst the Moors continued to assist them, entered into a correspondence with the Nabob and Maphuze Khan, to induce them to withdraw their troops: and at the same time he formed a project to take Cuddalore by surprize. The French army continued at Ariancopang; and on the night of the 30th of December 500 men embarked in boats, with orders to proceed by sea to Cuddalore, where they were to enter the river which runs along the eastern side, and to attack this open quarter of the town at break of day. The boats were scarcely through the surf, when the wind rose from the south, and blew so hard that several of them filled with water, and all were obliged to put back. The surf beat so high on the shore, that the soldiers flung away their arms, as dangerous incumbrances; for in high surfs the boat is quitted as soon as it touches the ground, lest the succeeding wave should break upon it, and overwhelm those who are in it.





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Mr. Dupleix, thus disappointed a second time in his views against Cuddalore, finding that the Nabob's army still continued with the English, attempted to cause a diversion of their troops, by carrying the war into the Nabob's country near Madras. A detachment from the town marched 20 miles inland, burning and destroying villages without resistance; for the inhabitants took to flight as they approached; and the Nabob had no troops in that part of his country. The French found large quantities of grain in several places, which they set fire to, for want of means to carry it away. They gained no advantage but plunder by this expedition; for the Moors remained at Fort St. David, and the Nabob was more exasperated than before.

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On the 9th of January the four ships, that composed the largest division of the Squadron in which Mr. de la Bourdonnais quitted the coast, returned from Achin to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix informed the Nabob of their arrival, exaggerated the addition of force which Pondicherry received from it, and at the same time represented the English at Fort St. David as a handful of men abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. The princes of Indostan, as well as their subjects, take no pains to inform themselves of any affairs excepting those of their own country; and the long absence of the English Squadron, joined to the precipitation with which it had quitted the coast in September, concurred with Mr. Dupleix's assertions, to make the Moors believe that the English concerns in India were becoming desperate. The governments of Indostan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action. The Nabob ordered his son Maphuze Khan to listen to Mr. Dupleix's proposals of an accommodation, and sent back to Pondicherry the two deputies who had been detained prisoners by Maphuze Khan, when he invested Madras. One of these prisoners was nephew to Mr. Dupleix, and the other a member of the council of Pondicherry: they had been kept at Arcot during their captivity, and were perhaps the only Europeans, excepting some vagabonds and Jesuits, who had made so long a residence in the capital of the Carnatic, since the province had been





been conquered by the Great Mogul. The Moors had hitherto been careful to prevent Europeans from informing themselves of the state of the country, and the Europeans, solely employed in commerce, were so little solicitous of acquiring such information, that at this time they knew as little of Arcot as of Delhi.

But Mr. Dupleix, while he was persuading the Nabob that the English affairs were without resource, was himself apprehensive of the return of their Squadron, and did not think the ships arrived from Achin a force sufficient to encounter it: therefore, as soon as he found that there was a probability of withdrawing the Moors from the assistance of the English, he ordered the ships to quit the coast of Coromandel. They left Pondicherry the 8th of February, and sailed to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese settlements in India. A few days after, Maphuze Khan came to Pondicherry, where he was received with pomp and much respect. Mr. Dupleix paid him 50,000 rupees in money, and made him a present of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more: a peace was concluded between the French and the Nabob, who recalled his army from Fort St. David. The English at Fort St. David had not hitherto received any supplies either from Europe or the colonies in India.

A ship from England belonging to the company appeared in sight of Madras in the month of November, and ignorant of the loss of the place, approached the road. The governor Paradis, immediately hoisted English colours in the town, and sent some soldiers on board of the ship which was taken when Madras surrendered. This ship likewise hoisted English colours. The ship from the sea, deceived by these appearances, cast anchor near the prize, which immediately attacked her, but in so unskilful a manner, that Paradis apprehending the prize herself would be taken, began to fire from the batteries of the town upon the English ship, which, discovering by these hostilities that Madras was in possession of the French, weighed her anchor, and went out of the road without having received any damage. In January another ship from England came to an anchor before Madras: the French immediately sent, by a fishing-boat, a letter written in English, pretending that the town was invested by the Moors, and that they should immediately send





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boats to bring on shore the treasure and the soldiers. The captain, deceived by this letter, as well as by the flag which was flying in the town, entertained no suspicion, and permitted the boats to come to the ship without examination. A number of soldiers were concealed in them, who in the same instant boarded the ship from different quarters. The greatest part of the ship's company were enfeebled by the scurvy, and those who were capable of making resistance were so much surpris'd, that they were easily overpowered. This was a rich prize, having on board besides merchandizes 60,000 pounds sterling in bullion. In the interval another of the company's ships anchored in the road of Fort St. David, where the governor immediately sent off a letter to the captain, acquainting him with the loss of Madras, of the great superiority of the French force on the coast of Coromandel, and of the distresses to which the fort was reduced by the want both of men and money. The ship was, as usual, consign'd to the governor and council of Madras; and the distresses of Fort St. David, instead of inducing the captain to assist them, only suggested to him the risk to which his own fortune might be expos'd, by landing the company's treasure, contrary to the letter of his instructions, in a settlement threaten'd with such imminent danger: he therefore refused to comply with the request of the governor, and set sail for Bengal without landing the soldiers, or any part of the cargo. These sinister accidents served to confirm Mr. Dupleix's assertions, even in the opinion of the English themselves, that their situation was growing desperate, when at last, on the 19th of February, the ship which had escaped out of the road of Madras in November came from Ceylon, and landed 60,000*l.* in silver, together with 20 recruits for the garrison: the money was a very important supply; for the treasury of Fort St. David was almost exhausted when the ship arrived.

The French army appeared in sight of Fort St. David in the morning of the 2d of March: it consisted of the same troops which had been routed by the Moors at the garden: but Mr. Dupleix had now prevail'd on the officers to receive Mr. Paradis for their commander. The English garrison marched out, with three field pieces, and a troop of horse compos'd chiefly of volunteers, to prevent the French from crossing





crossing the river Parina, and found them drawn up about 600 yards on the other side of it: they cannonaded one another during the greatest part of the day; and in the evening part of the French army crossed the river, out of the reach of cannon-shot, to the westward: the horse were detached to reconnoitre them, and returned with the loss of two men killed by the fire of the French Caffres; upon which all the troops retreated to the fort. Of the English 12 men, and of the French 22, were killed during the cannonade. Before morning the whole French army had passed the river, and taken possession of the garden. A few hours afterwards a number of ships were descried in the offing, approaching the road: these were the English Squadron from Bengal. The French no sooner perceived them than they recrossed the river, and marched back with great precipitation towards Pondicherry.

The Squadron had been reinforced in Bengal by the arrival of two ships, one of 60 guns and the other of 40, sent from England with admiral Griffin. The presidency of Bengal sent in the Squadron a company of 100 Europeans, who were landed as soon as the ships anchored; and Mr. Griffin likewise went on shore with 150 marines and 500 sailors; but these were only intended to be a temporary augmentation of the garrison. The ships were soon after stationed in sight of Pondicherry, where their appearance made Mr. Dupleix recall the French army into the town.

In the month of June, a reinforcement of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys, arrived from Bombay, and 400 Sepoys from the English settlement of Tellicherry: 150 soldiers came likewise in the company's ships in the course of the year from Europe. In September, the Squadron sailed to Madras, and their boats set fire to and destroyed, in the road, the Neptune of 50 guns, one of the ships of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's Squadron, which had remained on the coast ever since his departure.

Notwithstanding the approach of the stormy monsoon in October, Mr. Griffin determined to continue with the Squadron in sight of Fort St. David; the monsoon began and continued without any violent hurricane; but the weather was notwithstanding so stormy that only two of the ships, one of which was the admiral, were able to keep their sta-





1747. tions. The rest made sail to the Bay of Trincomally in Ceylon; to which place Mr. Griffin with the other ship likewise went in December to take in wood and water, and returned to Fort St. David in the beginning of the year 1748 with all the squadron, excepting the Medway. This ship, which had been the first cause of the English disgraces and misfortunes in India, was in so bad a condition, that she was soon after condemned as unfit for service; she had been hove down at Calcutta in Bengal, but her leaks had not been thoroughly repaired.

1748. In the month of January 1748, Major Laurence arrived from England at Fort St. David, with a commission to command all the East India company's forces in India. At this time intelligence was received that Mr. Dupleix was preparing to make another attempt against Cuddalore: upon which the Major ordered all the troops at Fort St. David to form a camp between the garden and the river Panna. Here they continued some time; when it was discovered that the commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, a Moor, had formed a design to desert with all his men to the French, in the first engagement that should happen. This discovery led to others. It was found that an Indian, who, before Madras was lost, had acted as interpreter and agent of the English governor of that place, carried on a correspondence with the wife of Mr. Dupleix in the Malabar language, which she understood. When the governor was removed by the French to Pondicherry, this man accompanied him; and Mrs. Dupleix, by civilities and promises, engaged him to give her intelligence of the transactions of the English at Fort St. David, which he had for some time done with great punctuality. The facts were proved; and the traitor, with another Indian his accomplice, was hanged. The commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, with ten other officers belonging to that body, were banished to the island of St. Helena, where several of them assisted one another in putting an end to their lives, rather than remain in slavery in a place, of which the situation excluded them from all hopes of being able to make their escape to their native country.

The four French ships which sailed from Pondicherry in February 1747, left Goa and the coast of Malabar in October, and sailed to the island of Mauritius. They were here joined by three others, one of 50 and





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and two of 40 guns, sent from France. The two 40 gun ships had been in India, and had taken an English East India ship in sight of the island of Bombay. This prize would have been very considerable, had not the vigilance of the governor of the island saved the silver that was on board, by sending from the shore two fishing-boats, which brought away the treasure, whilst the ship was defending itself against the enemy.

On the 9th of June at night the English 20 gun ship returned from a cruize, and brought intelligence to Fort St. David, that she had discovered seven large ships and two smaller vessels to the south. These were the French squadron which had sailed from Mauritius in the latter end of April. The English squadron, lately reinforced by three ships from England, was now composed of three ships of 60 guns, three of 50, three of 40, and one of 20 guns. These were at anchor in the road; but the rudders of two of the 40 gun ships were unhang, and Mr. Griffin and several of the officers were on shore, where many of the men were likewise, in the hospital.

During the southern monsoon the wind blows constantly from the south-west in all parts of the bay of Bengal, except at the distance of 10 or 15 leagues from the land; and here it generally changes in 24 hours, blowing a part of this time from the sea at south-east, and during the rest from the land at south-west: the land-wind generally rises about midnight, and lasts till noon, but it is not always confined to this interval; for some days it continues until the evening, and at other times, when very strong, blows for three or four days without interruption. The sea-wind very seldom continues more than 12 hours, and is generally preceded by a short interval of calm. During the southern monsoon the currents, as well near the land as out at sea, drive strongly to the north.

A ship during the sea-wind cannot gain way to the south; for the sea is then rough, and the wind seldom inclines to the east of the south-east point: but as the land-wind often veers to the west point, and always renders the sea smooth within sight of the coast, ships bound to the south make some progress during this wind, and either drop anchor to maintain their ground if they are near shore when the land-wind fails, or if they are at some distance they continue under sail, and with





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the sea-wind come near the shore, where they are ready to avail themselves again of the land-wind as soon as it sets in. By these operations a vessel that sails well sometimes gets ten or fifteen miles to the south in a day; but it is not uncommon to see others employed a month in getting only 100 miles to the southward.

On the 10th of June at an hour and a half after noon the French ships were discerned in the south-east. The sea-wind was set in, and they were sailing directly before it toward Fort St. David. The position of the English Squadron, at anchor near the land to leeward, rendered it impossible for them to get nearer the enemy during the sea-wind; for had they weighed anchor immediately, the nearest course they could have made would have been to the north-east out to sea, and this would very soon have carried them to leeward of Pondicherry. Mr. Griffin therefore determined not to weigh anchor till night, when the land-wind should set in: in the interval the men on shore were ordered to join their ships. At four in the afternoon the French Squadron, being within three leagues of the road, altered their course, and plied to the south-west. This operation made the English believe that they kept to windward with intention to gain Pondicherry at all events. About midnight the English put to sea with the land-wind, endeavouring to keep in the latitude of Fort St. David; and in the morning they shortened sail, in expectation every minute of seeing the enemy again to the south; but before the evening they fell to leeward of Pondicherry, when Mr. Griffin, finding his expectations deceived, made sail to Madras, where he arrived the next evening, and found no French ships in the road.

The French squadron was commanded by M. Bouvet, governor of the isle of Bourbon, an able and experienced mariner. He had been apprized, at the French settlement of Karriakal, of the superior force of the English: his operations, when in sight of Fort St. David, were designed to make the English believe that he intended to engage them the next morning: but as soon as the night set in he changed his course, and crowding all the sail his ships could carry, went away to Madras, where he arrived the next morning the 11th of June, and immediately landed 400 soldiers, with 200,000 pounds in silver, which had been sent from France to the island of Mauritius for the service of Pondi-





Pondicherry. Having thus effected the design of his voyage, he put out to sea on his return to Mauritius before the English Squadron appeared in sight of Madras.

Mr. Dupleix perceiving that the English Squadron had failed to Madras, from whence they could not return to Fort St. David in some days, determined to avail himself of their absence, and make another attack upon Cuddalore. Eight hundred Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, marched from Pondicherry, and making a circuit inland, arrived on the 17th of June in the morning within three miles of Cuddalore, at the hills of Bandapolam. Here they halted during the day, and intended at night to attack Cuddalore by surprize.

Major Lawrence receiving intelligence of this design, ordered the garrison to march and the cannon to be removed to Fort St. David, intending by this operation to make the French believe that he did not think the place tenable. As soon as night came on, the garrison, augmented to the number of 400 Europeans, together with the cannon, were sent back to Cuddalore, with the precautions necessary to prevent the enemy from receiving intelligence of their return. The stratagem succeeded.

At midnight the French advanced with scaling ladders, which they no sooner began to apply to the walls than they received the fire of all the musketry from the ramparts, together with that of four or five pieces of cannon loaded with grape-shot. This unexpected resistance struck the whole body, officers as well as soldiers, with a panic. Most of the men flung away their arms without firing a shot: but the precipitation of their flight prevented the English fire from doing much execution amongst them: nor did their fears quit them when arrived at the place of their encampment; for expecting to be followed, they marched on without halting until they came to the bounds of Pondicherry.

It was now some time that Mr. Dupleix had, with great activity, been employed in making dispositions to resist an armament bound to the East Indies under the command of admiral Boscawen, of whose destination the French at Pondicherry, as well as the English at Fort St. David, had received intelligence. This armament consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one of 20, a sloop of 14 guns,





1743. guns, a bomb-ship with her tender, and an hospital-ship. These belonged to the navy of England; and 11 of the East India company's ships were likewise employed to transport the military stores, and the regular troops, which amounted to 1400 men. This fleet left England in November, and the greatest part arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of March, but five ships not until the 15th of April. They were joined at the Cape by six ships belonging to the Dutch East India company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. The troops having been landed to refresh, were all reembarked before the 26th of April, when it was intended to sail; but contrary winds and weather detained the fleet until the 8th of May, when they left the Cape, bound to the island of Mauritius, which Mr. Boscawen was ordered to attack in his way to the coast of Coromandel.

The Portuguese, in their first navigations to India, discovered three islands, lying to the eastward of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degree of latitude. The most western of these, from the name of the person who discovered it, they called Mascarenhas; but the French, when they took possession of it in 1675, gave it the name of Bourbon, which now prevails. The eastern island the Portuguese called Diego Reys; which name it retains to this day; and that between Bourbon and Diego Reys they called Cerne, probably from a supposition that it was the Cerne of the ancients. The Dutch, when they made this a station of refreshment for their ships coming from India, called it Mauritius: the French, when they took possession of it the beginning of the present century, named it the Isle of France; but this appellation has prevailed only amongst themselves, the other Europeans still calling it Mauritius.

The Portuguese found on these islands neither men nor any four-footed animals, excepting land-tortoises, but great flocks of paroquets, doves, and sea-fowls; and the sea abounds with fish of various kinds, and with great numbers of turtle.

The island of Bourbon is 60 miles in length from north to south, and 45 in breadth from east to west. It has no port; and the only part where boats can land is in the road of St. Paul to the north-west. It has no plains, the whole being either hills of easy ascent, or steep mountains





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tains separated by narrow vallies. These mountains continue rising one above another from the sea coast to the middle of the island; so that in whatever view it is seen at a distance, it appears one convex surface rising out of the sea. The French took possession of it in the year 1665, and finding the soil rich, cultivated it with great assiduity: it now produces wheat, and most of the garden vegetables of Europe, as well as those of India, with many fruits peculiar to both climates: the mango, China orange, and peach, grow in great plenty and in great perfection. But the principal object of their agriculture, and what has rendered the island of importance in their commerce, is the cultivation of the coffee-tree, of which they brought the plants from Beit-ul Fakih in Arabia; and these have thriven so well, that the island now produces 2000 tons of coffee every year. The cultivation of this tree, as well as most other services of toil, are performed by Caffre slaves brought from Africa and Madagascar. The French have a breed of horses, which, though small, are esteemed for their hardiness; and they have reared beeves, goats, sheep, and hogs, in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the inhabitants, although not in such plenty as to furnish provision for their shipping; but this neglect seems to have arisen from the facility and cheapness wherewith these and other provisions may be procured from the western side of Madagascar, where they have settlements. Several families from France established themselves here soon after the French took possession of it, and from them are descended the present inhabitants, who are now multiplied to the number of 4000, of which 1000 are men capable of bearing arms: these have not degenerated from their ancestors, but on the contrary are a race so remarkable for stature and proportion, as well as for health and strength, that they equal, if not exceed in these qualities, the most athletic of the European nations. They are the only colony of Europeans established within the tropics which have preserved these advantages.

The inconveniencies arising from the want of a port at Bourbon, induced the French to take possession of Mauritius. This island extends about 45 miles in length from north to south, and about 30 from west to east. In the north-eastern quarter is a plain extending about ten





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miles from east to west, and in some places five miles in-land from the northern coast. All the rest of the island is full of high and steep mountains, laying so near to one another that the intervals between them, instead of vallies, form only beds of torrents; and these are choaked with vast fragments of stone torn from the rock above. The summits of these mountains are covered with forests of ebony and other large trees, and the ground under the shade of the trees produces herbage, shrubs, and plants of various sorts, from the common grass to the strongest thorn, in such profusion that they form a thicket so closely interwoven, that a step cannot be made, but with the hatchet in hand. Many plantations have been raised with success on these mountains, and some improvements made on the plain to the north-east; but the productions, altho' mostly of the same kind, are in less quantity, and in less perfection, than at Bourbon: it produces no coffee; but, by the industry of M. de la Bourdonnais, sugar, indigo, and cotton, which are not at Bourbon, were cultivated here with success; and although these plantations have been much neglected since his departure, they may at any time be recovered. They are at this time endeavouring to cultivate the genuine cinnamon, from plants procured at Ceylon; but these, if they do not perish, will in all probability, from the difference of soil and climate, greatly degenerate. Iron mines have been discovered in the mountains, near the plain to the north-east; and, these mountains supplying great quantities of fuel, forges have been erected; but the iron produced is brittle, and is made into cannon-balls and shells for mortars. Beeves, sheep, and goats, are preserved with great difficulty: the beeves generally die before they have been a year in the island, and are therefore frequently imported from Madagascar and other parts. Common domestic fowls breed in great plenty; and these, with fish and turtle, furnish a great part of the food of the European inhabitants. These have multiplied very little by marriage, most of them being natives of France. Their Caffre slaves are subject to great mortalities from the small-pox and other epidemical distempers.

Mauritius has two ports, one on the south-east coast, and the other on the north-west. The trade-wind from the south-east blows in these latitudes all the year round, excepting for a few days at the summer

solstice,





solstice, when it is interrupted by hard gales and hurricanes from the north. The facility with which this wind enables ships to enter the south-east port, induced the French, when they first took possession of the island, to give the preference to this harbour; but on finding that the same wind often rendered the passage out so difficult that a ship was sometimes obliged to wait a fortnight before she could put to sea, they left it, and have ever since made use of the other harbour. This lies nearly in the middle of the north side of the island; and its entrance is through a channel formed by two shoals, which advance about a mile into the sea. When a ship arrives opposite to this channel, the south-east wind hinders her from entering the port under sail; and she must either warp in with cables, or be towed in by boats: the necessity of this operation, joined to the narrowness of the channel, which does not afford passage for two ships a-breast, is one of the greatest difficulties an enemy would meet with in attacking the harbour; for although there are two forts, and as many batteries, which command the channel, yet these might easily be reduced, if ships of force could approach them under sail. This port is capable of containing 100 sail, and is provided with all the necessaries for repairing and even for building of ships. The entrance of the south-east port is defended by batteries; and an army landed here would meet with great difficulties in passing over the mountains to the other parts of the island. There are several places, between the north-east extremity and the north port, where boats may land; but all these are defended by batteries, and the country behind them is a continued thicket: the rest of the coast is inaccessible; and the French, relying on the difficulties of approaching the shore, had made no fortifications in any part of the island to obstruct the progress of an enemy when landed.

The greatest extent of Diego Reys is 27 miles: it is full of rocks, which harbour great numbers of land tortoises of a very large size, which are esteemed excellent food: here the French keep a detachment of men, who are employed in catching these animals for the inhabitants of Mauritius; and this is the principal use they make of Diego Reys.

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The south-east trade-wind obliges all ships bound to these islands to approach them from the east. The passage from Diego Reys to Mauritius is performed in two days; and from Mauritius to Bourbon in one; but it requires near a month to go from Bourbon either to Mauritius or Diego Reys: from April to October the voyage from Mauritius to the coast of Coromandel is easily performed in a month. These islands being out of the track of common intelligence, a large armament, sent in detail from France, may rendezvous in the port of Mauritius, and from thence arrive in India before any intelligence is received there either of its strength or destination: hence it is evident, that, if we have any regard to our settlements in India, the reduction of this place ought to be one of the first objects of our attention in the beginning of a war with France. The possession of Mauritius would probably be followed by the voluntary submission of Bourbon, or would certainly render it of no use to the French for the purposes of war.

The fleet was thirty-five days in its passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius, and came in sight of the eastern coast on the 23d of June at day-break. Three of the Dutch ships were missing, having separated from the rest in bad weather. As soon as the ships came to the north-east point of the island, they proceeded along the northern coast in a line of battle a-head, the men of war leading, and the company's ships following them; and before night they had advanced within two leagues of the port, and came to anchor in a kind of bay lying between the mouths of two small rivers. They had hitherto discovered only two places along the shore where the smoothness of the water seemed to indicate a possibility of making a descent, and these were defended by two fascine batteries of six guns each, which fired on the ships as they passed: all the rest of the shore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French began to fire upon the squadron from two other fascine batteries raised at the entrance of the two rivers between which it was at anchor, and the fire was returned from one of the 50 gun ships, but with very little execution on either side.

Mr. Boscawen now ordered the sloop to reconnoitre the coast quite up to the port; and she reported, on her return, that she had been fired upon





upon by eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as from the forts at the entrance of the harbour, where a large ship of two tiers lay at anchor, with her broadside across it; and that there were twelve other ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of force, and equipped for service. As soon as it was dark the barges of the fix line of battle ships were sent to sound, and on their return reported that a reef of rocks ran all along about 20 yards from the shore, which rendered it impossible for boats to land, except at the entrance of the rivers over-against which the fleet was at anchor, or at the harbour itself: here they had discovered, that the channel leading into it was not more than 100 fathom wide, and that this entrance would be subject to the greatest difficulties by the opposition of the south-east wind. Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral called a council of war, composed of the principal land and sea officers, and it was resolved, that, as they were ignorant of the strength of the enemy, three armed boats should be sent to endeavour to land in the night, and take by surprize a man from the shore, from whom intelligence might probably be obtained: this was attempted, but in vain. The next morning, the 25th of June, the council of war assembled again, and were of opinion, that although their force was sufficient to reduce the island, yet the attack, and the maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might probably disable the armament from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his destination: it was therefore resolved to proceed to the coast of Coromandel without delay, that the Squadron might arrive there in time to act before the change of the monsoon in October.

The island would certainly have been reduced, if the conquest of it had been the principal object of the armament; for the whole of the French force consisted only of 500 regular troops, 200 European inhabitants disciplined as militia, 1500 Caffre slaves on whose service and attachment the French had little reliance, and 1000 sailors belonging to the ships. If the wind, as it generally does, blew always against the entrance of the northern harbour, it would indeed be impracticable to reduce it with ships working against a contrary wind in a narrow channel, and exposed without resistance to the fire of the enemy's ships and batteries.





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But it has been discovered that the south-east wind generally blows with least strength about sun-rise; and it also happens, on four or five days at intervals in the course of a month, that early in the morning this wind ceases in the northern part of the island for an hour or two, when a breeze rises, although faintly, from the north-west: during which a ship stationed at the entrance of the channel, to avail herself of this breeze, may enter the harbour and ply her cannon under sail.

The fleet left the island the 27th of June, when the Dutch ships, now joined by one of their comrades which had parted company during the passage, quitted the English, and sailed away for Batavia; and Mr. Boscawen steered for the coast of Coromandel, by the nearest passage, between the islands and shoals that lie to the north of Mauritius; he arrived on the 29th of July at Fort St. David, where he found the squadron under Admiral Griffin, who resigned the command to him, and a few days after proceeded with a sixty-gun ship and two frigates to Trincomally, from whence in the month of January he set sail with them to England.

The junction of the two squadrons formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen together in the East Indies; for it consisted of more than 30 ships, none of which were of less than 500 tons burden, and 13 of them men of war of the line. Every person attached to the English cause, who beheld this formidable force, was elated with joy, from expectation of its success, and no one doubted that the loss of Madrais would be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry. Preparations had been made at Fort St. David to enable Mr. Boscawen to proceed to action without delay; and on the 8th of August the army began to march.

Twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines belonging to the ships, with 80 artillery-men, composed the regular troops in the king's service: the company's troops consisted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 300 were Topasses, together with 70 artillery-men: the Dutch at Negapatam sent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans: and there were on board the ships, ready to be landed, 1000 seamen, who had been taught the manual exercise at sea: in all 3720 Europeans, and 300 Topasses, to which were joined about 2000 Sepoys, paid by





the company, who were as yet scarcely better disciplined than common Peons. The Nabob Anwar-adean, still changing fides, as he found the French or English affairs gaining the advantage, promised to send a body of 2000 horse, but only 300 came, and they towards the end of the siege. The heavy cannon and the cumbrous stores were laden on board the ships, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles to the south of Pondicherry.

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The company's agents at Fort St. David had gained very little intelligence necessary to direct Mr. Boscawen in his operations; for when the army approaching near the bounds of Pondicherry, came in sight of the fort of Ariancopang, there was no person who could give a description of the place: however, it was determined that it should be taken before the army proceeded any farther. An engineer of the company's troops was ordered to reconnoitre it, but was afraid to go near enough to make certain observations: he however reported that the fort itself was of little strength, but that it was covered by an entrenchment. A deserter likewise reported that it was garrisoned only by 100 Sepoys: on which Mr. Boscawen determined to storm the place. Accordingly a detachment of 700 men marched at day-break against the east side of the fort to attack what they supposed the entrenchment, which on a nearer approach they discovered to be a heap of ruins; they likewise perceived that the fort itself was a triangle regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pit-falls, and a covered way. These works were sufficient to protect the place from a sudden onset, even had it been only garrisoned as the deserter had reported; instead of which it was defended by 100 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, under the command of Captain Law, an active officer. The English troops were immediately assailed from the walls with musketry and grape-shot; and although they had brought no scaling-ladders, the fear of shame kept them in reach of the enemy's fire, until 150 were either killed or wounded. Major Goodere, the most experienced officer of the king's troops, was mortally wounded in this attack.

This blundering disaster greatly affected the spirits of the men. However, it was determined to persist in reducing Ariancopang, and the disciplined sailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, were landed from





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the ships. The French, knowing the advantage of gaining time at this season of the year, prudently determined to defend the fort as long as possible. On the opposite side of the river which runs to the north, and close by the fort of Ariancopang, they erected a battery of heavy cannon to obstruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort. The English engineers erected a battery in the plain on the south side of the river, to oppose and silence that of the enemy; but such was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of skill in their art, that when at day-break they opened the battery, most of the guns were found to be intercepted from the sight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers now offered their service to erect another, which they completed with sufficient skill before the next morning: and for greater security, threw up before it an entrenchment, in which a large detachment, consisting of soldiers and sailors, was posted. At day-break the battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for some time on both sides, with little execution done on either. Besides the troops within the fort, a body of 60 European cavalry encamped without the walls. This cavalry, supported by infantry, advanced to the entrenchment where the sailors were posted, who struck with consternation at their appearance, took flight, and communicated their panic to the regular troops. The French cavalry pursued them to the battery, by the fire of which they were, however, soon repulsed. Major Lawrence commanded this day in the entrenchment, and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers: he was disarmed, and obliged to surrender himself prisoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the side of his horse to Ariancopang.

The same day a large quantity of gunpowder taking fire in the enemy's battery, blew it up, and near 100 men were either killed or disabled by the explosion. This disaster struck such a terror amongst those who remained in the fort, that some hours after they set fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, and blew up the greatest part of the walls and cavaliers, and then marched away with great precipitation to Pondicherry: as soon as the English saw the

explosion





## Book I.

## HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC.

explosion, they marched up and took possession of the ruins. Thus fortunately delivered, the army did not immediately proceed to Pondicherry, but remained five days longer at Ariancopang, employed in repairing the fort, in which it was determined to leave a garrison; for it was apprehended, that during the siege a detachment of the enemy's troops might again take possession of it, and from hence be enabled to intercept convoys, or harraßs the army.

The town of Pondicherry was situated about 70 yards from the sea-shore: its extent within the walls was a little more than a mile from north to south, and about 1100 yards from east to west: it was fortified on the three sides to the land with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions; and two half-bastions were at the north and south extremities nearest the sea: these works were surrounded by a ditch, and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road; and within the town was built a citadel, too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground lying round the town was inclosed, at the distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of coco-nut and palm-trees, which altogether formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry: this inclosure began at the north, close by the sea-shore, and continued five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a semi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at about a mile and a half from the sea-shore, and in this part the course of the river served to compleat the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the same time that it was intended to be a defence against sudden incursions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they first established themselves at Pondicherry; and hence obtained the name of the Bound-hedge.

On the 26th of August the army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Oulagary, laying about two miles from the south-west part of the town. From hence a detachment was sent  
the



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the same day to attack the north-west redoubt of the bound-hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, notwithstanding it was capable of making a defence that would have cost the English many lives, had they been obliged to storm it. The garrisons in all the other redoubts were soon after withdrawn.

By the advice of the engineers, it was determined to attack the town on the north-west side; and, to facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, the ships were stationed to the North of the town.

On the 30th of August at night the army opened ground, at the distance of 1500 yards from the walls: by this the engineers shewed themselves little skilled in their art; for it is the general practice in sieges, to make the first parallel within 800 yards of the covered way. In the morning a detachment of 150 men from the trench first thrown up were ordered to lodge themselves about 100 yards nearer the town, and being supplied with working tools, soon covered themselves from the fire of the enemy's cannon. About noon 500 Europeans and 700 Sepoys sallied from the town under the command of Paradis, and attacked both trenches at the same time: they were repulsed at both, and lost 100 men and seven officers; amongst the latter their commander Paradis. Ensign Clive distinguished himself with much gallantry in the defence of the advanced trench; of which we do not repeat the description published in our first edition of this work, because we are informed, that that description is very erroneous.

The approaches were continued, but carried on very slowly, from a want of experience in such operations. Two batteries of three guns were raised within 1200 yards of the town, to check any future sallies. When the army first opened ground, the bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day: but in a very few days the enemy began to bombard her, and got her distance so exactly, that one of their shells flayed the boat astern, and another threw the water in upon her decks; after which she kept out of the reach of the enemy's mortars in the day-time, and only bombarded in the night. Parties sallied at several times, and attacked the detachments which escorted the stores and cannon from the ships to the camp; and one day a detachment escorting

two





two pieces of battering cannon was defeated, and the cannon taken. Some troops were sent immediately to recover them; but could not come up before the enemy had conveyed them under shelter of the ramparts.

After much hard labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impossible to carry them on any nearer; for a large morass extended itself before this part of the town, and the French had preserved a back water, with which they overflowed not only the morass, but likewise all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. During the approaches, and the construction of the batteries on the edge of the morass, the enemy kept up a constant fire on the working parties, by which many were killed.

Two batteries were finished and began to fire on the 26th of September, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of 18 and 24 pounders: a bomb-battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen cohorns, were likewise erected. The French now opened several embrasures in the curtain, and began likewise to fire from two or three batteries on the crest of the glacis, insomuch that the fire of the besieged was double that of the besiegers. Mr. Boscawen, willing to employ all the means of annoyance in his power, ordered the ships to batter the town; and before the next morning all the ships of two tiers had warped within the distance of 1000 yards of the walls, the shallowness of water not permitting them to approach nearer: the cannonading was incessant, and terrible in appearance, but of no real effect; for the distance of the ships, and the motion of the sea, hindered the shot from striking successively the same object. The French at first withdrew a great number of their artillery-men from the land side, and employed them in firing against the ships from the batteries which commanded the road; but perceiving the little damage that the town sustained from the fire of the ships, they slackened their defence on that side, and renewed it to the land side with as much vigour as before.

The cannonading from the ships continued until night, when Mr. Boscawen, finding that they had expended a vast quantity of ammunition to no purpose, ordered them to move in the night out of the reach of cannon-shot; but the wind setting in from the sea prevented them from





from executing this intention: remaining therefore in the same stations, they began early in the morning to cannonade the town again, from whence they were fired upon with more vivacity than the day before; but at noon the wind changing, the ships moved farther from the shore, and the firing ceased on both sides. Only two persons were killed on board the fleet, the one a common sailor, the other captain Adams, commander of the *Harwich*, a 50 gun ship. The French gave out that the fire from the ships had, in the two days, done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the street.

The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which that from the town increased, and dismounted nine pieces of cannon. Very little impression had been made on the defences, sickness prevailed in the camp, the weather likewise had changed, and the rainy monsoon was begun three weeks earlier than it usually sets in: a council of war was therefore summoned on the 30th of September, who, apprehensive that the rains, which at their first setting in generally overflow the whole country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy stores impracticable, and fearing likewise that the ships might be driven off the coast by hard gales of wind, unanimously determined to raise the siege without delay.

Five days were employed in shipping the cannon and heavy stores, destroying the batteries, and reembarking the sailors; and on the 6th of October the troops began to march to Fort St. David; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the fort: the rains had already rendered the roads very difficult to be passed. On a review of the army, it was found, that during the siege there had perished in action and by sickness 757 soldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 seamen; in all 1065 Europeans: very few of the Sepoys were killed, for they had been only employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and had always ran away on the approach of danger. The French garrison consisted of 1800 Europeans, and 3000 Sepoys, of which they lost 200 Europeans, and about 50 Sepoys.

Several causes concurred to frustrate this attempt against Pondicherry; of which the late arrival of the armament on the coast, and the early setting in of the rains, were the principal. There was no absolute necessity





cessity to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, for a party of 200 men stationed near it would have always kept in awe the garrison, which consisted only of 100: now the reduction of this little fort, besides causing the loss of 150 men, together with two of the most experienced officers, and thereby discouraging the rest, stopt the progress of the whole army eighteen days. When arrived before the town, Mr. Boscawen, unexperienced in military operations by land, relied, in obedience to his instructions, on the opinion of the engineers, who made a great blunder in carrying on the attacks against that part of the town to which an insuperable morass prevented them from approaching nearer than 800 yards; and even had there been no morass, the situation of the camp to the westward would have been injudiciously chosen, since it subjected the transporting of the cannon and heavy stores to a difficult passage of two or three miles, which employed the labour of numbers of sailors, and demanded frequent detachments of soldiers to escort and defend them from the sallies of the enemy; and the soldiers and sailors thus employed were taken off from the operations of the siege, which required nothing less than the service of every European in the camp. The north-side was the part against which the attack ought to have been directed: for the ground, in front of this side was sound, and would have permitted the approaches to have been carried on to the foot of the glacis, without meeting with any natural impediments; and the camp extending behind the lines to the northward, would have effectually protected the cannon and stores, when landed, from the danger of sallies; and at the same time have saved the labour and inconveniencies of transporting them from a long distance; for they might have been landed at the camp itself. Very few examples of gallant service were exhibited during the siege. The engineers were utterly unqualified for the enterprize, but the artillery-men and officers knew their business, and always behaved with resolution; and Mr. Boscawen himself on all occasions exerted the same activity and courage which distinguished his character as a naval officer; but these qualities did not compensate his want of knowledge in the art of war on shore. This knowledge is not incompatible with skill in the marine service; and it is much to be lamented, that both together have not of late years been cultivated by the same officer;



1748. for there are very few instances, of late years, of a siege carried on by the English with less skill than this of Pondicherry.

The French sang *Te Deums*, as soon as the siege was raised, and gave as many demonstrations of joy, as if they had been relieved from the greatest calamities of war. Mr. Dupleix sent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the great Mogul himself, acquainting them, that he had repulsed the most formidable attack which had ever been made in India; and he received from them the highest compliments on his own prowess, and on the military character of his nation: This indeed was now regarded throughout Indostan as greatly superior to that of the English.

END of the FIRST BOOK.





## B O O K II.

THE squadron, soon after the raising of the siege of Pondicherry, left the coast to avoid the stormy monsoon: five ships went to Achin, and the rest to Trincomally; but Mr. Boscawen himself remained with the land-forces at Fort St. David. In November news arrived, that a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed in the preceding April: but Mr. Boscawen was, notwithstanding, instructed to remain in India until he should receive intelligence that the general peace was concluded. In the beginning of January 1749, the squadron returned to Fort St. David, and about the same time Mr. Bouvet, with the same squadron which had eluded Mr. Griffin, came again from Mauritius to Madras, where he landed a large sum of money, together with 200 soldiers. 1749.

The sword was sheathed, and it depended on the agents of the two companies to re-assume in tranquillity their mercantile occupations: but the war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David a number of troops greatly superior to any which either of the two nations had hitherto assembled in India; and as if it was impossible that a military force, which feels itself capable of enterprizes, should refrain from attempting them, the two settlements, no longer authorized to fight against each other, took the resolution of employing their arms in the contests of the princes of the country: the English with great indiscretion, the French with the utmost ambition.

An unfortunate prince, who about seven years before had been dethroned at Tanjore, came to Fort St. David, and implored the assistance of the English to reinstate him, asserting with great confidence that he should no sooner appear in the kingdom, supported even by a moderate force, than his standard would be joined by numbers, and his title acknowledged by thousands. The succession of the princes of his family



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had been so complicated, that it was difficult to ascertain to whom the crown rightfully belonged.

In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well-nigh overpowered by the king of Trichanopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Servajee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from these freebooters; for they made out so large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been insufficient to discharge what they demanded: under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government, and shortly after the brother of Savajee declared himself king of Tanjore. He reigned six years, and left three sons. The eldest, Savajee, was succeeded by the next brother, Serbojee, and he by the third, Tuccojee. Each of the three brothers left children; and after three irregular successions which took place amongst these cousin-germans in less than seven years, Saujohee, who now appeared at Fort St. David, was deposed, and his brother Pratop-sing, born of one of the inferior wives of their father Serbojee, was placed on the throne, by the general concurrence of the principal men in the kingdom, which had suffered much from the weak administration of Saujohee. The English had certainly no right to interfere in his cause. But the offers he made of concessions to the company in the kingdom of Tanjore, the favourable account given of him by the interpreters who introduced him to the presidency, and the belief too hastily entertained of a false narration of his misfortune, induced the English to think they should acquire as much honour as advantage by their efforts to reinstate him in the throne. It was stipulated that Saujohee should give the company the fort and territory of Delvi-Cotah, and pay all the expences of the war, if it proved successful.

The kingdom of Tanjore extends about 70 miles from north to south, and about 60 from east to west. The river Coleroon bounds it to the north; the sea-coast, running nearly north and south, to the east; to the south it is bounded partly by the sea-coast extending east and west, and partly by the country of Morawas: to the west

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it is limited by the kingdom of Tritchanopoly and the country of Tondaman: the capital, bearing the same name as the kingdom, lieth about 20 miles west of Tritchanopoly.

The force appointed for the conquest of Tanjore consisted of 430 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, with four field pieces and four small mortars: the battering cannon and provisions for the troops were sent in four ships, two of which were of the line. The army, accompanied by Saujohee, left Fort St. David in the latter end of March, and on the 13th of April encamped on the bank of the river Val-aru, which disembogues itself at Portonovo. In the evening the northern monsoon changed, and the southern commenced with a hurricane, which lasted with such violence until four o'clock the next morning, that the tents of the English camp were blown into rags, many of the draught bullocks and horses were killed, and all the military stores were so much damaged, that the army was obliged to march to Portonovo in order to repair the detriment it had sustained. Here they were informed that the storm had committed much greater ravages at sea: two of the company's ships were stranded between Cuddalore and Fort St. David: the Apollo hospital-ship was lost, with all her crew: the Pembroke, a 60 gun ship, which failed on the expedition, was wrecked, and only six of the crew saved: and the Namur of 74 guns, in which Admiral Boscawen hoisted his flag, and which was the finest ship of her size belonging to the navy of England, perished, with 750 men. Fortunately most of the other ships were either at Trincomally, or in parts of the coast to which the greatest violence of the hurricane did not extend.

The army having repaired its damages, left Portonovo, and marching by the great pagoda of Chilambaram, arrived at the bank of the northern arm of the Coleroon. Here Captain Cope, who commanded, encamped and intrenched, resolving to learn the state of affairs on the opposite shore before he proceeded any farther. The intelligence he received was very different from what he expected: no persons of any rank offered to declare for Saujohee, and not a single squadron appeared ready to join him: on the contrary, a great number of troops belonging to the king of Tanjore appeared moving up and down the opposite bank,

and





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and seemed determined to dispute the passage of the river. Thus disappointed, and ignorant of the enemy's strength as well as of the nature of the country, Captain Cope did not think his force sufficient to prosecute the enterprize, and waited until he was reinforced from Fort St. David with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys: he then crossed the river, which, although a mile broad, was fordable, and, contrary to his expectation, the army met with little resistance from the enemy whilst they were passing it; but difficulties increased as they advanced: the road in which they attempted to march led through a thick wood, and the enemy from behind the bushes began to annoy them with arrows, and the fire of their matchlocks; whilst large bodies of horse and foot appeared in the circumjacent plains, moving in the rear and on the flanks. This being the first expedition in which the English troops were engaged against the forces of an Indian prince, the soldiers were struck with no small degree of fear, on comparing the superior numbers of the enemy with their own; but the artillery-men preserved their resolution, and fired with so much spirit and aim, that they kept the enemy at a distance, and restored the courage of their own troops, who being ordered to march back, gained the bank of the river without confusion. Here the army drew up, the field-pieces securing the flanks, and the river the rear. A council of war was held to deliberate whether they should proceed, or wait for more favourable advices than those hitherto received out of the Tanjore country; but whilst the council were sitting, a messenger arrived with positive orders from Mr. Boscawen to continue the march, and attack the Fort of Devi-Cotah at all events. In the interval some of the soldiers had discovered a road leading along the bank of the river towards the sea-coast; and the army began to march this way, although very little of it had been reconnoitred: it led through a much more open country than the other, and the river defended the troops from being surrounded. This lucky discovery saved them from destruction; for it was afterwards found, that by persisting in the first road, they would, from the nature of the country, have been involved in inextricable difficulties, into which the Tanjorines had hoped to entice them, by making no resistance at the passage of the river. They still

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## Book II. HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC.

1749.

continued to move within random shot of the English; their squadrons sometimes threatening to attack, but always retiring as soon as the field-pieces began to fire. After a march of ten miles the troops halted, late in the evening, a mile to the eastward of Devi-Cotah; where they neither saw, nor received intelligence of the ships; for not a man of the country ventured near the army; and the lowness of the ground, together with the thick woods that covered it, prevented the ships from being discovered, although they were at anchor near the mouth of the river, within four miles of the camp.

The army, relying on the ships, had brought no more provisions than were necessary for the consumption of three days, and were deterred, by the numbers of the enemy, from sending detachments to procure any; at the same time they were without battering cannon. Under these inconveniences there appeared no means of reducing the fort, excepting by a sudden assault, and the walls were too high to be easily escaladed. Some proposed to advance the field-pieces in the night, and batter down the gates; which indeed was the only practicable method of attack; but being deemed too desperate, it was determined to endeavour to terrify the enemy by bombarding the place with cohorn. Shells were thrown until the morning, when the fire ceased until the next night: and before the next morning all the shells were expended, without having done any damage to the fort, or made any impression on the minds of the garrison. It was therefore resolved to retreat without delay.

The army returned by the same road it came. During the first mile the country was covered with woods, from which the enemy galled the flank of the line, not only with musquetry, but also with some pieces of heavy artillery, which they had brought into the thickets; and some platoons of Europeans were detached to dislodge them. The thickets extended to the bank of a rivulet which the troops had crossed in the march to Devi-Cotah, during the retreat of the tide: the rivulet was at that time fordable, and no one had examined it sufficiently to form an idea of the depth of the channel, which was now filled with water by the rising of the tide, and the stream ran very rapidly



1749. rapidly. The Cooleys, who carried the less bulky parts of the baggage, marched before the troops, and as soon as they came to the bank of the rivulet, were fired upon with great vivacity from the thickets. Timorous, as are all the lowers casts of Indians, they plunged into the stream, which was seven or eight feet deep, and pressing upon one another with outcries and confusion, lost by their fears the strength necessary to save themselves, and in less than a quarter of an hour 400 of the poor wretches were drowned. The troops, spectators of this disaster, halted, and fired to dislodge the enemy, until the tide had ebbed sufficiently; when they passed the rivulet without interruption, and continuing their retreat unmolested, arrived at Chilambaram late at night, much fatigued with the skirmishes they had sustained, and with a march of 15 miles: the next day they returned to Fort St. David.

The intelligence gained during this expedition, convinced every one that the cause of Saujohce was destitute of abettors amongst his countrymen. The presidency nevertheless determined to continue the war; but this resolution did not now proceed so much from the intention of restoring Saujohce, as from the desire of wiping out, by some success, the reproach of having retreated before the arms of an Indian prince, and from the views of making some acquisitions to compensate the expences which had already been incurred. The fort of Devi-Cotah is situated in a populous country, in which manufactures of linnen proper for the company's trade are fabricated; and the neighbouring territory is the most fertile part of the coast of Coromandel. On this coast, from Masulipatnam to Cape Comorin, there is no port capable of receiving a ship of 300 tons burden; which defect subjects the navigation of these parts to great risks at particular seasons. The mouth of the river Coleroon, near Devi-Cotah, is indeed generally obstructed by sands, but the channel within the bar is deep enough to receive ships of the largest burden; and it was thought that the bar itself might with some labour and expence be removed: if this should be effected, the greatest advantages would accrue to the European nation which should obtain the exclusive possession





of this harbour. It was therefore determined to make the reduction of Devi-Cotah the principal object of the new expedition, which it was thought would be amply compensated by gaining possession of this place, even if no farther advantages accrued from the war.

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The whole body of the company's troops, amounting with the artillery-men to 800 Europeans, together with 1500 Sepoys, were ordered on the expedition, under the command of major Lawrence. From the difficulties already experienced in approaching Devi-Cotah by land, it was determined that the army should now proceed by sea: the Europeans, with the artillery and baggage, were embarked on board six ships, three of the line and three belonging to the company, and the Sepoys accompanied the ships in large boats, used by the people of Coromandel to carry on their traffick along the coast. The vessels arrived at the same mouth of the Coleroon where the ships of the former expedition had anchored; and the troops and stores passed in boats up the arm of the river which led to Devi-Cotah, and were landed on the opposite shore, from which it was determined to batter the fort, because the ground on the other side was marshy and covered with woods, and the king of Tanjore's army was encamped under the walls.

The fort was about a mile in circumference, having six unequal sides; and the walls were about 18 feet high, built with bricks, the masonry of which was in most parts broad enough to form a rampart, without any addition of earth: and were flanked at unequal distances by projecting towers, some of which were circular, and others square. The English fired across the river obliquely upon the eastern side of the fort from four 24 pounders, which in three days made a practicable breach. The enemy did not return the fire, nor attempt to repair the breach, but employed themselves in carrying on an intrenchment from the bank of the river across the side of the fort which the English attacked.

The passage of the troops over the river was rendered dangerous, both by the rapidity of the stream, and by the numbers who had taken possession of the thickets which covered the opposite shore. John Moor, a carpenter belonging to one of the men of war, offered his service, and made a stage capable of receiving 400 men, which was launched at some distance below the battery, and towed up to it against the stream.

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The raft could only be moved across the river by ropes, fixed with pulleys on the opposite bank; but the stations of the enemy rendered this a very hazardous enterprize: the same carpenter who had made the raft, offered to execute this service likewise, and in the middle of a very dark night swam over the river, carrying the end of a rope with him, which he fastened to the root of a large tree within a few yards of one of the enemy's advanced guards, by whom he was not discovered.

The rope was sunk in the water, that the enemy might not perceive it; and the next day, at two in the afternoon, the first detachment of 400 Europeans, with three field pieces, embarked upon the raft; at the same time the four pieces of battering cannon, with six field pieces, began to fire with great vivacity upon the opposite thickets, to deter the Tanjorines from approaching the bank near enough to discover the rope. They were so much surprized at this new and unexpected manner of approach, that, fortunately, none of them guessed the means by which it was performed. The walls and towers of the fort were manned with multitudes, who, as well as those under cover of the thickets, fired irregularly, but without intermission, from their matchlocks; but the detachment, although much galled, refrained from returning the fire, lest the bustle of handling their arms should overset the raft, which in a quarter of an hour gained the shore. The troops advanced immediately to dislodge the Tanjorines posted in the thickets, who retreated as soon as they were fired upon, and took shelter either within the fort, or behind the projections of the towers. The raft was sent back, and in the space of two hours made several passages, during which the enemy kept up a continual fire, both on the troops that were landed, and on those on the raft, and killed 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys before the whole army had passed the river.

Major Lawrence determined to storm the breach without delay. The entrenchment which the Tanjorines intended to throw up before it, was left unfinished; for the Cooleys quitted the work as soon as it was advanced so far as to place them in the line of the shot battering the walls. The part which was finished was nevertheless of some service, for it commanded the ground over which the English troops were obliged to march to the attack, and likewise flanked the breach itself. About fifty

yards





yards in front of the entrenchment ran a deep and miry rivulet, which extended quite across the island on which Devi-Cotah is situated.

Lieutenant Clive offered his service to major Lawrence to lead the attack; and the major, who had remarked the rising military genius of this officer, very readily gave him the post of honour he requested. A platoon of 34 Europeans, with 700 Sepoys, were appointed for this service, who were to be supported by the whole army as soon as the entrenchment should be carried. The Europeans, marching at the head of the Sepoys, crossed the rivulet with difficulty, and four of them were killed by the fire from the fort before they gained the opposite bank. As soon as a part of the Sepoys had passed likewise, lieutenant Clive advanced briskly with the Europeans, intending to attack the entrenchment in flank at that end where the Cooleys had discontinued the work. The Sepoys who had passed the rivulet, instead of following closely, as they were ordered, remained at the bank, waiting until they were joined by greater numbers. The enemy perceived this neglect, which left the rear of the Europeans exposed: a number of horse were concealed along the south side of the fort, between the projections of the towers; the nearest of which was not more than forty yards from that part of the entrenchment which lieutenant Clive was preparing to attack. Just as his men were presenting their muskets to fire, a party of horse rushed sword in hand from behind the tower, and by a rapid evolution, which manifested the excellency both of the horses and the riders, fell on the rear of the platoon with so much impetuosity, that the men had no time to face about and defend themselves, and in an instant 26 of the platoon were cut to pieces. A horseman had his sword uplifted to strike at lieutenant Clive, who escaped the blow by stepping on one side whilst the horse passed him; he then ran towards the Sepoys, whom he had the good fortune to join, being one of four who were all that escaped from this slaughter. He found the Sepoys drawn up in order, but they had not advanced a step to support the platoon. The Tanjorine horse, satisfied with their success, did not prosecute their advantage by attacking the Sepoys, but returned to the stations from whence they had made the onset.





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Major Lawrence, on this disaster, determined to attack the trench with all the Europeans, who now crossed the rivulet, and advanced in a compact body, with a platoon of grenadiers at their head. The enemy kept up an irregular fire until the grenadiers came to the trench, and then they took flight along the southern side of the fort: The English troops immediately moved up to the breach, when the Tanjorine horse sallied again from behind the tower, and were suffered to approach within fourteen yards before the first platoon gave its fire, which was so well directed that it struck down fourteen horsemen: this execution flung the rest into such confusion that they immediately fled back, and the troops mounting the breach, found it abandoned by the garrison, whom they discovered hurrying from all quarters of the fort to make their escape out of the opposite gateway: at the same time all the Tanjorine horse quitted their stations near the fort, and retreated to the westward.

Some of the officers examining the different buildings of the fort, found in one of the chambers a Tanjorine lying on the ground desperately wounded, whom, incapable of moving without assistance, the garrison in their precipitate flight had neglected to carry off, altho' he was an officer of rank, and an Indian of a very high cast. He was taken care of, but with a fullen obstinacy refused every kind of assistance, and would not submit to the necessary operations, until he found that the surgeon intended to use force. He was no sooner left alone than he stripped off the bandages, and attempted to put an end to his life, by tearing open his wounds: some persons were therefore appointed to watch him continually, and he was removed into a thatched hut in a distant part of the fort, that his rest might not be disturbed. Finding himself constantly watched, he behaved for three days with so much composure, that they, to whose care he was entrusted, thought he was reconciled to life, and relaxing their attention, left him in the night, as they imagined, asleep; but they were no sooner got to some distance, than the Tanjorine crept to the corner of the hut, where a lamp was burning, and with it set fire to the thatch, which, in that dry season of the year, caught the blaze so fiercely, that he was suffocated before it could





could be extinguished. This Indian fell a martyr to his ideas of the impurity he had contracted by suffering Europeans to administer to his wants.

The troops were employed for a few days in repairing the breach, and in other works necessary to put the fort in a good state of defence; after which major Lawrence detached a party of 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, to take possession of the pagoda of Achevaram, lying five miles to the south-west of Devi-Cotah. All the pagoda's on the coast of Coromandel are built on the same general plan: a large area, which is commonly a square, is inclosed by a wall of 15 or 20 feet high, and in the middle of the area are the temples, which, as if it was intended that they should be concealed from public view, are never raised above the height of the surrounding wall. In the middle of one or more of the sides of this wall is a gateway, over which is built a high tower, not designed as a defence to the pagoda, but as an historical monument of the gods to whom it is dedicated; for the four faces of the tower are crowded with sculptures, representing the attributes and adventures of these divinities. The pagoda of Achevaram is a square of which each of the sides extends about 300 yards: it was surrendered to the English detachment on the first summons by the Bramins, who intreated them not to enter the more sacred places: but the Tanjorine army no sooner heard that the English had got possession of it, than their horror of the pollutions to which their temple was exposed, inspired them with a resolution, which neither their attachment to their prince, nor their notions of military honour, would have produced. A party of 5000 men marched from the camp, and as soon as it was night attacked the pagoda; some with ladders attempting to mount the walls, whilst others endeavoured to burn down the gate, by piling up against it large bundles of straw mixed with other combustible matters. The English, knowing they should all be put to the sword, if the Tanjorines retook the place, defended themselves vigorously: some were employed in oversetting the ladders, whilst others fired upon those who attempted to mount them. The guard who defended the gate opened the wicket, firing through it and pushing down the bundles of straw with their halberts: the enemy still persisted to bring more straw, and continued their attacks until break of day, when





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when they retreated, having lost near 300 men: only five or six of the defenders were killed. The next day major Lawrence marched with the greatest part of the army to captain Cope's assistance, and the Tanjorines made no farther attempts.

By this time admiral Boscawen and the government of Fort St. David had sufficient reason to believe, that any future undertaking against the kingdom of Tanjore would be attended with great difficulties. At the same time the king made proposals of accommodation. The English stipulated that the fort of Devi-Cotah, with as much land adjoining to it as would produce the annual income of 9000 pagoda's, should be ceded to the East India company for ever: that the king of Tanjore should reimburse the expences of the war; and that he should allow Sanjeeb a pension of 4000 rupees; they obliging themselves to be answerable for his person, as likewise that he should never give any more disturbance to the kingdom. The king of Tanjore acceded without hesitation to these conditions; but his compliance did not proceed so much from his dread of the English arms, as from his sense of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, in consequence of events which happened a few days before in the Carnatic, and which had struck the whole coast of Coromandel with consternation.

Chunda-saheb, made prisoner by the Morattoes, when they took the city of Tritchanopoly in 1741, was esteemed by them a prize of so much importance, that they not only kept him under the strictest confinement, but rejected all the offers he made for his ransom, as much inferior to what they imagined his wealth enabled him to pay. The richest prince in Indostan never hesitates to plead poverty whenever money is to be paid; and Chunda-saheb, either unable or unwilling to satisfy their exorbitant demands, remained in his confinement, corresponding for six years with his friends in different provinces, and suggesting to them the means of inducing the Morattoes to set him at liberty for a moderate sum.

The chiefs who were related to the former succession of Nabobs, which ended by the assassination of the young Seid Mahomed, retained their aversion to the reign of An'war-adean Khan; but they saw no one amongst themselves in the Carnatic endowed with sufficient power and

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reputation to attempt the recovery of the government into their own family. There existed indeed at Vandewash a brother of Seid Mahomed, born after the death of their father, the Nabob Subder-ally; but the infancy of this prince rendered him unfit to appear at the head of a confederacy: And altho' Mortiz'-ally, the governor of Velore, was a near relation to the former Nabobs, and possessed a large domain with great treasures, yet his pusillanimity rendered him incapable of heading a dangerous enterprize, and the knowledge of his treacherous disposition destroyed all confidence in the engagements he might enter into. Of the rest, none had great reputation as generals, nor great power as princes; but, collected under a proper head, their strength might become formidable.

Chunda-saheb had made his way to the highest offices of the government by the services of his sword, and was esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic. His contempt of the sordid means by which most of the Indian princes amass treasures, had gained him the affections of the whole province; and an excellent understanding contributed to make his character universally revered. The rest of the chiefs therefore concurred in regarding him as the fittest person to enter into competition with An'war-adean Khan for the Nabobship; but this testimony of their deference for some time only served to rivet his fetters more strongly; for the Morattoes increased their demands in proportion as they found the character of their prisoner rising in importance.

The wife and son of Chunda-saheb had remained at Pondicherry from the time that he was carried away by the Morattoes; and the year after that event Mr. Dupleix arrived there, appointed governor-general of the French nation in India. He treated the family of Chunda-saheb, under his protection, with great respect; and by a frequent intercourse with the wife, very soon learnt the state of her husband's affairs, and the dispositions of his relations in the province. His sagacity distinguished, in these latent principles of future convulsions, a possibility of aggrandizing his nation in India, where many causes concurred to prevent their establishments from becoming so eminently advantageous as he was ambitious of rendering them.

The English, established in Indostan many years before the French

had



1749. had made any settlements in the country, had confirmed in the natives a prepossession in their favour, by the punctuality of their dealings, the goodness of the commodities they imported, and, above all, by the great extent of their trade; and this superiority perpetually interrupted the progress of the French commerce. At the same time the affairs of all the European colonies were controuled by the Mogul government almost as much as those of the natives themselves, who are subject to the most despotic sway; for their trade was liable to the interruption of every great and petty officer through whose district or department it passed; and in Bengal, where Mr. Dupleix had resided for a long time, there never passed a year in which the Nabob did not extort large sums of money from each of the European settlements: garrisons were maintained, and other military expences incurred, which greatly diminished the profits of the trade; but such was the high opinion of the military strength of the Indian governments, that the European troops were never employed in opposition to the will of the prince of the country. At the same time all the manufactures of India proper for the markets of Europe had, from a long succession of importations of silver, risen so much in price, and diminished so much in the goodness of the fabrick, that they afforded much less profit than in former times. The concurrence of these disadvantages convinced Mr. Dupleix that the trade of Indostan was no longer worth the attention of France, nor indeed of any other nation in Europe. But discovering the unarmilitary character of the natives, and the perpetual dissensions of their rulers, he was led to imagine, that by joining some of these competitors he might gain by conquest more advantages than any other European nation had hitherto derived from trade. He therefore determined to prosecute this plan, by giving assistance to Chunda-saheb.

These ideas probably dictated those impediments which he flung in the way of Mr. de la Bourdonnais's operations, to prevent him from employing his troops, after the capture of Madras, in other parts of India; for at that time Mr. Dupleix held a constant correspondence with Chunda-saheb in his imprisonment, and they were then concerting the means of accomplishing their mutual interests. The measure necessary to be first carried into execution, was the release of Chunda-saheb; and, Mr. Dupleix guaranteeing the engagement, the Morattoes were at last

satisfied





satisfied with 700,000 rupees, and consented to furnish him with 3000 1749.  
of their own troops.

With this force, and the spirit of an adventurer, he left Sattarah in the beginning of the year 1748, intending to make conquests wherever opportunity presented itself, until he should acquire, by contributions, the treasures necessary to maintain an army sufficient to attack the province of Arcot. He arrived, during the siege of Pondicherry, on the western confines of the Carnatic, and found two Rajas at war: he sided with one of them, who, betrayed by some of his officers, was totally defeated in a general battle, in which it is said that Chunda-saheb himself was taken prisoner, but that he was immediately released on producing a declaration from the king of the Morattoes, which enjoined all princes whomsoever to respect his person, on pain of incurring the resentment of the whole Morattoo nation. The greatest part of Chunda-saheb's troops, were dispersed after this defeat, and he was left with only 300 men, when he received an invitation from the Raja of Chitterdourg, to come to his assistance, and take the command of his army against the Raja of Bedrour. The territories of these two princes lay near the eastern confines of the country of Canara, which extends along the coast of Malabar between the rivers Alega and Can-gerecora. Disasters could not depress the spirit of Chunda-saheb; he marched away, with the handful of men he commanded, and arrived just as the two armies were ready to engage. In this battle his courage and skill were so well seconded by the troops of Chitterdourg, that he obtained a compleat victory: three thousand of the enemy's horse, after the defeat, offered their service to him, whom he took into his pay, and likewise 2500 of the troops of his ally: so that he was now at the head of 6000 men: but this force being still insufficient to attempt the conquest of the Carnatic, he found resources in the consequences of other events, which had lately happened at Delhi, and in the government of the soubahship of the southern provinces.

The Great Mogul Mahomed Schah, who had suffered in 1739 the humiliation of laying his crown at the feet of Thamas Kouli Kan, by whom he was again reinstated in the monarchy of Indostan, continued to govern the empire with so trembling a hand, that the principal officers of his court acted in their several departments without controul:



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but the vizier Kimmir-ul-dien, who had held this office ever since the accession of Mahomed, continued inviolably attached to his sovereign. None of the subsequent events of the government of Delhi affect immediately the present object of our narrative, until the year 1748; when an army of Afghans from Candahar, invaded the northern provinces under the command of Ahmed the *Abdalli*, so called from his tribe. This man was treasurer to Nadir Schah, when assassinated on the 8th of June 1747. in Persia; on which event, he went off with all the treasure under his care, and in less than six months established himself in the sovereignty of all the provinces of Indostan ceded to the Persians in 1739, and of as large a territory on the other side of the mountains. Ahmed Schah, the eldest son of Mahomed, with the vizier, marched against the *Abdalli*; various encounters ensued with various success, and during a cannonade the vizier was slain by a straggling cannon ball, whilst at prayers in his tent. His death afflicted the emperor so violently, that after passing the night in lamentations, he expired the next day setting on his throne, in a fit brought on by the agony of his grief. The prince Ahmed, leaving the command of the army to Munnee the son of the deceased vizier, immediately returned from the army to Delhi, and was acknowledged emperor without opposition, in the month of April 1748.

The death of Mahomed Schah was in a few months succeeded by another of greater consequence to Indostan: it was that of Nizam-al-muluck, Soubah of the decan, who notwithstanding his whole life had passed in the utmost intrigues, anxieties, and iniquities of oriental ambition, arrived to the uncommon age of 104 years.

He left five sons; the eldest, Ghazi-o-dean, inherited all the ambition and wickedness of his father, with a more enterprising and intrepid spirit. Nizam-al-muluck, when returning to the Decan, after the retreat of Nadir Schah, had obliged the weak Mahomed to confer the offices of paymaster and captain-general of the army on this son; in which posts he continued at the court, employing his power, as his father before him, against the authority of his sovereign, and soon became the patron of all the turbulent or disaffected omrahs in the empire. On the death of his father, he obtained the succession to the soubahship of the Decan from the emperor Ahmed Schah: but was too much engaged in other affairs at Delhi to proceed to this government. The second son Nazir-jing had once fled from his father's

court





court, and appeared in arms against him. The father took the field; and when the two armies were near each other, confined himself to his tent so strictly, that by first making his own army believe he was reduced to the point of death by sickness, the report was likewise believed in the camp of Nazir-jing, and by Nazir-jing himself, to whom messengers were continually sent with pathetic invitations from his father, desiring to embrace him before he died. The stratagem was so well conducted, that Nazir-jing at last determined to pay the visit, and no sooner entered Nizam-al-muluck's tent, than he was arrested, and put into fetters, and accompanied his father under this restraint during several months, until Nizam-al-muluck being persuaded of his contrition, accepted of his submissions, and set him at liberty; after which he was not guilty of any disobedience. The other three sons had not distinguished themselves either for good or evil, but had always remained constant attendants at their father's court.

The great men in Indostan bear great affection to their children during their infancy; but as soon as these arrive at the age of emancipation, the perpetual intrigues of an Indian court render them, from being a consolation to their parents, the objects of their mistrust: for there are never wanting those who endeavour to engage them in parties, and even in plots: from hence it often happens, that a prince, in his latter days, lives without affection to his own sons, and gives every kind of paternal preference to his grandchildren; and this recurs so frequently to observation, that one of the oriental poets has said, "that the parents have, during the life of their sons, such overweening affection for their grandchildren, because they see in them the enemies of their enemies." Amongst the grandsons of Nizam-al-muluck was one born of his favourite daughter. This young man, called Hidayet mohy-o-dean, he had always kept near his person, and cherished with great affection, insomuch that, immediately after his death, a report prevailed, that he had in his will not only appointed this grandson to inherit the greatest part of his treasures, but had likewise nominated him to succeed in the government of the southern provinces. It is very difficult to ascertain the authenticity of any of the written acts ascribed to the princes of Indostan, for using a seal as their signature, the im-