



atonement, fell with fury on those of the Nabob, whom they soon overpowered, and cut to pieces. The French battalion was preparing to hail them returning from the field with acclamations of victory, when the news of Murzafa-jing's fate struck them with the deepest consternation. They immediately marched back to the camp, which they found in the utmost confusion; for large arrears of pay were due to the army; and it was to be apprehended that the soldiery would mutiny and plunder, and every general suspected all the others of sinister intentions.

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But this disaster affected no interest more severely than that of the French; for by it were annihilated all the advantages which were gained by the murder of Nazir-jing: and Mr. Buffy was left without pretensions to interfere any farther in the concerns of the Decan. This officer saw all the desperate consequences of his present situation without losing his presence of mind: he assembled the generals and ministers, and found them as ready as himself to admit of any expedient by which the loss of their sovereign might be repaired. Besides the son of Murzafa-jing, an infant, there were in the camp three brothers of Nazir-jing, whom that prince had brought into the Carnatic under strict confinement, to prevent their engaging in revolts during his absence; and after his death they were continued under the same restraint by Murzafa-jing. Mr. Buffy proposed, that the vacant dignity of Soubah should be conferred on the eldest of the brothers, by name Salabat-jing; and the generals, from a sense of the convulsions to which the reign of a minor would be exposed, readily acquiesced to the exclusion of Murzafa-jing's son, and unanimously approved of Mr. Buffy's advice. It was immediately carried into execution, the three princes were released from their confinement, and Salabat-jing was proclaimed Soubah of the Decan, with the universal consent of the army. His elevation, and the signal catastrophe of this day, in which three of the conspirators of Nazir-jing's death fell in battle fighting against each other, were regarded as a retribution of the divine justice.

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Mr. Buffy immediately advised Mr. Dupleix of this revolution, and of the dispositions which he had made in favour of Sallabat-jing, who agreed to confirm all the cessions made by his predecessor, and to give still greater advantages to the French nation. On these conditions, Mr. Dupleix acknowledged his right to the Soubahship, with as much ardor as he had asserted that of Murzafa-jing; and as soon as this approbation was received, the army left the country of Cudapa, and continued its march to Gol-kondah.

END *of the* SECOND BOOK.

BOOK



B O O K III.

THE nations of Coromandel, accustomed to see Europeans assuming no other character than that of merchants, and paying as much homage to the Mogul government as was exacted from themselves, were astonished at the rapid progress of the French arms, and beheld with admiration the abilities of Mr. Dupleix, who had shewn himself at once as great an adept in the politics of Indostan, as if he had been educated a Mahomedan lord at the court of Delhi: knowing the rivalry which existed between the two nations, they were equally surprized at the indolence of the English, who, since the retreat of their troops from Mahomed-ally at Trivadi, had taken no measures to interrupt the progress of his schemes; and indeed this inactivity, at so critical a conjuncture, is difficult to be accounted for, unless it be imputed to their dread of engaging, without authority from England, in open hostilities against the French immediately after the conclusion of a general peace in Europe. Whatever might be the motives, their disposition to remain in peace was so great, that major Lawrence himself, who commanded the troops, and had great influence in their councils, left Fort St. David on some private concerns, and sailed for England in the month of October. The assassination of Nazir-jing and its consequences overwhelmed them with astonishment, and made them sensible, when too late, of the errors they had committed in not continuing a body of their troops with the army of that prince. There remained, even after his death, a means of snatching from the conquerors their laurels, and the fruits of their victory;

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victory; for Murzafa-ying, with his uncle's treasures, moved from Gingee with only a detachment of his own army and 300 of the French troops, who marching without apprehension of danger, observed little military order: Mr. Benjamin Robins, at that time just arrived from England to superintend the company's fortifications as engineer-general, proposed to the governor, Mr. Saunders, that 800 Europeans should march out and attack them in their return: discovering in this advice the same sagacity which has distinguished his speculations in the abstruser sciences, and which renders his name an honour to our country; for there is the greatest probability that the attack, if well conducted, would have succeeded, and the treasures of Nazir-ying have been carried to Fort St. David instead of Pondicherry. Mr. Saunders much approved the project, but when Captain Cope, the commander of the troops, proposed it to the officers, they unanimously declared it rash and impracticable.

Mahomed-ally, still more perplexed and dispirited than the English, had no hopes of preservation but in their assistance, which he pressing solicited at the same time that he was capitulating with Mr. Dupleix for the surrender of Trichanopoly: and the English, apprehensive of the conclusion of such a treaty, which would have left them without any pretence to oppose Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-saheb, at last took the resolution of sending once more to Trichanopoly a detachment to encourage Mahomed-ally to defend the city; it consisted of 280 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, who arrived there under the command of captain Cope in the beginning of February.

About the same time Chunda-saheb marched from Pondicherry with an army of 8000 men, horse and foot, which he had levied in the province, joined by a battalion of 800 Europeans; and with this force proceeded to Arcot, where he received homage as Nabob; and there was scarce a strong hold to the north of the river Coleroon of which the governor did not acknowledge his sovereignty. Mortiz-ally of Velere, who had temporized, and affected obedience to Nazir-ying from the time that prince entered the Carnatic, immediately after his death re-assumed his connexion with his relation Chunda-saheb, and was the first to reacknowledge him; and his example determined most of the other chiefs.



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The countries lying between the Coleroon and the extremity of the peninsula did not openly throw off their allegiance to Mahomed-ally, but were lukewarm in his interests: he therefore sent 2500 horse, and 3000 Peans, under the command of his brother Abdul-rahim, together with a detachment of 30 Europeans, to settle the government of Tinavelly, a city lying 160 miles to the south of Trichanopoly, and capital of a territory which extends to cape Comorin. Abdul-rahim met with no resistance from the people of the country, but found it difficult to restrain his troops from revolt; for most of the officers being renters, were indebted to their prince as much as he was indebted to their soldiers, and expected as the price of their defection that Chunda-saheb would not only remit what they owed to the government, but likewise furnish money for the pay of their troops. However, great promises, and the vigilance of lieutenant Innis, who commanded the English detachment, prevented them from carrying their schemes into execution; but the same spirit of revolt manifested itself more openly in another part of Mahomed-ally's dominions.

Allum Khan, a soldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the service of Chunda-saheb, and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore, had lately left this prince and came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer soon gained him influence and respect, which he employed to corrupt the garrison, and succeeded so well, that the troops created him governor, and consented to maintain the city under his authority for Chunda-saheb, whom he acknowledged as his sovereign.

The country of Madura lies between those of Trichanopoly and Tinavelly, and is as extensive as either of them. The city was in ancient times the residence of a prince who was sovereign of all the three. Its form is nearly a square 4000 yards in circumference, fortified with a double wall and a ditch. The loss of this place, by cutting off the communication between Trichanopoly and the countries of Tinavelly, deprived Mahomed-ally of more than one half of the dominions which at this time remained under his jurisdiction. On receiving the news, captain Cope offered his service to retake it. His detachment was ill equipped for a siege, for they had brought no battering cannon from Fort St. David, and there were but two serviceable pieces in the city :
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with one of these, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab Khan; and on the day that they arrived in sight of Madura, they were joined by the army returning from Tinavelly. There were several large breaches in the outward wall; the gun fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days demolished a part of it, although not sufficient to make the breach accessible without the help of fascines. Difficult as it was, it was necessary either to storm it immediately, or to relinquish the siege, for all the shot of the great gun were expended. The Sepoys, encouraged by a distribution of some money, and a promise of much more if the place should be taken, went to the attack with as much spirit as the Europeans. The first wall was passed without resistance, and at the foot of the breach in the second appeared three champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour, who fought manfully with their swords, and wounded several of the forlorn hope, but were at last with difficulty killed. Whilst the troops were mounting the breach, they were severely annoyed by arrows, stones, and the fire of matchlocks; notwithstanding which they gained the parapet, where the enemy had on each side of the entrance flung up a mound of earth, on which they had laid horizontally some palm trees separated from each other, and through these intervals they thrust their pikes. At the bottom of the rampart within the wall they had flung up a strong retrenchment with a ditch, and three or four thousand men appeared ready to defend this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the pikes as fast as they mounted, were not able to keep possession of the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were disabled, relinquished the attack. Four Europeans were killed: the Sepoys suffered more, and four of their captains were desperately wounded. The next day captain Cope prepared to return to Tritchanopoly, and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away. The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulse, no longer concealed their disaffection, and 500 horse, with 1000 Peans, went over to Allum Khan before the English broke up their camp, and two or three



three days after near 2000 more horsemen deserted likewise to the enemy. At the same time that the army and dominions of Mahomed-ally were thus reduced, he received advice that Chunda-saheb was preparing to march from Arcot to besiege Tritchanopoly; he now more strenuously represented his distresses to the presidency of Fort St. David, offering to give the company a territory of considerable revenue contiguous to the bounds of Madras, and promising likewise to defray all the expences of their assistance.

It was the time of harvest, which on the coast of Coromandel is divided equally between the lord of the land and the cultivator; and Mr. Dupleix affected to distinguish his new acquisitions, by ordering small white flags to be planted almost in every field to which he laid claim: these flags were seen from Fort St. David extended round the bounds, and some of them were even planted within the company's territory: the insolence of these marks of sovereignty stung the English, and roused them from their lethargy: they concluded that Mr. Dupleix, from the same spirit of dominion, would not fail to impose extravagant duties on their trade passing through the countries of which he had taken possession; and this reflection convincing them that their own ruin would be blended with that of Mahomed-ally, they determined to accept the offers he made, and to support his cause to the utmost of their power.

In the beginning of April a body of 500 Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry, and 100 Caffres, 1000 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, took the field under the command of captain Gingen, who was ordered to remain near Fort St. David until he should be joined by Mahomed-ally's troops from Tritchanopoly: for the English were determined not to appear as principals in the war. After waiting six weeks, captain Gingen was joined by 600 horse and 1000 Peans; he then proceeded to the westward, and came in sight of Verdachelum, a large and strong pagoda garrisoned by 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops: this place is situated 40 miles from the coast, and commands the high road; the reduction of it was therefore necessary to preserve the communication with Fort St. David: the garrison were summoned by the Nabobs's officer to deliver



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up the place: they refused, and mann'd the walls. The English troops, under cover of a bank, fired at them for some hours, but finding that this attack made little impression, they prepared towards evening to make a general assault, when the sight of the scaling ladders induced the governor to surrender. Leaving a garrison of twenty Europeans and fifty Sepoys in the pagoda, they continued their march to the westward, and were soon after joined by 100 Europeans detached by captain Cope from Tritchanopoly, and 2000 horse, with 2000 foot, the remainder of the Nabob's troops, under the command of his brother Abdul-wahab Khan.

The army, after this junction came in fight of that of Chunda-faheb, which lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Vol-kondah. This is a very strong fortress, 90 miles from the coast, situated in the great road between Arcot and Tritchanopoly: its principal defence is a rock 200 feet high, and about a mile in circumference at the bottom, where it is enclosed by a high and strong wall, mostly cut out of the solid rock; near the summit it is enclosed by another wall, and the summit itself is surrounded by a third: adjoining to the eastern side of the rock, on the plain, is a fort built of stone, contiguous to which lies a town slenderly fortified with a mud wall. The river Val-arui, after running due east, forms an angle about a mile to the north of Vol-kondah, where it turns to the south, and in this direction passes close by the western side of the rock, and winding round it, reassumes its course to the eastward along the southern side of the fort and town. Captain Gingen encamped in a large grove about a mile and half to the southwest of Vol-kondah: and in this situation the advanced guards were in fight of those of Chunda-faheb, whose camp lay about four miles to the north of that part of the river which runs east before it strikes to the south. Here he had been some days endeavouring to persuade the governor to put him in possession of the fort; and Abdul-wahab Khan, equally sensible of the importance of the place, made offers likewise to induce him to deliver it up to Mahomed-ally. The man knowing the advantage of his post, had given evasive answers to Chunda-faheb; and replied to Abdul-wahab Khan, that



that he waited to see a battle before he gave up his fort to either; but nevertheless he entered into a negociation with both, which lasted a fortnight, and during this time neither of the armies made any motion: at length captain Gingen, irritated by his prevarications, determined to treat him as an enemy; but before he proceeded to hostilities, posted the army about a mile to the north-west of the rock of Vol-kondah, where they were in readiness to intercept the approach of Chunda-faheb; for it was not doubted that the governor would call him to his assistance, as soon as he should be attacked. This disposition being made, a large detachment of Europeans and Sepoys marched about nine in the evening, who easily got over the mud-wall, and then setting fire to the town, advanced to the stone fort; but this they found too strong to be assaulted before a breach was made, and therefore returned to the camp. The governor, as was foreseen, immediately sent a messenger to acquaint Chunda-faheb that he was ready to admit his troops into the place.

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The next morning, at break of day, the French battalion was discovered marching towards the rock along the bed of the river, which was almost dry; and the Indian army of Chunda-faheb, which had been augmented at Arcot to 12000 horse and 5000 Sepoys, appeared at the same time. Notwithstanding these motions, the English officers wasted so much time in deliberation, that the French battalion arrived near the foot of the rock, and formed before any attempt was made to intercept them; when too late, it was determined to give the enemy battle. The troops had perceived the hesitations of the council of war, and were so much affected by them that they marched to the enemy with irresolution. As they approached, a cannonade ensued, and a shot struck one of the French tumbrils, which blowing up wounded some of their Europeans, and frightened so much a hundred more, who were posted near it, that they ran away with Mr. d'Auteuil at their head to the fort of Vol-kondah, where they were admitted; and from hence they immediately began to fire from 14 pieces of cannon upon the English battalion. This unexpected cannonade, notwithstanding that most of their shot flew too high, flung the troops into disorder, and some of the officers likewise discovering fear, the whole battalion were seized



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with a panic. The captains Gingen, Dalton, Kirkpatrick, and lieutenant Clive, endeavoured to rally them, but in vain; for they retreated in great confusion, without stopping until they reached the camp. Abdul-wahab Khan rode up and upbraided them in the strongest terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who still stood their ground: and to compleat the shame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewise on the field for some time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded. Had they behaved with common resolution, the enemy would probably have been defeated; for Abdul-wahab Khan had prevailed on one of their generals, who commanded 4000 horse, to come over to him on the field of battle, which body was observed to separate from the rest as the enemy approached; and this appearance of defection flung Chunda-sahab into such perplexity, that he did not venture to pursue the English, over whom he would otherwise have had every advantage.

The panic did not cease with the day, but operated so strongly, that captain Gingen, to avoid worse consequences, determined to remove the troops from the sight of an enemy they so much dreaded, and at midnight broke up the camp, and marching with great expedition in the road leading to Tritchanopoly, arrived the next evening at the streights of Utatoor, distant about 25 miles from that city: a part of the range of mountains which bounds the province of Arcot to the westward, forms one side of these streights, and some hills about a mile to the east, the other: the ground for several miles farther eastward is covered with rocks, which render it impassable to an army encumbered with carriages. The company of grenadiers consisting of 100 men, together with 100 Caffres and Topassies, with two field pieces, were left under the command of captain Dalton, in a village at the entrance of the streights: the main body encamped in the valley; and in order to secure the rear of the camp, some Europeans were placed in the fort of Utatoor, which lies about two miles south of the streights.

The next day the enemy took the same rout, and for the conveniency of water halted about eight miles from the streights. A few days after about 100 of their horse appeared in sight of the village,
riding



riding about and flourishing their sabres in defiance: captain Gingen, with several of the principal officers of the battalion, happened at this time to be there, who were so much offended at this bravado, that seven of them mounted their horses, and sallied with 12 troopers and 100 Sepoys to attack the party: they retreated as the English approached, sometimes halting as if they intended to stand the shock, and in this manner led them three miles from the village, when they galloped away at full speed and disappeared. The English had not proceeded a mile in their return to the camp, when they discovered a body of near 3000 horse coming out of a neighbouring thicket, where they were posted in ambuscade, and from hence had detached the party which appeared at the village. The Sepoys were ordered to disperse, and the horsemen forming into a compact body, pushed forwards so briskly, that only four or five of the enemy's squadrons had time to fling themselves in their way: these were attacked sword in hand, and the troops cut their way through, but not without the loss of lieutenant Maskelyne and three troopers, who were made prisoners; the rest gained the village; but all the Sepoys were either killed or taken. Mr. Maskelyne was soon after released by Chunda-sahab, to whom he gave his parole; for the French, who were at this time as cautious as the English of appearing principals in the war, affected to have no authority over the prisoners. The ill success of this inconsiderate excursion, increased the diffidence which the soldiers entertained of their officers; who began likewise to disagree amongst themselves, concurring in nothing but in thinking that the enemy were much too strong for them.

The next day Chunda-sahab encamped within five miles of the village, and employed two days in reconnoitring the ground quite up to the streights. On the third, the 13th of July, their whole army was discovered advancing in battle-array. Several parties of cavalry preceded the line, and came on each flank of the village; and soon after appeared a body of 4000 Sepoys with seven pieces of cannon, supported by a company of 100 Topasses; these marched up slowly and in good order: the cavalry brought up the rear; and were soon after rejoined by the other parties which had been sent forward, excepting a few squadrons

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which galloped on, and stationed themselves between the village and the streights. Captain Dalton had began to fire from his two field pieces, when he received orders to quit his post, and join the main body, which had advanced a little way from the camp to favour his retreat: the near approach of the enemy now rendered the execution of this order liable to many difficulties; however, to conceal his intentions from them as long as possible, he first drew up the greatest part of his detachment out of their sight behind the village, and then ordered the two field pieces to be sent to him; after which the rest of the detachment marched through the village and joined him. Thus the whole body formed before the enemy discovered their intention: as soon as they were convinced of it, their Sepoys rushed through the village, and began to fire from the huts on the rear of the English party, who had scarcely got out of reach of this fire, when the enemy's whole cavalry, divided into two bodies, came galloping round each side of the village, and surrounded them: the men did not lose courage, and by a heavy fire obliged them to retreat into the village. The detachment moving slowly on toward the camp, had not proceeded far before the enemy, horse and foot, returned to the charge, and surrounded them again. The Caffres, Topasses, and a platoon of Europeans kept up a constant fire, whilst the grenadiers continually presented and recovered their arms, preserving their fire for the last extremity; and by this reserve constantly deterred the cavalry from charging: in this manner they made their retreat good to the entrance of the streights, where the ground being rocky, hindered the enemy's horse from continuing in compact squadrons. The detachment, now reinforced by two platoons from the main body, halted more frequently, giving their whole fire at once, and joined their army in good order, bringing off their killed and wounded, which were fifteen men. The enemy following them, were insensibly led within a small distance of the whole force now united with eight pieces of cannon in front; they at first appeared determined to stand their ground, and bring on a general action; but finding themselves severely galled by the artillery, which, together with the whole line, advanced upon them, they gave way, and lost 300 men before they got out of cannon-shot:



shot: their cannon were ill served, and did but little damage, and the French battalion never appeared until the firing ceased, when they were discovered taking possession of the village, in the rear of which the rest of the army likewise pitched their tents.

Altho' the post in the streights was deemed defensible, it was feared from the great superiority of Chunda-saheb's cavalry and Sepoys, that he would detach a body of men, and post it between the camp and Tritchanopoly, from which city the army drew all its provisions across the two largest rivers in the Carnatic. From this apprehension it was determined to retreat without delay, and the army decamped silently in the night; they never halted till two the next day, fatigued to excess with a march of eighteen hours, performed without refreshment in the hottest season of this sultry climate, and after the fatigues they had endured in the action of the preceding day. Luckily the enemy's cavalry were so dispirited with the loss they then sustained, that they never attempted to interrupt the retreat: they however followed at a distance, and before night took post within three miles of the army, which was now arrived within sight of Tritchanopoly, and encamped close to the northern bank of the Coleroon.

This river is a principal arm of another called the Caveri, which has its source in the mountains within thirty miles of Mangalore on the coast of Malabar, and passing through the kingdom of Mysore, runs 400 miles before it reaches Tritchanopoly. About five miles to the north-west of this city the Caveri divides itself into two principal arms. The northern is called the Coleroon, and disembogues at Devi Cotta: the other retains the name of Caveri; and about twenty miles to the eastward of Tritchanopoly begins to send forth several large branches, all of which pass through the kingdom of Tanjore, and are the cause of the great fertility of that country. For several miles after the separation, the banks of the Coleroon and Caveri are in no part two miles asunder, in many scarcely one; and at Coilady, a fort fifteen miles to the east of Tritchanopoly, the two streams approach so near to each other, that the people of the country have been obliged to fling up a large and strong mound of earth to keep them from uniting again. The long slip of land inclosed by the two channels between Coilady and



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the place where the two streams first separate, is called the island of Seringham, famous throughout Indostan for the great pagoda from which it derives its name. This temple is situated about a mile from the western extremity of the island, at a small distance from the bank of the Coleroon: it is composed of seven square inclosures, one within the other, the walls of which are 25 feet high and four thick. These inclosures are 350 feet distant from one another, and each has four large gates, with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each side of the inclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones 33 feet long, and nearly five in diameter; and those which form the roof are still larger: in the inmost inclosure are the chapels. About half a mile to the east of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon is another large pagoda called Jembikisima: but this has only one inclosure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, arises from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wischnu, which used to be worshipped by the god Brama. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninsula come here to obtain absolution, and none come without an offering of money; and a large part of the revenue of the island is allotted for the maintenance of the Bramins who inhabit the pagoda; and these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude, not less than 40,000 souls, maintained without labour by the liberality of superstition. Here, as in all the other great pagodas of India, the Bramins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants; and, sensible of the happiness of their condition, they quit not the silence of their retreats to mingle in the tumults of the state; nor point the brand, flaming from the altar, against the authority of the sovereign, or the tranquillity of the government. This repose was now doomed to be much disturbed, and the temple to endure such pollutions as it had never before been exposed to.

The English battalion took possession of Pitchandah, a fortified pagoda situated on the northern bank of the Coleroon, about a mile to the east of Seringham: the rest of the army encamped along the

river



river nearer the pagoda. The camp was only accessible by the high road; for the rest of the ground was laid out in rice fields, which being at this season overflowed, formed a morass not to be passed by cavalry: but the army soon found difficulties in getting provisions, which could now only be brought from the opposite shore under the protection of the guns of the camp, and it was feared that this distress would be greatly increased by the enemy's sending a strong detachment across the river to take possession of the great pagoda. It was therefore resolved to prevent them, and orders were given for the whole army to cross the river.

The Coleroon, like all the other rivers on the coast of Coromandel, is subject to very sudden and unforeseen alterations, which depend on the rains that fall on the mountains of the Malabar coast; so that in the space of twenty-four hours it often, from being fordable, becomes almost impassable even by boats; and at this time it was scarcely fordable, and very rapid. The ammunition and stores were transported before day-light in two large flat boats, kept by the government of Trichanopoly to ferry over horses. The troops then followed with the field-pieces: and the retreat was not discovered by the enemy until the last boat, with four of the field pieces, was passing. This stuck upon a sand-bank, and the enemy brought down their guns, and cannonaded it; on which it was abandoned by the boatmen; but the grenadiers, who formed the rear-guard, brought it off, and the whole army passed without any other loss than that of two or three tumbrils, and one small iron gun belonging to the Nabob.

The English troops, as well as those of the Nabob, entered the pagoda, and were admitted with great reluctance into three of the first inclosures, which affording room much more than sufficient for their reception, they complied with the earnest solicitations of the Bramins, imploring them to carry the stain of their pollutions no nearer the habitation of the idol. It was evident this post might have been defended against the enemy's whole force, since the cannon of Trichanopoly and those in the pagoda were near enough to have kept the communication open: but the spirit of retreat still so strongly possessed the army, that they suspected the outward wall of Seringham to be in a ruinous condition,



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and thought the extent of it too great to be defended by so small a force. Indeed the English battalion was now reduced to 400 men, and the Nabob's troops could not be depended on. It was therefore determined, as the last resource, to take shelter under the walls of Tritchanopoly, and this resolution was put in execution two days after the army took possession of Seringham.

The city of Tritchanopoly lies about 90 miles inland from the coast, and is situated within half a mile of the southern bank of the Caveri, and about a mile and a half south-east from Seringham. It is a parallelogram, of which the east and west sides extend near 2000 yards, and the north and south about 1200. It has a double inclosure of walls, each of which are flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another: the outward wall is 18 feet high, and about five feet thick, without rampart or parapet: the inward is much stronger, being 30 feet high, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground to the top, where it is 10 feet broad, and has a thin parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop holes to fire through. There is an interval between the two walls of 25 feet, and before the outward a ditch 30 feet wide and 12 deep, unequally supplied with water at different seasons, but never quite dry. In the northern part of the city stands a rock 150 feet high, from which the adjacent country is discovered for many miles round.

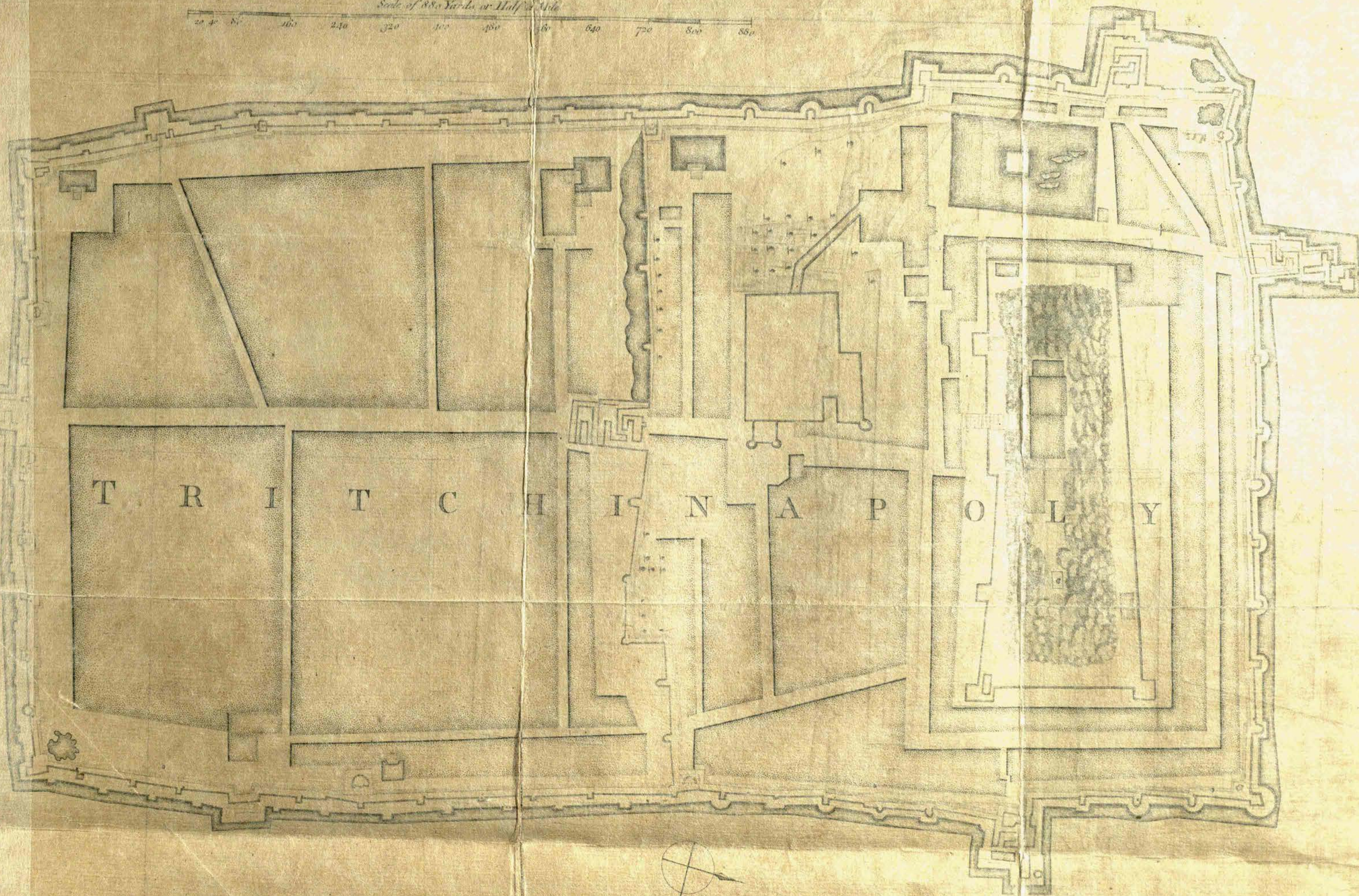
The English battalion encamped on the west side of the city close to the ditch, and the Nabob's troops on the southern side: captain Cope, with 100 of the Europeans sent thither in the beginning of the year, remained within the walls.

Chunda-sahib and the French took possession of Seringham soon after it was evacuated by the Nabob's army; and in the beginning of August they sent a strong detachment to attack Coilady, a mud fort about a mile to the east of the great bank which terminates the island of Seringham, and the only post which still held out for the Nabob. Captain Gingen, informed of this motion, detached 20 Europeans and 100 Sepeys, under the command of ensign Truiler, to reinforce the garrison. This officer defended the fort very gallantly for several days, until it was so shattered as to be no longer tenable: he then received orders to draw off his men in the night; and a detach-

ment



Scale of 880 Yards or Half a Mile
20 40 80 160 240 320 400 480 560 640 720 800 880





ment of 200 Europeans were sent to post themselves opposite to the fort on the southern bank of the Caveri, in order to cover his retreat: but the Sepoys, instead of passing the river a few at a time, whilst the Europeans were firing from the wall to amuse the enemy, threw themselves precipitately into the water all together, every one pressing to get over to the covering party as fast as he could. Their noise in this confusion discovered them to the enemy, who increased it by firing upon them, and at the same time prepared to assault the fort; upon which the Europeans likewise plunged into the river, and throwing away their arms, with difficulty joined the covering party. This success determined Chunda-saheb to cross the Caveri, and leaving a garrison in Seringham, he encamped with the rest of his army to the east of Tritchanopoly.

The presidency of Fort St. David saw, with great anxiety, their efforts to support Mahomed-ally, frustrated by the retreat of his army out of the Carnatic, where he now no longer possessed a single district: and Verdachellum, the only fort to the north of the Coleroon which acknowledged him, was invested by the troops of a neighbouring polygar. The ships from Europe having brought some recruits, a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, with a large convoy of stores, were sent from Fort St. David in the middle of July to relieve it; but every good officer being already in the field, there remained none in the garrison to whom such a command could be prudently intrusted. The governor Mr. Saunders therefore requested Mr. Pigot, one of the council, and a man of resolution, to proceed with the detachment until it should be out of risque of enemies, and then to send it forward under the command of the military officer to Tritchanopoly. Lieutenant Clive likewise resolved to accompany this detachment. This young man, soon after the reduction of Devi Cotah, had reassumed the mercantile service of the company, in which he first went to India; and from that time had held the office of commissary for supplying the European troops with provisions. In the prosecution of this employment, as well as from his love of enterprize, he had accompanied the army from the beginning of this campaign, until they began to retreat before the enemy at Vol-kondah. The detachment surprized the Polygar's troops at
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midnight, who took flight at the first fire, and the convoy entered Verdachellum without any loss. From hence Mr. Pigot sent the detachment through the country of Tanjore to reinforce the battalion at Tritchanopoly, which they joined without interruption; the French at this time not having crossed the Caveri. He then returned from Verdachellum to Fort St. David, accompanied by Mr. Clive, 12 Sepoys, and as many servants: in their way they were surrounded by the Polygar's troops, who with matchlocks harried this little party some hours, and killed seven of the Sepoys, and several of the attendants. The ammunition of the rest being expended, they were ordered to disperse, and Mr. Pigot and Clive saved themselves by the speed of their horses from a party of cavalry, who pursued them several miles.

In the middle of July the presidency prepared to send another reinforcement to Tritchanopoly, where the discontent which prevailed amongst the officers made it necessary to remove several of them at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts: a captain's commission was therefore given to Mr. Clive, who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore, where he was joined by another from Devi-Cotah, under the command of Captain Clarke, who took the command of the whole, which, united, consisted of only 100 Europeans, and 50 Sepoys, with one small field piece. The king of Tanjore, like all other Indian princes, cautious of declaring whilst the event remained doubtful, suffered both the English and French troops to march through his country to Tritchanopoly: and this being the only rout by which the English from the sea-coast could now gain the city, the fort of Devi-Cotah began to acquire an importance not foreseen when they took it. The French detached from Coilady 30 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, who came in fight of the English party near the village of Condour, situated ten miles to the north of Tanjore; the high road led through the village, and both anxious to get possession of it, entered it hastily at the same time at different ends. A skirmish ensued, in which the French officer was desperately wounded, and 10 of his Europeans were killed, on which the rest with the Sepoys took flight; and the English making a circuit of several miles to avoid the enemy's camp, arrived safe at the city.

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Notwithstanding these reinforcements, the English battalion at Tritchanopoli did not exceed 600 men; whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chunda-saheb outnumbered the Nabob's ten to one. The strength of the city indeed rendered the reduction of it very difficult; but the Nabob's army, at the same time that they were incapable of retrieving his affairs, exhausted his treasures, and his revenues were daily cut off by the enemy taking possession of the countries which furnished them.

Captain Clive, on his return from Tritchanopoli in the beginning of August, represented this situation of affairs to the presidency, and proposed, as the only resource, to attack the possessions of Chunda-saheb in the territory of Arcot; offering to lead the expedition himself, which he doubted not would cause a diversion of part of the enemy's force from Tritchanopoli. Fort St. David and Madrafs were left, the one with 100, the other with less than 50 men, in order to supply the greatest force that could be collected for this enterprize. The detachment, when completed, nevertheless, consisted of no more than 300 Sepoys and 200 Europeans, with eight officers, six of whom had never before been in action, and four of these six were young men in the mercantile service of the company, who, inflamed by his example, took up the sword to follow him. This handful of men, with only three field pieces for their artillery, marched from Madrafs on the 26th of August, and on the 29th arrived at Conjevaram, a considerable town with a large pagoda, lying about 40 miles inland, where they received intelligence that the fort of Arcot was garrisoned by 1100 men; on which captain Clive wrote to Madrafs, desiring that two 18 pounders might be sent after him without delay. On the 31st he halted within 10 miles of Arcot, where the enemy's spies reported, that they had discovered the English marching with unconcern through a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; and this circumstance, from their notions of omens, gave the garrison so high an opinion of the fortitude of the approaching enemy, that they instantly abandoned the fort, and a few hours after the English entered the city, which had no walls or defences; and marching through 100,000 spectators, who gazed on them with admiration and respect, took possession of the fort, in which they found a large quantity of lead
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and gun-powder, with 8 pieces of cannon from 4 to 8 pounds. The merchants had, for security, deposited in the fort effects to the value of 50,000 pounds, but these were punctually restored to the owners; and this judicious abstemiousness conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3 or 4000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings.

Captain Clive made it his first care to collect such provisions and materials as might enable him to sustain a siege; and foreseeing that the enemy would soon recover from their fright, and return into the town, if he confined himself to the fort, determined to go in quest of them: and on the 4th of September marched out with the greatest part of his men and four field pieces: in the afternoon he discovered the fugitive garrison, consisting of 600 horse and 500 foot, drawn up near Timary, a fort situated 6 miles south-west of the city. They had a field piece, managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great distance, and killed a camel and wounded a Sepoy: but as soon as they saw the English within musket shot, retreated to the hills in their rear; upon which the English returned to the fort.

The troops marched out again on the 6th, and found the enemy drawn up within gun-shot of Timary, in a grove, inclosed with a bank and a ditch; about 50 yards in front of which was a large tank, surrounded likewise with a bank much higher than that of the grove; but by age and neglect the tank itself was almost choaked up and dry. Their number now appeared to be 2000, and they had two field pieces, which fired smartly as the English advanced, and killed three Europeans; on which accident the line advanced more briskly towards the enemy, who frightened by the vivacity of their approach, did not think themselves safe in the grove, but hurried with precipitation into the tank, and began to fire from the banks, exposing so little of their bodies that the English fire did no execution amongst them, whilst theirs wounded several of the Europeans and Sepoys. The troops were therefore ordered to move behind some neighbouring buildings, from which ensign Glas was soon after detached with a platoon of 40 men, to attack one side of the tank, whilst another, under the command of lieutenant Bulkley, pushed to attack the enemy in front. Both gained the banks, and gave
their



their fire at the same instant, amongst numbers crowded together in the tank; which immediately put them to flight. The troops then took possession of the village under the walls of the fort, and summoned the governor. Messages passed, during which his spies discovered that the English had no battering cannon, which intelligence determined him not to surrender. Several shells were therefore thrown into the fort from a cohorn mortar, which proving ineffectual, the troops marched back to Arcot, and the enemy's cavalry hovered round them as they retreated, but kept out of the reach of their fire.

The garrison remained in the fort 10 days, diligently employed in many necessary works; and the enemy, now augmented to 3000 men, imputing this intermission of their sallies to fear, encamped within three miles of the town, giving out that they intended to besiege the fort. Captain Clive determined to take advantage of their security; and on the 14th of September marched out, two hours after midnight, with the greatest part of his garrison, and entering their camp by surprise, found them, as he expected, asleep. The troops beat up the camp from one end to the other, firing continually on numbers taking flight on all sides with shrieks and confusion: the terror was so great that very few made use of their arms, and even these few, after a single discharge made at random, mingled with the rest of the fugitives; and when the day broke, none of them remained in sight. This success was obtained without the loss of a man.

The two 18 pounders, which had been demanded from Madras, with some military stores, were at this time on the road, but escorted only by a few Sepoys; and the enemy hoping to intercept them, sent a large detachment, which took possession of the great pagoda of Conjevaram; 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, with a field piece, were sent from the fort to dislodge them, and on their arrival found the pagoda abandoned; the enemy having retreated to a fort in the neighbourhood, where they were continually reinforced from the main body. Much depending on the safe arrival of the convoy, captain Clive, reserving only 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys for the guard of the fort, sent all the rest to strengthen the detachment which escorted it. On this the enemy changed their design, and returned hastily to the city, in expectation that an assault made on the fort



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during the absence of so great a part of the garrison, would encourage the inhabitants to rise; and in this confidence, their whole force, horse and foot, advanced as soon as it was dark, and surrounded the fort. Their musketry, from the adjacent houses, kept a continual fire upon the ramparts; and this attack producing no effect, a large body of horse and foot advanced promiscuously to the principal gate, endeavouring by outcries, and the noise of their military music, to confound the attention of the garrison, from whom they sustained several discharges of musketry without quitting their ground. At last some grenades were thrown amongst them, the explosion of which frightening the horses, flung their cavalry into such confusion that they galloped away, trampling over the foot: but within an hour they recovered their spirits, and made such another attack at the other gate, where they were received and beat off as at the first. Their infantry continued their fire until day-break, when the English detachments, with the convoy, entered the town, upon which they abandoned it with precipitation. The inhabitants in the fort, satisfied with the treatment they had received from the garrison, betrayed no symptoms of insurrection during the attack.

The acquisition of the fort of Arcot soon produced the effect which had been expected from it. Chunda-saheb detached 4000 of his troops, horse and foot, from Trichanopoly, who in their rout were joined by his son Raja-saheb, with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood of Arcot, entered the city on the 23d of September, and Raja-saheb fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob.

Captain Olive finding himself on the point of being closely besieged, determined to make one vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of the town, which, if it did not succeed, might at least produce the good effect of impressing them with an opinion of the courage of his men. On the 24th at noon, the greatest part of the garrison, with the four field pieces, sallied out of the north-west gate: this faced a street, which, after continuing about seventy yards in a direct line to the north, turned off to the east, and formed another street, at the end of which on the left hand was situated the Nabob's palace. This fronted another street, which striking to the south, continued on the eastern side of the



fort. The square interval between these three streets and the northern wall of the fort was filled with buildings and inclosures. Captain Clive intending to place the enemy between two fires, ordered a platoon under the command of ensign Glas to march up the street on the eastern side of the fort, which led up to the palace, and advanced himself with the main body along the street leading from the north-west gate. The French troops, with four field pieces, were drawn up at the end of the cross street in front of the palace. Captain Clive's party no sooner came in sight of them than a hot cannonade ensued in the cross street, at the distance of only 30 yards. The French in a few minutes were driven from their guns, and ran into the palace; but by this time the troops of Raja-saheb had taken possession of all the houses in the street; and secure under this cover, kept up a continual fire from their musketry with such good aim, that 14 men, who pushed to bring away the French guns, were all either killed or wounded. There was on one side of the street a large Choultry: these are buildings intended for the reception of travellers, covered and inclosed on three sides with walls, but open in front, where, instead of a wall, the roof is supported by pillars. Captain Clive, to preserve his men, relinquished the intention of bringing off the enemy's cannon, and ordered them to enter the Choultry; from hence the artillery men stepping out and retreating into it immediately after they had performed the services allotted to each of them, continued to load and fire their field pieces until they had recoiled into the north street. The troops then quitting the Choultry, joined their guns and proceeded to the fort without meeting any farther molestation. Ensign Glas's platoon returned at the same time: these had encountered and put to flight 3 or 400 of the enemy's Sepoys, whom they found posted as an advanced guard in an inclosure adjoining to the street through which they intended to pass to the palace; where, by this interruption, they were prevented from arriving in time to render the service expected from them. The garrison suffered this day the loss of 15 Europeans, who were either killed on the spot, or died afterwards of their wounds; amongst them was lieutenant Trenwith, who perceiving a Sepoy from a window taking aim at captain Clive, pulled him on one side, upon which the Sepoy, changing his aim, shot lieutenant Trenwith through the body. Lieutenant Revel, the only artillery officer,



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with 16 other men, was likewise disabled. This folly would be condemned by the rules of war established in Europe, for they forbid the besieged to run such a risque, unless they are assured of greatly outnumbering the party they attack; but it is not reasonable to strain the rules calculated for one system, to the service of another differing so widely from it, as the modes of war in Indostan differ from those in Europe.

The next day Raja-sahib was joined by 2000 men from Velloor, commanded by Mortiz-ally in person; and took possession of all the avenues leading to the fort, which seemed little capable of sustaining the impending siege. Its extent was more than a mile in circumference. The walls were in many places ruinous; the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet low and slightly built; several of the towers were decayed, and none of them capable of receiving more than one piece of canon; the ditch was in most places fordable, in others dry, and in some choaked up: there was between the foot of the walls and the ditch a space about 10 feet broad, intended for a faussebray, but this had no parapet at the scarp of the ditch. The fort had two gates, one to the north-west, the other to the east; both of which were large piles of masonry projecting 40 feet beyond the walls, and the passage from these gates was, instead of a draw-bridge, a large causeway crossing the ditch. The garrison had from their arrival employed themselves indefatigably to remove and repair as many of these inconveniences and defects as the smallness of their numbers could attend to. They had endeavoured to burn down several of the nearest houses, but without success; for these having no wood-work in their construction, excepting the beams which supported the ceiling, resisted the blaze: of these houses the enemy's infantry took possession, and began to fire upon the ramparts, and wounded several of the garrison before night, when they retired. At midnight, ensign Glas was sent with 10 men, and some barrels of gun-powder, to blow up two of the houses which most annoyed the fort. This party were let down by ropes over the walls, and entering the houses without being discovered, made the explosion, but with so little skill that it did not produce the intended effect: at their return the rope, by which ensign Glas

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Book III. HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC.

Glass was getting into the fort, broke, and he was by the fall rendered incapable of farther duty; so that, at the beginning of the siege, the garrison was deprived of the service of four of the eight officers who set out on the expedition; for one was killed, two wounded, and another returned to Madras; and the troops fit for duty were diminished to 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys: these were besieged by 150 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, 3000 cavalry, and 5000 Peans.

The store of provision in the fort was only sufficient to supply the garrison sixty days, which rendered it necessary to send away all the inhabitants, excepting a few artificers, and the enemy permitted them to pass through their guards without molestation: amongst those who remained was a mason, who had for many years been employed in the fort; he gave information that there was an aqueduct under ground, known to very few, but which, if discovered by the enemy, would enable them to drain the only reservoir of water in the fort: the man was rewarded for this seasonable intelligence, and employed to prevent the mischief, by choaking up a part of the aqueduct within the walls. For 14 days, the enemy, not yet furnished with battering cannon, carried on the siege by firing from the houses with musketry, and a bombardment from four mortars. The bombardment did little damage, and to avoid the effect of the musketry, none of the garrison were suffered to appear on the ramparts, excepting the few immediately necessary to prevent a surprize; but notwithstanding this precaution, several were killed, and more wounded: for the enemy, secure in the houses, and firing from resting-places, took such excellent aim, that they often hit a man when nothing but his head appeared above the parapet; and in this manner three sergeants were killed, who at different times singly accompanied captain Clive in visiting the works. Mortiz-ally, a few days after his arrival, pretended to be dissatisfied with Raja-saheb, and removed his troops to a different part of the city, from whence he sent a messenger, inviting the garrison to make a sally on the quarters of Rajah-saheb, in which he offered to assist them with his whole force. Captain Clive mistrusted his professions, but considering the advantage of keeping such a number of the enemy's troops inactive, pretended to approve of the proposal, and carried on for several

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days a correspondence, until Mortiz-ally, suspecting his scheme was detected, rejoined the army.

On the 24th of October, the French troops received from Pondicherry two 18 pounders, and seven pieces of smaller calibre, and immediately opened a battery to the north-west, which was so well served, that their very first shot dismounted one of the 18 pounders in the fort, and the next entirely disabled it. The garrison mounted the other 18 pounder; and this, after a few shot, was likewise dismounted: after which it was employed only in such parts of the fort, where it was not exposed to the enemy's artillery. The three field pieces were likewise cautiously reserved to repulse the enemy when they should storm; so that their battery firing without much opposition, in six days beat down all the wall lying between two towers, and made a practicable breach of fifty feet. In the mean time the garrison were employed in making works to defend it: a trench was dug just under the rampart, and behind that at some distance another; both of which were scattered with crows feet, and behind them the wall of a house was pulled down to the height of a breast-work; from whence a row of pallisadoes was carried along on each end of both trenches, and continued up the rampart to the parapet. A field piece was planted on one of the towers which flanked the breach without, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, opposite to the entrance. In these employments, as indeed in all others, the officers contributed their labour equally with the common men; and the enemy, informed of these preparations to defend the breach, did not think it safe to attack it before they had made another: they had by this time burst one of their 18 pounders, and removed the other, with one nine pounder, to a battery which they erected to the south-west.

The garrison intending to convince Raja-saheb that they were in a condition to execute even labours not indispensibly necessary, thickened the highest tower of the ramparts, and then raised on the top of it a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the palace over the interjacent houses. On the top of this mound they hoisted a vast piece of cannon, sent, according to the tradition of the fort, from Delhi,

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by Aureng-zebe, and said to have been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. There were several iron balls belonging to it, each weighing 72 pounds. The cannon was laid on the mound, and loaded with 30 pounds of powder, which was fired by a train carried to a considerable distance on the ground. The shot went through the palace, to the no small terror of Rajah-sahib and his principal officers; and as this was the only effect intended, the cannon was fired only once in the day, at the time when the officers assembled at the head-quarters: on the fourth day it burst.

The enemy, as if they intended to retaliate this affront, filled up a large house, which commanded the eastern gate, with earth well rammed down, and upon this base raised a square mound of earth to such a height as commanded not only the gate, but likewise every part within the fort: from hence they intended to fire on the rampart with musketry and two small pieces of cannon. They were suffered to go on with their work until they had completed it and mounted the cannon, when the garrison began to fire from the reserved 18 pounder, and in less than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled at once with 50 men stationed on it; some of whom were killed, and many disabled.

Notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy's guards which surrounded the fort, the garrison, by means of able spies, carried on a constant correspondence with Madras and Fort St. David, where the company's agents were very solicitous to relieve them, and having received some recruits from Europe, formed a party of 100 Europeans, who, with 200 Sepoys, set out from Madras under the command of lieutenant Innis. Before they had advanced 30 miles in their way to Arcot, they were surrounded in the town of Trivatore by 2000 of Raja-sahib's troops detached with 20 Europeans and two field pieces from the city. The English party having no cannon, were so severely annoyed by the enemy's, that lieutenant Innis, as the only resource, made a push with all his Europeans to drive them from their guns. The attempt succeeded, but not without a sharp contest, in which 20 of the English and two of their officers were killed, and a greater number wounded. This loss deterred the rest from continuing their march, and they retreated to Ponomaley, a fort built by the Moors, and at this time belonging to the company, 15 miles west of Madras.



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On the 24th of October the enemy opened their battery to the south-west: the part of the wall against which they directed their fire was in a very ruinous condition, but it had the advantage of being much less exposed than any other to the fire from the houses. The garrison therefore kept up a constant fire of musketry against the battery, and several times drove the enemy out of it, but the breach notwithstanding increased every day.

The retreat of lieutenant Innis left the garrison little hopes of succour from the settlements; but at this time their spirits were raised by the hopes of other resources. A body of 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, had lain for some time encamped at the foot of the western mountains, about 30 miles from Arcot: they had been hired to assist Mahomed-ally by the king of Mysore; but the retreat of the English, and the Nabob's troops to Tritchanopoly, had been represented in the neighbouring countries so much to their prejudice, that the Nabob's affairs were thought to be desperate, and his allies were suspected of having little intention to support him; and from this persuasion the Morattoes remained inactive. Captain Clive had found means to send a messenger to inform them of his situation, and to request their approach to his relief; the messenger returning safely to the fort, brought a letter from Morari-row, in which he said that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment of his troops to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now first convinced him that the English could fight.

Raja-saheb receiving intelligence of their intentions, sent a flag of truce on the 30th of October, with proposals for the surrender of the fort. He offered honourable terms to the garrison, and a large sum of money to captain Clive; and if his offers were not accepted, he threatened to storm the fort immediately, and put every man to the sword.

Captain Clive, in his answer, reproached the badness of Chunda-saheb's cause, treated Raja-saheb's offers of money with contempt; and said, that he had too good an opinion of his prudence to believe that he would attempt to storm, until he had got better soldiers than the rabble of which his army was composed. As soon as the messenger was dispatched, the flag of truce was pulled down; but the enemy not
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understanding the rules of European war, numbers of them remained near the ditch parleying with the Sepoys, and persuading them to desert. The croud was several times warned to retire, but continuing to disregard the injunction, were dispersed by a volley of small arms, which killed several of them.

Lieutenant Innis's party, reinforced to the number of 150 Europeans, and with four field pieces, was now advancing under the command of Capt. Kilpatrick; and on the 9th of November a detachment of Morattoes arrived in the neighbourhood, and intercepted some ammunition going to the enemy. They likewise attempted to enter the town; but finding every street and avenue barricaded, they contented themselves with plundering and setting fire to some houses in the skirts of it, after which they retreated.

By this time the enemy had, from their battery to the south-west, made a breach much larger than that to the north-west, for it extended near 30 yards; but the ditch before it was full of water, and not fordable: and the garrison had counterworked this breach with the same kinds of defences as the other.

Raja-saheb, exasperated by the answer he had received to his summons, and alarmed by the approach of the Morattoes, and the detachment from Madras, determined to storm the fort. In the evening a spy brought intelligence of this to the garrison, and at midnight another came with a particular account of all the enemy's dispositions, and of the hour of attack, which was to begin at the dawn of day by the signal of three bombs. Captain Clive, almost exhausted with fatigue, laid down to sleep, ordering himself to be awakened at the first alarm.

It was the 14th of November, and the festival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Hasein and Jassein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Indostan with a kind of religious madness, some acting and others bewailing the catastrophe of their saints with so much energy, that several die of the excesses they commit: they are likewise persuaded, that whoever falls in battle, against unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, shall instantly be translated into the higher paradise, without stopping at any of the intermediate purgatories. To the enth-



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fiain of superstition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation ; for most of the troops, as is customary during the agitations of this festival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either stupifies, or excites the most desperate excesses of rage. Thus prepared, as soon as the morning broke, the army of Raja-saheb advanced to the attack. Besides a multitude that came with ladders to every part of the walls that were accessible, there appeared four principal divisions. Two of these divisions advanced to the two gates, and the other two were allotted to the breaches.

Captain Clive, awakened by the alarm, found his garrison at their posts, according to the dispositions he had made. The parties who attacked the gates drove before them several elephants, who, with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, were intended to break them down ; but the elephants, wounded by the musketry, soon turned, and trampled on those who escorted them. The ditch before the breach to the north-west was fordable ; and as many as the breach would admit, mounted it with a mad kind of intrepidity, whilst numbers came and sat down with great composure in the *fausse-braye* under the tower where the field piece was planted, and waited there to relieve those who were employed in the attack : these passed the breach, and some of them even got over the first trench before the defenders gave fire ; it fell heavily, and every shot did execution : and a number of muskets were loaded in readiness, which those behind delivered to the first rank as fast as they could discharge them. The two pieces of cannon from the top of the house fired likewise on the assailants, who in a few minutes abandoned the attack, when another body, and then another succeeded, who were driven off in the same manner : in the mean time bombs, with short fuses, which had been prepared and lodged on the adjacent rampart, were thrown into the *fausse-braye*, and by their explosion drove the crowd, who had seated themselves there, back again over the ditch. At the breach to the south-west the enemy brought a raft, and seventy men embarked on it to cross the ditch, which was flanked by two field pieces, one in each tower : the raft had almost gained the *fausse-braye*, when captain Clive observing that the gunners fired with bad aim, took the management of one of the field pieces himself, and



and in three or four discharges flung them into such confusion that they overset the raft, and tumbled into the ditch; where some of them were drowned, and the rest, intent only on their own preservation, swam back and left the raft behind.

In these different attacks the enemy continued the storm for an hour, when they relinquished all their attempts of annoyance at once, and employed themselves earnestly in carrying off their dead. Amongst these was the commander of their Sepoys, who fell in the *fausse-braye* of the northern breach: he had distinguished himself with great bravery in the attack, and was so much beloved by his troops, that one of them crossed the ditch and carried off his body, exposing himself during the attempt to the fire of 40 muskets, from which he had the good fortune to escape. It seemed as if the enemy expected that the garrison would permit them to fulfil this duty to their friends; but finding that they suffered severely in attempting it, they at last retreated and disappeared. Their loss during the storm was computed to be not less than 400 men killed and wounded, of which very few were Europeans, for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. Of the defenders, only four Europeans were killed and two Sepoys wounded. Many of the garrison being disabled by sickness or wounds, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than 80 Europeans, officers included, and 120 Sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12000 musket cartridges during the attack.

Two hours after the enemy renewed their fire upon the fort, both with their cannon and with musketry from the houses: at two in the afternoon they demanded leave to bury their dead, which was granted, and a truce allowed until four: they then recommenced and continued their fire smartly till two in the morning, when on a sudden it ceased totally; and at day-break, intelligence was brought that the whole army had abandoned the town with precipitation. On receiving this joyful news, the garrison immediately marched into the enemy's quarters, where they found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, which they brought in triumph into the fort. During the time that the garrison were shut up in the fort, 45



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Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded, most of whom suffered by the enemy's musketry from the houses.

Thus ended this siege, maintained 50 days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit worthy of the most veteran troops; and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken constancy, and undaunted courage: and notwithstanding he had at this time neither read books, or conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art; all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot, were such as are dictated by the best masters in the science of war.

In the evening the detachment with captain Killpatrick entered the town, which the army of Raja-sahib no sooner quitted than all the troops, sent to his assistance by different chiefs, returned to their homes, and there remained with him only those which had been detached by his father from Tricheanopoly. With these and the French he retired to Velloor, and pitching his camp close to the eastern side of the town, fortified it with strong entrenchments. Captain Clive leaving captain Killpatrick with a garrison in the fort, took the field on the 19th of November, with 200 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, and three field pieces, and marched to Timary, which the governor now surrendered on the first summons: a small garrison was left in this place, and the army returned and encamped near the western side of the city, waiting to be joined by the Morattoes. Of these, 5000 horse, with Morari-row at their head, had proceeded to the southward, and 1000 under the command of Bafin-row, a nephew of Morari-row, remained to assist captain Clive; but, instead of joining him immediately, they employed themselves some days in plundering the country. As they lay encamped with great negligence within a short march of Velloor, the French troops with Raja-sahib attacked them with success in the night, killed 40 or 50 of their horses, and plundered their camp. After this defeat they came to the English camp, and intreated captain Clive to march to the place where they had suffered, in hopes of recovering their loss. Their request was complied with to keep them in temper; but nothing was recovered, for the



Book III. HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC.

enemy had carried off and secured the booty. At this time intelligence was received that a party of Europeans from Pondicherry were approaching towards Arnice, a strong fort situated about 20 miles to the south of Arcot; on which captain Clive requested Bafin-row to accompany him with his troops to intercept them before they should join Raja-faheb. The Morattoo seeing no probability of acquiring plunder, refused his assistance, and the English marched without him; but hearing that the French party had retreated to Chittapet, returned to their station near Arcot. Two or three days after, Raja-faheb quitted his encampment near Velloor, and in the night made a forced march to Arnice, where he was joined by the party from Chittapet. The Morattoes still continued unwilling to accompany the English in quest of the enemy: but, hearing from their spies that the enemy's reinforcement had brought a large sum of money for Raja-faheb, Bafin-row expressed as much eagerness to march against him as he had hitherto shewn reluctance. The troops immediately moved; but the Morattoo was not able to assemble more than 600 of his horsemen, the rest being employed in their usual excursions. The next afternoon, by a forced march of 20 miles, the army came in sight of the enemy, just as they were preparing to cross the river which runs to the north of Arnice. The enemy, encouraged by the superiority of their force, which consisted of 300 Europeans, 2000 horse, and 2500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, immediately formed, and returned to meet them. Captain Clive halted to receive them in an advantageous post: the Morattoes were stationed in a grove of palm trees to the left; the Sepoys in a village to the right; and the Europeans, with the field pieces, in the center, in an open ground, which extended about three hundred yards between the grove and the village; in the front were rice fields, which at this time of the year were very swampy, and the approach of the enemy's cannon would have been impracticable, had there not been a causeway leading to the village on the right. The French troops, with about 1500 Sepoys, and their artillery, marched along the causeway; and the horse, amongst which the rest of the Sepoys were interspersed, moved in a separate body to the left, and attacked the Morattoes in the grove some time before the other wing was engaged any other way than by cannonading at a distance. The

Morattoes



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Morattoes fought in a manner peculiar to themselves: their cavalry were armed with sabres, and every horseman was closely accompanied by a man on foot, armed with a sword and a large club, and some instead of a club carried a short strong spear: if a horse was killed and the rider remained unhurt, he immediately began to act on foot; and if the rider fell, and the horse escaped, he was immediately mounted, and pressed on again to the charge by the first foot-man who could seize him. Notwithstanding the difference of numbers, and the advantage of the enemy's disposition, they behaved with great spirit, and made five successive charges, in every one of which they were repulsed by the fire of the enemy's Sepoys. In the mean time the other wing advanced towards the village, and found their line of march along the causeway so much galled and enfiladed by the English field pieces, that all but the artillerymen, with the cannon and two or three platoons to support them, quitted the causeway and formed in the rice fields an extensive front, which reached almost to the grove, where their cavalry was engaged, who imagined that this motion was made to reinforce them. Upon this change in their disposition, two field pieces were sent to support the Morattoes, and the Sepoys, with two platoons of Europeans, were ordered to fall from the village and attack the enemy's artillery. This unexpected motion terrified those who remained to defend the cannon so much, that they immediately began to draw them off and retreat. Their example was followed by the Sepoys in the rice fields, and the retreat of these immediately dispirited the horse and foot fighting at the grove, who had suffered from the two field pieces; and this whole wing gave way and retreated likewise, pursued by the Morattoes. Capt. Clive, with his infantry and field pieces, advanced along the causeway in pursuit of the enemy, who made a stand at three different choultreys in their rout, but were beat out of each of them; when night coming on, the pursuit ceased. About 50 of the French, and 150 of the enemy's cavalry and Sepoys, were either killed or wounded in the action. The English lost no European, and only eight Sepoys; but of the Morattoes about fifty were either killed or disabled.

The enemy continuing their retreat, crossed the river, and entered the town of Arnice: which at midnight they quitted in great disorder, in-

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tending to make the best of their way to Gingee; and the next morning the English entered the town, in which they found many tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The Morattoes set out in pursuit of the enemy, and, before night, returned with 400 horses, and Raja-faheb's military chest, in which they found 100,000 rupees. A great number of the enemy's Sepoys came and offered their service to captain Clive, who enlisted as many as brought good arms; of whom the number amounted to 600. Receiving intelligence from them, that Raja-faheb had deposited some valuable effects in the fort of Arnie, he summoned the governor to deliver them up, together with his fort; who, after some altercations, sent out an elephant and 15 horses, with a great quantity of baggage, and agreed to take the oath of fealty to Mahomed-ally, but refused to surrender his fort; which the army, having no battering cannon, was not in a condition to attack.

The French, during the siege of Arcot, had again taken possession of the great pagoda of Conjevaram, and placed in it a garrison of 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, who from hence interrupted the communication between Arcot and Madras, and had surprized a party of disabled men, returning from the siege. Amongst these were the officers Revel and Glas, to whom the French gave quarter after they had murdered five or six Europeans as they lay in their litters without arms, and incapable of making resistance. Captain Clive determined to avail himself of the dispersion of Raja-faheb's forces to reduce Conjevaram: and two or three days after his victory, marched thither at the head of his own force: for Bafin-row, in obedience to orders which he had received from his uncle, proceeded with the Morattoes from Arnie to Tritchhanopoly. The French officer at Conjevaram was summoned to surrender; and none of the garrison understanding the English language, he ordered his prisoners, Revel and Glas, to write a letter, and acquaint captain Clive, that he intended to expose them on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. They wrote this, but added, that they hoped no regard to their safety would induce him to discontinue his operations against the place. The army waited some days for two 18 pounders, which were coming from Madras; and



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as soon as they arrived began to batter in breach at the distance of 200 yards: the enemy had no cannon, but fired very smartly with their musketry, which killed several men at the battery, and lieutenant Bulkley, reconnoitering the pagoda over a garden-wall in company with captain Clive, was shot through the head close by his side. The walls resisted three days before they began to give way, when the garrison, conscious of their demerits, and dreading the just resentment of the English, abandoned the pagoda in the night, but left behind the two prisoners. After ruining the defences of Conjevaram, captain Clive sent 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Arcot, and returned in the middle of December with the rest to Madras; from whence he went to Fort St. David, to give an account of his campaign to the presidency.

During these successes in the province of Arcot, Chunda-sahib beleaguered Trichanopoly. The French battalion fixed their quarters at a village called Chuckley-pollam, on the southern bank of the Caveri, about two miles and a half from the east side of the town. The troops of Chunda-sahib, for the convenience of water, encamped likewise along the bank of the river, and to the eastward of Chuckley-pollam, which post secured one of the flanks of their camp, and at the other extremity of it, three miles distant, they raised a redoubt, on which they mounted two pieces of cannon. The French, on whom the operations of the siege principally depended, sent to their settlement of Karical for a train of battering artillery; and in the beginning of September they raised their principal battery a little to the south of the north-east angle of the town, and at the distance of 1200 yards from the walls. To save the fatigue of carrying on trenches between this post and the camp, they afterwards made the battery a regular redoubt, by inclosing it on both flanks and in the rear with a parapet and a deep ditch; here they mounted three 18 pounders, and three mortars, which were defended by a constant guard of 100 Europeans and 400 Sepoys. They likewise mounted two 18 pounders on a rock, which has ever since obtained the name of the French rock, and is situated about 2000 yards directly east from the south-east angle of the town; they also raised a battery of two guns on the island of Seringham, from which they fired across the



the Caveri at the northern gate of the city, to interrupt the communication of the inhabitants with the river; these guns, as well as those on the French rock, were at too great a distance to make any impression on the walls. By these works alone they hoped to reduce the city; the insufficiency of them soon raised in the English battalion a contempt of their courage and military abilities, and it was now that they began to be ashamed of having retreated before such an enemy; and judging, as usual, from events, to blame their commander for an excess of caution in his retreat, of which their own panicks had been the principal cause: for captain Gingen was undoubtedly a man of courage, and had seen much service in Europe; but having had no experience against an Indian army, fell into the error of imagining that the cavalry of Chunda-saheb would act with all the vigour of which their number and appearance seemed capable. His prudence, if improper before, became absolutely necessary now, as the French had taken possession of posts in which they could do no harm to the town, but from which they could not be driven without great loss: he therefore determined to preserve his men, whilst the enemy fatigued their troops and exhausted their ammunition to no purpose: and in this intention he kept the greatest part of the battalion and Sepoys encamped close to the western side of the town, where they were out of the reach of annoyance.

To save that part of the wall against which the enemy's principal battery fired, a glacis was raised to such a height as left nothing but the parapet exposed; and the grenadiers, commanded by captain Dalton, were posted behind this glacis: an entrenchment was flung up between the French rock and the south-east angle of the town, in which the company of Coffrees were posted, to protect from surprizes the Nabob's cavalry encamped to the south; and to oppose the enemy's battery in the island, two guns were mounted close to the southern bank of the river.

To infiltrate these, the French mounted two guns on the same side of the river; but were one night driven from this post by captain Dalton: they, a few days after, surprized the English entrenchment opposite to the French rock, and carried off the captain and nine Coffrees; and

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these two were the only enterprizes made on either side during the month of October. The enemy's batteries fired indeed constantly and smartly every day, and damaged some houses, but made no impression on the defences of the town; they supplied the defenders with a great number of cannon-balls, all of which had the English mark, being the same that the ships had fired against Pondicherry, with as little effect as they were now thrown away against Trichinopoly.

But although little was to be feared from the efforts of an enemy who seemed ignorant of the first principles of a regular attack, yet every thing was to be apprehended from the poverty to which the Nabob was reduced. His troops threatened to desert: the expences of the English battalion, which used to be furnished from his treasury, began to be defrayed by that of Fort St. David, and he had no reason to believe that they would continue to support him any longer than there was a probability of extricating him out of his distresses; and these he foresaw would increase every day, unless he could obtain an army equal to that of Chunda-saheb, whose superiority had hitherto deterred the English troops from making any vigorous efforts.

The only prince in the peninsula from whose situation, power, and inclination, the Nabob could expect the assistance which he stood so much in need of, was the king of Mysore. The territory of this Indian prince is bounded to the east by the southern part of the Carnatic, and the kingdom of Trichinopoly; and to the west it extends, in some parts, within 30 miles of the sea-coast of Malabar. His annual revenue is computed at 20 millions of rupees; and the whole nation bore a mortal hatred to Chunda-saheb, who, during the time that he governed Trichinopoly, formed a design of conquering the country, and besieged for several months Carour, the strongest of their frontier towns to the eastward. The king of Mysore being an infant, the government was administered by his uncle, who acted with unlimited power: to this regent, called in the country, the *Dallaway* of Mysore, Mahomed-ally applied for assistance; and finding that the dread of Chunda-saheb's successes was not alone a sufficient motive to induce him to take up arms, he agreed to all the terms which the Mysorean demanded, and these were very exorbitant. The Nabob ratified the treaty by his oath, and the Dal-

laway



laway determined to assist him with efficacy. In consequence of this negotiation, a party of seventy horsemen arrived at Trichinopoly in the beginning of October from Seringapatnam, the capital of Mysore. They brought five hundred thousand rupees: great respect was shewn to their officer; and the day after his arrival a skirmish happened, which, although inconsiderable, gave him a favourable opinion of the Nabob's European allies. A platoon, with two or three companies of Sepoys, were sent to cut down wood at a grove situated about a mile and a half south-east from the city. The enemy having intelligence of this detachment, sent a large body of cavalry to cut off their retreat: their march being discovered from the rock in the city, the grenadiers, with some Sepoys, and one field piece, were sent to support the first party, and the troop of Mysoreans accompanied them. Captain Dalton meeting the wood-carts loaded, ordered them to proceed to the town by a distant road, and forming the two parties into one column, with the field piece in front, marched towards the enemy, instead of returning directly to the city. He first met the French dragoons, who halted on a small eminence to reconnoitre, and waited there until they received the fire of a platoon, on which they retreated to bring up the body of Chunda-sahab's cavalry, who remained at some distance in the rear. These came up some time after at full speed, flourishing their swords, and made a halt within point blank shot, to draw the fire of the English troops before they charged; but captain Dalton ordered his men to preserve it, and wait with fixed bayonets in close order. The field piece alone was fired, and the first shot dismounted three Moors, and a few more discharges put the whole body to flight. They left 22 horses killed on the plain, and the Mysoreans took five prisoners, together with their horses; which at their return, a few days after, they carried in a kind of triumph to their own country.

The French continued to bombard the town without any change in their position; and in the latter end of November the king of Mysore's army began to assemble at Carour, situated about 50 miles from Trichinopoly, and close to the bank of the Coleroon; he likewise took into his pay 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, often mentioned in this history: 1000 of them were sent to second the efforts



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of captain Clive in the Arcot province; and in the beginning of December, 500 under the command of Innis-Khan, a brave and active officer, came to Trichinopoly. The day after their arrival, they went boldly to reconnoitre the plain, where none of the Nabob's dispirited cavalry had ever ventured to shew themselves, and finding a small detached camp of about 200 horse, which had lain four months unmolested near the French rock, they rode into it sword in hand, and brought off every thing they found with the greatest composure, shewing no fear at the swarms of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, who mounted and marched towards them from their principal camp.

After this exploit, the Morattoes went out several days successively to reconnoitre; and Innis-Khan having observed that the French dragoons were much more alert than any of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, mounting and advancing on every alarm, he formed the design of drawing them into an ambuscade; and having communicated his plan to captain Gingen, a party of Europeans, with two field pieces, were detached before day, who entering a large and deep water-course, which runs across the plain to the south of the city, concealed themselves in it, within 400 yards of the French rock, and at the same time Innis-Khan, with 300 horsemen, marched out from his encampment on the west side of the town. The surface of the plain round Trichinopoly is very uneven, and full of hollow ways. The Morattoe taking a large circuit, placed his men in a hollow, where, when dismounted, they could not be perceived either from the French rock or that in the city. Every thing remained quiet in both camps until noon, when 40 Morattoes, mounted on the best horses, set out from the camp, and keeping out of cannon-shot of the French rock, proceeded to the eastward of it, and then galloped sword in hand directly to the enemy's camp, where they made no small hurry and confusion, either cutting down or driving all the foragers they met quite up to the tents. This provoking the French, 60 dragoons sallied, and were followed slowly by 400 of Chunda-saheb's cavalry. The Morattoes retreated leisurely before them, halting as they halted, but always keeping at the distance of musket-shot from them: and in this manner they led the enemy as far as the French rock, when



Mr. Pifchard, a brave officer, exasperated at the repeated defiance of such a handful of men, formed his troop, and leaving the Moorish cavalry, set out in pursuit of them at full speed. They now flew before the dragoons, until they had led them insensibly out of the reach of the French artillery on the rock, and beyond their own party in ambuscade; when these mounting in an instant, sallied from the hollow way, and charged the dragoons impetuously in the rear, whilst the flying party wheeling, attacked them with equal fury in front. The action was over in an instant; the French had only time to discharge a few pistols, and were all cut to pieces, excepting 10, who had not been able to keep up with the rest. The detachment of Chunda-saheb's cavalry, either from cowardice, or suspicion of the stratagem, never stirred from the rock; but the officer who commanded in that post detached 100 men to succour his unfortunate friends. Lieutenant Trusler, posted in the entrenchment opposite the rock, seeing them march, and not knowing the success of the Morattoes, immediately advanced with the company of Coffrees to oblige the party to return, who finding all lost on the plain, hastened back and saved the rock, which Trusler was on the point of carrying. The success of this ambuscade dispirited the enemy so much, that they suffered their dead to lay on the plain without venturing out to bury them; and when, two days after, the English went to perform this charitable office, they found the bodies devoured by the jackals.

The Morattoes, on the other hand, were so much elevated, and conceived so despicable an opinion of the enemy, that they pressed their allies to march out and offer them battle: promising, that if the English battalion would engage the French, they would prevent it from being incommoded by Chunda-saheb's cavalry, although these were 12,000, and they themselves only 500. The reasonable objections made to this hardy proposal satisfied them, until the arrival of Bafin-row with his body of 1000 men from the Arcot country, when thinking that this reinforcement rendered them a full match for the enemy, they aspired at the glory of finishing the war themselves, and became more and more solicitous for a general engagement, in which they promised to charge.