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charge the French battalion on both flanks: finding that the English still declined to put any thing to a risk until the arrival of the Mysore army; and of a reinforcement expected from Fort St. David; they did not scruple to tell them, that they were not the same kind of men as those they had seen fighting so gallantly at Arcot.

In the mean time the army of Mysore, with 4000 Morattoes under Morari-row, had assembled on the frontier of Carour; and the regent, after many delays, at last yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Nabob, and prepared to march to Trichinopoly; when the enemy having intelligence of his intention, ventured to detach a strong party of Europeans, cavalry and Sepoys, to the village of Kistnavaram, situated 30 miles to the west of the city in the high road to Mysore: they found the place, although fortified, without a garrison; and as soon as they were in possession of it, began to improve the defences, spreading a report, that if the Mysoreans offered to move, they would attack them, and afterwards pillage their country. This stopped the regent's march, and he wrote to the Nabob desiring that a strong party of Europeans might be sent to his assistance without delay, as he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which he ought to conduct himself against white men who fought with musketry and cannon.

Lieutenant Truller was detached on this service with 40 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; but it soon appearing that this force was insufficient, captain Cope proceeded with 100 more Europeans and two small field pieces. He was instructed to dislodge the enemy at all events, and found them posted in a much stronger situation than he expected. The village was inclosed by a mud wall, flanked by round towers, and in the center of it was a fort: the northern side was close to the bank of the Coleroon, and the other sides were surrounded by a deep morass, passable only in one part to the westward; to defend which, the French had flung up on an eminence an entrenchment at the distance of gun-shot from the village. Captain Cope encamped to the west of this eminence, which he intended to attack before day-break, but by some mistake the troops were not ready before the sun was risen, by which time the enemy had reinforced the post, and had lined several banks

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and water-courses leading to it with Sepoys : he nevertheless persisted in his intention ; but the forlorn-hope coming to a bank which sheltered them from the enemy's fire, could not be prevailed on to advance beyond it, and this example was followed by the rest. Lieutenant Felix received a shot through the body, as he stood encouraging them on the top of the bank ; and soon after, captain Cope, returning with a platoon from the reserve, was mortally wounded : on which disasters the whole party retreated to their camp in disorder.

Captain Dalton was sent from Trichinopoly to take the command, 1752. and found the detachment joined by the van of the Mysore army ; and two days after the regent himself came up with the rest: the whole consisted of 12000 horse and 8000 foot, including the Morattoes. He immediately desired a conference with captain Dalton, whom he received with great politeness, admiring, not without astonishment, the martial appearance and regularity of the English troops ; and forming naturally the same high opinion of the French, he declared, that he should neither expose his men nor lose time in attacking them, but proceed at midnight with half the army directly to Trichinopoly by another road at some distance on the plain, leaving the rest with captain Dalton, whom he requested to divert the enemy's attention by a false attack until he was out of the reach of danger : and, not content with these precautions, he desired that some Europeans might accompany him as a safeguard to his person. These dispositions answering the purpose for which the detachment was sent, captain Dalton encouraged him in his resolution, and at midnight began to skirmish against the enemy's posts, which he kept alarmed until morning, by which time the rear of the regent's division was out of sight. This service proved to be much more necessary than it first appeared to be : for such was the military ignorance of the Mysoreans, that they were discovered in the night passing over the plain with ten thousand lights, as if they had been marching in the procession of an Indian wedding.

The next day the rest of their army proceeded, desiring captain Dalton to remain before the village until they were out of sight, and promised to halt and wait for him ; but they were no sooner out of danger than they hurried away to join the regent. Some hours after, the English detachment



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achment decamped, and passing by Kistnavaram without molestation from the garrison, returned to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 6th of February, and the French soon after recalled their detachment.

The junction of the Mysoreans determined the king of Tanjore to declare for the Nabob; and soon after their arrival he sent to Tritchinopoly 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of his general Monack-jee. The Polygar Tondeman, whose country lies between Tanjore and Madura, likewise sent 400 horse and 3000 Colliers: these are a people almost savage, who, under several petty chiefs, inhabit the woods between Tritchinopoly and Cape Comarin; their name in their own language signifies Thieves, and justly describes their character: their weapon is a pike 18 feet long, with which they creep along the ground, and use it with great address in ambuscades; but the principal service they render to an army is, by stealing or killing the horses of the enemy's camp. Thus the force of Mahomed-ally became on a sudden superior to that of Chunda-saheb; for the troops of his allies joined to his own, formed a body of 20,000 cavalry, 6000 of which were Morattoes, and of 20,000 infantry. The army of Chunda-saheb had likewise, since their arrival before Tritchinopoly, been augmented to 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot, by the junction of 3000 horse commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, and of 4000 Peons and Colliers belonging to the Polygar, Morawa, whose country lies to the south of the kingdom of Tanjore. The king of Mysore, impatient to be put in possession of the places which Mahomed-ally had agreed to give up to him in return for his assistance, pressed the English battalion to make a general attack on the enemy with the whole army, and Morari-row, the Morattoo, seconded him very strongly in this proposal; but captain Gingen knowing that these Indian troops were capable of rendering very little service against fortified posts defended by Europeans, and considering that if the English battalion, on whom the brunt would lay, should suffer severely in these attacks, such a loss would be irreparable, he determined to wait until he was reinforced by a body of Europeans, which were preparing to take the field in the province of Arcot.

Here the scattered troops of Raja-saheb no sooner saw the English retire to their garrisons, after the taking of Conjevaram, than they re-

assembled



assembled and moved, in the beginning of January, down to the sea-coast, carrying their ravages into the company's territory of Ponomalee, where they burnt several villages, and plundered the country houses built by the English at the foot of St. Thomas's mount: after these hostilities, they returned to Conjevaram, and having repaired the damages which the pagoda had sustained from the English, they garrisoned it with 300 Sepoys, and then kept the field between this place and the fort of Ponomalee, which they sometimes threatened to attack. The violences they committed, and the contributions they levied, impaired the Nabob's as well as the Company's revenues so much, that the presidency determined to make an effort, with all the force they could assemble, to reduce this enemy before they sent a reinforcement to Trichinopoly. Captain Clive appointed to this service, returned in the beginning of February to Madras, where, whilst he was employed in levying Sepoys, a detachment of 100 Europeans arrived from Bengal: with these, and 80 more from the garrison of Madras, he took the field the 2d of February, and was the same day joined by 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys from the garrison of Arcot. His whole force united consisted of 380 Europeans, 1300 Sepoys, with six field pieces: the enemy were 2500 horse, 2000 Sepoys, and 400 Europeans, with a large train of artillery: and, notwithstanding this superiority, they no sooner heard of the preparations that the English were making to attack them, than they fortified themselves strongly in their camp at Vendalore, a village situated about 25 miles south-west of Madras. Captain Clive marched towards them with an intent of attacking their camp by surprise in the rear; but had not proceeded far before he received information that they had suddenly abandoned it, and had dispersed with the appearance of people terrified by some disaster, inasmuch that it was believed they had received news of some bad success at Trichinopoly, and were hurrying thither to reinforce the army of Chunda-saheb. The English however continued their march, and took possession of the ground the enemy had quitted, where, some hours after, intelligence was received, that all the dispersed parties were re-united at Conjevaram. It was then not doubted that they had received advice of the weakness of the garrison



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at Arcot; and that they intended to take advantage of it by making a sudden assault on the fort. Captain Clive therefore made a forced march of 20 miles to Conjevaram, where the garrison of the pagoda surrendered on the first summons; and a few hours after, the conjecture which had been made of the enemy's intention was verified by news that they were in full march towards Arcot. The troops were too much fatigued to follow them immediately, but the next day took the same rout; and on their march, a letter was received from the commanding officer at Arcot, advising that they had entered the town, and skirmished against the fort with musketry for several hours, in expectation that the gates would have been opened to them by two officers of the English Sepoys, with whom they had carried on a correspondence; but that the plot had been discovered, and the enemy finding their signals not answered, had quitted the city with precipitation, and it was not yet known what rout they had taken. In this uncertainty it was determined to hasten to Arcot.

The army arrived in sight of Covepauk at sun-set, when the van marching in the high road without suspicion, were fired upon from the right at no greater distance than 250 yards, by nine pieces of cannon. These were the French artillery, posted in a thick grove of mango trees, which had a ditch and a bank in front: the fire did some mischief before it could be either answered or avoided; but luckily there was a water-course at a little distance to the left of the road, in which the infantry were ordered to take shelter, and the baggage to march back half a mile with one of the field pieces and a platoon to defend it; and two field pieces, supported by a platoon of Europeans with 200 Sepoys, were detached to oppose Raja-saheb's cavalry which appeared extending themselves on the plain to the left of the water-course; in the mean time the rest of the artillery, drawn up on the right, answered the enemy's fire from the grove: the French infantry entered the water-course, and advanced along it in a column of six men in front: the English formed in the same order, and a fire was kept up on both sides for two hours, by moon-light, during which neither ventured to come to the push of bayonet. The enemy's cavalry made several unsuccessful



successful attacks both on the party opposed to them, and the baggage in the rear: but their artillery in the grove being answered only by three pieces of cannon, did execution in proportion to this superiority, and either killed or disabled so many of the English gunners that prudence seemed to dictate a retreat, unless their cannon could be taken. Captain Clive did not despair of this last resource, and at ten at night sent one Shawlum, a serjeant, who spoke the country languages, with a few Sepoys, to reconnoitre: he returned and reported that the enemy had posted no guards in the rear of the grove; on which intelligence 200 of the best Europeans and 400 Sepoys were immediately ordered to proceed thither under the command of lieutenant Keene, with Shawlum as their guide. Captain Clive himself accompanied the detachment half way, and on his return found the troops he had left fighting in the water-course so much dispirited by the departure of Keene's detachment, that they were on the point of taking flight, and some had already run away; he, however, not without difficulty, rallied them, and the firing was renewed. In the mean time Keene taking a large circuit, came directly opposite to the rear of the grove, and halted at the distance of 300 yards from it, whilst ensign Symmonds advanced alone to examine the enemy's disposition. This officer had not proceeded far before he came to a deep trench, in which a large body, consisting of all the enemy's Sepoys, whose service had not been demanded in the water-course, were sitting down to avoid the random shots of the fight. They challenged Symmonds, and prepared at first to shoot him, but deceived by his speaking French, suffered him to pass as a French officer; he then went on to the grove, where he perceived, besides the men employed at the guns, 100 Europeans stationed to support them, who only kept a look-out towards the field of battle; and passing in his return at a distance to the right of the trench where he had found the enemy's Sepoys, he rejoined his own detachment; who immediately marched by the same way he had returned, and entering the grove unperceived, gave their fire in a general volley at the distance of 30 yards. It fell heavy, and astonished the enemy so much that they did not return a single shot, but instantly

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abandoned their guns, every man endeavouring to save himself by precipitate flight. Many of them ran into a choultry in the grove, where they were so crowded together that they were not able to make use of their arms. The English drew up before the choultry, and to spare the impending slaughter of their fire, offered quarter, which was accepted with joy, and the Frenchmen coming out one by one, as they were ordered, delivered up their arms, and were made prisoners. The English troops fighting at the water-course were immediately convinced of the success of the detachment, by the sudden silence of the enemy's artillery: but the enemy's infantry remained ignorant of it, and continued the fight, until some of the fugitives from the grove informed them of the disaster, on which they immediately took flight, and their horse dispersed at the same time. The field being thus cleared, the whole army united, and remained under arms until day-break, when they found themselves in possession of nine field pieces, three cohorn mortars, and 60 European prisoners. They likewise counted 50 dead on the field, and not less than 300 Sepoys: for the enemy had exposed these troops more freely than the others. Of the English, 40 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded.

Part of the fugitives took shelter in the neighbouring fort of Covrepauk, which was summoned to surrender; but the governor returned answer, that the troops of Raja-saheb were much more numerous than his garrison, and, contrary to his inclination, intended to defend the fort: a detachment was therefore sent to invest it, but before they arrived the fugitives abandoned it, upon which he submitted.

From hence the troops proceeded to Arcot, and the next day marched towards Veloor, not in expectation of reducing the place, but in hopes that some hostilities would induce Mortiz-ally to pay a contribution, or at least to deliver up the elephants and baggage, which Raja-saheb had deposited in his fort soon after he had raised the siege of Arcot; but before the troops came in sight of Veloor, captain Clive received an order from the presidency of Fort St. David, to repair thither with all his



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force, for it was now determined to send them to Trichinopoly. He therefore changed his rout, and marching across the country, came to the spot where Nazir-jing had been killed: here he found a rising town projected by the vanity of Mr. Dupleix to commemorate that detestable action, and called Dupleix-Fateabad, or the town of Dupleix's victory: it is said, that he was preparing a column, with a pompous inscription in the French, Malabar, Persian, and Hindostan languages, which he intended to erect in the middle of the town, where he had already caused coins struck with symbols of the victory to be buried. The troops did not quit this place until they had razed to the ground all that was erected, after which they proceeded to Fort St. David. During the whole march they nowhere met a single squadron of the enemy's troops. The defeat at Couvrepauk succeeding to their former disgraces, entirely broke their force as well as their spirits: their horse either disbanded, or took service with the governors in the provinces who still acknowledged Chunda-saheb; and the French troops and Sepoys were recalled to Pondicherry, where Mr. Dupleix was so incensed against Raja-saheb, that he would not suffer him for several days to appear in his presence. Thus the English successes in the Carnatic recovered to Mahomed-ally an extent of country 30 miles in breadth and 60 in length, the annual revenues of which, including that of the famous pagoda at Tripaty, amounted to 400,000 pagodas.

Three days after their arrival at Fort St. David, the troops were ready to take the field again under the command of captain Clive, when, on the 15th of March, major Lawrence arrived from England, and two days after put himself at the head of the detachment. It consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, who escorting a large quantity of military stores, marched through the king of Tanjore's country towards Trichinopoly.

Here the Mysoreans and Morattoes were so much displeased with the precaution of captain Gingen, who constantly refused to attack the enemy's posts before he was joined by the expected reinforcement, that the Dalloway of Mysore, distressed by the great expences of his army, had more than once been on the point of returning to his own country: however, him the Nabob appeased, by making over
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1752. the revenues of all the districts which had been recovered since his arrival: but Morari-row was so exasperated by this inactivity, which deprived his troops of opportunities to get plunder, and removed the prospect of more important acquisitions, which he expected from this war, that he meditated defection, and began to treat with Chunda-saheb.

Both armies were equally solicitous of the fate of the approaching reinforcement, and Mr. Dupleix sent repeated orders to Mr. Law, who commanded the French battalion, to intercept them at all events. They arrived on the 26th of March at a fort belonging to the king of Tanjore, within 20 miles of Trichinopoly; where they deposited such part of the stores, as would have retarded their march and embarrassed their operations. The next day proceeding along the high road, which passeth within point blank shot of Coilady, major Lawrence received intelligence that the enemy had posted at this fort a strong party with artillery: on which he ordered his guides to look out for another road; but they, by some mistake, led him within reach of the very spot he wanted to avoid, and the troops were unexpectedly fired upon by six pieces of cannon from across the Caveri. To divert this fire from the baggage, amongst which it created no small confusion, it was answered from the rear division of guns consisting of four field pieces, supported by 100 Europeans, under the command of captain Clive, whilst the line marched on inclining to the left, which direction soon brought them out of the enemy's reach, but not before 20 Europeans were killed. They then halted, and were joined by the rear division, after which they continued their march without meeting any farther interruption, and in the evening halted within 10 miles of Trichinopoly. From hence captain Gingen detached in the night 100 Europeans, with 50 dragoons, who joined the reinforcement before morning; and at day-break captain Dalton was likewise detached from the city with his own company of grenadiers, and another of the battalion, in all 200 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and four field pieces, who were ordered to lay at a rock called the Sugar-loaf, about three miles south of the French rock, from whence they were to join the reinforcement, as soon as it came in sight.

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In the mean time the major advanced towards Elimiserum. This is a rock with a fortified pagoda on the summit, where the French had mounted cannon: it is situated three miles to the south-east of the French rock; and between these two posts the greatest part of the enemy's army were drawn up in order of battle: the rest were in a line which extended from the French rock to the village of Chuckleyapolam by the river side. The major, informed of this disposition made to surround him if he passed to the north of Elimiserum, directed his march to the south of it: and before he came in sight of the enemy, the whole of the confederate troops, employed for the Nabob, were in the field, and by their appearance deterred the enemy from making any detachments to attack the major. At noon, captain Dalton's party, with the Mysoreans and the Nabob's troops, met him half-way between Elimiserum and the sugar-loaf-rock, whilst Morari-row with the Morattoes remained skirmishing faintly with the enemy.

The sun striking excessively hot, the troops were ordered to halt and refresh themselves; but in less than half an hour the scouts came in at full speed, bringing intelligence that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing, and that the fire of their cannon had put the Morattoes to flight: these soon after came up, and forming with the rest of the allies in the rear of the Europeans and Sepoys, followed them slowly at a distance.

Captain Clive having reconnoitered the enemy, reported, that there was a large choultry, with some stone buildings, not far from the front of the French battalion, which they, busied in forming their line, had neglected to take possession of. On this advice he was ordered to proceed with the first division of artillery, supported by the grenadiers, as fast as possible to the choultry, whilst the rest of the column moved up slowly in regular order. The enemy, instead of sending forward a detachment to prevent them, contented themselves with cannonading as their battalion advanced, which had approached within 800 yards of the choultry by the time the English detachment arrived there; and now made a push against their artillery, which was so well pointed, that it kept them at a distance until the rest of the battalion and Sepoys came up. The confederate troops, unwilling to expose their horses to a cannonade, halted at a distance; but those

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of Chunda-saheb, commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, kept close to the rear of the French. A cannonade ensued, the hottest without doubt, for the time it lasted, that had ever been seen on the plains of Indostan; for the French fired from 22 pieces of cannon and the English from nine. Such of the English troops as were not employed at the guns found shelter behind the choultry and the buildings near it, whilst the whole of the enemy's army stood exposed on the open plain, suffering in proportion to this disadvantage. The French battalion in half an hour began to waver, and drew off their guns to a greater distance, upon which the English advanced their artillery, and the men of the battalion who supported them were ordered to sit down with their arms grounded; by which precaution many lives were saved. They still continued to retreat, but Chunda-saheb's cavalry kept their ground for some time, and sustained the cannonade with much more firmness than had ever been observed in the troops of India: they were spirited by the example of their commander, Allum-Khan, whose head was at length taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was encouraging them to advance; on which disaster they gave way and retreated likewise. The Captains Clive and Dalton continuing to advance with the first division of artillery, followed the French, who flung themselves into a great water-course near the French rock, where they were on the point of being enfiladed by a fire that would have made great havock amongst them; when Major Lawrence, satisfied with the advantages that had been gained, and unwilling to expose the men to more fatigue under such a burning sun, ordered the pursuit to cease. Seven men of the battalion were struck dead by the heat, and 14 were killed or disabled by the cannonade. The French lost about 40 men, and 300 of Chunda-saheb's troops, with 285 horses and an elephant, were found dead on the plain. The success of this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops behaved with common activity, instead of which they remained at a distance idle spectators, nor could they be prevailed on to make a single charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Morari-row, who being at this time in treaty with Chunda-saheb, was unwilling to bring his Morat-

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toes to action; and such was the opinion entertained of their courage, that none of the rest of the allies would venture to fight without them.

Major Lawrence continuing his march, arrived in the evening at Tritchinopoly, and the next day conferred with the Nabob and the other generals on the plan of their future operations: they concurred in opinion that a general attack should be made without delay on the enemy's camp; but when the time was to be fixed, he found both Moors and Indians so attached to lucky and unlucky days, that several were likely to be lost before they would agree in the notion of a fortunate hour, without which none of them thought it safe to risk an engagement. In the mean time, thinking it not prudent to suffer the enemy to recover from the impression which they had received on the day of his arrival, he determined to attempt as much against them as could be executed with his own force; and perceiving that the French posts were too strongly fortified to be carried without the assistance of the whole army, he resolved to attack the camp of Chunda-saheb, which extended along the river without entrenchments. On the 1st of April at night, captain Dalton, with 400 men, was ordered to march, and, by taking a large circuit, to come in at the eastern extremity of the enemy's camp, which he was to enter, beat up, and set fire to. The English troops, from their long inactivity, knew so little of the ground about Tritchinopoly, that they were obliged to trust to Indian guides; and these being ordered to conduct them out of the reach of the enemy's advanced posts, fell into the other extreme, and led them several miles out of their way, and through such bad roads, that when the morning star appeared, they found themselves between Elimiserum and the French rock, two miles from Chunda-saheb's camp, and in the center of all their posts. The approach of day not only rendered it impossible to surprize the enemy, as was intended, but likewise exposed the party, if they persisted, to the danger of being surrounded by their whole force: it was therefore determined to march back without delay to Tritchinopoly. The French discovered them as they were retreating, and guessing at the intention for which they had been sent, thought themselves no longer safe to the south of the Caveri, and took the resolution of retreating that very day to the pagodas on the island.



1752. Chunda-saheb strenuously opposed this resolution, for which indeed there appeared no necessity; but finding that he could not prevail on Mr. Law to alter it, he gave orders for his own troops to cross the river likewise. The retreat, as is usual when measures have not been previously concerted, was made with so much precipitation, that his army had time to transport only a part of their baggage, but none of the vast quantity of provisions with which they had stored their magazines; these they therefore set fire to. The French carrying off their artillery, abandoned all their posts excepting Elimiserum, and before the next morning the whole army was on the island, where Mr. Law took up his quarters in the pagoda of Jumbakisna; of Chunda-saheb's troops some went into the pagoda of Seringham, others encamped under the northern wall, and the rest extended farther eastward along the bank of the Coleroon.

The next day, captain Dalton was sent with the company of grenadiers, some Morattoes and Sepoys, to attack Elimiserum: the party had with them two pieces of cannon and a mortar, the transporting of which through bad roads prevented them from arriving near the place before night, when captain Dalton with two others advanced to reconnoitre. Discovering no centinels, and finding the gate of the wall which surrounds the foot of the rock open, they concluded that the place was abandoned, and entering, began to ascend the steps which led to the pagoda on the summit; but before they got there, the enemy alarmed by the neighing of the horses, ran to their guns and fired upon the detachment, which they discovered, first by the light of their matches, and soon after by the blaze of some huts to which the Morattoes, as is their custom, had set fire. The smoke of the guns, and the darkness of the night, enabled captain Dalton and his companions to retreat unperceived; and as soon as he rejoined the detachment, he sent some men to lodge themselves under cover of a bank before the lower gate, where they were directed to remain until morning, in order to prevent the enemy from making their escape. But this party, desirous of signaling themselves, imprudently exceeded their orders, and entering the lower gate, ran up the steps, and endeavoured to force the doors of the pagoda above; where they were received with a smart fire, which
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soon obliged them to retreat with five Europeans and ten Sepoys wounded. A reinforcement was immediately sent to take charge of the bank, and all remained quiet until morning, when the enemy perceiving that preparations were making to bombard them, surrendered. Fifteen Europeans, thirty Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, one of them a fine 18 pounder, were found here; the smaller piece of cannon, with some Sepoys, were left to garrison this post; the rest returned with the other gun to Trichinopoly, which was presented to the Nabob as the first which had been taken during the campaign. Two days after the grenadiers, who had always behaved with the spirit peculiar to this class of soldiers, gained another advantage. The great men of the allied army complained, that they were much disturbed in their daily ablutions in the Caveri, by a gun which fired from a choultry lying half-way between the pagoda of Seringham and the river. Captain Dalton was sent to attack this post, who concealed his men behind an old wall on the bank of the river, where they waited till near noon, when the great heat of the sun induced a part of the enemy's guard to return to the camp, and the rest to retire into the choultry to sleep: the grenadiers then rushed across the river, which was fordable, and entered the post with so much rapidity that they took the gun before the enemy had time to fire it more than once: it was brought away without any opposition, for some field pieces had been sent to the river-side to cover the retreat.

Events of such a nature as the attacks of Elimiserum and the choultry, as well as several others, which appear in the course of this work, would have no influence in such sanguinary wars as most writers have only thought worthy of their attention: and these details may therefore by many be deemed equally tiresome and superfluous; but the stress of this Indian war lying on the European allies, who rarely have exceeded a thousand men on a side, the actions of a single platoon in India may have the same influence on the general success, as the conduct of a whole regiment in Europe: and to give a just idea of the superiority of European arms, when opposed to those of Indostan, is one of the principal intentions of this narrative. The new activity which began to appear in the English battalion, induced Morari-row to relinquish his correspondence with

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Chunda-säheb, and impressed the enemy with terrors equal to those which they had formerly raised both in the English and the Nabob's army: there seemed to be no sense in their councils. The whole Carnatic lay before them, and by retreating into it they might protract the war until the want of money should decide the contest; but instead of taking this step, they suffered themselves to be captivated by the apparent strength of the two pagodas, and determined to stand their ground in them, notwithstanding that, by the destruction of their magazines, they were already reduced to the necessity of fetching their provisions from a great distance: they were afraid to fight, and ashamed to retreat.

At the same time nothing but a resolution justified by very few examples, and bordering in appearance on rashness, seemed capable of putting a speedy end to the war, of which the expences had now greatly distressed the East India company's mercantile affairs. The intimacy and confidence with which major Lawrence distinguished capt. Clive, permitted this officer to suggest to him the resolution of dividing the army into two bodies, and detaching one of these under his command to the north of the Coleroon, whilst the other remained to the south of the Caveri: this was risking the whole to gain the whole; for if the enemy should overpower one of these bodies, by attacking it with their whole force, the Nabob's affairs would again be reduced to the brink of ruin; and if they neglected or failed in this attempt, they would infallibly be ruined themselves. The proposal, hardy as it was, was adopted by the major without any hesitation; and with a spirit of equity rarely possessed by competitors for glory, he was so far from taking umbrage at the author of this masterly advice, that he determined in his own mind to give him the command of the separate body, although he refrained from declaring his intention until he could reconcile it to the rest of the captains in the battalion, who were all of them his superiors in rank; but the scheme was no sooner proposed to the Nabob and the generals of the alliance, than the Morattoes and Mysoreans removed the difficulty, by declaring that they would not make any detachments of their troops if they were to be commanded by any other person. It was necessary to reduce the posts of which the enemy were in possession to the north of the Coleroon: to intercept the reinforcements which might come from Pondicherry



cherry through the streights of Utatoor; and above all, that captain Clive's division should not be out of the reach of a forced march from the rest of the army encamped near Trichinopoly, lest the whole of the enemy's force should fall upon him before major Lawrence could move to his assistance. It was therefore determined to chuse such a central situation between the streights of Utatoor and the Coleroon as would best answer all these intentions. Every thing being settled, captain Clive began his march in the night of the 6th of April with 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3000 Morattoes under the command of Innis-Khan, 1000 of the Tanjorine horse, and eight pieces of artillery, two of which were battering cannon, and six of them field pieces. To conceal their march, they crossed over into the island three miles to the eastward of Jumbakistna. The number of deep water-courses which intersected this part of it, rendered the transporting of the cannon difficult and laborious; and whilst the Europeans were employed at one of the water-courses, a body of the enemy's Sepoys, returning from Coilady with a convoy of oxen laden with provisions, came up, intending to pass at the same place; and before they could retreat, received two or three volleys, which killed several of them.

The troops having passed the Coleroon before morning, proceeded seven miles to the north of it, and took possession of the village of Samiavaram, in which are two pagodas about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, one on each side of the high road leading to Utatoor: these were allotted for the quarters of the Europeans and Sepoys; ravelins were immediately flung up before the gates, and a redoubt capable of receiving all the cannon was constructed to command the road to the north and south. The Morattoes and Tanjorines encamped round the pagodas.

Whilst the army were employed in these works, a party from Seringham took possession of Munsurpet, a pagoda situated near the high road between Pitchandah and Samiavaram. It commanded a view of the country several miles; which advantage, joined to that of its situation, rendered it the best advanced post that could be chosen by either side; a detachment was therefore immediately sent to dislodge the enemy, who defended themselves all day, killing an officer, three Europeans,

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and 10 Sepoys, and in the night made their escape to Pitchandah undiscovered,

The next day a party of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, were detached to attack Lalguddy, a mud fort situated about seven miles to the east of Seringham, close to the bank of the Coleroon, and opposite to the eastern part of the enemy's late encampment to the south of the Caveri. They kept a garrison of Sepoys here, intending to make it an intermediate magazine of provisions, which were to be brought from hence to their camp on the island as opportunity offered. The Sepoys attacking the fort by escalade, carried it after a faint resistance, and found here a quantity of grain sufficient for ten thousand men for two months.

Mr. Dupleix, against whose orders Mr. Law had retreated to the north of the Caveri, was much alarmed at the critical situation to which the army of Chunda-saheb and his own troops were reduced. He, however, with his usual perseverance and activity, determined to make the greatest efforts he was able to reinforce them; and immediately on receiving news that captain Clive was encamped at Samiavaram, detached 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and four field pieces, with a large convoy of provisions and stores. This party was led by Mr. D'Auteuil, who was empowered to take the command from Mr. Law. They arrived on the 14th of April at Utatoor, and intended, by making a large circuit to the west of Samiavaram, to gain in the night the bank of the Coleroon. The fate of the two armies depended in a great measure upon the success or miscarriage of this convoy and reinforcement. Captain Clive apprized of Mr. D'Auteuil's intention, set out the same night with the greatest part of his force to intercept him; but Mr. D'Auteuil receiving advice of his approach, immediately turned back and regained the fort; on which captain Clive returned with the utmost expedition to Samiavaram, where he arrived in the morning. In the afternoon, Mr. Law got intelligence of his march, without hearing of his return, which could not naturally be suspected, as Utatoor is 13 miles from Samiavaram: he therefore, as soon as it was dark, detached 80 Europeans, and 700 Sepoys,

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to attack the few troops he imagined to be remaining there: of these men forty were English deserters. This party arrived near the camp at midnight, when one of their spies informed the commanding officer that the troops which had marched against Mr. D'Auteuil were returned; but he, imputing the information either to cowardice or treachery, gave no credit to the spy, and proceeded; they were challenged by the advanced guard of English Sepoys, on which the officer of the deserters, an Irishman, stepped out and told them, that he was sent by major Lawrence to reinforce captain Clive: and the rest of the deserters speaking English likewise, confirmed the assertion, and persuaded the Sepoys so fully, that they omitted the usual precaution of asking the counter word, which would certainly have discovered the stratagem; and sent one of their body to conduct the enemy to the headquarters. They continued their march through a part of the Morattoo camp, without giving or receiving any disturbance until they came to the lesser pagoda. Here they were challenged by the centinels, and by others who were posted in a neighbouring choultry to the north of it, in which captain Clive lay asleep. They returned the challenge by a volley into each place, and immediately entered the pagoda, putting all they met to the sword. Captain Clive starting out of his sleep, and not conceiving it possible that the enemy could have advanced into the center of his camp, imputed the firing to his own Sepoys, alarmed by some attack at the skirts of the camp: he however ran to the upper pagoda, where the greatest part of his Europeans were quartered, who having likewise taken the alarm, were under arms; and he immediately returned with 200 of them to the choultry. Here he now discovered a large body of Sepoys drawn up facing the south, and firing at random. Their position, which looked towards the enemy's camp, joined to their confusion, confirmed him in his conjecture that they were his own troops, who had taken some unnecessary alarm. In this supposition he drew up his Europeans within 20 yards of their rear, and then going alone amongst them, ordered the firing to cease, upbraiding some with the panic he supposed them to have taken, and even striking others. At length one of the Sepoys, who understood a little of the French language, discovering that he was an Englishman, attacked and wounded him.



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him in two places with his sword; but finding himself on the point of being overpowered, ran away to the lower pagoda: captain Clive, exasperated at this insolence from a man whom he imagined to be in his own service, followed him to the gate, where, to his great surprize, he was accosted by six Frenchmen: his usual presence of mind did not fail him in this critical occasion, but suggesting to him all that had happened, he told the Frenchmen, with great composure, that he was come to offer them terms; and if they would look out, they would perceive the pagoda surrounded by his whole army, who were determined to give no quarter if any resistance was made. The firmness with which these words were delivered, made such an impression, that three of the Frenchmen ran into the pagoda to carry this intelligence, whilst the other three surrendered their arms to captain Clive, and followed him towards the choultry, whither he hastened, intending to order the Europeans to attack the body of Sepoys, whom he now first knew to be enemies; but these had already discovered the danger of their situation, and had marched out of the reach of the Europeans, who imagining that they did this in obedience to captain Clive's orders, made no motion to interrupt or attack them. Soon after, eight Frenchmen, who had been sent from the pagoda to reconnoître, fell in with the English troops, and were made prisoners; and these, with the other three which captain Clive had taken, were delivered to the charge of a serjeant's party, who not knowing, in this time of darkness and confusion, that the enemy were in possession of the lower pagoda, carried them thither; and on delivering them to the guard, found out their error; but such was also the confusion of the French in the pagoda, that they suffered the serjeant and his party to return unmolested. The rest of the English troops had now joined the others, and captain Clive imagining that the enemy would never have attempted so desperate an enterprize without supporting it with their whole army, deemed it absolutely necessary to storm the pagoda before the troops who were in it could receive any assistance. One of the two folding doors of the gateway had for some time been taken down to be repaired, and the other was strongly stapled down, so that the remaining part of
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the entrance would admit only two men abreast: the English soldiers made the attack, and continued it for some time with great resolution; but the deserters within fought desperately, and killed an officer and fifteen men, on which the attack was ordered to cease until day-break; and in the mean time such a disposition was made as might prevent those in the pagoda from escaping, and at the same time oppose any other body which might come to their relief. At day-break the commanding officer of the French seeing the danger of his situation, made a sally at the head of his men, who received so heavy a fire, that he himself, with twelve others who first came out of the gateway were killed by the volley; on which the rest ran back into the pagoda. Captain Clive then advanced into the porch of the gate to parly with the enemy, and being weak with the loss of blood, and fatigue, stood with his back to the wall of the porch, and leaned, stooping forward, on the shoulders of two serjeants. The officer of the English deserters presented himself with great insolence, and telling captain Clive with abusive language, that he would shoot him, fired his musket. The ball missed him, but went through the bodies of both the serjeants on whom he was leaning, and they both fell mortally wounded. The Frenchmen had hitherto defended the pagoda in compliance with the English deserters, but thinking it necessary to disavow such an outrage which might exclude them from any pretensions to quarter, their officer immediately surrendered. By this time the body of the enemy's Sepoys had passed out of the camp with as little interruption as they had entered it; but orders having been sent to the Morattoes to pursue them, Innis-Khan with all his men mounted at day-break, and came up with them in the open plain before they gained the bank of the Coleroon. The Sepoys no sooner perceived them than they flung away their arms, and attempted to save themselves by dispersing; but the Morattoes, who never figure so much as in these cruel exploits; exerted themselves with such activity, that, according to their own report, not a single man of 700 escaped alive; it is certain that none of them ever appeared to contradict this assertion. Besides the escapes already mentioned, captain Clive had another, which was not discovered until the hurry of the day was over, when it was found that the volley which the enemy fired into the

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choultry where he was sleeping had shattered a box that lay under his feet, and killed a servant who lay close to him.

Pitchandah and Utatoor were now the only posts which the enemy held to the north of the Coleroon, but they were in possession of Coilady, which commands the eastern extremity of the island; and lest Mr. Law should attempt to force his way on this side, major Lawrence detached Monack-jee the general of the Tanjorines to take it; and to the south of the Caveri, where the enemy had no posts, a line of troops were disposed, which extended five miles on each side of the city of Trichinopoly.

Monack-jee on the 26th of April took Coilady, and the enemy losing here their last magazine of provisions, became every day more and more distressed; but the hopes of being joined by Mr. D'Auteuil kept up their spirits, and prevented them from making any attempts to get out of the island: he still remained at Utatoor watching some opportunity to make his way good to Seringham: it was therefore determined to attack him; but as the late attempt on Samiavaram shewed the necessity of keeping the army there intire, major Lawrence resolved to send a party from his own division on this service. Accordingly captain Dalton on the 9th of May crossed the rivers in the night with 150 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 500 Morattoes, and four field pieces, one of them a 12 pounder; and halting some hours at Samiavaram, arrived at five the next evening at a choultry within two miles of Utatoor, where he intended to pass the night, as the troops were much fatigued. There was at some distance in front of the choultry a village, which appearing a proper post for an advanced guard, some dragoons were sent to reconnoitre it, who discovered that the enemy had already taken possession of it; on which a party of Europeans and Sepoys were sent to dislodge them; this they effected with so much ease, that, flushed with their success, they pursued the enemy beyond the village, until they came in sight of Mr. D'Auteuil marching out of Utatoor, who, instead of waiting to attack with his whole force, sent forward a party to fall upon the English whilst they were forming; a skirmish ensued, and the enemy was repulsed; but the English officer being mortally wounded, the



the detachment retreated to the village, where they remained, and sustained the fire of the enemy's cannon until the rest of the troops came up. It was almost dusk, and captain Dalton concluding that the enemy might be deceived in their opinion of his strength, and mistake it for the whole of captain Clive's force, ventured to divide his men into two bodies, who marched to attack each flank of the enemy's line, whilst a few Europeans left with the guns near the village cannonaded them in front. Mr. D'Auteuil no sooner perceived this disposition than it suggested to him the opinion it was intended to produce, and he retreated with great precipitation, pursued within a few yards of the walls of Utatoor: the English were on the point of getting possession of one of his guns, when they were obliged to halt and face about, to defend themselves against the enemy's cavalry, who taking advantage of the dusk of the evening, had made a circuit, and appeared unexpectedly in their rear. The Morattoes however galloping in, flung themselves between, and the two bodies of cavalry remained some time firing carabines and pistols, until one of the English 6 pounders came up, which after a few shot decided the contest, and obliged the enemy's horse to retreat; the Morattoes then charged them sword in hand, and drove them into the fort; but not without suffering themselves; for several of them returned much wounded. The English fired at the fort from the rocks which are close to the walls until eight o'clock, when they retreated back to the choultry, leaving an advanced guard of Europeans at the village, and 200 Morattoes, who promised to patrol all night, and give immediate information if the enemy should make any motion to abandon the fort.

Mr. D'Auteuil continuing in his mistake concerning the force which was come against him, no sooner found that they had returned to the choultry, than he quitted the fort with all his troops, and marched away to Volcondah, leaving behind in the hurry a great quantity of military stores and ammunition, as well as refreshments intended for the officers of Mr. Law's army. The Morattoes performed the duty they had undertaken with so little vigilance, that captain Dalton did not hear of the enemies retreat until two in the morning, when it was too late to pursue



1752. them : he, however, marched to the fort, and took possession of the stores which the enemy had left in it.

Mr. Law received no intelligence of captain Dalton's march across the rivers ; but the next morning discovering from the spire of Seringham, the detachment proceeding from Samiavaram towards Utatoor, imagined it to be a part of captain Clive's army ; and on this supposition crossed the Coleroon with all his Europeans and Sepoys, and a large body of cavalry. Captain Clive immediately marched to meet him with all his force, excepting the guards necessary to defend the approaches to his camp, and came in sight of the enemy just as their rear had crossed the river. Mr. Law, startled at the appearance of a force which so much exceeded his expectation, halted and formed his troops in a strong situation along the bank of the river. Both armies remained in order of battle until evening, each having advantages which the other respected too much to venture to attack. Some skirmishes passed between the advanced Sepoys, and in the night the French recrossed the river.

Captain Dalton remained two days at Utatoor, when he received orders to rejoin major Lawrence ; but by this time the Coleroon was so much swelled as to be impassable, and the troops at Samiavaram were preparing to avail themselves of this opportunity to attack the enemy's post of Pitchandah, which could receive no succours from the island till the waters subsided : he therefore, to forward this service, put his detachment under captain Clive's command ; and to prevent the disputes which might arise from the superiority of his rank, resolved to act himself as a volunteer. On the 14th at night the army moved down to the river-side.

There runs along the northern bank of the Coleroon, from Pitchandah to the ground opposite the great pagoda of Seringham, a large mound of earth 50 feet broad at the top, thrown up by the people of the country to resist the current of the river, [which in this part sets strongly from the opposite shore whenever the waters rise. The enemy's camp on the island lay opposite and within cannon-shot of this mound ; it was therefore determined to employ the artillery against them until the battery against Pitchandah could be finished. Every common soldier in an Indian



Indian army is accompanied either by a wife or a concubine; the officers have several, and the generals whole seraglio's: besides these the army is encumbered by a number of attendants and servants exceeding that of the fighting men; and to supply the various wants of this enervated multitude, dealers, pedlars, and retailers of all sorts, follow the camp; to whom a separate quarter is allotted, in which they daily exhibit their different commodities in greater quantities and with more regularity than in any fair in Europe; all of them sitting on the ground in a line with their merchandises exposed before them, and sheltered from the sun by a mat supported by sticks.

The next morning, the 15th, at sun-rise, six pieces of cannon began to fire upon the camp from embrasures cut through the top of the mound which sheltered them from the guns of Pitchandah. This unexpected annoyance soon created the greatest confusion: the enemy began immediately to strike their tents, and every one to remove every thing that was either valuable or dear to him: elephants, camels, oxen and horses, mingled with men, women and children affrighted and making lamentable outcries at the destruction which fell around them, pressed to get out of the reach of it in such a hurry as only served to retard their flight: however, in two hours not a tent was standing. The crowd first moved between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakistna, towards the bank of the Caveri, and from this side they were fired on by the guns of Trichinopoly: they then hurried to the eastward of Jumbakistna, where finding themselves out of the reach of danger, they began to set up their tents again. The garrison of Pitchandah attempted to interrupt the cannonade; and finding that their artillery had no effect to dismount the English guns covered by the mound, they made a sally to seize them, but had not proceeded far before they received the fire of a detachment, which captain Clive had taken the precaution to post in the way they were coming; and this instantly drove them back again, not without some loss.

During the rest of the day, the English troops were employed in erecting the battery in a ruined village, about 200 yards to the north of Pitchandah. The pagoda, like most others on the coast of Coromandel, is a square, of which the gateways projecting beyond the walls,



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walls, flank the angles: the French had 70 Europeans, 200 Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon in the place. The attack began the next morning at day-break, from two pieces of battering cannon, which fired from embrasures cut through the wall of a brick house; the shock soon brought down the wall, and left the artillery-men for some time exposed; but a large body of Sepoys being ordered to keep a constant fire on the parapet, the enemy were very cautious in making use either of their small arms or cannon. Some time after one of the English guns burst, and killed three Europeans, and wounded captain Dalton; the breach nevertheless was made practicable by four in the afternoon, when it was determined to storm the breach and escalate the walls at the same time. The enemy seeing the preparations for the assault, were discouraged, and beat the chamade. The Sepoys mistaking this signal of surrender for a defiance, fired a volley, which killed the drummer, and then giving a shout, ran to plant the colours on the breach. This motion was so rapid and unexpected, that they got to the top of it before any of the English officers were able to come up and inform them of their mistake, which they were unluckily confirmed in by the behaviour of some of the garrison, who drew up as fast as they could to defend themselves. A body of Europeans immediately marched after them, with orders to repress their violences, even by firing upon them, if necessary: but they did not arrive before the Sepoys had killed several of the garrison, and struck such a terror, that 15 Frenchmen jumped over the walls into the Coleroon, where they were drowned. The rest surrendered to the Europeans, whose presence preserved them from another risque equal to that which they had just escaped: for the Morattoes, seeing the Sepoys in motion, imagined that they would carry off all the plunder of the place; and resolving to have a share of it themselves, they mounted and galloped up sword in hand to the breach: and several of them even rode up to the top of it. The enemy's army on the island were spectators of the whole attack, and fired, to very little effect, a great number of random shot at the village in which the English were posted.

By the reduction of Pitchandah, the enemy's communications with the country to the north of the Coleroon were intirely cut off, and their

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Indian camp became again exposed to a cannonade. The dread of this, and of the many other distresses which straitened the army more closely every day, determined the greatest part of Chunda-saheb's officers to quit his service; and they went in a body and informed him of this resolution. He heard it with great temper, and instead of reproaching them for deserting him, said, that if they had not prevented him, he should of himself have proposed what they desired; that although he was not able to discharge the whole of their arrears, they might be assured he would punctually acquit himself of all his obligations whensoever his better fortune should return; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he offered to deliver up to them the greatest part of his elephants, camels, horses, and other military effects, which they received at a valuation in part of what he was indebted to them.

The next day these officers sent messengers to the confederates, some offering to take service, others desiring to pass through their posts: but the Indian allies, who had for some time regarded the whole of the enemy's baggage as a booty which could not escape them, hesitated to comply with their request; and the Morattoes particularly, who scarcely rate the life of a man at the value of his turban, were averse to the granting of any terms which might hinder them from exerting their labours to get the spoil, being persuaded that, if hostilities were carried on to extremity, their activity would acquire much the largest share of it. The English frustrated these cruel intentions, by determining to give their own passports, if the rest of the allies persisted in refusing; upon which they consented to give theirs likewise.

Accordingly flags were planted on the banks of the Caveri and Coleeroon, as a signal to the enemy's troops that they might pass over in security. Two thousand of Chunda-saheb's best horse, and 1500 Sepoys, joined captain Clive at Samiavaram; others went to the Mysoreans; very few to the Nabob: the troops of Morawa and Madura, and other independent bodies, returned into their own countries. On the 4th day not a tent was standing in the island; and there remained with Chunda-saheb no more than 2000 horse and 3000 foot, who took shelter in the pagoda.



1752. pagoda of Seringham : amongst the foot were 1000 Rajpouts, who, from a motive of religion, undertook to defend the inward temples against all intruders. The French battalion, with 2000 Sepoys, shut themselves up in Jumbakistna, giving out, as is the custom of that nation, that they intended to defend themselves to the last extremity. They preferred this to the other pagoda, because its outward wall was in a better condition, and its smaller extent better proportioned to the number of their troops.

The artillery of Trichinopoly and the allied army furnishing no more than three pieces of battering cannon, a train was ordered from Devi Cotah ; and to lose no opportunity of increasing the enemy's distresses before it arrived, major Lawrence on the 18th of May, the same day that the French withdrew into the pagoda, quitted his post at Chuckleya-pollam, and encamping opposite to it on the island, immediately threw up an entrenchment from one river to the other : at the same time Monack-jee with the Tanjorines moving from the eastward, took possession of Chuckleya-pollam ; and the army at Samiavaram quitting that post, encamped along the northern bank of the Coleroon. The Mysoreans remained, as before, to the west of the city.

But although the obstacles which now surrounded the enemy were difficult to be overcome, they were not absolutely insurmountable. The troops in Jumbakistna outnumbered those in the major's camp two to one, and both the rivers swelling often at this season of the year, Mr. Law might force his way through it before any succours could come from the main land : if successful in this attempt, he might, as soon as the rivers began to fall, cross the Caveri at some pass farther to the eastward, before captain Clive's division would be able to pass the Coleroon, as this being the deeper channel, does not become fordable again so soon as the other : he might then by hasty marches make his way good to Karical, harrassed indeed in his rout by Mysoreans and Morattoes, who, unsupported by the English troops, would probably make few vigorous efforts against a compact body of European infantry provided with a well-appointed train of artillery : but such a plan implied an option of difficulties not to be expected from troops dispirited



by ill success, and commanded by officers of no great talents; nor does it appear that the French ever entertained any thoughts of carrying it into execution. They flattered themselves in their irresolute councils, that Mr. D'Auteuil would make his way good into the island, notwithstanding this attempt was now become more difficult than ever; and they hoped, with the supplies he was bringing, to protract the defence of the pagoda to the end of June, at which time ships were expected at Pondicherry with a considerable reinforcement of troops from France; however, for fear of the worst, Mr. Law determined to take such measures as he thought would place the person of Chunda-sahib out of danger.

Deserters informing the English how much the enemy's future resolutions depended on the arrival of Mr. D'Auteuil's convoy, it was determined to make another attempt against that reinforcement; but as it was reported that they were in possession of all the fortifications at Vol-kondah, it was thought necessary, if possible, to bring the governor over to the Nabob's interest. A letter was written to him full of promises: the man changing sides with fortune, answered, that although he had permitted Mr. D'Auteuil to take up his quarters in the pettah, he had not suffered him to take possession either of the stone fort, or the fortifications of the rock; and that if any troops were sent to attack the French, he would assist to destroy them. About the same time Mr. D'Auteuil, pressed by the repeated solicitations of Mr. Law, quitted Vol-kondah, and to conceal some other plan gave out that he intended to retake the fort of Utatoor. Such an opportunity of attacking him was more to be relied on than the promises of the governor, and captain Clive marched against him without delay.

He left a strong garrison in Pitchandah, and in his camp a number of troops sufficient, by well contrived dispositions, to prevent Mr. Law from suspecting the absence of the force he took with him, which consisted of 100 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and 2000 Morattoe horse, with six field pieces. They set out on the 27th of May in the evening, and arrived before morning at Utatoor, where they shut themselves up in the fort all

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that day and the ensuing night, in hopes that Mr. D'Auteuil would inadvertently come near enough to give them an opportunity of falling upon him on the plain before he could regain Vol-kondah. He did indeed advance within seven miles of Utatoor; but either from some rumour, or suspicion, his courage failed him on a sudden, and he took the resolution of returning in great haste to the place from whence he came. Captain Clive was no sooner informed of his retreat than he set out in pursuit of him, and early in the morning sent the Morattoes before, instructing them to keep their main body out of fight, and to endeavour to harraß and retard the enemy's march with small parties, such as might be mistaken for detachments sent only in quest of plunder, and prevent them from suspecting any thing more. Some of them came up with the enemy in the afternoon, within a league of Vol-kondah, and amused Mr. D'Auteuil so well, that he, hoping to entice them within reach of his fire, wasted some time in making evolutions; but greater numbers coming in sight, he began to suspect the stratagem, and forming his men in a column with two field pieces in front, retreated. By this time the whole body of Morattoes came up and hovered round him until he reached Vol-kondah, where he drew up between the mud wall of the pettah and the river Valarru, which was almost dry. Soon after the Sepoys, who formed the van of the English column, appeared outmarching the Europeans at a great rate; 600 of them had, in the enemy's service, stormed the breaches at the assault of Arcot, and having since that time been employed in the English service in several actions under the command of captain Clive, entertained no small opinion of their own prowess when supported by a body of Europeans. These men no sooner came within cannon-shot of the enemy, than they ran precipitately to attack them, without regarding any order. They received the fire of the enemy's cannon, and musketry, which killed many of them, but did not check the rest from rushing on to the push of bayonet. The Morattoes, animated by such an example, galloped across the river, and charging the flanks, increased the confusion, which the Sepoys had made in the center. The attack was too general and impetuous to be long resisted, and the enemy retired hastily through the barrier into the pettah, where



where they began to make resistance again by firing over the mud wall. By this time the Europeans came up, and assailing the barrier, soon forced their way and put the enemy to flight a second time, who now ran to take shelter in the stone fort, where the governor, according to his promise, shut the gate; but some of them getting over the walls with scaling ladders, in an unguarded part, opened the gate, in spite of the garrison, and let in their fellow fugitives. This passed whilst the English troops, cautious of dispersing in a place they were not acquainted with, were forming to follow them in order, and soon after the field pieces began to fire upon the gate, whilst the musketry under shelter of the houses deterred the enemy from appearing on the ramparts. Mr. D'Auteuil therefore, as the last resource, attempted to get into the fortifications of the adjacent rock; but the governor, who was there in person, sent him word, that if he persisted in using any violence he would fire into the fort. In this perplexity, which the night increased, he consulted his officers, who unanimously agreed to surrender. The white flag was hung out, and the terms were soon settled. It was agreed, that the deserters should be pardoned, that the French commissioned officers should not serve against the Nabob for 12 months, and the private men remain prisoners of war at his discretion. The whole party consisted of 100 Europeans, of which 35 were English deserters, 400 Sepoys, and 340 horse. Their artillery was only three pieces of cannon, but there was found in the pettah three large magazines, which, besides a variety of other military stores, contained 800 barrels of gun-powder and 3000 muskets. It was known that Mr. D'Auteuil had with him a large sum of money, but he secreted great part of it amongst his own baggage, which he was permitted to carry away without examination: the troops on both sides embezzled part of the remainder: so that only 50,000 rupees were regularly taken possession of for the use of the captors; whose booty, exclusive of the military stores, which were reserved for the Company, amounted to 10,000 pounds sterling: the horsemen and Sepoys were, as usual, disarmed and set at liberty, and captain Clive returned to his camp with the rest of the prisoners.

The French at Jumbakistna were apprized of the march of the troops to intercept Mr. D'Auteuil, and had before received from him such a description of the difficulties which obstructed his passage as destroyed the hopes they had too fondly entertained of this resource; their provisions likewise began to fail. The straits to which they were reduced had for some time been foreseen by Chunda-saheb, and he had often represented to Mr. Law the necessity of making a vigorous effort to extricate themselves; but finding that his remonstrances were not heeded, the usual steadiness of his mind began to fail him, and he gave way to an anxiety, which increasing with the prospect of his distresses, greatly impaired his health. At the same time Mr. Law was not a little solicitous about the safety of a person of such great importance, whom his own irresolute conduct had brought into the dangers which now surrounded him. He thought, and perhaps justly, that if Chunda-saheb should be obliged to surrender, the Nabob would never agree to spare the life of his rival; and from the prejudices of national animosity, he concluded that if the English got him into their power, they would not withhold him from the Nabob's resentment: he therefore suggested to his ally the necessity of attempting to make his escape, by bribing some chief of the confederate army to permit him to pass through his quarters. Chunda-saheb, sensible of his desperate situation, consented to try his desperate remedy, forced by the severity of his fate to make an option on which his life depended, when every choice presented almost equal danger. The Nabob was out of the question; the Myforeans he knew would make use of him as a means to oblige the Nabob to fulfil the agreements he had made with them, and the Morattoes would sell him to the highest bidder of the two: the Polygars were not strong enough, nor were their troops situated conveniently to favour his escape. There remained the Tanjorines; these had formerly received injuries from Chunda-saheb, and more lately had seen their capital besieged by him; so that had their troops been commanded by the king in person, it would have been as absurd to repose a confidence in them as in any other of the allies: but it was known that their general Monack-jee was at open variance with the prime minister, who had on
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all occasions prevented the king from distinguishing him with those marks of gratitude his military services deserved. It was therefore thought not impracticable to separate the interests of the general from those of his sovereign; and this feeble glimmering ray of hope was followed, only because no other presented itself.

Monack-jee received the overture, and carried on the correspondence with so much address and seeming complacence, as induced Mr. Law and Chunda-saheb to think they had gained him over to their interest: a large sum of money was paid, and much more, with every other advantage he thought proper to stipulate, promised: but the hour Chunda-saheb was to deliver himself into his hands was not fixed, when on the 31st of May the battering cannon arrived from Devi Cotah, and Mr. Law received a summons to surrender at discretion. Monack-jee now acting as a friend, sent at the same time a message advising Chunda-saheb to come over to him that very night, since, if he delayed to make his escape before the English advanced nearer the pagodas, which they were preparing to batter, his passage to Chuckleya-pollam, would afterwards be subject to infinite risques.

In order therefore to prevent the English from taking any suspicions of this important resolution before it was carried into effect, Mr. Law, not unagaciously, made use of the highest spirit of rodomontade in his answer to major Lawrence. He talked of defending the pagoda until the last extremity, unless he was permitted to march away with all the troops under his command wherever he pleased; insisting likewise, that no search should be made after any person under his colours. On these conditions he was willing to deliver up one half of his artillery.

As soon as it was night, Mr. Law himself repaired privately to Monack-jee's quarters, where, amongst other precautions, he demanded, that a considerable hostage should be delivered before Chunda-saheb put himself into Monack-jee's power. To this the Tajorine answered with great calmness, that if any intentions of treachery were entertained, no hostage would be a check to them; and that by giving one, the secret would be divulged, and the escape rendered impracticable. He, however, took an oath, the most sacred of all to an Indian soldier, on his sabre and poniard, wishing they might be turned to his own



own destruction if he failed in his engagements, which were to send away Chunda-saheb as soon as he came into his quarters, with an escort of horse, to the French settlement of Karical. At the same time a Tanjorine officer assured Mr. Law that he was appointed to command the escort, and shewed the pallankin and other preparations which were intended for the journey. Mr. Law and the officer then repaired to a choultry, where Chunda-saheb himself, with a few attendants, waited the result of the conference. As soon as he had heard it related, he proceeded with the Tanjorine to Monack-jee's quarters, where, instead of the escort he expected, he was met by a guard patrolling for him, who carried him with violence into a tent, where they immediately put him into irons.

The news was instantly communicated to the Nabob, the Mysorean and Morattoo, and kept them up all night debating on the fate of the prisoner. The next morning they repaired together with Monackjee to major Lawrence's tent, in whose presence they held a council. Each of them insisted that Chunda-saheb ought to be delivered to himself, supporting the demand with the superior importance each thought he bore in the general cause; but Monack-jee firmly refused to give his prize out of his own hands. The major had hitherto remained silent, but finding that the dissention was irreconcilable, proposed that the English should have the care of him, and keep him in one of their settlements. They were all of them averse to this scheme, and broke up the conference without coming to any resolution: the three competitors in high indignation against one another, and against Monack-jee, who had moreover the mortification of seeing that the treachery he had committed was so far from being acknowledged as a service rendered to the general cause, that the Mysorean, the Morattoo, and perhaps the Nabob, wished in the bottom of their hearts that Chunda-saheb had not been taken, since they had not the disposal of him in their own power.

Immediately after the conference, major Lawrence sent another summons to Mr. Law, more peremptory than the former: for a decisive answer was demanded before noon the next day; after which his flags of truce would be fired upon; and if the batteries once began to play, it



was declared that every man in the pagoda should be put to the sword.

He had already been informed of the fate of his ally, and had heard a rumour of the defeat at Vol-kondah, but this he did not intirely give credit to; when convinced of it by the report of one of his own officers who had seen Mr. D'Auteuil in the English camp, he desired a personal conference with major Lawrence, which, after several messages, was agreed to be held the next day.

He began, by asserting that the peace which existed between the two crowns, entitled him to expect from the English every mark of consideration for the French troops, since they were now left unconnected with any powers contending in the Carnatic, by the dispersion of Chunda-sahab's army, and the imprisonment of its leader; he therefore expected that the English would, instead of acting as enemies, contribute as allies to facilitate the retreat of his army into the French settlements. Major Lawrence replied, that he acted in the conference only as the interpreter of the Nabob's intentions, with whom the English were in close alliance; and as a justification of the Nabob's conduct, produced a letter in which Mr. Dupleix had declared that he would never cease to pursue him whilst a single Frenchman remained in India.

After several other altercations, which produced little change in the terms first proposed, the capitulation was signed. It was agreed that the pagoda of Jumbakistna should be delivered up, with all the guns, stores, and ammunition: that the officers should give their parole not to serve against the Nabob or his allies: that the private men of the battalion, Europeans, Coffrees and Topasses, should remain prisoners, and that the deserters should be pardoned.

The troops with captain Clive were then ordered to rejoin the major's division, and the next morning, before break of day, captain Dalton marched with 250 chosen men, who halted, beating their drums at an abandoned out-post within pistol-shot of the walls of Jumbakistna, whilst the major remained not far off with the rest of the troops, drawn up ready to prevent the effect of any treachery; but none

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was intended : for Mr. Law soon came out with some of his officers, and conducted the detachment into the pagoda, where they formed with their backs to the gate, opposite to the French troops, who immediately flung down their arms in a heap, and surrendered prisoners. The whole consisted of 35 commission officers, 725 battalion men bearing arms, besides 60 sick and wounded in the hospital, and 2000 Sepoys : their artillery were four 13 inch mortars, 8 cohorns, 2 petards, 31 pieces of cannon, of which 11 were for battering, mostly 18 pounders, and the rest field pieces : they had likewise a great quantity of ammunition, stores and carriages of all sorts in very good condition. The pagoda of Seringham was soon after delivered up, and the horse and foot who had taken refuge in it suffered to pass away without molestation ; but the 1000 Rajpouts refused to quit the temple, and threatened their victors to cut them to pieces if they offered to enter within the third wall : the English, in admiration of their enthusiasm, promised to give them no occasion of offence.

Thus was this formidable army, whose numbers two months before were nearly equal to the confederates, reduced, without a battle, more effectually than it probably could have been by what is generally esteemed a total defeat in the field. The soldier who regards his profession as a science, will discover examples worthy of his meditation, both in the absurdity of the enemy's choice of their situation, and in the advantages which were taken of it. It is indeed difficult to determine whether the English conducted themselves with more ability and spirit, or the French with more irresolution and ignorance after major Lawrence and captain Clive arrived at Trichinopoly.

Still the fate of Chunda-sahib remained to be decided before the success of this day could be deemed complete. The anxiety which Monackjee carried away from the conference in major Lawrence's tent was increased every hour by the messages and proposals he received. The Mysorean promised money, the Nabob threatened resentment, and Morari-row, more plainly, that he would pay him a visit at the head of 6000 horse. Terrified at the commotions which would inevitably follow, if he gave the preference to any one of the competitors, he saw no method of finishing the contest but by putting an end to the life of his



prisoner; however, as the major had expressed a desire that the English might have him in their possession, he thought it necessary to know whether they seriously expected this deference, and accordingly, on the same morning that the pagoda surrendered, went to the major, with whom he had a conference, which convinced him that the English were his friends, and that they were resolved not to interfere any further in the dispute. He therefore immediately on his return to Chuckleyapollam put his design into execution, by ordering the head of Chunda-saheb to be struck off.

The executioner of this deed was a Pitan, one of Monack-jee's retinue, reserved for such purposes. He found the unfortunate victim an aged man, stretched on the ground, from whence the infirmities of sickness rendered him unable to rear himself. The aspect and abrupt intrusion of the assassins instantly suggested to Chunda-saheb the errand on which he was sent. He waved his hand, and desired to speak to Monack-jee before he died, saying, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him: but the man of blood giving no heed to his words, proceeded to his work, and after stabbing him to the heart, severed his head from his body.

The head was immediately sent into Trichinopoly to the Nabob, who now for the first time saw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a sight of it, they tied it to the neck of a camel, and in this manner it was carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by a hundred thousand spectators, insulting it with all the obscene and indecent invectives peculiar to the manners of Indostan. It was afterwards carefully packed up in a box, and delivered to an escort, who gave out that they were to carry it to be viewed by the Great Mogul at Delhi; a practice generally observed to heighten the reputation of the successful cause: but there is no reason to believe that it was ever carried out of the Carnatic.

Such was the unfortunate and ignominious end of this man. The many examples of a similar fate, which are perpetually produced by the contests of ambition in this unsettled empire, have established a proverb, that fortune is a throne; and therefore he who falls in such contests is only reckoned unfortunate, without having the odium of rebellion



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or treachery charged on his memory, unless he opposes the sovereign of sovereigns the Great Mogul; all the rest is reckoned the common course of politics: for there is scarcely throughout the empire a Nabob who has not an open or latent competitor. It therefore only remains to speak of the private character of Chunda-saheb, in which he is generally acknowledged to have been a brave, benevolent, humane and generous man, as princes go in Indostan. His military abilities were much greater than are commonly found in the generals of India, inso-much that if he had had an absolute command over the French troops, it is believed he would not have committed the mistakes which brought on his catastrophe, and the total reduction of his army.

But signal as these successes were, they were so far from being the means of restoring tranquillity to the Carnatic, that in the very principles which produced them were intermixed the seeds of another more dangerous and obstinate war; and this the Nabob had the anguish to know, whilst he was giving the demonstrations of joy expected from him on successes which appeared so decisive.

END of the THIRD BOOK.

BOOK



B O O K IV.

FOUR hundred of the French prisoners were sent under an escort to Fort St. David; and the rest, together with the artillery and stores taken at Jumbakistna, were carried into Trichinopoly: after these and some other necessary dispositions were made, major Lawrence represented to the Nabob the necessity of his marching without delay at the head of the confederate army into the Carnatic, where it was not to be doubted that the reputation of their late successes would contribute greatly to reduce such fortresses as were in the interest of Chunda-saheb, and facilitate the establishment of his government over the province, from which he had hitherto received neither revenues nor assistance. The Nabob acquiesced in this advice, but continued for several days to shew an unaccountable backwardness, as often as he was pressed to put it into execution. The inconsistency of this conduct perplexed all but the very few who were acquainted with the cause; and the English had no conception of the difficulties which with-held him, when, to their very great astonishment, the Mysorean explained the mystery, by refusing to march until the city of Trichinopoly with all its dependencies was delivered up to him; for such was the price he had stipulated with the Nabob for his assistance.

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They had both, for every reason, agreed to keep this important article a profound secret; but the Mysorean had either not been able to conceal it from the sagacity of his subsidiary the Morattoe, or perhaps had made the agreement by his advice. It is certain that the Morattoe had all along projected to turn it to his own advantage at a proper occasion: excepting these principals, and their immediate secretaries, not a man in the province had any idea of it. Great therefore was the general surprise and anxiety when it was made public.

The Nabob finding dissimulation no longer of any service, confessed the truth when major Lawrence demanded an explanation of it; protesting that his extreme distress alone had extorted a promise from him which the Myforean himself might very well know was totally out of his power to perform. Trichinopoly, he said, was the Great Mogul's, and himself only a viceroy, appointed to govern it during the pleasure of that great prince: that the resigning of this important place to the government of an Indian king, would involve both himself and the English in continual wars with the whole Mogul empire. In short, firmly resolved at all events not to part with the place, he proposed to amuse the regent with a further promise of delivering it up within two months; in which time he hoped, by collecting the large arrears due from the Arcot province, to repay the expences which the Myforeans had incurred by assisting him. As a palliative for the present, he meant to give up the fort of Madura with its dependencies, which include a very large district. These terms he thought a full and ample recompence for all that the regent had done for him, more especially as the reduction of Chunda-saheb's power had been an essential advantage to the interests of the Myforeans as well as to his own. Major Lawrence, whose power was confined to the operations of the field, waited for instructions from the presidency, who received at the same time applications from both parties, setting forth, as usual, the subject in a very different manner. They prudently determined not to interfere in the dispute, unless violence should be used against the Nabob; and professing great friendship to the Myforean, they strenuously recommended to both parties an amicable adjustment of their differences.

But these differences continued with great warmth; and in the long debate on this subject, Morari-row conducted himself with so much seeming impartiality, that he was chosen, with equal confidence on both sides, to be the mediator between them; and the time being fixed for the conference, he came one evening into the city in great state, accompanied by two commissaries deputed by the regent: they proceeded to the Nabob's palace, where captain Dalton, as commander of the English garrison, was present.

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The usual ceremonies being over, the Morattoo with great deliberation and propriety enumerated the many obligations which the Nabob owed to the regent. He painted in lively colours the distressful state of his affairs, when the regent generously undertook his cause; at which time, although nominal lord of a country extending from the river Pennar to Cape Comorin, he really possessed no more of this great dominion than the ground inclosed by the walls of Trichinopoly, where he was closely besieged by a much superior and implacable enemy. He appealed to the Nabob for the truth of what he asserted, and then demanded in form the delivery of the city and territory of Trichinopoly, in consequence of the solemn agreement he had made with the Mysorean, which he produced signed and sealed.

The Nabob, who expected this harangue, acknowledged the favours he had received, and said, that he was resolved to fulfil his engagements: but that being at this time in possession of no other considerable fortified town, it was impossible to remove his family, which was very large, until he had, by reducing the Arcot province, got a place proper for their reception: he therefore demanded a respite of two months, at the expiration of which he promised to send orders to his brother-in-law to deliver up the city. The Morattoo highly commended this resolution; and after some other vague discourse, he signified an inclination to speak to him in private, and desired the commissaries to withdraw. As soon as they and the rest of the audience, excepting captain Dalton, were retired, changing his countenance from the solemnity of a negociator to the smile of a courtier, he told the Nabob, that he believed him endowed with too much sense to mind what he had said before those two stupid fellows, meaning the commissaries: you must likewise, said he, think that I have too much discernment to believe you have any intention of fulfilling the promise you have now made. How could you answer to the Great Mogul the giving up so considerable a part of his dominion to such insignificant people: it would be the highest absurdity to think of it. These you may be assured are my real sentiments, whatever my private interest may induce me to say to the contrary in public. The Nabob was not a little delighted to find him

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him in this disposition; for it was his resentment more than the regent's that he dreaded; and immediately made him a present of a draught on his treasury for 50,000 rupees, promising much more if he would reconcile matters, and divert the regent from insisting on the letter of the treaty. This the other assured him he would do, though nothing was farther from his intentions. He was in reality the most improper person that could have been chosen to adjust the difference. His views were, first by ingratiating himself with the Nabob, to persuade him to admit a large body of Morattoes into the city as the best means of deceiving the regent into a belief that he really intended to give it up according to his promise; and these military umpires would have been instructed to seize on any opportunity that might offer of seducing or overpowering the rest of the garrison; and if this iniquitous scheme succeeded, he intended to keep possession of the city, which he had formerly governed, for himself. If there should be no opening for this plan, he determined to protract the dispute as long as possible by negotiations, during which he was sure of being kept in pay by the Mysorean, and did not doubt of having the address to get considerable presents from the Nabob. When this double dealing should be exhausted, he purposed to make the Mysorean declare war, knowing that he had too great an opinion of the Morattoes to carry it on without continuing them in his service.

The apprehensions of an immediate rupture obliged the English troops, who had proceeded on the 16th of June as far as Utatoor, to return on the 18th to Trichinopoly, for the Mysorean had even threatened to attack the Nabob if he offered to march out of the city in order to join his European allies, as he had promised. Their appearance, more than their remonstrances, produced an accommodation for the present. The Nabob made over to the regent the revenues of the island of Seringham, and of several other districts, empowering him to collect them himself; promised again to deliver up Trichinopoly at the end of two months; and in the mean time agreed to receive 700 men, provided they were not Morattoes, into the city. On these conditions the Mysorean agreed to assist him with all his force to reduce the Arcot province. Neither side gave any credit to the other, but both expected advantages by gaining time. The Nabob knew that an



immediate declaration of war, would effectually stop the progress of his arms in the Carnatic, where he hoped to gain some signal advantage, whilst the regent delayed to commence hostilities against him; and the regent wished for nothing so much as the departure of the Nabob and the English battalion, that he might carry on his schemes to surprize Trichinopoly, which he knew their presence would render ineffectual. The excuses he made when pressed to march sufficiently explained his intentions; and to frustrate them, 200 Europeans with 1500 Sepoys were placed in garrison in the city, under the command of captain Dalton, who was instructed to take every precaution against a surprize.

The battalion, now reduced to 500 men, together with 2500 Sepoys, began their march on the 28th of June, accompanied by the Nabob at the head of 2000 horse: these, with about the same number of Peons left in Trichinopoly, were all the force he commanded, for none of the numerous allies, which he saw acting in his service a few days before, remained with him. The Tanjorines had rendered too great services to be refused the permission of returning home; and the troops of the Polygars were not obliged to act out of the districts of Trichinopoly: The Mysoreans and Morattoes remained in their encampment to the west of the city, placing a detachment in Seringham Pagoda, of which the Nabob had permitted them to take possession.

The weakness to which the Nabob's force was reduced by this fatal contest, and the apprehension of still worse consequences from it, destroyed the hopes which the English had entertained a few days before, of carrying his arms in triumph against Velore or Gingee. Their late success, instead of inspiring exultation, served only to embitter the sense of their incapacity to reap any advantages from it. They marched away more with the sullenness of men defeated, than with the alacrity of troops flushed with victory; and proceeding without any regular plan for their future operations, they followed the high road until they came to Vol-kondah.

Here they halted for some days, whilst the Nabob negotiated with the governor, who refused to deliver up his fort, but took the oath of allegiance, and paying 80,000 rupees as a consideration for the arrears that were