



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

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





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

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





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





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

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

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

The English themselves could not refrain from admiring the sagacity of Mr. Dupleix's conduct, which, by making the war in the Carnatic subservient to his views on the northern provinces, had by degrees led his nation to the great establishments of which they were now in possession. At the same time they had the satisfaction to know that these successes of their enemies could not be imputed to any defects in their own conduct; for so far from having a force sufficient to make head against the French, in two parts of the country so distant from each other as Golconda and Trichanopoly; their whole force collected was always much inferior to what the French were able to oppose to them in the southern parts of the Decan; where nothing but efforts of valour, scarcely  
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to be paralleled, had carried them through the two wars of Chundasaheb and the Mysoreans. It was equally fortunate for the nation, that chance should have placed during these arduous times, a man of much sagacity, indefatigable application, and a perseverance equal to Dupleix's, at the head of the presidency; such was Mr. Saunders, who came to the government a little before the death of Nazir-jing; and, convinced by that event of the ambitious schemes of Mr. Dupleix, determined to oppose them to the utmost of his strength, notwithstanding he had no instructions from the company to engage in hostilities; and notwithstanding the two nations were at peace in Europe, he had with the same spirit continued the war, never discouraged by adverse turns, nor dreading the event of desperate attempts when necessary to retrieve them. The two governors had during the whole course of hostilities carried on a sharp and acute controversy by letters; and Mr. Dupleix, who had even before the event happened, persuaded himself that Mr. Bussy would obtain the northern provinces, had towards the end of the year 1753, affected to shew an inclination to terminate the war in the Carnatic; and in the beginning of the year 1754, consented to treat in form. When it was agreed that a conference should be held in the town of Sadras, belonging to the Dutch, on the road between Madras and Pondicherry.

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

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

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





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





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

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





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





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

The plain of Tritchanopoly having been so long the seat of war, scarce a tree was left standing for several miles round the city; and the English detachments were obliged to march five or six miles to get firewood. Their provisions came chiefly from the Tanjore country; but the merchants would not venture nearer than Tricatapolly, a fort eighteen miles east of Tritchanopoly, from whence, when a sufficient quantity was collected, they were escorted to the camp. What came from Tondeman's country was brought at appointed times to the skirts of his woods, within six or seven miles of the camp. The detachments sent on these services were seldom less than 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, a force which the enemy's cavalry, unsupported by Europeans, were always afraid to attack; and seven convoys were safely escorted from the beginning of January to the middle of February; at which time a convoy was in readiness, much larger than any of the former, for it consisted of a great quantity of military stores, as well as provisions, the carriage of which required no less than 3000 oxen: the escort was therefore made stronger than usual, being composed of the grenadier company of 100 men, 30 other Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and four pieces of cannon; this force, although more than one third of the army, was scarcely adequate to the convoy; and, what was still more unfortunate, the command of the party fell, by the rotation of military duty, to an officer of little experience, and less ability: however, as the enemy had lately exerted themselves so little, little danger





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

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

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

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





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

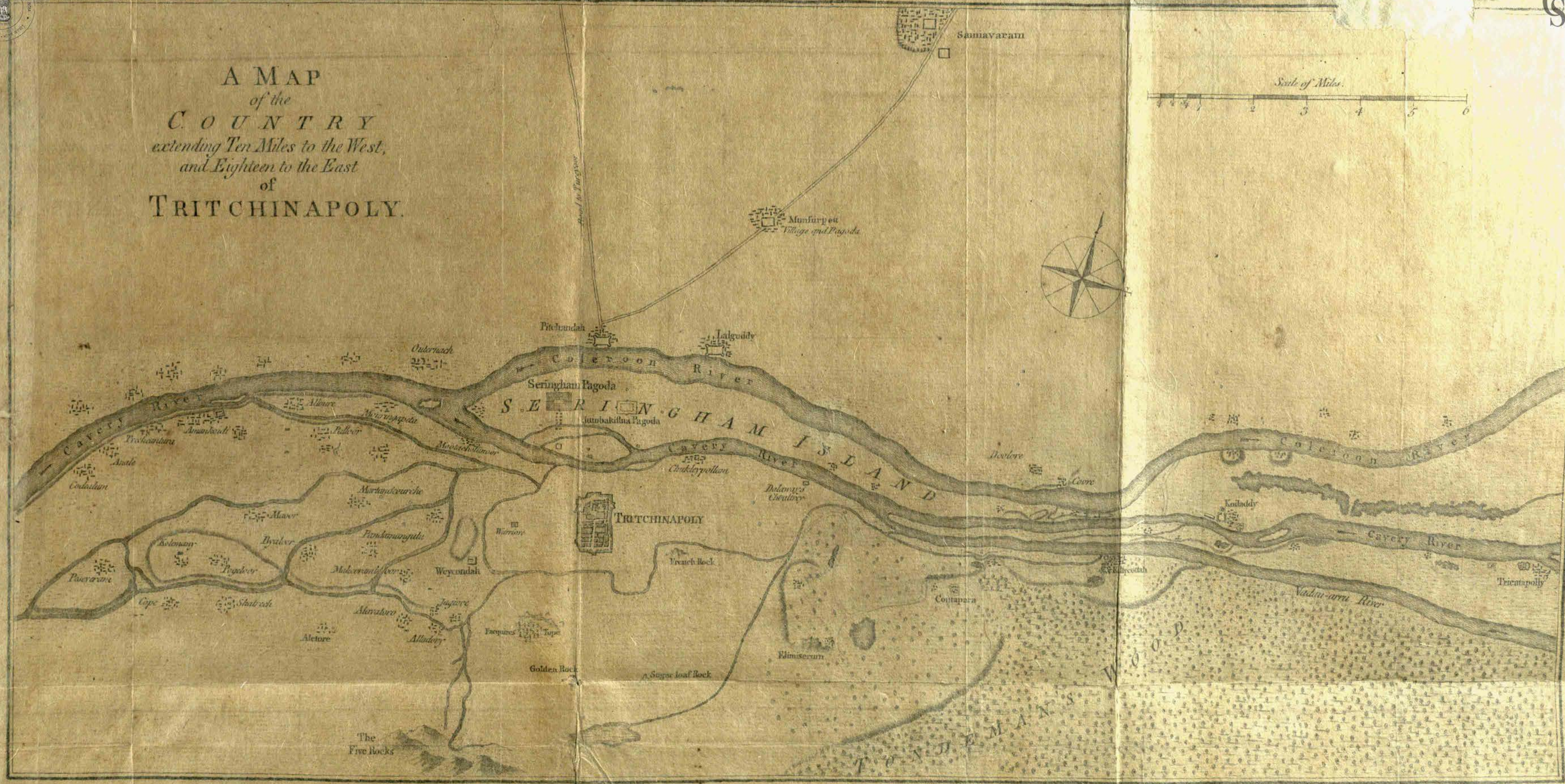
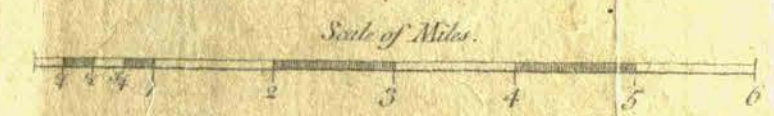
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A MAP  
of the  
COUNTRY  
extending Ten Miles to the West,  
and Eighteen to the East  
of  
TRITCHINAPOLY.







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





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

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

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

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





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





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





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

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





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

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

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

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

The next day, the 12th of May, a party of 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and two field pieces, under the command of captain Calliaud, marched from the camp at four in the morning, intending to wait about two miles to the south of the sugar loaf rock, for a convoy of provisions which was ordered to advance out of the woods. The post in which the party intended to halt, had formerly been one of those reservoirs of water called tanks, which occur so frequently in the arid plains of this country, where that element is procured with so much difficulty. These tanks are generally dug square, the sides of some being 500 feet long, and of others not more than 100; with the earth taken out is formed a mound, which encloses the tank at the distance of forty feet from the margin of the water. The tank in which the party intended to take post was, through age and neglect, choaked up, but the mound remained. Mahomed Issouf riding at some distance before the advanced guard, was surprized as he ascended a little eminence by the neighing of his horse, who was immediately answered by the neighing of several others; proceeding, nevertheless, to reconnoitre, he discovered the French troopers posted behind a bank on the other side of the eminence, who immediately discharged their carbines at him, and then mounted. Captain Calliaud, on hearing the firing, formed his party, and rode up to the advanced guard, where he met Mahomed Issouf, who told him that the enemy were laying in wait to intercept the convoy, and that he believed a body of French troops had taken post in the tank where they themselves intended to halt; it was immediately determined to attack them. The day was just beginning to dawn; the troops were formed in one line, the Sepoys on the right, and the Europeans on the left; and captain Calliaud concluding that the enemy would expect the attack in front,

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ordered the Sepoys, under the command of Mahomed Issouf, to wheel and attack them on the right, whilst he himself with the Europeans fell on the left flank. The onset was vigorously made by both divisions almost in the same instant, and the enemy finding themselves unexpectedly between two fires, abandoned the tank with precipitation; the English immediately took possession of it, and a little while after, day-light enabled them to discover that the numbers of the enemy were 250 Europeans, with four field pieces, 1000 Sepoys, and 4000 Mysore horse, who now divided into two bodies, one on each side of the tank, and began a smart cannonade, which was answered by the English field pieces. Major Lawrence was at this time so much indisposed, that he had the day before been obliged to go into the city; and captain Polier commanded in his absence, who no sooner heard the firing than he marched to the relief of the party with the rest of the army. The rest of the enemy's army at the same time crossed the Caveri, but the difference of the distance enabled the English to get to the tank some time before them: those of the enemy who were engaged with captain Calliaud's party, fearful of placing themselves between two fires, made no effort to intercept captain Polier's division; but contented themselves with cannonading them from the right and left as they advanced: a shot disabled one of his field pieces, and on his arrival at the tank he found that one of those with captain Calliaud had suffered the same misfortune; some time was spent in fixing these guns on spare carriages, during which the enemy's main body came up, and being joined by the rest of their troops, the whole now formed together within cannon shot to the right of the tank, their line extending a great way beyond it towards the city. Their numbers were 700 Europeans, fifty dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10,000 horse, of which fortunately none were Morattoes. The English army consisted of no more than 360 men in battalion, 1500 Sepoys, and eleven troopers. However, encouraged by their officers, the men shewed no dismay at the superiority of the enemy's force, and prepared with great alacrity to fight their way back to the camp. The Europeans defiled first out of the tank into the plain, marching onward in a column, ready on the first occasion to face about to the enemy





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



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

The enemy reflecting with much vexation upon their disgrace, thought it necessary to perform some exploit which might re-establish their reputation: but not having the heart to attack the English in their camp, they determined to wreck their vengeance on the Polygar Tondeman, whose attachment to the English had alone enabled them to stand their ground at Tritchanopoly, so long after they could get no more provisions from the Tanjore country. Accordingly the second night after the engagement, M. Maissin with all his Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and 2000 horse, marched into the Polygar's country, with an intention to commit every kind of ravage; but the inhabitants alarmed, removed their effects, and drove their cattle into the thickest parts of their woods, where it was impossible to follow them, and the enemy found nothing but empty villages to burn, except at Killanore, where after dispersing the English Sepoys stationed there, they took three or four hundred bags of rice, and an iron gun. Vexed that they had with much fatigue been able to do very little mischief in this country, they resolved to fall on the dominions of the king of Tanjore, and plundering as they went, appeared before Kally Cottah, which surrendered on the second day.

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

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

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





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





1754. The major pursuing his march through the woods, was met the day after his departure from Trichanopoly by the Polygar Tondeman, whom he received with the respect due to his fidelity and attachment to the English cause. The same day likewise came an express from the king of Tanjore, fraught with compliments for the resolution which the major had taken to come to his assistance, and pressing him to hasten his march. Indeed what had just happened in his country rendered the major's approach every day more and more welcome. From Kelly Cotah the enemy went to Coiladdy, which having taken on the 24th, they immediately cut through the great bank, which preventing the waters of the Caveri from running into the channel of the Coleroon, may be called the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore country.

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

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

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

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

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





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

Morari-row returning, after the victory he had gained over Gaude-row, to his camp on the other side of the Coleroon, pursued the rest of his scheme, writing to the Nabob, who was then just arrived at Tanjore, that if he would give him security for the payment of 300,000 rupees, he would return to his own country, and never more be an enemy either to him, the English, or the Tanjorines. The Nabob having no money, applied as the Morattoo had foreseen, to the king of Tanjore, who, after many meetings consented to furnish it, and the articles were drawn up and signed, stipulating that 50,000 rupees should be paid as soon as the Morattoes arrived at Volcondah, 100,000 more when they came to the pass of the western mountains, and the remaining 150,000 when they arrived in their own country. Whilst this transaction was carrying on at Tanjore, Morari-row acquainted the regent of Mysore that he was in treaty with the Nabob, but offered if the Mysorean would pay him the arrears he had so often demanded to return to his assistance: the regent sent him what money he could spare, about 50,000 rupees, which the Morattoo no sooner received than he marched away with all his troops to Volcondah, and in the beginning of July left the province and went to his own country, which lays about 100 miles north-east from Arcot. Here Morari-row, after he surrendered Tritchanopoly to Nizam-al-muluck in 1741, was permitted to erect a principality, dependant indeed on the Soubah of the Decan, but independant of his own nation: as all new states are conducted with more vigour and attention than such as have been long established, he soon made himself ad-





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

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

Monack-jee





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

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





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

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

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

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

The orders sent to hasten Maphuze Khan found him after many unnecessary delays just arrived at fort St. David, with no inclination to proceed any farther. This indeed now scarcely depended on his own choice, for his troops, grown refractory from their conviction of his incapacity, refused to march before they received more money; notwithstanding the presidency had paid 50,000 rupees when they set out, and the remaining 50,000 was not due before they crossed the Coleeroon; but major Lawrence having no expectation of essential service from such troops with such a commander, thought it unnecessary to waste either more time or money to procure their assistance, and ordered the detachment of Europeans to leave them behind. On the 14th





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

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





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





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The stock of provisions brought with the army were deposited in the city for the use of the garrison, and major Lawrence determined to get supplies for his camp as usual from Tanjore and Tondeman's country: but as it was necessary to drive the enemy from the plain before this could be effected with facility, he moved on the 20th of August to the Facquire's tope, hoping to provoke them to fight. This motion produced a different but a better effect, for at noon they set fire to their camp, and retreated to Moota Chellinoor, opposite to the head of the island. In the evening Monack-jee, with the Tanjorines, invested Elimiserum, where the enemy had a guard of 150 Sepoys, and thirteen Europeans, with one piece of cannon. These after very little resistance surrendered on the 22d; and a garrison of 200 English Sepoys, with a few artillery men, were left to secure it.

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





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

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

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





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

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

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

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