



THE WAR OF COROMANDEL.

THE war declared between Great Britain and France in 1744, ~~extended~~ its operations to the settlements of the two nations in India : peace was no sooner restored to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than they took up arms against one another, on the coast of Coromandel, as allies to two Moorish lords contending for the possession of the province of Carnatica. The competition between these lords had its rise in events, which happened several years before the English or French took part in it ; it therefore becomes necessary to describe those events ; and as the government, policy, and customs of the nations of Indostan differ greatly from those of Europe, we shall endeavour, in the course of our narrative, to give as much of their character and manners, as appears necessary for the intelligence of the facts which we relate.

Most of the countries which have been conquered by the Great Mogul in the peninsula of India, are comprized under one viceroyalty, called from its situation the Decan, or south. From the word Soubah, signifying a province, the viceroy of this vast territory, is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly Soubah. Of the countries under his jurisdiction, some are entirely subjected to the throne of Delhi, and governed by Mahomedans, whom Europeans as improperly call Moors ; whilst others remain under the government of their original Indian princes or Rajahs, and are suffered to follow their ancient

modes on condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Moorish governors depending on the Soubah, assume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which signifies Deputy: but this in the registers of the throne is synonymous to Soubaldar, and the greatest part of those who stile themselves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they assume, signifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans established in the territories of these Pseudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expression) following the example of the natives with whom they have most intercourse, have agreed in giving them the title they so much affect. In deference therefore to the custom which has prevailed, we shall leave them in possession of it, and in the course of our narration shall likewise distinguish the great viceroy by that of *Soubah*.

A NABOB ought to hold his commission from Delhi, and if at his death a successor has not been previously appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a person to administer the Nabobship until the will of the Sovereign is known; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically established until he is confirmed from Delhi. The Soubah receives from the several Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treasury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his vicerealty, but not in any without that extent. These regulations were intended to place them in such a state of dependance on the Soubah as should render them subservient to the interests of the Empire, and at the same time leave them in a state of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make use of their assistance to brave the throne.

THE constitution of the Mogul Empire began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan; but since the dreadful incursion of the Persians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more: so that during the last fifty years, Soubahs have been seen to maintain themselves in their governments against the will of the throne, and have consequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard

to its authority ; Nabobs likewise have kept possession of their governments in opposition both to the Soubah and the throne ; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a despotic state, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their successors, who have often succeeded with as little opposition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have said of the government of the southern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubaships of the Empire.

THE Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships dependant on the Soubah of the Decan : from its capital it is likewise named the province of Arcot ; but its present limits are greatly inferior to those which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul ; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Gondagama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the west, and the borders of the kingdoms of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Mysore to the south. The sea bounds it to the east. It was not before the beginning of the present century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

SADATULLA, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, 1710 having no issue, adopted the two sons of his brother ; appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed in the Nabobship ; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the Government of Velore ; he likewise directed that Gulam Hassan, the nephew of his favourite wife, should be Duan or prime minister to his successor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his subjects.

THE dispositions he had made were fulfilled without opposition or difficulty ; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, beheld the accession of Doast-ally with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction. The jealousy of this powerful superior prevented Doast-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi : it is said that he only obtained some letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commission, 1732

DOAST-

1732 DOAST-ALLY had two sons, of whom the eldest, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's estate when his father succeeded to the Nabobship; he had likewise several daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, son of Boker-ally; and another to a more distant relation named Chunda-sahab. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Hassain, and availing himself of the incapacity of his son-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permission to administer the office of Duan in his stead.

1736 THE kingdoms of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Rajah, and the care of levying the tributes of these countries was intrusted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Tritchinopoly in 1736, was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-sahab to seize any opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of Tritchinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea-coast, before they proceeded to the south: accordingly they came to Madrass, where they remained some days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they staid a longer time; during which, Chunda-sahab laid the first foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence they marched to Tritchinopoly.

By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-sahab prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having first taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country say that she fell in love with him; if so, she was ill requited, for he soon after seduced the garrison, seized the city, and confined her to a prison, where she died of grief. The submission of the rest of the kingdom soon followed that

of the capital ; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-sahab to govern these new acquisitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-assud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to succeed Chunda-sahab in the office of Duan. 1736

THE new Duan was well acquainted with the ambitious character of his predecessor, and represented to Subder-ally the consequences which were to be apprehended from a man of such dangerous views, placed in a government of such importance. Subder-ally saw his error when it was too late to redress it ; for when he represented to his father the necessity of recalling Chunda-sahab to Arcot, the Nabob, apprehensive of open ruptures in his family, and attached to his son-in-law from an opinion of his abilities, could not be induced to follow Meer-assud's advice.

CHUNDA-SAHAB hearing what had been attempted against him, took measures to secure himself: he put the city of Trichinopoly in a good state of defence, and placed his two brothers in the strongest towns dependant on his sovereignty ; Buda-sahab in Madura, and Saduck-sahab in Dindigul : but notwithstanding these preparations, he determined not to throw off his allegiance to the Nabob, before he should be openly attacked.

IN the mean time Nizam-al-muluck's resentments against the family of Doast-ally increased with their acquisitions ; for, notwithstanding the independancy affected by Chunda-sahab, he did not doubt that the force of Trichinopoly would always be united with that of Arcot, whenever danger from foreign powers should threaten either of the two governments. But his attention was for some years taken up by affairs of much greater importance than the reducing of this family to his obedience. At one time, he was prepared to join the Great Mogul, whom he wished to see dethroned, against Thomas Kouli Khan, whom he had invited to invade the Empire : and after the Persian left Indostan, he was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and detested. Thus prevented from marching into the Carnatic, he at length determined to give the Morattoes permission to attack it. By this measure he satisfied, in part, the obligations he lay under to that nation, 1739

1739 tion, and at the same time employed a force, which, next to his own, was the most capable of conquering the dominions of Doast-ally.

THE country of the Morattoes lies between Bombay and Gol-Konda : its limits are not known with any degree of certainty to Europeans, and we are equally ignorant of the origin and history of the people. It is now a century that they have made a figure as the most enterprising soldiers of Indostan, and as the only nation of Indians, which seems to make war and occupation by choice ; for the Rajpouts are soldiers by birth. Of late years they have often been at the gates of Delhi ; sometimes in arms against the throne : at others, in defence of it against the Affghans or Pitans. The strength of their armies consists in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of resisting fatigue than any in India ; large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and seem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much mischief as possible to the enemy's country. This they effect by driving off the cattle, destroying the harvest, burning the villages, and by exercising such cruelties as makes the people of the open country take flight on the first rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motions leaves the prince with whom they wage war little chance of striking a decisive blow against them, or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expence of maintaining an army in the field with very little probability of even fighting such an enemy, and the greater detriment arising from the devastations they commit, generally induce the governments they attack to purchase their retreat with money. Great parsimony in their expences, and continued collections of treasure by the means now described, have been the principal causes of raising them, in less than a century, from a people of inconsiderable note, to a nation which at present strikes terror into all the countries between Delhi and Cape Comorin. They often let out bodies of men, and sometimes whole armies ; but the hiring of them is a dangerous resource ; for the offer of better terms seldom fails to make them change sides ; and they seldom relinquish their practice of plundering even in the countries which they are hired to defend. But notwithstanding their

their warlike character, they are in other respects, the most scrupulous observers of the religion of Brama; never eating of any thing that has life, nor even killing the insects which molest them: however, a buffalo sacrificed, with many strange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own species which they shed in war. 1739

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in possession of several fortresses and territories in the country: retreating from which before the arms of the Moors, they stipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the possessions which they relinquished, and as a tribute for desisting from their usual predatory incursions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had for many years neglected to pay this tribute, and the Morattoes had refrained from their usual methods of obtaining reparation, from no other motive than their great fear of Nizam-al-muluck: but this restraint was now removed by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic. At the same time the kings of Mysore and Tanjore, in resentment of the injuries they had suffered from Chunda-saheb in his government of Trichinopoly, incited them, as brethren of the same religion, to attack the Carnatic, and to revenge the violations committed in their temples and holy places by that Mahomedan governor, and the Moors in his service.

In the month of May, 1740, an army of 10,000 Morattoes, under the command of Ragojee Bonsola, approached the province with their usual rapidity, and arrived at the mountains, which separate it from the western country, before Doast-ally was able to collect the whole of his forces to oppose them; for a large part of his army happened at that time to be employed to the southward, under the command of his son Subder-ally. The Nabob, however, marched from Arcot with what troops he was able to assemble, about 4,000 horse and 6,000 foot, and with these determined to defend the passes of Damal-cherri, through which the Morattoes intended to enter the province, until he could be succoured by his son's army, and the other troops of the province, which were advancing to his assistance: it is thought he would have succeeded in this in-

1740 tention if he had not been betrayed by one of his officers, an Indian, who suffered the Morattoes to pass the station where he commanded. The next day, being the 20th of May, the whole army appeared in the Nabob's rear, which was not defended by intrenchments, and having every advantage, attacked his troops with great fury; who, encouraged by the example of their prince, defended themselves resolutely for several hours, until they saw him, together with his son Hassan-ally, fall dead from their elephants on the field of battle; the rout was then general; most of the principal officers of the army were slain, and Meer-assud, the Duan, was taken prisoner.

Subder-ally, with the troops under his command, was advanced as far as Arcot when he heard of his father's fate, upon which he immediately took refuge in Velore. Okunda-saheb likewise took the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot, giving out that he intended to march to the Nabob's assistance; but by contrived delays he kept at a distance from the field of battle, and as soon as he heard of the Nabob's defeat, hastened back to Trichinopoly.

The Morattoes, after their victory, sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by these means did not answer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the strong holds with which the province abounds. Thus disappointed, they readily listened to the proposals of their prisoner Meer-assud, who was empowered by Subder-ally from Velore to treat with them: it was agreed that they should be paid, at stated periods, 10,000,000 of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted the Carnatic immediately; thus much was made public, but another article was kept secret. As soon as the treaty was ratified, Subder-ally assumed the title and authority of Nabob; but this power was now so much impaired, that Chunda-saheb thinking he had nothing to apprehend from it, came to Arcot to do homage to him: however, the splendor of his retinue, and the military force which accompanied him, made him appear rather the equal than the dependant of Subder-ally.

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation, amongst a people who had never before seen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-sahab, had sent their wives, children, and treasures, to remain there during the war. As soon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-sahab, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they stayed several days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-sahab proceeding to Tritchinopoly, left the women of his family and one of his sons there. 1740

In the month of December the province was again struck with consternation by the return of the same army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with so many calamities. This second irruption was in consequence of the secret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Besides the sum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther insisted on receiving some territories in sovereignty, and in this demand Meer-assud found them so inflexible, that, considering the territories of Tritchinopoly served only to render the power of Chunda-sahab formidable to his master, he consented to yield those countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they should attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the same time engaged to dispose of Chunda-sahab, if he fell into their hands, in such a manner as should be most conducive to the interests of the Nabob of Arcot.

Tritchinopoly was strongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-sahab, on the first news of the approach of the Morattoes against Doast-ally, stored it with a great quantity of grain, which is considered as the best security of a fortified place amongst a people who are very little skilled in the use of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-assud therefore foreseeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his provisions lasted, advised the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at such a distance as might prevent any suspicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-sahab imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other provinces,

1740 provinces, sold his stores of grain ; of which they no sooner received intelligence than they set out from their camp at Seveagunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Trichinopoly before he could remedy the distress to which he had so unwarily reduced it.

1741 They invested the city closely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any supplies or reinforcements ; nevertheless the brothers of Chunda-sahab attempted to relieve it. Buda-sahab advanced from Madura with a large convoy of provisions, escorted by 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot : the Morattoes detached 20,000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itself with bravery until Buda-sahab fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indostan : they cut off Buda-sahab's head, and sent it to Chunda-sahab as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-sahab, approaching from Dindigul with 1,500 horse and 3,000 foot, who were likewise defeated after a sharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-sahab.

Chunda-sahab, notwithstanding these misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great resolution, and protracted the siege until the greatest part of his provisions was consumed, and a considerable number of his men, with some of his best officers, killed ; the dread of famine had also caused many to desert : those remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to surrender. He delivered up the city and himself on the 26th of March, 1741, after having sustained a siege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his son, and several principal officers, under the strictest confinement, intending to be well paid for the ransom of their persons. After some time spent in draining Trichinopoly of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14,000 of their best troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their prisoners in a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the possession of Trichinopoly, were now become of enemies, allies to Supder-ally ; and the imprisonment of Chunda-sahab at such a distance from the Carnatic, removed the only

only leader deemed capable of exciting intestine commotions. But the resentment of Nizam-al-muluck still remained to be appeased, which could only be done by remitting to him those large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doast-ally, availing himself of the convulsions of the empire, had withheld. Stabder-ally therefore was convinced that a storm would break upon him from this quarter as soon as Nizam-al-muluck himself should have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhaust his treasures from the apprehension of dangers, which, although probable, were still uncertain; he amused Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuses, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incursion of the Morattoes, and even demeaned himself so far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there spend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet. 1741

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the spirit of devotion which he affected, for the greatest part of his father's treasures had been preserved under the care of his mother, when she took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left such an impression of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceless city of Arcot, but took up his residence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the strongest in the Carnatic: with the same spirit of precaution he sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures, to Madrass; giving this preference to the English nation by the advice of Meer-assud, who already suspected the connexions which subsisted between Chunda-sahab and Mr. Duplex, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made several visits to his family at Madrass, and these journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by sea to Mecca. 1742

The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been assessed in sums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at stated periods, in order to discharge the ransom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richest

1742 richest fief subject to the Nabobship of Arcot, and by the treasures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as also by a very parsimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richest man in the province. Having married the sister of Subder-ally, and being likewise nearly related to him by birth, he thought that these titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuse him from the necessity of furnishing what remained due of his proportion of the general assessment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be disappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to disburse his private treasures until the last extremity, determined to oblige him to furnish his contingent with the same punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of these were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Vellore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the assessment as soon as they should find a respectable leader to set the example, and to support them in the consequences of refusing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and represented to him that Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the southern provinces, would behold with satisfaction even the most desperate measure which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, against a prince who paid so little deference to his authority.

Mortiz-ally, born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many suspected of being uncommonly deficient in personal courage, but this persuasion seems to have taken its rise from the suspicious habits of his domestic life; since he never moved, even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste any thing that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal. The Nabob therefore held the pusillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greatest contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehensions of poison from his own family and domestics. Mortiz-ally still continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the assessment; and the Nabob,

Nabob, wearied by trifling excuses, one day in public imprudently threatened to dispossess him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the closest connection with the dissatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by assuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as soon as Subder-ally should be removed. 1742

The Nabob's army was encamped within the suburbs and under the walls of Velore : a body of guards and a numerous retinue constantly attended him within the fort, so that he seemed in no danger from open violence, or secret treachery. But nothing of the conspiracy transpired ; and he was unfortunately confirmed in his security by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himself after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that festival to which the Mahomedans of Indostan have the greatest devotion, all the Nabob's servants asked permission to be absent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own families. Contrary to the usual custom of the courts of Indostan, the Nabob suffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four persons, to quit him ; and so little was he suspicious of the danger to which he exposed himself by this unguarded indulgence, that he even desired some of the officers and menial servants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the absence of his own. Mortiz-ally determined not to lose this opportunity, which was such as might never offer again, to strike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poisoned. The Nabob had scarcely finished his meal before he began to be greatly disordered, and although the strength of his constitution, with timely assistance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poison, yet it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack did not thoroughly awaken his suspicions, which those of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to stifle, by representing his indisposition to be the access of a bilious disorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to lose, and proposed to some of his officers, in whom he had the most confidence, to go and put an end to the Nabob's life. It is said that all

1742 refused to serve him in this cruel commission, excepting one, whose wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched : this man, & Pitán, having engaged some Abyssinian slaves, led them at midnight to the Nabob's apartment, where the few servants who attended the Nabob were asleep round his bed. They were immediately seized, and prevented from making resistance. The Nabob himself, instead of taking up his arms, attempted to make his escape through a window. The leader of the assassins seized him before he could pass through it, and upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was taking, killed him with several stabs of a poniard.

Meer-assud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this minister was known to bear to his master, suggested to Mortiz-ally the intention of destroying so dangerous a witness of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when some of Mortiz-ally's officers represented to him the necessity of preserving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be necessary for his own conduct, as soon as he should be declared Nabob. These representations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-assud, whose virtues preserved him in this instant of imminent danger from the destruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were strictly guarded during this night of terror, and those only who produced a particular permission were suffered to pass out the ensuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emissaries employed by Mortiz-ally himself, who represented it as an accident in which their master had no part, and imputed it to the sudden resentment of some of the principal officers, of whom the Nabob had treated several with ignominious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But such was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the soldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been assassinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were absent celebrating the
feast

feast; and the soldiery left to their own conduct, in the first impulse of detestation, threatened to storm the fort immediately, and to massacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its strength, this resolution subsided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they should proceed to extremities. The emissaries of Mortizally took advantage of this suspension of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had constantly evaded to satisfy their demands: whereas if the army, they said, would admit Mortizally's pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would doubtless agree to pay all that was due to them.

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indostan are composed of a number of distinct bodies of troops enlisted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the service of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treasures of which he is possessed, joined to his inclination to disburse them; and it is common in the wars of Indostan to see large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Vellore forgot its resentments against Mortizally in proportion as the terms proposed by his emissaries appeared to be real. The officers, as they arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his interest by presents; accounts were adjusted, times of payment were stipulated, and all, officers as well as soldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortizally Nabob of the Carnatic, within two days after he had murdered Subder-ally.

Mortizally now pitched his tents without the gates of Vellore, and caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As soon as the first agitations which this sudden and unexpected revolution had occasioned began to subside, several of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their sentiments on his accession, and concurred in a detestation of it: These

1742 applied to Morari-row, the Morattoe governor of Trichinopoly, who did not hesitate to declare openly against him. The English at Madrass were requested to protect the son and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithstanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally; who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army, won by the friends of Subder-ally's family, engaged to effect a general revolt. On a sudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Vellore they had agreed to receive at distant periods, and surrounding the palace in tumult, accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally had not courage to stand this storm; but immediately determined to place himself out of the reach of danger. Women of rank in Indostan never appear in public; and travel in covered carriages, which are very rarely stopped or examined even in times of suspicion. He therefore disguised himself in a woman's dress, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Vellore without interruption.

As soon as his flight was discovered, the army proclaimed Seid Mahomed Khan, the son of Subder-ally, an infant who resided in Madrass with his mother. The government of the province was entrusted to a Duan chosen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madrass to Vandiwash, the fort of Tuckia-saheb, who had married one of the sisters of Subder-ally.

1743 These revolutions in the Carnatic happened at a time when Nizam-al-muluck, having no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his son Ghazi-o'din Khan the post of captain general of the Mogul's armies, was preparing to visit the Carnatic. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is said to have consisted of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their leader,

leader, deterred all the princes of the countries through which they passed from making any resistance : and they entered the province of Arcot with as little opposition. When arrived at the city, Nizam-al-muluck was struck with amazement at the anarchy which prevailed in every part of the government. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a district, had assumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the same names as distinguished the persons who held the most considerable employments in the court of the Soubah. One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, Nizam-al-muluck said, that he had that day seen no less than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic ; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the southern provinces. He then turned to his guards, and ordered them to scourge the first person who, for the future, should in his presence assume the title of Nabob. 1743

The young son of Subder-ally, accompanied by several of his principal officers, paid his visit of homage to the Soubah, who refused him the permission of returning to Vandiwash, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect. He then appointed Coja Abdulla Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and sent a summons to Morari-row the governor of Trichinopoly, to surrender the city. Finding that the Morattoo persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and sat down before it: presents and promises supplied the place of hostilities in reducing it. In the month of August Morari-row evacuated Trichinopoly, and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morattoes.

Nizam-al-muluck having thus settled the affairs of the province without unsheathing the sword, returned to Gol-Kondah. Coja Abdallah continued to command the army until it arrived there ; leaving one of his dependants to administer the government of Arcot during his absence. It was not before the month of March in the next year that he prepared to return, and, after having been distinguished with particular honours on the day that he took leave of the

1744 Soubah, was the next morning found dead in his bed. His body bore marks of poison ; but as the hand from which it came could never be discovered, it was imputed to the person who received the most advantage from it, by succeeding him in the government of the Carnatic. This was An'war-odean, who was immediately nominated to that employment, and arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this stranger into the Carnatic was the source of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate ; and there are so many and such injurious misrepresentations of his origin, and of that part of his life which preceded his accession to the Nabobship, that it is necessary to invalidate them by an impartial description of his history.

Anawar, the father of An'war-odean, distinguished himself by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Koran : he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this voyage he was appointed by Aurengzebe, to be one of those religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign. In consequence of this appointment, he received a pension, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horse, with the right of taking the title of Khan, which signifies Lord, or rather Chieftain. This title would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indostan did not consist in a military commission ; by which it is supposed, although rarely insisted on, that the person who receives the commission shall maintain a certain number of horse for the Emperor's service. With these honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finished his days.

His son An'war-odean went to court with recommendations from his father, which procured him a title of the same rank as had been given to his father : he was afterwards raised to the command of 500 horse, and was appointed governor of the district of Coora-Geha-

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nabad. Ill success, or perhaps ill conduct, preventing him from being able to pay the usual revenues of his government to the throne, he quitted it privately and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the southern provinces, gave him a post of considerable trust and profit in the city of Surat, whilst his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him, by reporting him dead. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-odean went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had succeeded to the Soubahship of the southern provinces, and was by him appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Rajamundrum countries, which he governed from the year 1725 to 1741. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to visit the Carnatic, An'war-odean attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal stations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah; and a very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla, Nizam-al-muluck appointed him to administer the government of the Carnatic, in which choice he seems to have been influenced by his opinion of the necessity of placing a province, in which he suspected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced soldier; such was An'war-odean.

1744

There is no country in which the titles of descent are less instrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indostan; none but those of the royal blood are considered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the exclusion is so absolute, that a new act from the sovereign is necessary to ennoble even the son of the Grand Vizir of the empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make use of his sword, or to whom nature has given superior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grantees of Indostan have arrived to the highest employments in the empire from conditions not less humble than that of An'war-odean Khan; against whose accession to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, the people had taken an aversion, from causes independent of his personal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the visitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the same family, in a succession

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 succession of three Nabobs, who, availing themselves of the general confusion of the empire, had acquired a greater stability in their office than is the usual lot of governors in Indostan. The Nabobs of this family, considering the sovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themselves in their administration with that spirit of ravage, which is the usual consequence of uncertain and transitory possession. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harvests of grain, and these on the quantities of water, which are reserved to supply the defect of rain during the dry season of the year: for this purpose vast reservoirs have been formed, of which not only the construction, but even the repairs in cases of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preservation of these sources of fertility, and at the same time dictates to him an inflexible resolution of receiving his usual incomes; the farmer oppressed, oppresses the labourer, and the misery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exercised in times of scarcity, of which the cruel parsimony of the prince has been the principal cause.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous administration, from the reigns of the family of Sadatulla Khan, should behold with regret the introduction of any stranger whomsoever to govern the Carnatic. The young son of Subder-ally was the only person whom the province wished to see their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from the danger of shocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck gave out that he intended to confer the Nabobship of Arcot on this youth, as soon as he should arrive at the age of manhood. At the same time he gave An'war-odean Khan all the powers necessary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of reposing so delicate a trust in the very person to whom the greatest advantages would accrue from an unfaithful discharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be suspected of having dissembled throughout this transaction



transaction. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally.

Anwar-odean however did not discover any symptoms of discontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a splendor adequate to his birth, and assigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his residence. Here the young Seid Mahomed passed some time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitan soldiers, who had been in the service of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whose country is in the most northern part of the Empire, are the bravest of the Mahomedan soldiery levied in Indostan. From a consciousness of this superiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exists amongst them howsoever dispersed into the services of different princes, they have acquired an insolence and audacity of manners, which distinguishes them, as much as the hardness of their physiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire: they treat even the lords they serve with very little of that respect which characterises all the other dependents of a sovereign in Indostan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict punishment on them, even when they deserve it; as a strong spirit of revenge has familiarised them with assassination, which they seldom fail to employ whenever the smallness of their numbers disables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had served Subder-ally Khan, continued to present themselves every day before his son, demanding their arrears with clamour and insolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preside at the ceremony. The customary invitations were likewise given to all the other relations,

1744 } tions, many of whom were lords of governments in the Carnatic; among these was Mortiz-ally. The young Seid Mahomed was taught to conceal the emotions he naturally felt at seeing the murderer of his father named in the list of his friends as a guest invited with his approbation. Such are the manners of a court in Indostan. It was thought that Mortiz-ally would not venture his person out of the forts of Velore, during the first days of a new administration; but, in contradiction to this notion, he came to Arcot, and presented himself before the young prince, as one of the guests at the wedding; and was treated with distinction and respect by the regent Nabob An'war-odean Khan, who was likewise invited to the wedding.

On the day appointed for the solemnization of the marriage, twelve Pitans, with the captain of the band, presented themselves before the young prince, and demanded their arrears with a more determined spirit of insolence than they had hitherto shewn in any of their former applications. It is reckoned the highest indignity that can be offered to a soldier, to order him to retire by an expression of contempt; and if any violence is employed to remove him, he generally resents it in the instant with blood-shed. These considerations were not sufficient to restrain the zeal of Seid Mahomed's attendants from resenting the insult which was offered to their prince; and finding that expostulations did not prevail, they seized on the Pitans, and turned them out of the palace by force. The Pitans suffered themselves to be removed with much less resistance than it was expected they would have made against a treatment so repugnant to the ideas which these haughty soldiers entertain of their own importance. The same day they advanced again into the presence of Seid Mahomed, and apologized for their disrespectful behaviour: their submissions suppressed all suspicions of their conduct during the remaining part of the day.

In the evening Seid Mahomed, with Mortiz-ally and most of the other guests, were assembled, and as soon as the young prince was informed, that An'war-odean was approaching, he arose from his seat, and passed into the vestibule of the hall, intending to pay his guardian the compliment of receiving him at the bottom of the steps, which led

led into the palace. He was attended by all the other guests, and many of his own officers and guards. The thirteen Pitans, who had made their submission in the morning, appeared the foremost of the spectators in the court below, and distinguished themselves by the affectation of great reverence in their manner of saluting Seid Mahomed Khan, as soon as he appeared in the vestibule. After these compliments, their captain, with the appearance of a man sensible that he had offended his lord, and intended to submit himself at his feet, ascended the steps, and was permitted to approach within the reach of his person ; when the assassin drew a dagger, and at the first blow stabbed him to the heart. 1744

A thousand swords and poignards were drawn in an instant : the murderer was cut to pieces on the very spot ; and ten of his accomplices suffered the same fate from the fury of the multitude below. During this scene of bloodshed, An'war-odean Khan arrived, and endeavoured to calm the general trepidation, by giving such orders as were necessary for the discovery of the conspirators ; for the multitude had already persuaded themselves that the Pitans had been employed by some superior power.

All who beheld the young prince deprived of life by this assassination, were instantly struck with the remembrance of the murder of his father committed in Velore ; murmurs from many had already declared the suspicions that were entertained of Mortiz-ally, when it was reported, that, during the general confusion, he had gained the gates of the fort, where a large body of cavalry and other troops, which composed his retinue, were waiting for him ; and that, surrounded by these guards, he was already on his way to Velore. The precipitation of this flight, which appeared as much the consequence of previous dispositions as the effect of sudden fear, left no doubt that he was the author of the assassination. Nothing was now heard but curses and imprecations on his head, for the murder of the innocent and much-loved Seid Mahomed Khan, and for the murder of the father of this unfortunate prince. The people saw themselves obliged to confine their indignation to these expressions of it ; for the strength of Mortiz-ally's escort required a larger body of cavalry

1744 to be sent in pursuit of it, than could be assembled within the time necessary to overtake him, Velore being no more than twelve miles distant from Arcot.

The multitude now received orders from An'war-odean to retire to their homes ; and, as men struck with dismay at a common calamity, assembled in secret companies, to communicate their thoughts on the murder of which they had been spectators.

An'war-odean, either actuated by the same spirit of indignation as the people, or affecting the appearance of it, not only removed the Pitans in his service from their employments, but also gave orders that all of that nation should immediately quit the city ; and, as a stronger proof of his resentment, caused their houses to be razed to the ground, a mark of infamy rarely practised, excepting the persons, whom it is intended to stigmatize, have deserved capital punishment. But these expressions of indignation did not exempt him from imputations. Many persons of rank and power in the province asserted that they had discovered secrets, which convinced them that the assassination was the result of a confederacy between him and Mortiz-ally.

They said, that the respect and attachment which were shewn by all ranks of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relations bore in the Carnatic, by possessing the best forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-odean Khan with apprehensions of conspiracies and revolts which might at one time or other remove him, in order to place Seid Mahomed in the sovereignty : that, actuated by these suspicions, he regarded the destruction of Seid Mahomed as necessary to his own security, and was only with-held from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-muluck's resentment ; which suggested to him the scheme of practising on Mortiz-ally, by such insinuations and offers, as might induce him to undertake the destruction of Seid Mahomed ; but in such a manner, that, if a discovery should be made, the murder might be imputed to Mortiz-ally alone ; who being persuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, and dreading the revenge of this prince for the murder of his father, hired the assassins,

assassins, having previously assured himself of protection from An'war-odean Khan, and even of rewards by an encrease of the Domain of Velore. 1744

The secrets of the princes of Indostan are very difficult to be discovered. In affairs of consequence nothing, except in the most equivocal terms, is ever given by them in writing; and whenever the matter is of great importance or iniquity, it is trusted to a messenger, a man of low rank and great cunning, who bears a letter of recommendation, testifying that he is to be trusted in all he says. So indefinite a commission reserves to the lord who gives it, the resource of disavowing the transaction of his agent; and this he never fails to do, whenever the iniquity is discovered. Hence the public in Indostan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers either from probable conjectures, or from the general idea of their characters. The constitution and defects of the government have rendered poisons and assassinations, in the practice of the great, the common method of removing those who stand in opposition to the ambition of others; insomuch that a history of one century in Indostan, would furnish more examples of this nature than can be found in the history of one half of the kingdoms of Europe since the time of Charlemagne. From the frequency of these enormous practices, even the deaths which happen in the common course of nature, are imputed to those who receive immediate advantage from them. Such were the principles on which the people of the Carnatic judged and condemned An'war-odean Khan for the murder of Seid Mahomed; although no positive proofs were brought of his having been accessory to it. The most probable argument against him was founded on the early appearance of Mortiz-ally at Arcot in the days of a new administration. This was thought incompatible with the wariness of his character, without supposing a connection which assured him of protection from An'war-odean.

An'war-odean strongly denied all connections with Mortiz-ally, and challenged any proof to be brought that either he himself, or any of his dependents, had ever had any correspondence with the Pitans

1744 who committed the murder ; which he attributed solely to Mortiz-ally, alledging as a proof, that the Pitans had often been at Velore, and were known to have received many marks of favour from him. On the other hand Mortiz-ally retorted the accusation, but brought no testimonies to support his assertion : It was supposed that the only proofs which he could have brought against An'war-odean, would at the same time have condemned himself.

Although An'war-odean was not able to exculpate himself in the opinion of his subjects, he found means to convince his superior, Nizam-al-muluck, that he was entirely innocent of the blood of Seid Mahomed. Nizam-al-muluck, who never did any thing by halves, thought it necessary to give him support, in proportion as he became odious to the Carnatic, and sent him a full and regular commission for the Nabobship of Arcot soon after the death of Seid Mahomed. The province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of his government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs.

War was now declared between Great Britain and France, in consequence of which a squadron of English men of war appeared in the Indian seas. It consisted of two 60 gun ships, one of 50, and a frigate of 20 guns : these ships did not come immediately to the English settlements in Indostan, but passing beyond them, cruised in two divisions in the straits of Sunda and Malacca. They took in these stations three French ships returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry ; the cargoes of which produced 180,000*l.* sterling. They also took a French ship at Atchin, which was converted into an English man of war of 40 guns, and called the Medway's Prize. After rendezvousing at Batavia, the squadron united appeared on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July 1745, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, its fortifications were not completed, and no French squadron had hitherto appeared in India.

1745

The appearance of the English squadron, and the report of the reinforcements which they expected from England, alarmed Mr. Duplex for the safety of Pondicherry. He prevailed on the Nabob An'war-odean to insist with the government of Madrass, that the English ships of war should not commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot; but the Nabob at the same time assured the English, that he would oblige the French to observe the same law of neutrality, if their force should hereafter become superior to that of the English. The government of Madrass remonstrated, that they were always ready to obey his commands as far as their power extended; but that Mr. Barnet, the commander of the English squadron, was the immediate officer of the King of Great Britain, by whose orders and commission he acted, independent of the East India company's agents at Madrass. The Nabob replied, that all officers of the English nation who came to the coast of Coromandel were equally obliged to respect his government in the Carnatic; and that if Mr. Barnet, with his squadron, should venture to act contrary to the orders he had now given, the town of Madrass should atone for their disobedience.

These threats made so much impression upon the government of Madrass, that they requested and prevailed on Commodore Barnet to confine his operations to the sea. He therefore sent one of the 50 gun ships to cruise in the road of Balasore, at the entrance of the river Ganges, where she took two or three French ships returning from different parts of India to the French settlements in Bengal. The rest of the squadron left the coast of Coromandel to avoid the approaching stormy season, and went to Mergui, a port situated on the coast which lies opposite to that of Coromandel in the Gulph of Bengal.

In the beginning of the year 1746 the squadron returned to the coast of Coromandel, and were reinforced by two 50 gun ships, and a frigate of 20 guns, from England: but at this time the 60 gun ship, in which Mr. Barnet hoisted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the 20 gun ship which came first into India, was sent back to England.

1746

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There was now certain intelligence that a French squadron was preparing to come on the coast of Coromandel, when that of the English was deprived of one of its principal advantages, by losing Commodore Barnet, who died at Fort St. David's in April. His death, happening at a time when the English affairs in India were threatened with danger, was generally regretted as a public loss, and indeed he was a man of great abilities in sea affairs.

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, the English squadron cruising to the southward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, descried that of the French arriving on the coast of Coromandel. It consisted of nine ships, which were commanded by Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who had equipped them at the isle of Mauritius, and afterwards, when scattered by a hurricane, had resisted them in the island of Madagascar, overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity, as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced. Of these ships one mounted 26 guns, two 28, one 30, three 34, one 36, and that on board of which Mr. De la Bourdonnais hoisted his flag mounted 70 guns, of which 60 were 18 pounders. There were but 14 other guns of this size in the whole squadron, the rest being 12 and 8 pounders. All but the 70 gun ship were bored to mount more guns than the number with which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had been able to equip them; and five of them for 50 guns. On board of the ships were 3,300 men, of which 700 were either Caffres or Lascars: 3 or 400 of the whole number were rendered unfit for service by sickness.

The English squadron consisted of one 60 gun ship, three of 50, one of 40, and one frigate of 20 guns, which was too small to be brought into the action. The number of men did not amount to one half of that in the French squadron: but the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at sea is at present generally decided; and they likewise sailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater skill.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais, knowing the advantages and disadvantages of his force, had determined to decide the impending engagement by  
boarding



boarding the English ships, if it were possible to bring his own into the situations necessary to accomplish this design. Mr. Peyton, who commanded the English squadron, perceiving this intention, determined to engage with his squadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy, since in this situation their efforts to board would be easily avoided; and a great part of the day was employed in preserving this advantage. It was not until 4 in the afternoon that the fight began: it was maintained at such a distance that the fire of the small arms from the French ships, notwithstanding the great numbers and expertness of their musketeers, did very little execution; but, on the other hand, the cannon of the English, from the same cause, did much less than might have been expected from them in a closer engagement. The fight finished with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the English squadron, and the greatest part of these on board the Medway's Prize. We are not exactly informed of the loss sustained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to less than 300. One of their ships, which mounted 30 guns, was in less than half an hour dismasted, and so much shattered, that immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges.

The next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, when, on a review of the condition of the squadron, it was not thought prudent, especially as the 60 gun ship was extremely leaky, to venture a second engagement, before the damages it had sustained were repaired. In consequence of this resolution, the ships made sail for the harbour of Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, and in the evening lost sight of the French squadron, which had lain to the whole day, as if challenging the English, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. This appearance of resolution in Mr. De la Bourdonnais was no more than a feint, practised to deter the English from doing what he most dreaded; for most of his ships had expended the greatest part of their ammunition, and several of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.

In the night of the ensuing day the French squadron, now consisting of eight ships, arrived in the road of Pondicherry; where Mr. Du-

1746 pleix commanded, for the French East India company, all the establishments of his nation in India, the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon excepted. These were under the government of Mr. De la Bourdonnais, to whom all the operations of the squadron were intrusted, independent of the controul of Mr. Dupleix.

The reputation and riches which it was probable Mr. De la Bourdonnais would gain in the command of his armament, created jealousy in the mind of Mr. Dupleix. Dissensions arose between the two commanders: but the zeal of Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not suffer the interests of his nation to be sacrificed to them. Judging that the force which he commanded could not be employed by land with any probability of success, until the English squadron should be either ruined or forced to quit the coast of Coromandel; he determined to go in quest of them as soon as his own ships were refitted and provided with 30 or 40 pieces more of heavy cannon than they mounted on leaving the island of Mauritius.

On the 24th of July the French squadron sailed from Pondicherry, working to the southward against the southern monsoon, and on the 6th of August discovered the English, which had been refitted at Trincomalee. The English perceiving the addition of cannon with which the enemy had been supplied at Pondicherry, avoided an engagement. The two squadrons were three days in sight of each other, after which, according to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's account, the English ships, availing themselves of the advantage of sailing better than the French, disappeared.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais returned with his ships to Pondicherry, imagining that the English squadron would remain on the coast of Coromandel, at least with the hope of deterring him from attempting any operations against the English settlements. But encouraged by their shyness at the last meeting, he now determined to lay siege to Madras.

The English, informed of the preparations which were making at Pondicherry to attack them, called on the Nabob to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land. But they omitted to employ the most certain

means

means of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his assistance with a present of money. This ill-judged parsimony left the Nabob so lukewarm in their interests, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a positive permission, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from using menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madrass. 1746

This settlement had been about 100 years the principal establishment of the English nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was in a territory granted by the Great Mogul to the East India company, which extended about five miles along the sea shore, and about one mile in land. The town consisted of three divisions; that to the south extended about 400 yards in length from north to south, and about 100 yards in breadth: none but the English, or other Europeans under their protection, resided in this division, which contained about 50 good houses, an English and a Roman Catholic Church, together with the residence of the factory, and other buildings belonging to the company: it was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries, but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them: this quarter has long been known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and was in India called for distinction the White Town. On the north of this, and contiguous, was another division, much larger and worse fortified, in which were many very good habitations belonging to the Armenian and to the richest of the Indian merchants, who resided in the company's territory: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this division, and to the north of it, was a suburb, where the Indian natives of all ranks had their habitations promiscuously. Besides these three divisions, which composed the town of Madrass, there were two large and populous villages about a mile to the southward of it, within the company's territory, and these were likewise inhabited by Indian natives.

The trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, together with that which is carried on by merchants of various nations from one part of India to another, had raised Madrass to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the Eu-

1746 ropean establishments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia. There were 250,000 inhabitants in the company's territory, of which the greatest part were natives of India of various casts and religions : amongst these were three or four thousand of those Indian christians who call themselves Portuguese, and pretend to be descended from that nation. The English in the colony did not exceed the number of 300 men : and 200 of these were the soldiers of the garrison ; but none of them excepting two or three of their officers, had ever seen any other service than that of the parade : the rest of the English inhabitants, solely employed in the occupations of commerce, were still more unfit for military services. At the same time the defence of the place depended on this small number of English subjects ; for it was known that the rest of the inhabitants, regarding themselves as neutrals, would take flight on the first approach of danger.

On the 18th of August the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage. They attempted to take a ship belonging to the English company out of the road ; but she moved into shoal-water, so near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with armed boats ; and it was evident, from the unskilfulness of their operations during this cruise, that Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not command them in person : he was at this time in Pondicherry, confined to his bed by sickness.

The protection of the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel was the principal object for which the squadron had been sent into India ; and their appearance before Madrass was at this time thought so necessary to its defence, that the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of seeing them, although they had received no intelligence of them since they were last seen, six weeks before, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. The consternation of the town was therefore little less than despair, when it was reported that they had appeared on the 23d of August 30 miles to the northward of Madrass, in sight of the Dutch settlement of Palliacatte, from whence they had again put out to sea, and disappeared. They proceeded to Bengal ; for the 60 gun ship was so leaky, that it was feared the shock of firing her own

own cannon would sink her, if she should be brought into an engagement. 1746

On the 3d of September the French squadron anchored four leagues to the south of Madrass, having on board the troops, artillery and stores intended for the siege. Here a part of the troops was landed, and marching along the coast advanced the next day within cannon shot of the town, where the rest of the soldiers were landed. The whole consisted of 1,100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indian natives disciplined in the European manner. There remained on board of the squadron 1,800 European mariners.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais directed his attack against the White Town, in which the English resided : the northern side of this division could not be attacked by cannon, as the houses of the next division almost touched the wall, which separated them from each other : the eastern side could only be battered from the sea ; but the south and west lay open to the plain. On the 7th of September the French began to bombard the town, from a battery of nine mortars, which they erected to the westward, under the shelter of a large house, within 500 yards of the walls. In the evening three of their largest ships drew as near as the depth of water would permit, and cannonaded the town. In the night Mr. De la Bourdonnais was flung into great perplexity, by intelligence that some large ships were seen to the southward of Pondicherry ; which indeed was contradicted in the morning : but the first report caused so much alarm in the French camp, that they were preparing to reship their heavy cannon.

On the 8th of September the French had finished a battery of five mortars to the south, and bombarded the town without intermission until the next morning, when two English deputies went to their camp, to treat with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who insisted that the town should be delivered up to him on his own terms : and threatened, in case of refusal, to make a general assault. This resolution arose from his apprehension of the return of the English squadron. As soon as the deputies returned, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until the evening, when it was suspended

1746 pended for two hours, during the conference of another deputy sent from the town ; after which it continued during the rest of the night.

The next morning, the 10th of September, the deputies returned to the French camp, and, after some altercations, consented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the first conference. It was agreed that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war : that the town should be immediately delivered up ; but that it should be afterwards ransomed. Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave his promise that he would settle the ransom on easy and moderate terms.

The capitulation was signed in the afternoon, when Mr. de la Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French colours were immediately displayed ; and, at the same time, the English ship belonging to the East India company, which lay in the road, was taken possession of without resistance by the boats of the French squadron. There was not a man killed in the French camp during the siege ; four or five Englishmen were killed in the town by the explosion of the bombs, which likewise destroyed two or three houses. From this period it is useful to contemplate the progress made by the English in Indostan, both in the science and spirit of war.

The English inhabitants were permitted to reside without molestation in their houses ; but the magazines and ware-houses belonging to the East India company were taken possession of by the French commissaries.

On the day in which Madrass was surrendered, a messenger from the Nabob An'war-odean Khan, dispatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Mr. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expressed great surprize at the presumption of the French in attacking Madrass without his permission, and threatened to send his army there, if the siege was not immediately raised. Mr. Dupleix sent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promising that the town, if taken, should be given up to him ;

and

and by representing, that the English would certainly be willing to pay him a large sum of money for the restitution of so valuable a possession. By this transaction, Mr. Dupleix first discovered that he thought the right of disposing of Madrass, was invested in himself as governor general of the French establishments in India. 1746

But Mr. De la Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, did not admit of this authority in the governor of Pondicherry, and, conformable to his promise, proceeded to treat with the English for the ransom of the town. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry protested against the treaty, as a measure highly detrimental to the interests of their nation, which, they said, would be sacrificed to private advantages, if Madrass was not razed to the ground. Disputes ensued, which, fortunately for the English affairs, prevented many evils, which in all probability would have befallen them, if the councils of the enemy had not been divided by these contentions. For on the 27th of September three ships of war, one of 72, the others of 40 guns, with 1,360 men on board, arrived at Pondicherry, and with this reinforcement, the French force was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the English settlements in Indostan. Such indeed was the destination and intention of De la Bourdonnais; and he would have immediately began to carry this plan of hostilities into execution, if all his operations had not been contradicted by Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry.

However, the effects of Madrass, which Mr. De la Bourdonnais intended to carry away in his ships, were put on board by the 1st of October, and two of them had sailed to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix was not as yet reconciled to the treaty of ransom, and Mr. De la Bourdonnais was determined not to leave Madrass before the governor and council of Pondicherry had given their approbation: at the same time his experience in the navigation of India fully apprized him of the danger to which his ships were exposed, by remaining on the coast of Coromandel at this critical season of the year.

In India the year is divided into two seasons. From the month of October to March the winds blow from the north, and during the rest of the year from the southern points of the compass: these seasons

1746 } sons are by mariners called monsoons: the change from one to the other is generally preceded by an interval of about twenty days, in which calms, or light and uncertain winds prevail: the setting in of the northern monsoon generally falls out some time in the month of October, as that of the southern in the month of April. On the coast of Coromandel the northern monsoon sometimes begins with a violent tempest or hurricane; and if the monsoon sets in with moderation, it is often productive of tempestuous weather at different intervals, until the middle of December, and sometimes later; so that it is held dangerous for any vessels to remain on the coast after the 15th of October, or to return to it before the 20th of December.

On the 2d of October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious storm arose, and continued with the greatest violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the road when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind, and was driven so much to the southward, that she was not able to gain the coast again: the 70 gun ship lost all her masts: three others of the squadron were likewise dismasted, and had so much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown over-board all the cannon of the lower tier: the other ship, during the few moments of a whirlwind which happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels belonging to different nations, were either driven on shore, or perished at sea.

The other two ships, laden with part of the effects of Madrass, together with the three lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the storm which was raging at Madrass: It is observed, that the violence of these hurricanes is generally confined to 60 or 80 miles in breadth, although in their progress they generally blow quite across the Bay of Bengal.

The articles of the treaty of ransom had been adjusted the day before the storm happened. It was agreed that the French should evacuate



evacuate the town by the 4th of October ; and by one of the articles, the artillery and warlike stores remaining in the town, were to be equally divided between the French and English.

Mr. Dupleix had represented to Mr. De la Bourdonnais, that he would not interfere in any transactions with the English after his departure, unless the French remained in possession of Madrass for so much time as might be necessary to adjust all discussions arising from the treaty. Mr. De la Bourdonnais therefore represented to the English, the necessity to which he was reduced, by the obstinacy of Mr. Dupleix, of protracting for three months, the term in which he had agreed to put them in possession of the town : the English, apprehensive that if they refused to admit of this alteration, they should be left to the mercy of Mr. Dupleix without a treaty, acquiesced in this proposal ; and the treaty was signed on the 10th of October.

All the merchandizes, and a part of the military stores, belonging to the East India company, together with all the naval stores found in the town, had been laden on board of the French ships : these articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds sterling ; and the gold and silver of which they took possession to the value of 31,000 pounds sterling ; the half of the artillery and military stores was estimated at 24,000 pounds sterling : all the other effects and merchandizes were relinquished to the proprietors of them. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, after which the English were to remain in possession of it, without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon these conditions the governor and council of Madrass agreed to pay the sum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000 pounds sterling. Of this sum 240,000 pounds were to be paid at Pondicherry, by six equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749 : and for the remaining 200,000 pounds, bills were drawn on the East India company in London, payable a few months after they should be presented. The English gave hostages for the performance of this treaty.

On the 12th of October, Mr. De la Bourdonnais invested one of the council of Pondicherry, appointed by Mr. Dupleix, with the government

1746

vernment of Madrass, and went on board of his own ship, which had been refitted with jury masts. He anchored in the road of Pondicherry on the 15th, and sailed from thence the 20th with seven ships, intending to proceed to Achin : but foreseeing that a part of them would probably be unable to reach that port, he formed the squadron into two divisions ; one consisted of the three ships which arrived last from Europe, together with another that had escaped the storm : these were all in good condition ; and were therefore ordered to make their way to Achin, without waiting for the other division, which consisted of Mr. De la Bourdonnais' 70 gun ship, one that had been dismasted, and a merchant-ship which had likewise suffered in the storm. The four sound ships very soon sailed out of sight of their comrades : and Mr. De la Bourdonnais, finding that the shattered condition of the other three rendered them incapable of gaining their destined port against a violent and contrary wind, made sail for the island of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December without any accident. He soon after left Mauritius, which, from a forest, he had rendered a flourishing colony, and the arsenal of all the French military expeditions in India. Every body knows the treatment he received on his arrival in France. The friends of Mr. Du-pleix had influence enough at the court to get him confined to the bastile, where he remained a prisoner almost three years : upon an examination of his conduct, his justification, proved by original papers which have been made public, procured him his liberty. Had he survived the subsequent ill successes of his nation at sea, his abilities would probably have raised him to the highest commands in the navy of France. His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ship from the keel : his skill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe : and his courage, of defending her against any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he superintended all the details of the service, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were simple, his orders precise, and both the best adapted to the service in which he was engaged. His application was incessant ; and difficulties served only to increase his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to those he commanded.

The

The storm ruined the French marine force in India, and preserved the English establishments from imminent danger: but the events which ensued on the Coast of Coromandel, seem to have been the consequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French squadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. Mr. De la Bourdonnais left behind him 1,200 disciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ships which came last into India, and 8 or 900 sailors were taken out of the ships that remained on the coast, and disciplined as soldiers. By which additions the forces of Pondicherry amounted to 3,000 Europeans.

The Nabob An'war-odean, very soon after the French had taken Madrass, began to suspect, or had discovered, that the promise of Mr. Dupleix to put him in possession of the town, was a fraud employed to divert him from giving the English any assistance during the siege. He determined to revenge this affront by laying siege to Madrass; which he made no doubt of taking from the French, with as much ease as they had taken it from the English: for measuring the military abilities of the Europeans, by the great respect and humility with which they had hitherto carried themselves in all their transactions with the Mogul government; he imagined that this submission in their behaviour proceeded from a consciousness of the superior military prowess of the Moors.

Some of his troops arrived in the neighbourhood of Madrass before Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, and soon after, his eldest son, Maphuze Khan with the rest. The whole army amounted to 10,000 men, and invested the town: two deputies were immediately sent to treat with him, and these he kept prisoners. The French governor had received orders from Mr. Dupleix to refrain as long as possible from committing any hostilities against Maphuze Khan, who imputed this inaction to fear: and having received information of the dispositions which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had made for the attack of the place, he endeavoured to imitate them; great heaps of faggots and earth were brought to the spot where the French had erected one of their batteries of mortars against the town: here the

1746 Moors intended to form a battery of their cannon, which were so old, as not to be fired without risk to those who managed them.

A shallow river ran along the western side of Madrass: its outlet to the sea was about 700 yards to the south of the White Town; but this was generally stopped by a mound, formed of the sands, which were continually thrown up by the surf. This obstruction confining the waters of the river, rendered it of as much defence as a wet ditch to that part of the town by which it passed. The Nabob's army intended to escalate the Black Town, of which the walls were low, and the bastions of very little strength; this had been the project of Mr. De la Bourdonnais. To facilitate their approach to the walls in a general assault, they employed a great number of men to cut through the mound of sand; a practice which they were informed the English always made use of, whenever they thought it necessary to drain the river. At the same time a large body of troops took possession of a spring lying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only source from which the inhabitants were supplied with good water. These measures shewed a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors. The French finding the waters of the river decrease, and their communication with the spring interrupted, commenced hostilities, and fired from the bastions of the Black and White Town, upon the Moors, wherever they appeared; who immediately retreated from the mound, and the rest of their stations, which were exposed to this fire; but still kept possession of the ground near the spring, which was out of the reach of cannon-shot from the town.

The next day, being the 22d of October, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, and attacked that quarter of the Nabob's army, which was encamped to the north-west, between the town and the spring. Their cavalry mounted on the first alarm, and uniting their squadrons, advanced with the appearance of resolution. Having never experienced the effect of field pieces, they had no conception that it was possible to fire, with execution, the same piece of cannon five or six times in a minute; for in the awkward management of their own clumsy artillery,

artillery, they think they do well if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line, until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them ; when the line opening to the right and left, the field pieces began to fire : two or three of the enemy's horses were killed by the first discharge, which threw the whole body into confusion : however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire ; but, finding that it continued with vivacity, they took to flight with great precipitation. The French plundered their tents and baggage without interruption, and took two pieces of cannon, so little fit for service, that they flung them into a well. They did not lose a man in the attack, and killed about seventy of the Moors. 1746

Maphuze Khan, immediately after this defeat, collected all his troops into one camp, about two miles to the westward of the town : but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took possession of St. Thomé, a town situated about four miles to the south of Madrass.

This place, once in the possession of the Portuguese, and during the time of their prosperity in India famous for the splendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long since been reduced to a town of little note or resort, although it still gives title to a Portuguese bishop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall : a river ran into the sea from the west, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maphuze Khan took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river opposite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horse and foot, drawn up on the other side, to oppose their passage. It had been concerted, that a party of 400 men should march from Madrass, and attack the Moors on the northern side of the town, at the same time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the south : but the troops from Ma-

1746 drass failed to arrive in time. The other detachment nevertheless advanced without hesitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they passed it without loss, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as usual, was very ill served. As soon as they gained the opposite bank, they gave a general fire of their small arms, and then attacked with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a shew of resistance from behind some pallisadoes which they had planted in different parts of the south side. The French continued to advance in good order, and no sooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; when the horse and foot falling back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of the town, the confusion of the throng was so great, that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the westward. Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard of the Carnatic was displayed, was one of the first who made his escape. They were scarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madrass arrived, and assisted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were some valuable effects: many horses and oxen, and some camels were likewise taken. It is said, that the French troops murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. This defeat struck such a terror into the Nabob's army, that they immediately retreated some miles from Madrass, and soon after returned to Arcot.

It was now more than a century since any of the European nations had gained a decisive advantage in war against the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unsuccessful enterprizes, and the scantiness of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long disuse of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a single battalion.

The officer who commanded the detachment, which routed the Moors at St. Thomé, was a Swiss, named Paradis. He had gained the favour of Mr. Dupleix, by manifesting a violent enmity against Mr. De la Bourdonnais : and Mr. Dupleix regarding him as the most proper person to carry into execution any opposition to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's measures, appointed Paradis governor of Madrass. At the same time, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, instructed by Mr. Dupleix's emissaries, assembled and drew up a representation, addressed to Mr. Dupleix and the council, in which they set forth the necessity, as they pretended, of annulling the treaty of ransom. Mr. Dupleix, and the council of Pondicherry, affecting to respect the general voice of the inhabitants, which they had suborned, instructed Paradis to execute this resolution. On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of Madrass were called together ; the French garrison was drawn up under arms, and a manifesto, addressed to the English, was publicly read. This paper contained the following declaration and injunctions :

The treaty of ransom made with Mr. De la Bourdonnais was declared null. The English were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception : all merchandizes, plate, provisions, warlike stores, and horses, were declared the property of the French company ; but the English were permitted to dispose of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women : they were required to give their parole not to act against the French nation until they should be exchanged ; and it was declared, that those who refused to obey this injunction, should be arrested and sent to Pondicherry. All, excepting such as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of Madrass, or in any of the country houses belonging to the English without those bounds.

Such injurious and distressful terms aggravated the iniquity of that breach of public faith which produced them.

The French put their manifesto into execution with the utmost rigour, and took possession of the effects of the English with an avaricious exactitude rarely practised by those who suddenly acquire valuable

1746 } able booties : the fortunes of most of the English inhabitants were ruined. The governor and several of the principal inhabitants were conducted, by an escort of 400 men, to Pondicherry : here Mr. Dupleix, under pretence of doing them honour, caused them to enter the town in an ostentatious procession, which exposed them to the view of 50,000 spectators, like prisoners led in triumph. Others of the inhabitants, with several of the military officers, resolved not to give their parole, alledging very justly, that the breach of the treaty of ransom released them from that which they had given to Mr. De la Bourdonnais : and these made their escape out of the town by night, and, travelling through the country by various roads, went to the English settlement of Fort St. David.

The East India company was here in possession of a territory larger than that of Madrass : it had been purchased, about a hundred years before, from the Indian prince of the country ; and their title to it was confirmed by the Mogul's viceroy, when the Moors conquered the Carnatic. The fort was situated near the sea 1½ miles to the south of Pondicherry : it was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India, and served as a citadel to the company's territory. About a mile to the south of it was situated the town of Cuddalore, in which the principal Indian merchants, and many of the natives dependent on the company resided. This town extended 1,200 yards from north to south, and 900 from east to west : three of its sides were defended by walls flanked with bastions ; that to the sea was for the greatest part open ; but a river passing from the westward between Fort St. David and the town, flowed, just before it gains the sea, along the eastern side of the town, of which whilst it washed the skirts on one hand, it was on the other separated from the sea by a mound of sand, which the surf throws upon the shore in most parts of the coast. To the westward of the fort, and within the company's territory, were two or three populous villages, inhabited by the natives. The government of Fort St. David depended on that of Madrass, to which it was immediately the next in rank : but on the breach of the treaty of ransom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding those of Madrass as prisoners to the French, took upon themselves the general administration on the coast of Coromandel.

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They began their administration by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his assistance against the French, by whom they expected every day to be attacked. The defeat of Maphuze Khan at St. Thomé had irritated the Moors so much against that nation, that the Nabob readily engaged to send his army to Fort St. David, on condition that the English would furnish part of the expence. This proposal being agreed to, the army prepared to take the field in two bodies, one commanded by Maphuze Khan, and the other by his brother Mahomed-ally.

In the beginning of December Mr. Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madrass to Pondicherry, intending to give him the command of an expedition he was preparing against Fort St. David. Paradis set out with a detachment of 300 Europeans, and took the opportunity of this escort to carry away what booty he had collected in his government. Maphuze Khan, desirous to revenge the defeat of St. Thomé, resolved to intercept this detachment; and waited for it, with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot, about ten miles to the north of Sadrass, a Dutch settlement lying 30 miles to the south of Madrass. The detachment marched in two bodies; one before and one behind the baggage, which was carried by Coolies, a cast of Indians whose sole occupation is to carry burthens. The Moorish cavalry continually harassed the rear, retreating as soon as the French prepared to fire, and returning as soon as they renewed their march: the infantry armed with match-locks, fired from the shelter of thickets and other covers at too great a distance to do execution. However these attacks greatly retarded the progress of the detachment; and Paradis, apprehensive of being overtaken by the night in the open plain, ordered his baggage to proceed before the first division, and then marched away himself with this body as fast as possible to Sadrass, leaving the rear to maintain the fight as they could; who nevertheless did not lose courage, and by never firing until the enemy were within certain reach of execution, made their way good to Sadrass, with the loss of 12 men, who faltering on the way were taken. These prisoners Maphuze Khan shewed as an incontestible proof of victory: and this opinion was in some measure confirmed by the conduct of Paradis, after his arrival at Sadrass, not venturing to proceed until he had been reinforced

1746 forced by a large detachment from Pondicherry ; which it is probable he had only demanded for the greater security of his own baggage, which consisted of valuable effects. Maphuze Khan, satisfied with the advantage he had gained, left the sea-coast the day after the action, and proceeded to join his brother Mahomed-ally, who had taken the field.

The troops destined to attack Fort St. David assembled at Arianco-pang, a small fort built by the French about two miles to the southwest of Pondicherry, and about one mile and a half from the sea : but the officers refusing to admit Mr. Paradis to command them, in prejudice to the right of his seniors in the service ; the command was given to Mr. Bury, the oldest officer of the French troops in India.

The European troops in the service of the colonies established in Indostan, never consisted intirely of natives of that country to which the colony belongs : on the contrary, one half at least was composed of men of all the nations in Europe. The christians, who call themselves Portuguese, always formed part of a garrison : they are little superior in courage to the lower casts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher casts, as well as the northern Moors of Indostan ; but because they learn the manual exercise and the duties of a parade with sufficient readiness, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, these pretended Portuguese obtained amongst the natives of India the name of Topasses ; by which name the Europeans likewise distinguish them. The Indian natives, and Moors, who are trained in the European manner, are called Sepoys : in taking our arms and military exercise, they do not quit their own dress or any other of their customs. The Sepoys are formed into companies and battalions, and commanded by officers of their own nation and religion. Those troops of the natives, who bring with them their own arms, and continue their own manner of using them, retain the names they bear in their several countries ; but on the coast of Coromandel the Europeans distinguish all these undisciplined troops, whether armed with swords and targets, with bows and arrows, with pikes and lances, with match-locks, or even with muskets, by the general name of Peons.

In the night of the 8th of December the French army set out from Ariancopang, and arrived the next morning, by break of day, at the river Pannar, which runs into the sea about a mile and a half to the north of Fort St. David : their force consisted of 1,700 men, for the most part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry : they had one or two companies of Caffre slaves, natives of Madagascar and of the eastern coast of Africa ; which had been disciplined, and brought into India, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery consisted of six field pieces, and as many mortars. 1746

The garrison of Fort St. David, with the addition of the officers and soldiers who had made their escape from Madrass, consisted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. These were intended to defend the fort : and as the Nabob's behaviour, when Madrass was attacked by De la Bourdonnais, had caused the English to suspect his assurances of assistance, they hired 2,000 Peons for the defence of Cuddalore and the company's territory, and distributed 8 or 900 muskets amongst them. At this time the English had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European discipline, notwithstanding the French had set the example, by raising four or five companies of Sepoys at Pondicherry.

The French army crossed the river Pannar, and entered the company's territory without any other opposition than the fire of some of the Peons, who galled them a little from behind thickets, and other covers ; but retreated as soon as fired upon by the enemy's field-pieces. At the distance of a mile and a half to the north-west of Fort St. David was a country-house appointed for the residence of the governor, behind which, to the north, was a large garden inclosed with a brick wall, and before the house, to the south, a court with buildings on each side of it. The ford where the French had passed the river was about a quarter of a mile from the garden ; in which some Peons were stationed, whom the enemy soon dislodged. Mr. Dupleix having received intelligence that the Nabob had sent no more than 1,500 men to the assistance of the English, had instructed Mr. Bury to march through the company's territory, and assault the town of Cuddalore. The French, having met with no other resistance than

1746 from the irregular skirmishes of the Peons, suspected no other attacks, and from this confidence, the soldiers, fatigued with a march of twelve miles, were permitted, as soon as they had taken possession of the garden, to lay down their arms; and the officers neglected to station guards, or to take the usual precautions which are generally thought indispensable against a surprize. In a few minutes the whole army had quitted their arms, and every man was straggling according to his own inclination: some were cutting wood to dress their meal, some were cooking it, some were eating, and others were laid down to sleep: the Coolies and the Indians conducting the camels, carts, and oxen laden with the baggage, discharged it promiscuously in the court before the garden-house, and then dispersed. Such was the general disorder, when a large body of forces, horse and foot, were discovered approaching in good order from the westward. These were the Nabob's army, consisting of 6,000 horse and 3,000 foot, under the command of his sons Maphuze Khan and Mahomed-ally, who having united the forces they separately commanded, had arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimundelum, four miles to the west of Fort St. David.

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

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

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

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

1746 Mr. Dupleix, thus disappointed a second time in his views against Cuddalore, finding that the Nabob's army still continued with the English, attempted to cause a diversion of their troops, by carrying the war into the Nabob's country near Madrass. A detachment from the town marched 20 miles inland, burning and destroying villages without resistance; for the inhabitants took to flight as they approached; and the Nabob had no troops in that part of his country. The French found large quantities of grain in several places, which they set fire to, for want of means to carry it away. They gained no advantage but plunder by this expedition; for the Moors remained at Fort St. David, and the Nabob was more exasperated than before.

1747 On the 9th of January the four ships, that composed the largest division of the squadron in which Mr. De la Bourdonnais quitted the coast, returned from Achin to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix informed the Nabob of their arrival, exaggerated the addition of force which Pondicherry received from it, and at the same time represented the English at Fort St. David as a handful of men abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. The princes of Indostan, as well as their subjects, take no pains to inform themselves of any affairs excepting those of their own country; and the long absence of the English squadron, joined to the precipitation with which it had quitted the coast in September, concurred with Mr. Dupleix's assertions, to make the Moors believe that the English concerns in India were becoming desperate. The governments of Indostan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action. The Nabob ordered his son Maphuze Khan to listen to Mr. Dupleix's proposals of an accommodation, and sent back to Pondicherry the two deputies who had been detained prisoners by Maphuze Khan, when he invested Madrass. One of these prisoners was nephew to Mr. Dupleix, and the other a member of the council of Pondicherry: they had been kept at Arcot during their captivity, and were perhaps the only Europeans, excepting some vagabonds and Jesuits, who had made so long a residence in the capital of the Carnatic, since the province

vince had been conquered by the Great Mogul. The Moors had 1747  
 hitherto been careful to prevent Europeans from informing them-  
 selves of the state of the country, and the Europeans, solely em-  
 ployed in commerce, were so little solicitous of acquiring such in-  
 formation, that at this time they knew as little of Arcot as of Delhi.

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

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

1747 Moors, and that they should immediately send boats to bring on shore the treasure and the soldiers. The captain, deceived by this letter, as well as by the flag which was flying in the town, entertained no suspicion, and permitted the boats to come to the ship without examination. A number of soldiers were concealed in them, who in the same instant boarded the ship from different quarters. The greatest part of the ship's company were enfeebled by the scurvy, and those who were capable of making resistance were so much surprised, that they were easily overpowered. This was a rich prize, having on board besides merchandizes 60,000 pounds sterling in bullion. In the interval another of the company's ships anchored in the road of Fort St. David, where the governor immediately sent off a letter to the captain, acquainting him with the loss of Madrass, of the great superiority of the French force on the coast of Coromandel, and of the distresses to which the fort was reduced by the want both of men and money. The ship was, as usual, consigned to the governor and council of Madrass; and the distresses of Fort St. David, instead of inducing the captain to assist them, only suggested to him the risk to which his own fortune might be exposed, by landing the company's treasure, contrary to the letter of his instructions, in a settlement threatened with such imminent danger: he therefore refused to comply with the request of the governor, and set sail for Bengal without landing the soldiers, or any part of the cargo. These sinister accidents served to confirm Mr. Dupleix's assertions, even in the opinion of the English themselves, that their situation was growing desperate, when at last, on the 19th of February, the ship which had escaped out of the road of Madrass in November came from Ceylon, and landed 60,000*l.* in silver, together with 20 recruits for the garrison: the money was a very important supply; for the treasury of Fort St. David was almost exhausted when the ship arrived.

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



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

1747

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

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

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

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

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

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

and two of 40 guns, sent from France. The two 40 gun ships had 1748  
been in India, and had taken an English East India ship in sight of  
the island of Bombay. This prize would have been very considerable,  
had not the vigilance of the governor of the island saved the silver  
that was on board, by sending from the shore two fishing-boats,  
which brought away the treasure, whilst the ship was defending  
itself against the enemy.

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

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

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

1748 sail, and with the sea-wind come near the shore, where they are ready to avail themselves again of the land-wind as soon as it sets in. By these operations a vessel that sails well sometimes gets ten or fifteen miles to the south in a day ; but it is not uncommon to see others employed a month in getting only 100 miles to the southward.

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

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

for the service of Pondicherry. Having thus effected the design of 1748 his voyage, he put out to sea on his return to Mauritius before the English squadron appeared in sight of Madrass.

Mr. Dupleix perceiving that the English squadron had sailed to Madrass, from whence they could not return to Fort St. David in some days, determined to avail himself of their absence, and make another attack upon Cuddalore. Eight hundred Europeans, with 1,000 Sepoys, marched from Pondicherry, and making a circuit inland, arrived on the 17th of June in the morning within three miles of Cuddalore, at the hills of Bandapolam. Here they halted during the day, and intended at night to attack Cuddalore by surprise.

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

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

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

1748 of 20, a sloop of 14 guns, a bomb ketch with her tender, and an hospital-ship. These belonged to the navy of England; and 11 of the East India company's ships were likewise employed to transport the military stores, and the regular troops, which amounted to 1,400 men. This fleet left England in November, and the greatest part arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of March, but five ships not until the 15th of April. They were joined at the Cape by six ships belonging to the Dutch East India company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. The troops having been landed to refresh, were all reimbarcked before the 26th of April, when it was intended to sail; but contrary winds and weather detained the fleet until the 8th of May, when they left the Cape, bound to the island of Mauritius, which Mr. Boscawen was ordered to attack in his way to the coast of Coromandel.

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

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

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

moun-

mountains separated by narrow vallies. These mountains continue rising one above another from the sea coast to the middle of the island ; so that in whatever view it is seen at a distance, it appears one convex surface rising out of the sea. • The French took possession of it in the year 1665, and finding the soil rich, cultivated it with great assiduity ; it now produces wheat, and most of the garden vegetables of Europe, as well as those of India, with many fruits peculiar to both climates : the mango, China orange, and peach, grow in great plenty, and in great perfection. But the principal object of their agriculture, and what has rendered the island of importance in their commerce, is the cultivation of the coffee-tree, of which they brought the plants from Beit-ul Fakih in Arabia ; and these have thriven so well, that the island now produces 2,000 tons of coffee every year. The cultivation of this tree, as well as most other services of toil, are performed by Caffre slaves brought from Africa and Madagascar. The French have a breed of horses, which, though small, are esteemed for their hardiness ; and they have reared beeves, goats, sheep, and hogs, in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the inhabitants, although not in such plenty as to furnish provision for their shipping ; but this neglect seems to have arisen from the facility and cheapness wherewith these and other provisions may be procured from the western side of Madagascar, where they have settlements. Several families from France established themselves here soon after the French took possession of it, and from them are descended the present inhabitants, who are now multiplied to the number of 4,000, of which 1,000 are men capable of bearing arms : these have not degenerated from their ancestors, but on the contrary are a race so remarkable for stature and proportion, as well as for health and strength, that they equal, if not exceed in these qualities, the most athletic of the European nations. They are the only colony of Europeans established within the tropics which have preserved these advantages.

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

1748 ing about ten miles from east to west, and in some places five miles in-land from the northern coast. All the rest of the island is full of high and steep mountains, laying so near to one another that the intervals between them, instead of vallies, form only beds of torrents ; and these are choaked with vast fragments of stone torn from the rock above. The summits of these mountains are covered with forests of ebony and other large trees, and the ground under the shade of the trees produces herbage, shrubs, and plants of various sorts, from the common grass to the strongest thorn, in such profusion that they form a thicket so closely interwoven, that a step cannot be made, but with the hatchet in hand. Many plantations have been raised with success on these mountains, and some improvements made on the plain to the north-east ; but the productions, altho' mostly of the same kind, are in less quantity, and in less perfection than at Bourbon : it produces no coffee ; but, by the industry of M. De la Bourdonnais, sugar, indigo, and cotton, which are not at Bourbon, were cultivated here with success ; and although these plantations have been much neglected since his departure, they may at any time be recovered. They are at this time endeavouring to cultivate the genuine cinnamon, from plants procured at Ceylon ; but these, if they do not perish, will in all probability, from the difference of soil and climate, greatly degenerate. Iron mines have been discovered in the mountains, near the plain to the north-east ; and, the mountains supplying great quantities of fuel, forges have been erected ; but the iron produced is brittle, and is made into cannon-balls and shells for mortars. Beeves, sheep, and goats, are preserved with great difficulty : the beeves generally die before they have been a year in the island, and are therefore frequently imported from Madagascar and other parts. Common domestic fowls breed in great plenty ; which, with fish and turtle, furnish a great part of the food of the European inhabitants ; who have multiplied very little by marriage, most of them being natives of France. Their Caffre slaves are subject to great mortalities from the small-pox and other epidemical distempers.

Mauritius has two ports, one on the south-east coast, and the other on the north-west. The trade-wind from the south-east blows in these latitudes



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

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

1748

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

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

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

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

upon by eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as 1748  
 from the forts at the entrance of the harbour, where a large ship of  
 two tiers lay at anchor, with her broadside across it ; and that there  
 were twelve other ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which  
 were of force, and equipped for service. As soon as it was dark the  
 barges of the six line of battle ships were sent to sound, and on their  
 return reported that a reef of rocks ran all along about 20 yards  
 from the shore, which rendered it impossible for boats to land, except  
 at the entrance of the rivers over against which the fleet was at  
 anchor, or at the harbour itself : here they had discovered, that the  
 channel leading into it was not more than 100 fathom wide, and  
 that this entrance would be subject to the greatest difficulties by the  
 opposition of the south-east wind. Upon receiving this intelligence,  
 the admiral called a council of war, composed of the principal land  
 and sea officers, and it was resolved, that, as they were ignorant of  
 the strength of the enemy, three armed boats should be sent to en-  
 deavour to land in the night, and take by surprize a man from the  
 shore, from whom intelligence might probably be obtained : this was  
 attempted, but in vain. The next morning, the 25th of June, the  
 council of war assembled again, and were of opinion, that although  
 their force was sufficient to reduce the island, yet the attack, and the  
 maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might proba-  
 bly disable the armament from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry,  
 which Mr. Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal ob-  
 ject of his destination : it was therefore resolved to proceed to the  
 coast of Coromandel without delay, that the squadron might arrive  
 there in time to act before the change of the monsoon in October.

The island would certainly have been reduced, if the conquest of  
 it had been the principal object of the armament ; for the whole of  
 the French force consisted only of 500 regular troops, 200 European  
 inhabitants disciplined as militia, 1,500 Caffre slaves on whose service  
 and attachment the French had little reliance, and 1,000 sailors be-  
 longing to the ships. If the wind, as it generally does, blew al-  
 ways against the entrance of the northern harbour, it would indeed  
 be impracticable to reduce it with ships working against a contrary  
 wind in a narrow channel, and exposed without resistance to the

1748 fire of the enemy's ships and batteries. But it has been discovered that the south-east wind generally blows with least strength about sun-rise ; and it also happens, on four or five days at intervals in the course of a month, that early in the morning this wind ceases in the northern part of the island for an hour or two, when a breeze rises, although faintly, from the north-west : during which a ship stationed at the entrance of the channel, to avail herself of this breeze, may enter the harbour and ply her cannon under sail.

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

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

Twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines belonging to the ships, with 80 artillery-men, composed the regular troops in the king's service : the company's troops consisted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 300 were Topasses, together with 70 artillery-men : the Dutch at Negapatam sent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans : and there were on board the ships, ready to be landed, 1,000 seamen, who had been taught the manual exercise at sea : in all 3,720 Europeans, and 300 Topasses, to which were joined about

2,000 Sepoys, paid by the company, who as yet were scarcely better 1748  
disciplined than common Peons. The Nabob An'war-odean, still  
changing sides, as he found the French or English affairs gaining the  
advantage, promised to send a body of 2,000 horse, but only 300 came,  
and they towards the end of the siege. The heavy cannon and the  
cumbrous stores were laden on board the ships, which proceeded before  
the army, and anchored two miles to the south of Pondicherry.

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

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

1748 landed from the ships. The French, knowing the advantage of gaining time at this season of the year, prudently determined to defend the fort as long as possible. On the opposite side of the river which runs to the north, and close by the fort of Ariancopang, they erected a battery of heavy cannon to obstruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort. The English engineers erected a battery in the plain on the south side of the river, to oppose and silence that of the enemy; but such was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of skill in their art, that when at day-break they opened the battery, most of the guns were found to be intercepted from the sight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers now offered their service to erect another, which they completed with sufficient skill before the next morning: and for greater security, threw up before it an entrenchment, in which a large detachment, consisting of soldiers and sailors, was posted. At day-break the battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for some time on both sides, with little execution done on either. Besides the troops within the fort, a body of 60 European cavalry encamped without the walls. This cavalry, supported by infantry, advanced to the entrenchment where the sailors were posted, who struck with consternation at their appearance, took flight, and communicated their panic to the regular troops. The French cavalry pursued them to the battery, by the fire of which they were, however, soon repulsed. Major Lawrence commanded this day in the entrenchment, and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers: he was disarmed, and obliged to surrender himself prisoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the side of his horse to Ariancopang.

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

lish saw the explosion, they marched up and took possession of the ruins. Thus fortunately delivered, the army did not immediately proceed to Pondicherry, but remained five days longer at Ariancopang, employed in repairing the fort, in which it was determined to leave a garrison; for it was apprehended, that during the siege a detachment of the enemy's troops might again take possession of it, and from hence be enabled to intercept convoys, or harrass the army. 1748

The town of Pondicherry was situated about 70 yards from the sea-shore: its extent within the walls was a little more than a mile from north to south, and about 1,100 yards from east to west: it was fortified on the three sides to the land with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions; and two half-bastions were at the north and south extremities nearest the sea: these works were surrounded by a ditch, and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road; and within the town was built a citadel, too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground lying round the town was inclosed, at a distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of coco-nut and palm-trees, which altogether formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry: this inclosure began at the north, close by the sea-shore, and continued five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a semi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at about a mile and a half from the sea-shore, and in this part the course of the river served to complete the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the same time that it was intended to be a defence against sudden incursions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they first established themselves at Pondicherry; and hence obtained the name of the Bound-hedge.

On the 26th of August the army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Oulgary, lying about two miles from the

1748 the south-west part of the town. From hence a detachment was sent the same day to attack the north-west redoubt. of the bound-hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, notwithstanding it was capable of making a defence that would have cost the English many lives, had they been obliged to storm it. The garrisons in all the other redoubts were soon after withdrawn.

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

On the 30th of August at night the army opened ground, at the distance of 1,500 yards from the walls : by this the engineers shewed themselves little skilled in their art ; for it is the general practice in sieges, to make the first parallel within 800 yards of the covered way. In the morning a detachment of 150 men, from the trench first thrown up, were ordered to lodge themselves about 100 yards nearer the town, and being supplied with working tools, soon covered themselves from the fire of the enemy's cannon. About noon 500 Europeans and 700 Sepoys sallied from the town under the command of Paradis, and attacked both trenches at the same time : they were repulsed at both, and lost 100 men, and seven officers ; amongst the latter their commander Paradis. Ensign Clive distinguished himself with much gallantry in the defence of the advanced trench ; of which we do not repeat the description published in our first edition of this work, because we are informed, that that description is very erroneous.

The approaches were continued, but carried on very slowly, from a want of experience in such operations. Two batteries of three guns were raised within 1,200 yards of the town, to check any future sallies. When the army first opened ground, the bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day : but in a very few days the enemy began to bombard her, and got her distance so exactly, that one of their shells staved the boat astern, and another threw the water in upon her decks ; after which she kept out of the reach of the enemy's mortars in the day-time, and only bombarded in the night. Parties sallied at several times, and attacked the detachments which escorted the stores and cannon from the ships to the camp ;

and



and one day a detachment escorting two pieces of battering cannon was defeated, and the cannon taken. Some troops were sent immediately to recover them ; but could not come up before the enemy had conveyed them under shelter of the ramparts. 1748

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

Two batteries were finished and began to fire on the 26th of September, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of 18 and 24 pounders : a bomb-battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen cohorns were likewise erected. The French now opened several embrasures in the curtain, and began likewise to fire from two or three batteries on the crest of the glacis, insomuch that the fire of the besieged was double that of the besiegers. Mr. Boscawen, willing to employ all the means of annoyance in his power, ordered the ships to batter the town ; and before the next morning all the ships of two tiers had warped within the distance of 1,000 yards of the walls, the shallowness of water not permitting them to approach nearer : the cannonading was incessant, and terrible in appearance, but of no real effect ; for the distance of the ships, and the motion of the sea, hindered the shot from striking successively the same object. The French at first withdrew a great number of their artillery-men from the land side, and employed them in firing against the ships from the batteries which commanded the road ; but perceiving the little damage that the town sustained from the fire of the ships, they slackened their defence on that side, and renewed it to the land side with as much vigour as before.

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

1748 them from executing this intention : remaining therefore in the same stations, they began early in the morning to cannonade the town again, from whence they were fired upon with more vivacity than the day before ; but at noon the wind changing, the ships moved farther from the shore, and the firing ceased on both sides. Only two persons were killed on board the fleet, the one a common sailor, the other captain Adams, commander of the *Harwich*, a 50 gun ship. The French gave out that the fire from the ships had, in the two days, done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the street.

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

Five days were employed in shipping the cannon and heavy stores, destroying the batteries, and reimbarcing the sailors ; and on the 6th of October the troops began to march to Fort St. David ; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the fort ; the rains had already rendered the roads very difficult to be passed. On a review of the army, it was found, that during the siege there had perished in action and by sickness 757 soldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 seamen ; in all 1,065 Europeans : very few of the Sepoys were killed, for they had been only employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and had always ran away on the approach of danger. The French garrison consisted of 1,800 Europeans, and 3,000 Sepoys, of which they lost 200 Europeans, and about 50 Sepoys.

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

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

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

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

END of *the* FIRST BOOK.

## B. O O K II.

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

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

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

1749 } princes of his family had been so complicated, that it was difficult to ascertain to whom the crown rightfully belonged.

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

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

it is limited by the kingdom of Trichinopoly and the country of Tondiman : the capital, bearing the same name as the kingdom, lieth about 30 miles east of Trichinopoly. 1749

The force appointed for the conquest of Tanjore, consisted of 430 Europeans, and 1,000 Sepoys, with four field pieces and four small mortars : the battering cannon and provision for the troops were sent in four ships, two of which were of the line. The army, accompanied by Saujohee, left Fort St. David in the latter end of March, and on the 13th of April encamped on the bank of the river Val-arú, which disembogues itself at Portonovo. In the evening the northern monsoon changed, and the southern commenced with a hurricane, which lasted with such violence until four o'clock the next morning, that the tents of the English camp were blown into rags, many of the draught bullocks and horses were killed, and all the military stores were so much damaged, that the army was obliged to march to Portonovo in order to repair the detriments it had sustained. Here they were informed that the storm had committed much greater ravages at sea : two of the company's ships were stranded between Cuddalore and Fort St. David : the Apollo, hospital ship was lost, with all her crew : the Pembroke, a 60 gun ship, which sailed on the expedition, was wrecked, and only six of the crew saved : and the Namur of 74 guns, in which Admiral Boscawen hoisted his flag, and which was the finest ship of her size belonging to the navy of England, perished, with 750 men. Fortunately most of the other ships were either at Trincomalee, or in parts of the coast to which the greatest violence of the hurricane did not extend.

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

the

1749 the opposite bank, and seemed determined to dispute the passage of the river. Thus disappointed, and ignorant of the enemy's strength as well as of the nature of the country, Captain Cope did not think his force sufficient to prosecute the enterprize, and waited until he was reinforced from Fort St: David with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys : he then crossed the river, which, although a mile broad, was fordable, and, contrary to his expectation, the army met with little resistance from the enemy whilst they were passing it ; but difficulties increased as they advanced : the road in which they attempted to march led through a thick wood, and the enemy from behind the bushes began to annoy them with arrows, and the fire of their matchlocks ; whilst large bodies of horse and foot appeared in the circumjacent plains, moving in the rear and on the flanks. This being the first expedition in which the English troops were engaged against the forces of an Indian prince, the soldiers were struck with no small degree of fear, on comparing the superior numbers of the enemy with their own ; but the artillery-men preserved their resolution, and fired with so much spirit and aim, that they kept the enemy at a distance, and restored the courage of their own troops, who being ordered to march back, gained the bank of the river without confusion. Here the army drew up, the field-pieces securing the flanks, and the river the rear. A council of war was held to deliberate whether they should proceed, or wait for more favourable advices than those hitherto received out of the Tanjore country ; but whilst the council were sitting, a messenger arrived with positive orders from Mr. Boscawen to continue the march, and attack the Fort of Devi-Cotah at all events. In the interval some of the soldiers had discovered a road leading along the bank of the river towards the sea-coast ; and the army began to march this way, although very little of it had been reconnoitred : it led through a much more open country than the other, and the river defended the troops from being surrounded. This lucky discovery saved them from destruction ; for it was afterwards found, that by persisting in the first road, they would, from the nature of the country, have been involved in inextricable difficulties, into which the Tanjofines had hoped to intice them, by making no resistance at the passage



passage of the river. They still continued to move within random 1749  
shot of the English ; their squadrons sometimes threatening to at-  
tack, but always retiring as soon as the field-pieces began to fire. }  
After a march of ten miles the troops halted, late in the evening, a  
mile to the eastward of Devi-Cotah : where they neither saw, nor  
received intelligence of the ships ; for not a man of the country  
ventured near the army ; and the lowness of the ground, together  
with the thick woods that covered it, prevented the ships from being  
discovered, although they were at anchor near the mouth of the river,  
within four miles of the camp.

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

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

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

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

of this harbour. It was therefore determined to make the reduction of Devi-Cotah the principal object of the new expedition, which it was thought would be amply compensated by gaining possession of this place, even if no farther advantages accrued from the war. 1749

The whole body of the company's troops, amounting with the artillery-men to 800 Europeans, together with 1,500 Sepoys, were ordered on the expedition, under the command of major Lawrence. From the difficulties already experienced in approaching Devi-Cotah by land, it was determined that the army should now proceed by sea: the Europeans, with the artillery and baggage, were embarked on board six ships, three of the line and three belonging to the company, and the Sepoys accompanied the ships in large boats, used by the people of Coromandel to carry on their traffick along the coast. The vessels arrived at the same mouth of the Coleroon where the ships of the former expedition had anchored; and the troops and stores passed in boats up the arm of the river which led to Devi-Cotah, and were landed on the opposite shore, from which it was determined to batter the fort, because the ground on the other side was marshy and covered with woods, and the king of Tanjore's army was encamped under the walls.

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

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

1749 } launched at some distance below the battery, and towed up to it against the stream. The raft could not be moved across the river unless by a rope fixed on the opposite bank ; but the stations of the enemy rendered this a very hazardous enterprize : the same carpenter who had made the raft, offered to execute this service likewise, and in the middle of a very dark night swam over the river, carrying the end of a rope with him, which he fastened to the root of a large tree within a few yards of one of the enemy's advanced guards, by whom he was not discovered.

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

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