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HISTORY
OF THE
MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BRITISH NATION
IN
INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION
ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN
CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

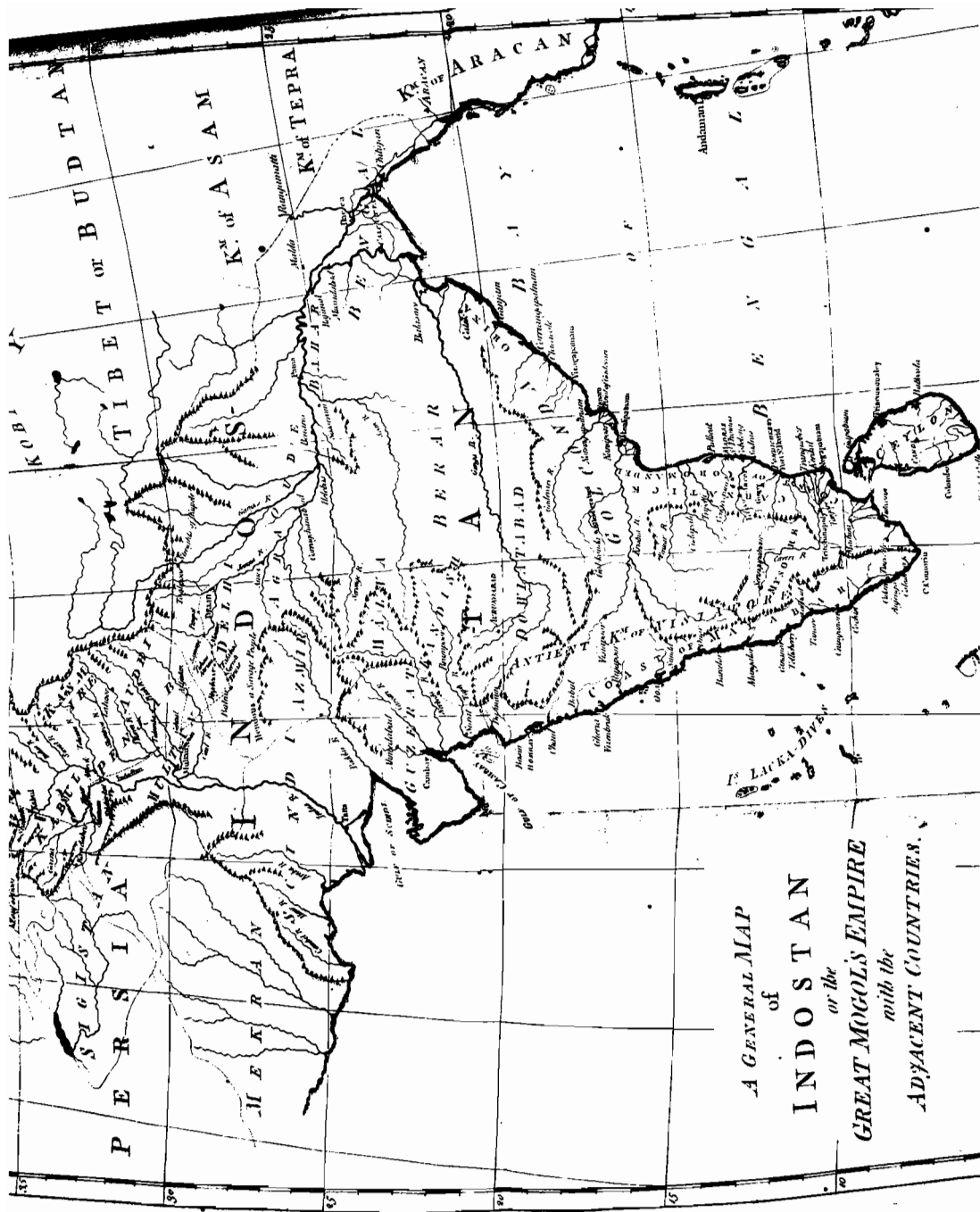
By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F. A. S.

Mr. Faulke

VOL. I.
THE FOURTH EDITION,
REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR F. WINGRAVE,
SUCCESSOR TO MR. NOURSE, IN THE STRAND.
M.DCCC.III.

1803



TO THE READER.

SINCE the first edition of this book in 1764, Mr. ALEXANDER Dow has published a translation of *The History of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*, written originally in Persic by FERISHTA. This work of FERISHTA is an abridgement of other historians, and extends from the beginning of the reign of SEBEGTECHIN, the first of the Ghaznavide Monarchs who made conquests in Indostan, to the end of the reign of the Emperor ACBAR; that is, from the year 977 to 1605 of our Æra; and of the Mahomedan, from 365 to 1014.

FERISHTA gives the origin and regular succession of all the Kings of Ghazna and emperors of Delhi during this period, the progress of their conquests in Indostan, and the other principal events of their reigns; and thus supplies the voids and imperfections of the historical part of our *Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan*. We have, nevertheless, left our dissertation in its first state, that the attention of the Reader might be directed to the work of FERISHTA, which is the most curious and valuable piece of Oriental history, of which a translation has hitherto been given to Europe.

A

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

M I L I T A R Y T R A N S A C T I O N S

O F T H E

B R I T I S H N A T I O N

I N

I N D O S T A N,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

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

1749

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

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

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

1751.

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

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

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

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

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

treaty

abandoned it, and took refuge with the neighbouring Polygars of Nattam; Moodemiah and Nabi Cawn Catteck, retired from Tinivelly to the Polygar of Nellitangaville, better known by the name of Pulitaver. All the three only waited for the departure of the English troops, to dispute the dominion with Maphuze Cawn, when left to himself.

Amongst other alienations, Moodemiah had sold to the king of Travancore, a range of districts extending thirty miles from Calacad to Cape Comorin; and lying at the foot of the mountains which separate Travancore from Tinivelly. The fort of Calacad with several others of less defence were sold with the districts. The kingdom of Travancore is the most southern division of the Malabar coast, ending on that side, as Tinivelly on the eastern, at Cape Comorin. It was formerly of small extent, and paid tribute to Madura; but the present king, through a variety of successes, some of which had been gained against the Dutch, had added to his dominion, all the country as far as the boundaries of Cochin; so that it now extended 120 miles along the sea, and inland as far as the mountains leave any thing worth conquering. With the assistance of a French officer, named Launoy, the king had disciplined, in the method of European infantry, a body of 10,000 Naires: the people of this denomination, are by birth the military tribe of the Malabar coast, and assert in their own country even prouder pre-eminences than the Rajpoots, who in other parts of India are likewise born with the same distinction. Besides these Naires, the king maintained 20,000 other foot, of various arms; but had very few horse, because little advantage can be derived from their service in his country, which is every where either covered with hills, or intersected by rivers. The districts which the king had purchased of Moodemiah, were maintained by about 2000 of his irregular foot, who having no enemies to oppose, were sufficient for the common guards and military attendance, which in Indostan always support the authority of the government in the collection of the revenues. But these troops on the arrival of the army with colonel Heron at Tinivelly, were so terrified by the reports of their exploits, and especially by the sanguinary example in their neighbourhood, at the sacking of Nellicotah, that they abandoned not only their districts, but the fort

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of Calacad likewise, which were soon after taken possession of by a detachment of 300 horse and 500 foot, sent by Maphuze Khan from Tinivelly. As soon as the English troops retired from before Nelli-tangaville, and it was known that they were recalled to Tritchinopoly, Moodemiah went to Travancore in order to encourage the king to recover the districts which his troops had abandoned; at the same time the Pulitaver, besides letting loose his Colleries to plunder, formed a camp ready to move and join the Travancores as soon as they should arrive. Maphuze Khan received intelligence of these schemes and preparations, on his return from Nattam and Madura, and immediately proceeded to Tinivelly.

1755.

Besides the 1000 Sepoys belonging to the Company which were left with him by colonel Heron, he received 600 more, raised and sent to him by the Nabob; but these were in no respect equal to the company's, who had been trained in the campaigns of Tritchinopoly; and Maphuze Khan himself, having no military ideas, excepting that of levying troops, had augmented the force he brought with him from the Carnatic to 2500 horse, and 4000 foot. Five hundred of the horse, and a thousand of the foot, were left to defend the city of Madura and its districts; but the company's Sepoys proceeded with him to Tinivelly. Before he arrived there, Moodemiah had returned with 2000 Naires, and the same number of other foot, which the king of Travancore had entrusted to his command. They were joined by the forces of the Pulitaver near Calacad; where the troops stationed by Maphuze Khan in these parts, assembled, gave battle, and were routed: three hundred of the Nabob's Sepoys were in the action, who, to lighten their flight, threw away their muskets, which were collected by the Pulitaver's people, and regarded by them as a very valuable prize. Immediately after this success, the enemy invested the fugitives in the fort of Calacad; but before they could reduce it, the troops of Travancore returned home, pretending they were recalled by the emergency of some disturbances in their own country; however it is more probable, that they retreated from the dread of encountering the army, and more especially, the cavalry of Maphuze Khan, which were approaching. Moodemiah went with them, and the Pulitaver retired to his fort and woods, against which

Maphuze Khan proceeded, and encamped near the fort, which he could not take; but in this situation repressed the incursion of the Pulitaver's Colleries into the districts of Tinivelly, and content with this advantage, gave out with ostentation that he had settled the country. These vaunts were soon contradicted. In the month of September, Moodemiah returned from Travancore, with a larger body of troops, and again defeated those of Calacad, who in this battle suffered more than in the former; for 200 of their horse and 500 Sepoys were made prisoners; and, what aggravated the loss, it was the time of harvest, when the rents are collected, of which the Travancores took possession, and maintained their ground. Maphuze Khan, nevertheless, continued before the Pulitaver's place; whose troops in the month of November, cut off a detachment of two companies of Sepoys which had been sent to escort provisions; they were of those belonging to the company, and the commanders of both were killed. No other military events of any consequence happened in these parts during the rest of the year.

The reduction and maintenance of Madura and Tinivelly, were not the only interests in the southern countries, which perplexed, and occupied the attention of the English presidency. In the month of June, they were surprized by a quarrel between their own allies the king of Tanjore and the Polygar Tondiman, which had proceeded to hostilities, before any suspicions were entertained of the animosity. It was obvious that this quarrel, if not timely reconciled, would produce the defection of one or other of them to the Nabob's enemies. The presidency, therefore, immediately ordered them, in peremptory terms, to cease all military operations; proffering, however, their mediation; and ordered captain Calliaud to enquire into the causes of the dispute; who after two journaies to Tanjore, and several conferences with the king, with Monac-gee, and with Tondiman's brother, could only collect the following obscure account of it; so averse were all parties to tell the truth. In the year 1749, the king sent Monac-gee to attack Arandanghi, a fort of strength and note, belonging to the lesser Moravar. Monac-gee finding his own force insufficient, asked assistance of Tondiman, who stipulated in return, the cession of Kelli-nelli-cotah and its districts, valued at 300,000

rupees a year. Arandanghi was reduced, Tondiman took possession of the districts, and pressed Monac-gee for the patents of cession under the king's seal; but the king disavowed the act of his general; on which Monac-gee purloined the use of the seal, and delivered the patents thus apparently authenticated, according to his promise. Towards the end of 1749, Tanjore, as we have seen, was invaded by Murzafa-jing and Chundasaheb: the subsequent wars suspended the dispute between the king and the Polygar, whilst the common danger continued; but that passed, the broil was at this time renewed with inveteracy. Monac-gee, having when disgraced in 1753 taken refuge with Tondiman, still bore him good will; working on which, and the king's timidity, captain Calliaud stopped the hostilities which were begun, and prevented the renewal of them until the end of September; when the king grown impatient, peremptorily ordered Monac-gee to march: at the same time, Tondiman could not be induced to make any step towards an accommodation, but said he should defend himself. On this, Calliaud made preparations at Trichinopoly, as if he intended to take the field against both, which stopped the progress of the Tanjorines for some days more, when they moved again; but Monac-gee having, by the king's order, demanded assistance from the little Moravar, contrived to make him withhold his troops; by which, with the pretences of want of money, and the fear of Calliaud, he protracted his inactivity until the end of December, and then returned to Tanjore, without having done Tondiman any harm.

In the Carnatic, no events tending to hostilities between the governments of Madras and Pondicherry happened during the rest of the year after the French troops retreated from before Arialore; but a tedious and intricate controversy was maintained between them concerning some districts in the neighbourhood of Carangoly and Outramalore, which the French had taken possession of, without any right they could prove. The dispute, however, after some sharp altercations, was settled by an agreement to divide the contested districts equally between the two nations.

The French commissary, Mr. Godeheu, had continued Mr. Buffy in the management of affairs in the northern parts of the Decan, with the same authorities as had been given to him by Mr. Dupleix: Mr. Buffy remained in the ceded provinces from his arrival at Masulipatnam

presidency of Bombay not providing for such an accident, but fearful that the letters they might write on this subject would be intercepted by the French, contented themselves with only sending to Madras advices of the arrival of colonel Clive with the troops, without explaining their destination; however, slender as this information was, it served to suggest to some members of the council the whole extent of the company's intentions; in consequence of which they formed a plan for the conduct of it, which they recommended in the strongest terms to the presidency of Bombay; but before these letters arrived, that presidency had taken the resolution of employing all their force, in conjunction with Mr. Watson's squadron, against another enemy, who had long been formidable to the English commerce on that side of India.

The Malabar coast, from cape Comorin to Surat, is intersected by a great number of rivers, which disembogue into the sea; it appears that from the earliest antiquity the inhabitants have had a strong propensity to piracy, and at this day all the different principalities on the coast employ vessels to cruize upon those of all other nations which they can overpower. The Mogul empire, when it first extended its dominion to the sea in the northern parts of this coast, appointed an admiral called the Sidee, with a fleet to protect the vessels of their Mahometan subjects trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, from the Malabar pirates, as well as from the Portuguese. The Morattoes were at that time in possession of several forts between Goa and Bombay, and finding themselves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul's admiral, they made war against him by sea and land. In this war one Conagee Angria raised himself from a private man to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was entrusted with the government of Severndroog, one of their strongest forts, built upon a small rocky island which lies about eight miles to the north of Dabul, and within cannon shot of the continent: here Conagee revolted against the Saha Rajah, or king of the Morattoes, and having seduced part of the fleet to follow his fortune, he with them took and destroyed the rest. The Saha Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the main land, within point blank shot of Severndroog; but Conagee took these forts likewise, and in a few years got possession

1756. possession of all the sea coast, from Tamanah to Bancoote, extending 120 miles, together with the inland country as far back as the mountains, which in some places are thirty, in others twenty miles from the sea. His successors, who have all borne the name of Angria, strengthened themselves continually, inasmuch that the Morattoes having no hopes of reducing them, agreed to a peace on condition that Angria should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Saha Rajah, by paying him a small annual tribute; but they nevertheless retained a strong animosity against him, and determined to avail themselves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.

In the mean time the piracies which Angria exercised upon ships of all nations indifferently, who did not purchase his passes, rendered him every day more and more powerful. The land and sea breezes on this coast, as well as on that of Coromandel, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, since the land-winds do not reach more than forty miles out to sea: there was not a creek, bay, harbour, or mouth of a river along the coast of his dominions, in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles, to serve both as a station of discovery, and as a place of refuge to his vessels; hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them, as to take them. His fleet consisted of grabs and galivats, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulk head which terminates the fore-castle: as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption: on the main deck under the fore-castle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point for-

1756. them with 150 pieces of cannon; the bomb ketches at the same time plied their mortars, and within ten minutes after the firing began, a shell fell into one of Angria's grabs, which set her on fire; the rest being fastened together with her, soon shared the same fate, and in less than an hour this fleet, which had for fifty years been the terror of the Malabar coast, was utterly destroyed. In the mean time the cannonade and bombardment continued furiously, and silenced the enemy's fire; but the governor, however, did not surrender when the night set in. Intelligence being received from a deserter that he intended to give up the place the next day to the Morattoes, colonel Clive landed with the troops; and in order to prevent the Morattoes from carrying their scheme into execution, took up his ground between them and the fort. Early in the morning the admiral summoned the place again, declaring that he would renew the attack, and give no quarter if it was not delivered up to him in an hour: in answer to which the governor desired a cessation of hostilities until the next morning, alledging that he only waited for orders from Angria to comply with the summons. The cannonade was therefore renewed at four in the afternoon; and in less than half an hour the garrison hung out a flag of truce, but nevertheless they did not strike their colours, nor consent to admit the English troops; the ships therefore repeated their fire with more vivacity than ever; and the garrison, unable to stand the shock any longer, called out to the advanced guard of the troops on shore that they were ready to surrender: upon which lieutenant-colonel Clive immediately marched up, and took possession of the fort. It was found that notwithstanding the cannonade had destroyed most of the artificial works upon which they fired, the rock remained a natural and almost impregnable bulwark; so that if the enemy had been endowed with courage sufficient to have maintained the place to extremity, it could only have been taken by regular approaches on the land side. There were found in it 200 pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition, and military and naval stores of all kinds: the money and effects of other kinds, amounted to 120,000 pounds sterling. All this booty was divided amongst the captors, without any reserve either for the nation or the company. Besides the vessels which were set on fire during

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SECTION THE SECOND.

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SUCCESSOR TO MR. NOURSE, IN THE STRAND.
M. DCCC. III.

tachment, which had set out on the 19th from Carangoly to attack that place, where, immediately after, arrived the two companies of Sepoys from Conjeveram, retreating as soon as Trivatore was reduced. The garrison, now consisting of nine companies, was deemed almost sufficient to maintain the fort, until relieved from Madras; and captain Richard Smith was appointed to take the command, and with him were sent two commissioned officers, a serjeant, a corporal, and 12 European gunners, and two field-pieces; so that the whole number of Europeans, including the serjeants of the Sepoys, were thirty chosen men, and captain Smith was ordered to defend the fort at all events and extremities. On the 25th, the squadron commanded by Mr. Pococke anchored in the road, having executed a secret commission which had detained him all this while to the southward, and had given rise to a variety of erroneous reports and conjectures. The Presidency on the 25th of August had finally resolved to recall Major Calliaud from Trichinopoly, with all the European soldiers and Coffrees in the garrison, excepting such as were in the service of the artillery, or annexed to the Sepoys. Calliaud, just as he was ready to march, received intelligence on the 5th of September, that a very large fleet of English ships were arrived at Anjengo there; which, although doubtful, required him to suspend his departure until more certain advices, which he received on the 15th, and the next day began his march with 180 Europeans and 50 Coffrees, leaving, according to his instructions, the command of the garrison, in which were now included the 2000 Sepoys brought by Mahomed Iffoof from Tinivelly, to captain Joseph Smith. The detachment marching through the Tanjore country met every kind of assistance in their way, and on the 23d embarked from Negapatam on board the squadron, which arrived two days after at Madras. This reinforcement increased the means of protecting Chinglapet; and four more field-pieces, with a complement of Lascars to work them, were sent thither on the 2d of October.

Mr. Lally at length saw the importance of this place, which, 20 days before, he might have taken by escalade in open day, and resolved to march against it with his whole force as soon as he had settled some arrange-

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began to wax scant, and they were waiting for more which had been embarked on the 14th in a brigantine from Pondicherry. However, their fire disabled a twenty-four-pounder on the royal bastion, and completed the ruin of all the embrasures on the right face of the ravelin; in which a shot from Lally's penetrated quite through the merlon: in the night, the enemy attempted to push their gabions close to the covered way of the N. E. salient angle, from whence pioneers were sent to overset them, who rolled some into the sea, and pulled others into the covered-way; this contest was maintained at repetitions for three or four hours, and supported by the hottest fire of musketry, and of grape shot from the north-east bastion, and the fascine battery on the beach: 70 discharges were made out of one of the guns: five Europeans were killed and ten wounded in the night and day, most of whom suffered in these attacks: one Sepoy was likewise killed, and six wounded: on the 24th, a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the north-east bastion, of which the works had scarcely received in the night a repair adequate to the detriment of the preceding day: but six of the embrasures in the north ravelin were restored; the other three still remained unfit for service.

At seven in the evening, a party of the enemy, consisting of 50 men, who had waited for the dark, advanced from the nearest crochet to the stockade, from which the guard, which consisted only of 12 men, ran away to the blind before the N. E. bastion; they were immediately sent back with the addition of a more resolute serjeant and ten grenadiers; but were scarcely returned, when this serjeant was shot dead through the stockade; on which the party stopped, waiting for directions; and the officer commanding at the blind recalled them; after which it was thought imprudent to make another attempt to recover the stockade, although capable of giving much annoyance to the enemy's work.

At night, a messenger from Trichinopoly brought a letter from Captain Joseph Smith, with intelligence he had received from Angengo. The Presidency ten days before had received advices from Mr. Pococke, that the squadron had arrived on the 10th of December at Bombay, where he found six of the company's ships and

they wrote by the hand of a Topas, a letter to Anjengo, which is the southern of the English factories on the coast of Malabar, requesting supplies; but the Topas writing what he thought English, the letter was so unintelligible, that the factory neither understood from whence or whom it came, nor what they wanted. At length, letters from Mahomed Iffoo procured them credit, which enabled them to purchase provision, and even to get lead and gunpowder from the sea-coast in the bay of Tutacurin. It was very fortunate, that the fidelity of the Sepoys in Madura and Palamcotah continued unshaken; for had either of these fortresses been betrayed, no means remained of retaking them; and the cession of Madura might have purchased Hyderally, the Myfore general, to join the French, who at this very time had an officer of distinction treating with him at Seringapatam.

The repulse of the French from Madras had increased the danger of losing these countries, since the French, being no longer under the necessity of keeping their whole force collected in one point, might, still leaving sufficient to oppose the English army in the field, detach the rest to other objects. The partizan Lambert was moving with his flying troops from Pondicherry to the westward; and danger to the city of Madura might accrue even from Hussein Cawn, if he should get a body of Myforeans to accompany him from Dindigul. On these considerations, the Presidency resolved to send Mahomed Iffoo back into these countries, and to accept his offer of renting Madura and Tinivelly together, at the rate of five lacks of rupees for the ensuing year clear of all charges, excepting what might arise from the necessity of defending them either against the French, the Myforeans, or Morattoes. The Nabob had, ever since the first appointment of Mahomed Iffoo to conduct the war in these countries, regarded him with suspicion and aversion, and insisted that they should be left to his own disposal and controul; although he had not in his whole dependance, a relation or officer of military resolution and experience sufficient to maintain them in this time of difficulty.

The French and English armies continued almost in sight of each other for two and twenty days; the one wishing to be attacked, in
their

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killed and wounded in the attack, which lasted three days, and then the polygar made his escape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Iffoof, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were scarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whose mind always wavered with every change of circumstances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Iffoof, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic; provided he was allowed a suitable jaghire for his maintenance: He even asked a safeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Iffoof, without authority, assured him that his requests should be complied with; and recommended them to the Presidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eastern and western Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal station from which the eastern made their inroads into these districts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, situated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by easy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed; and Mahomed Iffoof soon after his arrival at Tinivelly marched against him with the greatest part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed some troops; and stationed a guard of 50 horse, and some peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate post. He was no sooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pulitaver and Vadgherri surprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horses, with their riders; on which Mahomed Iffoof detached seven companies of Sepoys, who recovered the post, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confusion prevailed in the districts to the south of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incursions from their wall to seize the harvests at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of dis-

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tractions, which existed on every side, could not be all opposed at the same time, unless a greater army were embodied than all the revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the least inveterate enemy to the English; because the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his resentment, by continually employing his Colleries to make depredations in his country on the other side of the mountains, through the pass of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the south of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Iffoof opened a negotiation with the king; who consented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of August, and the interview passed with much politeness and seeming cordiality. The king, at least publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to desist from his inroads into the districts of Tinivelly, and to act with a considerable force in conjunction with Mahomed Iffoof against Vadagherri, and the Pulitaver. On the 3d of September, Mahomed Iffoof still remaining at the gates of Travancore, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muskets made in his own country, and disciplined, although awkwardly, in the European manner; but they were well supplied with stores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly against Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the residence of the Pulitaver: when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, consisting of 10,000 more of the king's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the pass. This was perhaps the greatest force that had been assembled for some centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both sides; but in the night abandoned his fort, and escaped away to the Pulitaver at Nellitangaville.

August.

September

The arrival of such a guest, who, for the first time, had been reduced to such distress, frightened the Pulitaver; and set his cunning to work to divert the storm from himself. The repulse of the English troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwash on the 30th of

Octo

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September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had represented it, a signal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Bassaulet Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they should very soon overpower the English in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be substituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be deposed from the Nabobship. This correspondence, and these expectations, the Pulitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the English, and join Maphuze Caun against them, to give him whatsoever districts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately exposed these documents to Mahomed Issoo, and standing on his importance, demanded the cession of Calacad and the adjacent districts, for which he had so long contended against the Nabob's government. He said, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his assistance; that what might be refused by one, would be readily given to him by another; and that, if he should join the Polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be established in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Issoo, whilst perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muskets, which had been sent, according to his request, from Madras, were lost at sea; and that the two six-pounders, although landed, were stopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacarin. This mischance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his assistance; for the force of Mahomed Issoo alone was not sufficient to reduce the Pulitaver, whom all the best colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore surrendered the districts which the king demanded; and the Presidency approved the cession; but the Nabob suspected that it had been promised by Issoo at his first interview with the king, in order to secure his future assistance to his own ambitious views.

As soon as this agreement was settled, the Travancores moved again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November, they invested the wood and fort of Easaltaver, which was one of
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the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Collieries defended the wood three days, and then abandoned both; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this success, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Iffoof to remain until he received supplies from Madura, Palamcotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent disgusts from disparity of customs, encamped separately, but in sight of Mahomed Iffoof's; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Collieries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Iffoof, on the first alarm, sent his horse, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot; but the Collieries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleness, with the ruggedness of the country, rendered the pursuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travancores, before they went off. A day or two after this skirmish, Mahomed Iffoof received three howitzes, with some stores, and a supply of ammunition from Anjengo; and the two six-pounders with their shot likewise came up from Tutacorin; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December set down before Washinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much stronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is situated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the same direction from Outamaly.

Washinelore stood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the west and south sides of the fort; but turned to a much greater distance on the north, and to the east the plain was open, and every where covered with profuse cultivation. A very extensive pettah, the residence of some thousand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls: a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, surrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards: it was of mud, but almost as hard as brick; it had four large square towers, one at each angle, and several smaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a separate redoubt, enclosed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort: the access to the tower was a steep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet; the curtain between the

towers

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Madura, who beat them off the ground, and drove them back to Dindigul, with the loss of 50 men killed and wounded. The colleries of Nattam, encouraged by this renewal of hostilities, made incursions into the northern districts of Madura, and stopped the whole road of the pass with trees, which they felled on either side, and with much labour dragged and laid them across the road with so much contrivance, that a single person could not pass without continual difficulty.

No events of great importance had happened during the course of this year, in the country of Tinivelly. The commandant, Mahomed Issoo, after the repulse before Washinelore in the end of the preceding year, was from the want of battering cannon, no longer in a condition to attack the stronger holds of the polygars; and contented himself, until supplied, with posting the greatest part of his army in stations to check the Pulitaver and the eastern polygars; but remained himself with the rest at Tinivelly, watching Catabominaigue and the Western. The departure of Maphuze Khan from Nellikangaville in the month of January, left the Pulitaver and his allies no longer the pretext of opposing the authority of the Nabob in support of the rights of his elder brother; and they debated whether they should treat with Mahomed Issoo, or wait the event of Maphuze Khan's journey, who they supposed would return to them, if not received on his own terms by the Nabob. In this uncertainty, they formed no vigorous designs, and employed their colleries in night robberies, wherever they could elude the stations of Mahomed Issoo; but attempted nothing in the open field or day. Nevertheless, their depredations were so ruinous to the cultivation, that Mahomed Issoo thought it worth the expence, to draw off some of their dependants and entertain them in the Company's service, as best able to retaliate the same mischief on those by whom they had been employed; and towards the end of April, several of these petty leaders, with their followers, amounting in the whole to 2000 colleries, joined him at Tinivelly, and faithfully entered on the duties for which they had engaged. Nothing, however, like regular fighting happened until the end of May, when Catabominaigue appeared at the head of two or three thousand men, near Etia-

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Etiaporum, and stood the attack of seven companies of Sepoys, drawn from the limits towards Nellitangaville, by whom they were dispersed, but with little loss. In May Mahomed Iffoof received intelligence of the hostilities commenced by the Mysoreans from Dindigul, and the orders of the Presidency to oppose them; in consequence of which he sent the detachment we have mentioned of 1500 Sepoys, 300 horse, and 3000 peons. They were scarcely gone, when a new and unexpected alarm arose in the Tinivelly country. The Dutch government at the island of Ceylon had received a large reinforcement of European troops from Batavia, which assembled at the port of Columbo, opposite to Cape Comorin, from whence a part of them arrived in the beginning of June at Tutacorin, a Dutch fort on the continent, 40 miles east of Tinivelly. Two hundred Europeans, with equipments, tents, and field-pieces, immediately encamped, giving out that they should shortly be reinforced by more than their own number, and that 400 other Europeans had left Batavia at the same time with themselves, and were gone to Cochin on the Malabar coast, in order to join the king of Travancore. The natives were frightened, and pretended to have discovered, that the force they saw was intended to assist the polygars in driving the English out of the country of Tinivelly, and to begin by attacking the town. Mahomed Iffoof immediately sent to the Dutch chief at Tutacorin, to demand an explanation; who answered, that he should give none. A few days after the troops advanced inland, and halted at Alvar Tinivelly, a town in a very fertile district, situated 20 miles s. e. of Tinivelly, and the same distance s. w. of Tutacorin; and at the same time, another body of 200 Europeans landed from Colombo at Manapar, 20 miles to the s. e. of Alvar Tinivelly. Mahomed Iffoof had previously drawn troops from the eastern stations, and marching with 4000 Sepoys, and some horse, appeared in sight of the Dutch troops at Alvar Tinivelly in the evening of the 18th of June; who, in the ensuing night, decamped in strict silence, and marched back to Tutacorin; those at Manapar went away thither likewise in the same embarkations which brought them; and no more was heard of this alarm.

The depredations of the polygars continued; but, deprived of Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, they ventured nothing more: the Pulitaver's colleries were as usual the most active in the robberies; and to repress them, Mahomed Iffoof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville, which in December encamped at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Iffoof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars sent to him the year before from Anjengo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Trichinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, sallying, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell; but they killed ten of Mahomed Iffoof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses.

At this time the Mysooreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

1761. the mind of the Nabob, whose joy at the reduction of Pondicherry,
 January. although the arsenal which had forged all the anxieties of his life, was immediately imbittered by this interruption to the future conquests he had so near at heart: and, unwilling to continue in the Carnatic without the entire predominance of his authority, he retired as it were in disgust with victory to Trichinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of February.

February. Four hundred of the French prisoners were sent to Madras, and the Highlanders, six companies, with some artillery-men, and four companies of Sepoys, marched thither to reinforce the garrison; 200 were sent to Trichinopoly under the escort of 100 Europeans, and some Sepoys. The rest of the prisoners remained in the dungeons of Pondicherry, until they could be otherwise disposed of; and 300 Europeans, including the pioneer company, and 50 artillery-men, with the troop of European horse, and four companies of Sepoys, were appointed to garrison the town. The troops from Bombay, being 120 of the king's artillery, and 190 common infantry, belonging to that Presidency, embarked in two ships to return thither; the marines were restored to the squadron; the rest of the army went into cantonments at Cuddalore.

The court of France had instructed Mr. Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English nation in India, which might fall to their arms. These instructions had been intercepted; and, in consequence of them, the court of Directors of the English East-India Company had ordered their Presidencies to retaliate the same measure on the French settlements, whenever in their power. Accordingly Mr. Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madras, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry; and as Mr. Stevens signified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay, in order to refit his squadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, lest a French armament should arrive during their absence, and recover the town, whilst the fortifications remained in a condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.

Mr. Stevens sailed on the 23d of February, with all the ships, eleven of the line, and two frigates. They took away 400 of the prisoners in

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in Pondicherry, all of the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, to be confined at Bombay, or sent to Europe as opportunities should offer. As Mr. Stevens intended to aid, if necessary, in the attack of Mahé, the Presidency sent 50 of the company's artillery, and three of their engineers in the squadron.

Mahé is situated four miles to the south of Tellicherry. The fort and town stand not far from the beach of the sea, along the south side of a river, which admits small vessels. Several hills rise near the town, and on the two nearest on the same side of the river are built two small forts, and a much larger, called St. George, on a hill on the other side. The settlement presides over all belonging to the French company on this side of the peninsula, excepting their factory at Surat. These dependencies are five forts to the north of Tellicherry, and a factory house at Calicut.

The five ships from England had landed the troops at Tellicherry by the 5th of January; but from the length of the passage to and fro, the permission from Bombay to attack Mahé did not arrive before the beginning of February; and with it the Presidency sent one of their cruizers, and a bomb-ketch to assist; as none of the ships had been detained. The delay had given Mr. Louet, the governor of Mahé, time to make treaties for assistance with several of the neighbouring chiefs of the country, with whom the settlement had long been in commerce; and they promised and swore to assist efficaciously as against a common enemy. The aid was much wanted, for the European military, on whom the stress of the defence was to rest, did not exceed 100, and even they, from the general necessity of the French company's affairs, had not received their pay for several months, and missed no opportunity of deserting. The black troops belonging to the company, were a thousand.

The troops at Tellicherry marched out and encamped on the 8th of February on the limits of Mahé. Their numbers, for the garrison took the field, amounted to 900 Europeans, and 700 natives; they were commanded by major Hector Monro, who determined to direct his first attack against Fort St. George, on the hither side of the river.

All the solicitations of Mr. Louet were of no avail, when his allies saw the English troops taking the field, and were apprized of their numbers; they did not send a man; and before day-break the next morning, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Hodges, the chief of Tellicherry, proposing terms of capitulation, on which Major Monro was ordered not to commence hostilities. Agents sent to explain doubts and objections, continued going to and fro until the morning of the 13th, when the capitulation was signed. It was agreed, that all the European military should be transported at the expence of the English, either to the island of Bourbon, or to Europe, and when landed there, to be free. The effects, artillery, and military stores, belonging to the French company, were to be surrendered, but the effects and possessions of individuals were to be preserved to them entire, without molestation in the use. The free exercise of the Roman religion was to be permitted as before the surrender; the priests on no account were to be vexed, nor the churches or religious edifices impaired. The forts to the northward of Tellicherry were to be given up on the same conditions as Mahé, and the factory at Calicut was to continue unmolested under the usual neutrality of that town: ample honours of war were allowed to the garrison. Five hundred men under the command of Major Peers marched into Mahé at noon; and soon after, the garrison were escorted with their honours to Tellicherry. A detachment was then prepared under the command of Major Monro, to take in the forts to the northward, which it was suspected might dispute the terms of capitulation provided for them. The news of the surrender of Mahé arrived at Madras on the 3d of March.

Captain Stephen Smith, as soon as encamped before Gingee, summoned Macgregor, the commanding officer, who answered, that if he had brought one hundred thousand men, the forts would not be reduced in three years. The troops encamped to the east opposite to the outward pettah on the plain, which, although it had a mud wall, was of much less defence than the inward town, which stands on higher ground, nearly in the center of the triangular valley, extending between the three mountains. The valley

is enclosed on the three sides by a strong wall with towers of stone, which have a ditch before them, excepting in such parts where the rocks render it unnecessary; but the wall continues up the mountains, and surrounds the three forts, connecting them with each other. Besides this exterior enclosure, the interior and higher defences run double round the two forts to the east; and the great mountain to the west, which is the principal fortification, has four enclosures, one below another towards the town in the valley, but of different spaces and elevations; and the highest is a steep rock in the north-west part of the third enclosure above the valley; this far overtops all the mountains, and in the fort on its summit, although small, is a continual spring of water. The extent of wall in all fortifications measures more than 12000 yards; to defend which the French had only 150 Europeans, topasses, or coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1000 natives of the adjoining hills, whom they called Colleries. But they supposed the forts on the mountains to be impregnable, and that the town below would not be attempted, because, if taken, the troops which were to maintain it, would be continually subject to the fire of the defences above.

The wall on the east side of the valley extends 1200 yards from the mountain of St. George on the right, to the English mountain on the left, and nearly in the middle passeth along the side of a heap of rocks on which the French had raised a work, which they called the royal battery; under which on the right towards the mountain of St. George stood a gateway opposite to the outward pettah in the plain: but the pettah extended only from this mountain to the rocks of the battery.

Observation and deserters (of whom several came every day) apprized Captain Smith of the state of the garrison and defences, and that the garrison remained in perfect security as well in the town below, as in the forts above. On the night between the 2d. and third of February, he marched from his camp with 600 Sepoys, in two divisions, of which the foremost, 200, carried a sufficient number of scaling ladders, and the others were to support when called for. They left the north wall of the pettah on the left, but passed through

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Tritchinpolly; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's service.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tellicherry was prosecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahé. The first is called Fort Delhi, situated on the strand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliserum, which, descending from the mountains to the east, turns short many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the sea, from which it is no where a mile asunder; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, stands Ramatilly, which is a small fort; on the same side, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which stands strong on a rocky eminence: seven miles farther, on the N. side of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neliserum, which is much larger; and six miles up this river, to the east, and on its left shore, stands the fifth fort, which is small, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliserum and Ramatilly were garrisoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compensated; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no service, if the two continued in hostility. Delhi and Ramatilly surrendered on the first summons, but at Mattalavy were assembled a large body of Naires, whose bravery is always desperate. The two ships from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coast of Malabar, and had passed beyond the river of Neliserum; and Major Monro, finding more resistance than he expected in his expedition, sent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected against Mattalavy: but the settlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in possession of Matalavy and Veramally, who consented to surrender them on condition of receiving an annual ~~fine~~ which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As soon as these
forts

forts were delivered, the French garrison at Neliferum, which did not exceed 20 Europeans, submitted without resistance.

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April.

On the 5th of April, Captain Stephen Smith received a proposal from Captain Macgregor, who commanded in the great mountain of Gingee, that he would capitulate, if his garrison were allowed the honours of war, the rank and file to be sent to Europe by the first opportunity as prisoners liable to exchange, but the officers permitted to retire, with their arms, baggage and effects, to any of the neutral settlements on the coast, where they were to be subsisted according to their ranks at the expence of the English company, who were likewise to defray their passage to Europe. Three hundred of the English Sepoys had already died in the town, and in the mountain of St. George, from the peculiar inclemency of the air, which has always been deemed the most unhealthy in the Carnatic, insomuch that the French, who never until lately kept more than 100 Europeans here, had lost 1200 in the ten years during which it had been in their possession. Captain Smith, therefore, very readily accepted the terms, and in the afternoon the garrisons marched out of the two mountains. They were 12 officers, and 100 rank and file, Europeans, Coffrees, and Topasses, and 40 Lascars for the artillery, which were 30 pieces of cannon and some mortars. A passport and safeguard was allowed to a Moor of distinction, who had long resided in the great mountain.

This day terminated the long contested hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Mysore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. In Bengal they had not a single agent or representative, and their factories at Surat and Calicut were mere trading houses on sufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of Delabourdonnais against Madras in 1746, and had continued from that time with scarcely the intermission of one year, was retaliated the same measure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably pursued, by the French councils against the English commerce and power: for such, as is

avowed

The depredations of the polygars continued; but, deprived of Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, they ventured nothing more: the Pulitaver's colleries were as usual the most active in the robberies; and to repress them, Mahomed Iffoof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville, which in December encamped at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Iffoof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars sent to him the year before from Anjengo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Trichinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, sallying, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell; but they killed ten of Mahomed Iffoof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses.

At this time the Mysooreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

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killed and wounded in the attack, which lasted three days, and then the polygar made his escape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Iffoof, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were scarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whose mind always wavered with every change of circumstances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Iffoof, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic; provided he was allowed a suitable jaghire for his maintenance: He even asked a safeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Iffoof, without authority, assured him that his requests should be complied with; and recommended them to the Presidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eastern and western Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal station from which the eastern made their inroads into these districts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, situated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by easy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed; and Mahomed Iffoof soon after his arrival at Tinivelly marched against him with the greatest part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed some troops; and stationed a guard of 50 horse, and some peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate post. He was no sooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pulitaver and Vadgherri surprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horses, with their riders; on which Mahomed Iffoof detached seven companies of Sepoys, who recovered the post, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confusion prevailed in the districts to the south of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incursions from their wall to seize the harvests at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of distractions,

tractions, which existed on every side, could not be all opposed at the same time, unless a greater army were embodied than all the revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the least inveterate enemy to the English; because the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his resentment, by continually employing his Colleries to make depredations in his country on the other side of the mountains, through the pass of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the south of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Iffoof opened a negotiation with the king; who consented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of August, and the interview passed with much politeness and seeming cordiality. The king, at least publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to desist from his inroads into the districts of Tinivelly, and to act with a considerable force in conjunction with Mahomed Iffoof against Vadagherri, and the Pulitaver. On the 3d of September, Mahomed Iffoof still remaining at the gates of Travancore, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muskets made in his own country, and disciplined, although awkwardly, in the European manner; but they were well supplied with stores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly against Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the residence of the Pulitaver: when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, consisting of 10,000 more of the king's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the pass. This was perhaps the greatest force that had been assembled for some centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both sides; but in the night abandoned his fort, and escaped away to the Pulitaver at Nellitangaville.

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The arrival of such a guest, who, for the first time, had been reduced to such distress, frightened the Pulitaver; and set his cunning to work to divert the storm from himself. The repulse of the English troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwash on the 30th of

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September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had represented it, a signal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Bassaulet Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they should very soon overpower the English in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be substituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be deposed from the Nabobship. This correspondence, and these expectations, the Pulitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the English, and join Maphuze Caun against them, to give him whatsoever districts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately exposed these documents to Mahomed Iffoof, and standing on his importance, demanded the cession of Calacad and the adjacent districts, for which he had so long contended against the Nabob's government. He said, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his assistance; that what might be refused by one, would be readily given to him by another; and that, if he should join the Polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be established in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Iffoof, whilst perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muskets, which had been sent, according to his request, from Madras, were lost at sea; and that the two six-pounders, although landed, were stopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacorin. This mischance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his assistance; for the force of Mahomed Iffoof alone was not sufficient to reduce the Pulitaver, whom all the best colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore surrendered the districts which the king demanded; and the Presidency approved the cession; but the Nabob suspected that it had been promised by Iffoof at his first interview with the king, in order to secure his future assistance to his own ambitious views.

As soon as this agreement was settled, the Travancores moved again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November, they invested the wood and fort of Easaltaver, which was one of
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the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Colleries defended the wood three days, and then abandoned both; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this success, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Iffoof to remain until he received supplies from Madura, Palaincotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent disgusts from disparity of customs, encamped separately, but in sight of Mahomed Iffoof's; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Colleries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Iffoof, on the first alarm, sent his horse, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot; but the Colleries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleness, with the ruggedness of the country, rendered the pursuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travancores, before they went off. A day or two after this skirmish, Mahomed Iffoof received three howitzes, with some stores, and a supply of ammunition from Anjengo; and the two six-pounders with their shot likewise came up from Tutacorin; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December set down before Washinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much stronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is situated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the same direction from Outamaly.

Washinelore stood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the west and south sides of the fort; but turned to a much greater distance on the north, and to the east the plain was open, and every where covered with profuse cultivation. A very extensive pettah, the residence of some thousand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls: a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, surrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards: it was of mud, but almost as hard as brick; it had four large square towers, one at each angle, and several smaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a separate redoubt, enclosed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort: the access to the tower was a steep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet; the curtain between the

towers

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towers had no parapet, and was only a rampart sloping on both sides from a base of 15 feet to 3 at top; but the slope from within was much less sharp than from without, so that, if assaulted, the defenders might easily run up to the top. The parapets of the towers have circular holes for the use of small arms, but no openings prepared for cannon, of which there was not a single piece in the fort. This description only suits Washinelore, for the other forts in the Madura and Tinivelly countries have parapets with loop-holes to their ramparts, as well as to their towers; but all are of earth, excepting Madura and Palamcotah. The Colleries on this side of the Tinivelly country, possess nothing of the ugliness or deformity which generally characterize the inhabitants of the hills and wilds of India. They are tall, well-made, and well-featured. Their arms are lances and pikes, bows and arrows, rockets, and matchlocks, but whether with or without other weapons, every man constantly wears a sword and shield. In battle, the different arms move in distinct bodies; but the lancemen are rated the most eminent, and lead all attacks. This weapon is 18 feet long; they tie under the point a tuft of scarlet horse-hair, and when they attack horse, add a small bell. Without previous exercise, they assemble in a deep column, pressing close together, and advance at a long steady step, in some degree of time, their lances inclining forward, but aloft, of which the elasticity and vibration, with the jingle, dazzle and scare the cavalry; and their approach is scarcely less formi-able to infantry not disciplined with fire-arms. The importance of Washinelore, and the great force which was come against it, brought some thousands of Colleries to its relief; but all, excepting 8 or 900 chosen men allotted to defend the walls, kept in the woods: from whence every day and night parties sallied, and alarmed or attacked one or other, and sometimes both the camps; and greater bodies on three different days made general attacks on the batteries, of which these continued interruptions retarded the construction, insomuch that they were not finished until the 26th, 20 days after the arrival of the armies; but the howitzes had commenced before. The only efficacious

efficacious gun was the 18-pounder, which Mahomed Iffoof had brought from Madura, for the rest were only 6-pounders and lower; but from excessive firing, the 18-pounder burst the day after it was mounted; and by this time all the ammunition, as well of the batteries as troops, excepting the quantity which prudence required to be reserved for defence, was expended. However, part of the parapet of the tower fired upon, was beaten down, and Mahomed Iffoof resolved to storm the next day. Many troops of both armies waited on the assault; and as soon as it began, the Pulitaver, with 3000 chosen Colleries, who had marched in the night from Nelli-tangaville, issued from the wood and fell upon the camp of Mahomed Iffoof, drove away the troops that guarded it, and began to commit every kind of destruction. Mahomed Iffoof instantly sent back a large body to repulse them, and continued the assault; but the garrison within received double animation from the Pulitaver's success, which was announced to them by the usual war-cry and the sounding of their conchs. All the other Colleries collected in the woods appeared likewise, as if on the same notice, and in different bands attacked the troops at the batteries, and at the foot of the breach; and although continually repulsed, continually rallied, and with the resolution of the garrison saved the fort until the evening, and then waited in the woods to interrupt the renewal of the assault in the night; but so much of the reserved ammunition had been expended in the day that Mahomed Iffoof deemed it dangerous to remain any longer before the fort, and drew off his artillery. Two hundred of his troops and of the Travancores were killed, but more of the enemy. The next day he moved to a distance, and dismissed the Travancores, who proceeded through the pass of Shencotty to their own country, and Mahomed Iffoof returned with his own troops, and those lent him by Tondiman and the Morayers, to the town of Tinivelly.

they arrived at Chittapett, when intelligence was received from Stephen Smith, that he had got possession of the pettah of Trinomally; but that the troops in the fort seemed resolved to hold out. The pettah could not be maintained without the fort; and the possession of the fort was at this juncture of much consequence, as its detachments might harass and interrupt convoys of provisions coming from the country in the rear of the army, when advanced to the southward. Colonel Coote therefore reinforced Stephen Smith with two twelve-pounders, and 50 Europeans, who were French deserters lately incorporated into a company under the command of one of their own serjeants; they were called the French Volunteers, and were intended to be employed on hazardous services; but this did not prove one; for, although the guns could not breach, the garrison offered on the 29th to give up the fort, if they were permitted to march out free whither they pleased, with their arms and baggage; their terms were accepted: they were 250 Sepoys, and left six pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, in the fort. Of the English detachment, one of the volunteers and a Lascar were killed, and a Sepoy wounded, during the attack.

On the 23d, Rear-Admiral Cornish arrived at Madrafs, with six ships of the line. They were the squadron which had sailed under his command from England, and met Mr. Pococke, with his ships, off Pondicherry in October, whom they accompanied to Tellicherry: from whence they sailed again for the coast of Coromandel on the 15th of December, whilst Mr. Pococke, with his own, was proceeding to Bombay. Contrary winds and currents had retarded their passages from one coast to the other. The crews had received very little refreshment from land ever since they left England about this time in the preceding year, and many were down with the scurvy.

The army marched from Chittapett on the 26th, striking across the country to the s. e. On the 29th in the forenoon they arrived and halted at Tondivanum, a town of much resort, at which meet the high roads leading from Chittapett, Vandivash, Outramalore, and Carangoly, towards Pondicherry, from which place it is 30 miles

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tirely secret amongst themselves, objecting more especially to the monthly sum which the Mysoreans were to receive as pay, to discharge which no money existed; and that the territories ceded to them were of much more value than the indefinite services they were likely to perform. Nevertheless this clandestine disapprobation was unworthy their office, being calculated to exempt themselves from blame, and to exaggerate it on Mr. Lally, if affairs should better with the assistance of the Mysoreans; at the same time the apparent sanction evinced that the council saw no immediate means so likely to stop the progress of the English successes, which had taken every thing abroad but Thiagar and Gingee, and were at this instant menacing the capital, Pondicherry: so that had the council meant sincerely, they only promised the half of what they had lost, or never possessed, to obtain the only chance of gaining the other half, perhaps of preserving what remained. The treaty was signed on the 27th, and on the 28th at night all the Mysoreans went away, promising to return very soon with their whole force, and abundance of provisions. The next day the French army retreated from Perimbé to the bound-hedge.

In this interval, the squadron had been joined by two ships of the line from England, the Norfolk of 74, and the Panther of 64 guns, which anchored at Cuddalore on the 15th; and a few days after one of the Company's ships arrived from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, with a detachment of 100 Europeans, and 122 Topasses, sent from that settlement by order from Bombay. This, with the detachment of artillery which arrived a little before, would have been a great reinforcement at any time, but was at this juncture more especially seasonable; and these exertions did honour to the councils of that Presidency, which had hitherto been very cautious of parting with any part of its force.

On the 30th, the day after the French army returned to their bounds, Colonel Coote detached the remainder of the hussars, who were 20, 500 black horse, 50 European infantry, and four companies of Sepoys, to Major More, that he might be strong enough to encounter the whole body of the Mysoreans in their approach to Pondicherry. This officer had been joined at Tricalore on the 24th, by Kistna-
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During this discussion, Colonel Coote detached eight companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Stephen Smith, to invest the forts of Gingee; and a convoy of military stores were sent from the camp to Major Preston, who was continuing the blockade of Thiagar.

1761.
January.

The Nabob requested and expected that the army, after the necessary repose, would accompany him against such chiefs and feudatories, whom he wished or had pretensions to call to account, either for contempts of his authority, or for tributes unsettled, or withheld. He had not forgiven the rebellion of his half-brother Nazeabulla of Nelore. His indignation had never ceased against Mortizally, the Kellidar of Velore, who, as well as the three greater Polygars to the north, and of Arielore, and Woriorepollam to the south, were suspected of hidden treasures; still more the greater and lesser Moravars; and the king of Tanjore, wealthier than all, scarcely considered the Nabob as his superior.

But the Presidency had other attentions to regard; their treasury and credit was exhausted in the reduction of Pondicherry; the care of 2500 French prisoners required strong guards and no little expence. Bengal was engaged in hostilities, wanted troops, and could send no money. Bombay had extended its military concerns by the acquisition of the castle of Surat in the beginning of the year 1759, which had induced the necessity of other important attentions in that part of the continent; and they were at this time earnestly requesting the return of all the troops they had sent to Coromandel. The factory at Tellichery likewise advised, that they intended to stop the troops which were just arrived and expected in the ships from England, and waited only the orders of their superiors at Bombay to attack the French settlement at Mahé, in which service they requested what assistance could be spared from Coromandel. It was still uncertain what was become of the French squadron; the English squadron wanted their marines, and were enjoined a secret service from England, in which Madras was to assist. These views and considerations appeared to the Presidency of more immediate importance than the indulgence of the triumphal notions which swelled

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1761.
February.

All the solicitations of Mr. Louet were of no avail, when his allies saw the English troops taking the field, and were apprized of their numbers; they did not send a man; and before day-break the next morning, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Hodges, the chief of Tellicherry, proposing terms of capitulation, on which Major Monro was ordered not to commence hostilities. Agents sent to explain doubts and objections, continued going to and fro until the morning of the 13th, when the capitulation was signed. It was agreed, that all the European military should be transported at the expence of the English, either to the island of Bourbon, or to Europe, and when landed there, to be free. The effects, artillery, and military stores, belonging to the French company, were to be surrendered, but the effects and possessions of individuals were to be preserved to them entire, without molestation in the use. The free exercise of the Roman religion was to be permitted as before the surrender; the priests on no account were to be vexed, nor the churches or religious edifices impaired. The forts to the northward of Tellicherry were to be given up on the same conditions as Mahé, and the factory at Calicut was to continue unmolested under the usual neutrality of that town: ample honours of war were allowed to the garrison. Five hundred men under the command of Major Peers marched into Mahé at noon; and soon after, the garrison were escorted with their honours to Tellicherry. A detachment was then prepared under the command of Major Monro, to take in the forts to the northward, which it was suspected might dispute the terms of capitulation provided for them. The news of the surrender of Mahé arrived at Madras on the 3d of March.

Captain Stephen Smith, as soon as encamped before Gingee, summoned Macgregor, the commanding officer, who answered, that if he had brought one hundred thousand men, the forts would not be reduced in three years. The troops encamped to the east opposite to the outward pettah on the plain, which, although it had a mud wall, was of much less defence than the inward town, which stands on higher ground, nearly in the center of the triangular valley, extending between the three mountains. The valley

1761.
February.

Tritchinopoly; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's service.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tellicherry was prosecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahé. The first is called Fort Delhi, situated on the strand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliferum, which, descending from the mountains to the east, turns short many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the sea, from which it is no where a mile asunder; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, stands Ramatilly, which is a small fort; on the same side, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which stands strong on a rocky eminence: seven miles farther, on the N. side of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neliferum, which is much larger; and six miles up this river, to the east, and on its left shore, stands the fifth fort, which is small, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliferum and Ramatilly were garrisoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compensated; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no service, if the two continued in hostility. Delhi and Ramatilly surrendered on the first summons, but at Mattalavy were assembled a large body of Naires, whose bravery is always desperate. The two ships from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coast of Malabar, and had passed beyond the river of Neliferum; and Major Monro, finding more resistance than he expected in his expedition, sent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected against Mattalavy: but the settlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in possession of Matalavy and Veramally, who consented to surrender them on condition of receiving an annual ~~fine~~ which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As soon as these
 forts

1756. judged that it would be destruction to no purpose to have attempted an escalade against such superior numbers as were in the city; for even the Collieries fight well behind walls. The day after his arrival some cavalry advanced near his post, but were driven back by a few discharges from the field-pieces, with the loss of two men. Skirmishes of this kind passed every day after, and on some without any loss on either side. On the 13th of September the renter Moodilee arrived in the camp with two companies of Sepoys, which had escorted him from Trichinopoly through the countries of the two Moravars, and the next day he continued his journey towards Tinivelly.

The Pulitaver, Catabominaigue, and the other Polygars of Tinivelly, took time to consider how they should act in consequence of the revolution at Madura, and the Jemautdars there, not finding them so ready to join as they had expected, began to think of preserving some openings to a reconciliation with the presidency. Accordingly they wrote letters apologizing for the revolt, and ascribed it intirely to their necessities for want of pay: and lowered their demands to 400,000 rupees. All the force which could be spared from the immediate service of the Carnatic being at this time required for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, the presidency empowered Captain Calliaud at Trichinopoly either to treat with the Jemautdars, or to employ such other means as he should judge expedient to recover Madura. On this authority Captain Calliaud sent his interpreter from Trichinopoly to Maphuze Cawn, who, in the very first conference, unable to keep his temper, avowed that he thought himself very ill used by the appointment of another renter, and that he would never give up Madura until the Tinivelly countries were granted to him upon the same terms as they had been let to Moodilee. The interpreter seeing no likelihood of accommodation with him, tried with the Jemautdars, offering to pay 50,000 rupees immediately, although he had brought no money, and 150,000 more after they should have evacuated the city. The Jemautdars agreed to these terms, and went to Mahomed Iffoof's camp in order to obtain his confirmation, who not thinking himself sufficiently authorised,

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authorised, advised them to wait, without departing from the agreement, until it could be ratified by Captain Calliaud ; to which they consented. Captain Calliaud approved of the terms, but added as an indispensable condition that Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah should be delivered up with the city. To this likewise the Jemautdars seemed to have no objection ; on which orders were dispatched to Moodilee to send money and bills for the amount of the agreement without delay from Tinivelly. These various negotiations and correspondences employed 30 days, during which several events happened which contributed to change the state of affairs.

The family of Moodilee by their occupation of renting the countries, had formed connections with most of the Polygars dependant on Tinivelly, more especially with the Pulitaver and Catabominaigue ; and on his invitations the Pulitaver and several others met him on the road. Catabominaigue and others sent their agents ; all came, as usual, with considerable retinues, and in the midst of this multitude Moodilee entered the town of Tinivelly on the 27th of September, and proclaimed his commission. But the Colleries of the Polygars, whom no consideration can restrain from thieving, committed night robberies in the town and adjacent villages. Several of them were taken and punished by the Company's Sepoys ; on which others stole the effects of the Sepoys themselves, who, irritated as much by the insult as the loss, transferred their resentment on Moodilee, because he suffered the Polygars to remain in the town, and continued to treat them with civility. At the same time the troops of Travancore renewed their incursions into the districts about Calacad ; and Nabey Cawn Catteck, who had concealed himself ever since the defeat in which Moodemiah was killed, now appeared again, made overtures of reconciliation to Maphuze Cawn, which were accepted ; and having enlisted 400 of the horse, which Maphuze Cawn had disbanded, kept traversing the country between Madura and Tinivelly. These disturbances, and the dissention between the renter Moodilee and the Company's Sepoys, had already deterred the bankers from furnishing him with the sums necessary for the commencement of his own business, at the time that he was called upon to supply the

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Mean while the Jemautdars having the power in themselves, had taken no pains to conceal their negotiation from Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, who, having no other means to overset it, employed intrigue. There was, among the Jemautdars, one named Seer Cawn, a man of art and spirit, attached to Berkatoolah; he had hitherto gone with the rest, with the view alone of leading them back, whenever the opportunity should offer. No money coming on several days in which it was expected, Seer Cawn suggested to his comrades, that the interpreter had amused them with the negotiation in order to cover some other design, perhaps the surprise of the city, by Mahomed Issoo's troops at Secunder Maly; and advised them to think of a reconciliation with their friends rather than trust any further to those whose views they did not know. Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah improved the effects of these suggestions by lavish promises, which prevailed, and immediately after the reconciliation 500 horse marched to join those with Nabey Cawn Catteck.

Notwithstanding this change, the interpreter still remained in the city with hopes of renewing the negotiation, on which Captain Calhauud resolved to go to Nattam himself, to be nearer at hand to give the necessary instructions; and, warned by the late disappointment, he took with him from Trichinopoly an agent belonging to the house of Buckanjee, the principal *shroff* or banker in the Decan, whose word was every where esteemed as ready money. Arriving at Nattam on the 25th of October, he was met there by the interpreter, and an officer lately sent by the Nabob from Arcot to treat with the Jemautdars. The officer represented that neither Maphuze Cawn nor Berkatoolah were in reality averse to an accommodation, but insisted that the presidency should give their guarantee for the terms, since neither of them would trust the Nabob: that Berkatoolah, who was rich, required only protection for his person, family,

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and effects; but Maphuze Cawn, a provision adequate to his rank. On this information Calliaud ordered the interpreter to renew the proposal of paying the Jemautdars, and pledged his own word to Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah; but insisted that Maphuze Cawn should immediately accompany him to Trichinopoly. Both seemed satisfied, and Maphuze Cawn made preparations as if he intended to proceed to Nattam the next day; but this day brought on the change of the monsoon, with such severe and tempestuous weather, that nothing could stir abroad. The fort of Nattam had no shelter against the sky, and the rains holding without intermission, Captain Calliaud apprehensive that the roads might become impassable, and keep him longer than he ought in prudence to remain out of his garrison, left Nattam the next day, and reached Trichinopoly on the 30th, where a day or two after came the interpreter, the Nabob's officer, and a Jemautdar sent by Maphuze Cawn, to explain his own demands. He requested to be placed in the government of districts, any where in the Carnatic, from which he might appropriate 200,000 rupees a year for his own maintenance; and alleging that he had been obliged to sell every thing he had, to satisfy in part the demands of his troops, he asked, but without insisting, for 20,000 rupees to furnish himself again with necessaries. Captain Calliaud dismissed the Jemautdar with assurances, that these terms should be complied with, and set out himself for Madras, in order to obtain the confirmation of the presidency, and to explain to them the general state of affairs in the southern countries.

At this time the expedition to Bengal had carried away one half of the English force in the Carnatic, and intelligence of the declaration of war with France increased the necessity of every caution: in consequence of which Captain Calliaud on the second day of his journey met letters from the presidency, with positive orders not to quit his garrison without their express permission; on which he immediately returned to Trichinopoly.

Mean while, the dissention between the Company's Sepoys and their renter at Tinivelly had encreased, and had produced evil consequences. Moodilee by his contract was only obliged to furnish the

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pay of the Sepoys employed by himself; but Mahomed Iffoo, by a wrong interpretation, imagined that Moodilee was obliged to maintain the whole number wheresoever employed; and moreover to discharge the arrears of their pay, of which two months were due on his arrival in the country. In consequence of this mistake, Jemaul-fahab, who commanded the Sepoys in Tinivelly, demanded the amount, and on Moodilee's refusing to pay it, confined him under a guard for several days; during which he ordered the Pulitaver and the other Polygars to quit the town, with threats of severe punishment if they remained any longer. They departed immediately; but instead of returning to their homes, the Pulitaver went to Nabey Cawn Catteck and offered him his assistance, both in men and money; and by their united representations, Catabominaigue was induced to join their league. At the same time the troops of Travancore kept their ground, and continued their depredations in the districts dependant on Calacad. The hopes of the advantages which might be derived from these confusions, were much more agreeable to the disposition of Berkatoolah, than the success of his negotiation with the English, by which he was to obtain nothing more than the pardon of his offences; and in the middle of November, as soon as the ground was sufficiently dry, to march, he went from the city, and put himself at the head of the 500 horse, which had gone out before, and were now joined to those of Nabey Cawn Catteck, and the troops of the Polygars. The whole force amounted to 10000 men, of which 1000 were horse. They were assembled about 40 miles to the south of Madura, and instead of proceeding directly to the south, in the open country, struck to the east into the districts of Catabominaigue, a part of whose woods extend within a few miles of the town of Tinivelly. Issuing from thence at night before their approach was known, they entered the town at day-break by several avenues, which were weakly guarded: for Moodilee a few days before had marched with the greatest part of the Sepoys and his other force, about twenty miles to the south-east, in order to protect the districts of Alwar Tinivelly, against which he had been led to believe the enemy designed to bend their attack. The enemy remained

remained two days in Tinivelly, plundered much, but committed no cruelties; and during this delay, Moodilee regained the fort of Palamcolah, which stands on the other side of the river about three miles from the town. The fort is spacious, but the ramparts were in ruins, nevertheless capable of resisting an enemy, which had no battering cannon. Matchlocks and musketry were fired without any mischief for two days, during which the cavalry ravaged the country round. Mahomed Isfoof, who still continued at Secundermaly, before Madura, received no certain intelligence of the enemy's design until four days after they were in motion; he immediately struck his camp and proceeded towards Tinivelly, and they hearing of his approach collected all their parties and advanced to give him battle. The two armies met on the 1st of December at Gangadoram, about twenty miles north of Tinivelly. The inferiority of numbers was much more than compensated by superior skill; the Company's Sepoys faced the enemy on every side with advantage of situation and discipline, and the field-pieces were fired with much execution against the cavalry, whose fortunes depending on the preservation of their horses, they quitted the contest and the field. The next day Mahomed Isfoof proceeded to Tinivelly, and from thence marched into the desolated districts, in order to give heart to the inhabitants, and recall them to their occupations. The Polygars returned to their woods, and Berkatoolah with his cavalry to Madura; but Nabey Cawn Catteck went to Chevelpetore, and not having means to attack the fort, in which were some Sepoys, attempted to escalate the pagoda in the town; on which one of the Bramins went to the top of the high tower over the gateway, and after a short but loud prayer of execration, threw himself headlong to the pavement, which dashed out his brains; the enemy, although Mahomedans, were so much afraid of incurring the general detestation of the country, if their attempts against the pagoda should incite any more acts of such enthusiastic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town.

Whilst Captain Calliaud was in expectation of a conclusive answer from Maphuze Cawn's agent, he received intelligence of the new confederacy, and their operations, and of Berkatoolah's departure

B O O K VIII.

THE presidency of Madrafs received no intelligence concerning the success of the armament to Bengal, before the 15th of February, between which day and the 22d, advices arrived, by various vessels, of the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack of the Nabob's camp, and of the treaty made with him on the 11th of that month, in which conjuncture Colonel Clive gave hopes that he should soon return with a great part of the troops. On the 21st Admiral Pocock arrived, as we have said, from Vizagapatam, landed the remaining soldiers of the Company's troops, received 100, the same number of sailors, and sailed the next day to rejoin the squadron in Bengal.

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According to the principle adopted on the departure of the armament, the presidency had continued to avoid all hostilities in the Carnatic; but the failure of Lieutenant Rumbold's negotiation with the Jemautdars of Madura, in November, raised no improbable apprehensions, that the influence of the government of Pondicherry would, if it had not already, soon insinuate itself into their councils, unless immediately interrupted by some exertion; and the dangerous consequences which would ensue, determined the presidency to revoke the restraint they had laid on Captain Calliaud not to engage in any military operations from Trichinopoly; and in the end of the year, they allowed him to employ such means as he should think expedient, for the reduction of Madura, and permitted him to command the expedition in person; they likewise sent several officers,

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officers, with some stores and ammunition, which the garrison of Trichinopoly could not spare without diminishing its own complements: they went by sea to Devicotah, from whence they were to proceed through the Tanjore country.

Captain Calliaud, whilst waiting for these supplies, went to Tanjore, as well to obtain troops from the King, as to make peace between him and Tondiman; for Monacjee in the beginning of the year had taken the fort of *Killanelly*, which had been so long the object of contention between them; but found the difference, as before, irreconcilable; nevertheless, both proffered every assistance in their power. On the 23d of March, he set out from Trichinopoly, with 150 Europeans, including artillery-men, 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, and on the 25th arrived at *Anawashul*, a town belonging to Tondiman, 20 miles from Trichinopoly, where they were joined by 1000 of his horse, and 100 of his Colleries. On the 29th they arrived on the frontiers of the lesser Moravar's country, who being likewise frequently called the *Nellicotah* Polygar, we shall in future distinguish him from the greater Moravar by that title. Here they expected 500 horse from Tanjore; but none were arrived, or near. Scouts sent forward reported, that all the roads and paths in the country before them were obstructed with trees fresh cut down and strewed across the way, and that numbers of Colleries were every where ready to dispute the passage. Messengers were sent to enquire the reason. The Polygar said, that being at enmity with Tanjore, and knowing that Calliaud had asked the king for a body of horse, he had barred his woods, being determined not to admit any Tanjorines into his country. Calliaud, being by this time convinced that the King, notwithstanding his promises, did not intend to send any, made a merit of rejecting what he was not likely to obtain, and assured the Polygar he would not accept of their assistance; on which all obstacles were removed, and the troops, after a halt of three days, entered his country on the 4th of March. In seven days more, of which they halted during the third at *Mangalum*, they arrived at *Paralathy*, the last town they had to pass in the districts of the greater Moravar, having

having received every kind of hospitality in the countries of both Polygars. Excepting the feet of a few missionaries, this track had never before been trodden by any Europeans. At Mangalum, Calliaud met the brother of the Nellikotah; and at Paralachy, the principal man of the greater Moravar: and learnt from them that the two Polygars and Tondiman had entered into a league to attack the king of Tanjore with all their forces united, on the very next attempt he should make against the territories of either of the three. The troops having halted a day at Paralachy, continued their march to Tinivelly, through the open country, in districts belonging to this government.

The Pulitaver, with the Polygars of his alliance, had taken the field in the middle of January, as soon as Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville; their force amounted to 10,000 men, and the cavalry of Madura under the command of Berkatoolah, to one thousand. This army moved by slow stages to the eastward, the Colleries plundering day and night on either hand, and at length encamped before *Panialumcrutch*, at this time the principal residence of Catabominaigue, the chief of the eastern Polygars, and demanded his assistance; who, dreading the destruction that would follow his refusal, complied, and joined them with 3 or 4000 men. But the Polygar of *Etiaporum*, the next in importance, made some pretence to withhold his troops, for which the Pulitaver was not sorry; and the army marched from Panialumcrutch directly to Tinivelly, still plundering all the way; but were deterred from attacking the town itself, by the activity of the Company's Sepoys stationed there under the command of Bussiponaigue. Returning with their plunder to the northward, they ravaged all the accessible and cultivated districts belonging to Etiaporum in revenge for his neutrality; and from hence sent off a detachment with their booty, amongst which were 5000 beeves, to Nellitangaville. In this while Mahomed Issooof the commandant, and Moodilee the renter of these countries, not being certified which way Calliaud would direct his march, expected that he would come in somewhere near Madura, and remained at Chevelpetore, under the hills to the west,

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until they received intelligence that the enemy were marching from Panialumcrutch towards Tinivelly; on which they moved to intercept their return, and besides other Polygars of less note were accompanied by Vaniah of Sevagherry, a very large Collery fort situated at the foot of the hills about 20 miles south of Chevelpetore; but the enemy had followed their plunder from Etiaporum, and were arrived at Nellitangaville before Iffoof could intersect their return: he nevertheless, when thus far, remained in the district mid-way between Chevelpetore and Tinivelly, as the best position to watch their future movements, until he received orders from Captain Calliaud to repair to, and wait for him at this town; in consequence of which, he proceeded and arrived there on the 28th of February. The enemy no sooner saw him removing to a greater distance, than they again came out, and proceeded to Alwar courchy, a town about 20 miles to the westward of Tinivelly, where Moodilee had lately thrown up a mud fort, on which he had mounted three pieces of cannon, and placed in it 150 Peons and Sepoys under the command of his nephew, Algapah. The enemy attacked the fort, which, after more resistance than might have been expected, surrendered, and Algapah was sent a prisoner to Nelletangaville. Intelligence of this loss was brought to Tinivelly on the 4th of March, in the evening, and at 8 o'clock, Mahomed Iffoof marched with the greatest part of his own force, and all of the Polygars his allies. At 7 the next morning they came in sight of Alwar courchy, and were surrounded on all sides by the enemy's army, of which the cavalry of Madura were most to be apprehended. The fight continued in a variety of skirmishes, until the evening, when the enemy quitted the fort and the field. The Polygar of *Outamalee* had both his legs struck off by a cannon ball, and the general of the Pulitaver's men was likewise killed; of their troops 2 or 300 were supposed to be killed or wounded; of Mahomed Iffoof's only six Sepoys were killed and 30 wounded; however, the action was esteemed a complete victory, and to fix it as such in the opinion of the country, he marched forward to *Shenganpetty*, a fort in the hills belonging to the Polygar of *Vadagary*, situated about 16 miles to the north-west of Alwar courchy.

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The guard abandoned the fort before it was attacked; and Mahomed Iffoof, leaving 100 Sepoys to garrison it, dismissed the Polygars, and returned with the renter's and the Company's troops to Tinivelly, where Calliaud with his detachment arrived on the 17th.

The force now assembled at Tinivelly was formidable, but could not proceed to action for want of money, which the renter Modilee, from whom it was expected, was not able to furnish; and the shroffs had for some time been deterred from supplying him by their apprehensions from the animosity which existed between him and Mahomed Iffoof. Captain Calliaud with much difficulty reconciled their differences, at least to appearance, and so far as to induce the shroffs to lend 200,000 rupees, which were immediately disbursed in discharging the arrears due to the troops, and other military expences. The Polygar Catabominaigue was at this time celebrating a great wedding in his family at Panialumcrutch; to which, as usual, the whole country round was invited, and Moodilee as a principal guest. He went, and having long been in habits of acquaintance and business with the Polygar, fixed him in the interest of the company, and concluded an alliance with him against the confederates with whom he had lately united, as well as all other enemies. In return, the Polygar requested that some compensation might be made to his dependant of Etiaporum, for the ravages which his country had lately sustained in consequence of his refusal to join the rebels; and Calliaud, having seen the effects as he marched through, remitted a part of the fine due on the hostages of Etiaporum, who still remained unredeemed with Tondiman. Whilst these affairs were adjusting, the southern monsoon setting in on the coast of Malabar, broke over the western range of mountains with the utmost violence, and descending, with the cataracts it had formed, into the plain, deluged the whole country to the eastern sea: the storm, rain, and inundation, continued without intermission for two days and two nights: the harvests, just ripe, were swept away, and with them the habitations of the cultivators: the rains continued several days after the winds had abated; it required many days labour and sunshine to drain and dry the ground, and more time to repair the

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devastation which the agriculture of the country had suffered ; during which an epidemic sickness broke out, and carried off many of the distressed inhabitants by sudden deaths, which the patient simplicity and superstition of their character imputed to the visitation of a goddess, *Lacheme*, coming, they knew not whence, from the North. The shroffs, who had lent money to Moodilee on the mortgaged harvest, would not suffer him to depart until they saw the country recovering ; which obliged Captain Calliaud to remain at Tinivelly some time longer, in order to superintend and encourage the various operations which were necessary to restore the cultivation.

The Presidency, whilst waiting the result of this expedition, had, howsoever unwilling, been obliged to engage in hostilities in the Carnatic. The Nabob, in the beginning of the year, had demanded of his brother Nazeabulla, the governor of *Nelore*, a subsidy of 100,000 rupees above the usual tribute ; which the country could afford to pay, having suffered little from the distresses of the war, to which the rest of the Carnatic had so long been exposed ; but Nazeabulla equivocated and apologized. Ichlaß Khan, the brother of the Nabob's buxey or general, marching at this time with 500 horse, and other troops, to collect the tributes of the northern Polygars, advanced as far as Serapely, a fort 12 miles south of *Nelore*, and proposed an interview with Nazeabulla, who accepted the visit, giving his oath on the Koran ; but requested Ichlaß Khan to come with few attendants, lest quarrels should arise between them and his own. The visit produced no change in Nazeabulla's excuses for not paying the money, and Ichlaß Khan left the city in the evening without harm ; but, after it grew dark, his escort was attacked by an ambuscade of matchlock-men in the bushes near the road, and one of them was killed. The Nabob imputed this outrage to the instigation and example of his other brother Maphuze Khan at *Madura*, and of an adventurer Meerfaeb, who was in possession of *Elavanashore*, and plundering wherever he listed. The anguish which the Nabob expressed at this second rebellion rising in his own family, determined the presidency to comply with his earnest request to re-

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plundered the neighbourhood indiscriminately. The Nabob then pretended to suspect him of being in league with Maphuze Khan at Madura, and Nazeabulla at Nalore; but as soon as it was known, that the government of Pondicherry intended to attack Elavanafore, he requested the presidency of Madras to protect him, rather than suffer such valuable districts to fall into the hands of the French.

Mr. D'Auteuil advancing by forced marches appeared before Elavanafore on the 10th; and, whilst they were encamping, Meer Saheb sallied with all his cavalry and most of his foot, and had well nigh routed the whole of the French force, when he was shot through the body: his troops immediately ceased the fight, but escorted him with much attention back to the fort. D'Auteuil, on this trial, sent to Gingee for reinforcements and cannon; and, in the mean time, prepared to make a regular attack: on the 16th arrived 250 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, and the battering cannon; but on the same day Meer Saheb died of his wound; on which his brother, with the families of both, went away in the night, and the garrison after their example likewise abandoned the fort before the morning.

Reports had prevailed in this part of the country, ever since the French troops had taken the field, that they intended to fall upon Fritchinopoly, which, by the absence of the troops with Captain Calliaud, was left with a garrison very inadequate to its extent; and even Capt. Jos. Smith, who now commanded in the city, apprehended and warned the presidency of this danger. But the force which had taken Elavanafore was unequal to the enterprize; and D'Auteuil moved back from Elavanafore to Chilambrum, where he arrived on the 1st of May. From hence he marched and encamped on the skirts of the woods of Warriorepollam, and summoned the polygar to pay his tributes on the same pretensions as Maissin had demanded them two years before. The polygar as usual endeavoured to gain time by discussions, on which the French attacked one of his barriers, but were repulsed with loss: however he was frightened

frightened by the attack, and agreed to pay 40,000 rupees, but took some days to produce the money.

In the mean time, Captain Calliaud, whilst regulating the affairs of the renter at Tinivelly, acquired intelligence, that the confederates were treating with the Myſoreans at Dindigul for aid againſt the Engliſh and their adherents, the Pulitaver offering to pay down 500,000 rupees, and the Jemautdars of Maphuze Khan to give up the diſtricts of *Sholavanden*, in which are comprized a ſtrong paſs, and the only road, between Madura and Dindigul. Nevertheleſs it was not intended that the country, when conquered, ſhould be given either to the Myſorean or Maphuze Khan: it was to be reſtored to a deſcendant of the ancient kings, who lived in concealment in the country of the greater Moravar: and Maphuze Khan was to have a ſuitable eſtabliſhment in Myſore.

This news encreaſed the neceſſity of attacking Madura as ſoon as poſſible; but the arrangements at Tinivelly were not finiſhed until the 10th of April, on which day, Captain Calliaud began his march from thence, with 180 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, fix field-pieces, and 500 horſe: Mahmood Iſſooſ commanded the Sepoys, and Moodilee what horſe were levied by himſelf. Six companies of Sepoys were left for the defence of Tinivelly, and the ſame number in the fort of Palamcotah. On the ſame day, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck ſet off from Nellitangavile, with 500 horſe, leaving Maphuze Khan with the Pulitaver. Skirting along the hills, they halted one evening near the fort of the Polygar Vaniah, of Shevagherry, which ſtood 60 miles ſ.w. of Madura, and 20 below Chevelpetore. The Polygar, having been attacked by Mahomed Iſſooſ, ſent out his Colleries, who, in the middle of the night, fell upon this body of cavalry, and with their ſcreams and fireworks diſperſed the whole, and took 40 of their horſes. The fugitives re-aſſembled in the morning, and arrived at Madura on the 17th; from whence Nabey Cawn Catteck immediately went to the greater Moravar, in order to prepare ſupplies of provisions for the city. On the 20th, the Engliſh army arrived at Secundermally, and lodged themſelves in the pagoda; from whence Mahomed Iſſooſ, with a party of Se-

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poys, was detached the next day to reduce the fort of Sholavanden: It is situated 10 miles north-west of Madura, and, although intended to command the pass, was of little strength; and the garrison of 200 peons abandoned it as soon as Mahomed Iffoof appeared; but excessive rains, which raised the river *Vigee*, prevented him from returning to Secundermally, before the 26th. In this interval, Caliaud received letters from the presidency, advising him of their apprehensions that the French intended to attack Tritchinopoly; with orders to hold himself in readiness to march to its relief on the first notice. By this time, he was likewise convinced, that the reduction of Madura was an enterprize of much more difficulty than had been represented to him, and scarcely feasible without battering cannon, of which he had not brought any from Tritchinopoly; and, excepting the one which Mahomed Iffoof himself had deposited in Madura, there was not a single piece in the whole country, of which Europeans would make use. However, not to lose any of the precarious time left him to act, he resolved to attempt the city by surprize. Bamboos were provided, as if for some other service, and no one was suffered to go in or out of the pagoda until the ladders were made. On the night before the 1st of May, all the troops, except a few to guard the baggage and artillery, marched out of the pagoda, and at three in the morning arrived at the watercourse which runs within 300 yards of the western side of the walls.

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The inward wall of Madura is 22 feet high, including the parapet, which rises six above the rampart: at the distance of every 100 yards or less (for exact symmetry has not been observed) are square towers. The fausse-bray is 30 feet broad, above which the outward wall rises only five feet, but descending to the bottom of the ditch is 11 on the outside. Midway, between every two towers of the inward wall, is a similar projection in the outward, with loop-holes which command the ditch, and flank the intermediate part of the wall, in which are none: but the whole parapet of the inward wall has loop-holes, so have some of its towers, and the rest embrasures for cannon. The spot chosen to be attacked was the first tower on the left hand of the western gateway, being the only part

part where the fausse-bray was clear of the thick thorny bushes, which had not injudiciously been suffered to over-run it in every other; but the garrison, trusting to this defence, had entirely neglected the ditch, which, by continual drifts after rain, was almost choked up to the level of the plain. The party allotted to the attack were 100 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys; the rest of the troops remained in the watercourse, ready to support the event. Calliaud led the party himself, to whom the method of attack was carefully explained, and strict silence enjoined. The foremost men carried the six shorter ladders intended for the outward wall; the next, the six longer, for the inward; as soon as twenty of the party had got into the fausse-bray, it was intended that they should immediately take over the longer ladders, which they were to plant, as received, against the tower, but not a man was to mount, until all the six ladders were fixed, and then no more than three at a time on each ladder.

The first ladders were planted, and Calliaud, with the first 20 men, had got into the fausse-bray, had taken over one of the longer ladders, and had planted it against the tower, when their hopes were interrupted by one of those accidents which from their triviality escape the most attentive precaution. A dog, accustomed to get his meals at the messes of some of the soldiers, had accompanied them all the way from Secundermally into the ditch, and, probably from anxiety, at not being able to follow his masters into the fausse-bray, began to bark; which was soon answered by the barking of another dog on the rampart, and the yelps of both awakened the nearest sentinel, who, crying out "The enemy," raised the guard at the gateway, which repaired immediately to the tower. The soldiers in the fausse-bray, finding the alarm taken, instead of continuing to get over the rest of the ladders, endeavoured to mount on that already planted, but crowded on it so many together, that it crushed under them. This communicated the confusion to those in the ditch, and no one any longer did what he ought. In the mean time, the garrison increasing on the rampart hung out blue lights of sulphur, and discovering the whole party began

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began to shower on them arrows, stones, lances, and the shot of fire-arms. On which Calliaud ordered the retreat, which was effected with little loss, only one man being killed, and another wounded; both were Sepoys, standing on the glacis.

The troops, after taking some refreshment, marched from the watercourse, and proceeding along the southern face of the town took post in a ruined village, about 600 yards from the south-east part of the walls, which in this quarter were of a much slighter construction than any where else. The division with the artillery and baggage from Secundermally joined in the evening. On the 3d in the morning, a battery consisting of three six-pounders began to fire on the walls, and continued the two succeeding days, without making any impression; on which Calliaud sent away a company of Sepoys, with a sufficient number of bullocks, to bring two eighteen-pounders from Trichinopoly.

The presidency of Madras, whilst anxious concerning the success of the expeditions against Madura and Nellore, had received advices, on the 28th of April, from Bengal, by the *Revenge*, *Protector*, and *Marlborough*, belonging to the company, with the welcome news of the capture of Chandernagore, but without a single platoon of the troops which had been sent in the armament; and, the season being now changed, none were to be expected before September. Intelligence of this disappointment was soon conveyed to Pondicherry; and it now appeared, that the French had waited to determine the operations of their own troops by the force which might be sent back from Bengal to Madras. They immediately barred all their garrisons, and, retaining none but invalids in Pondicherry itself, enrolled the European inhabitants to man the walls: all these parties hastened to join D'Autueil's camp before Ariellore, who, sending forward a detachment of 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Seringham, followed himself with the main body on the 12th of May: his whole force consisted of 1000 Europeans, battalion and artillery, 150 Hussars, 3000 Sepoys, 10 field-pieces, with several howitzes and cohorns.

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The two eighteen-pounders intended for Madura were sent off from Trichinopoly early in the morning of the 12th, under the escort of two companies of Sepoys; but had not proceeded three miles, before a strong party from Seringham crossed the Caveri, and marched to circumvent them; which being perceived from the town, Captain Joseph Smith re-called the guns, and marched out with a considerable part of the garrison to protect them, on which the enemy returned to the island. On the 14th the van of their main body, with D'Autueil, arrived, and with the garrison of Seringham encamped at the Pagodas of Wariore. It was some time that Captain Smith had expected this visit, and he had made all the preparations which the means in his power admitted to receive it: he had filled the ditch round the town with water by the usual sluices from the Caveri, nevertheless several rocky parts remained fordable: the parapets both of the outward and inward walls, wherever decayed, had been repaired: Tondiman and the king of Tanjore, on his application, had sent, the one 300 Colleries, the other 300 matchlockmen: the Peons entertained by the Nabob's governor, were four hundred: but all these men, excepting the Colleries, were only fit for night-watches, nor for that, without being watched themselves: the Company's were the only troops which could be relied on; they were 150 Europeans rank and file, of which 50 had lately been sent from Fort St. David, 15 artillery men, and 700 Sepoys; but of the whole few had seen much service, for the best had been taken away by Captain Calliaud. This force would scarcely in any time of outward danger have been sufficient to guard the walls, of which the circuit was 6400 yards; much less with the additional ward of 500 French prisoners, who were confined within the town, and from whom more danger was apprehended than from the enemy without: for it was known, and it could not be prevented, that they maintained a correspondence with their countrymen at Seringham; and indeed the hopes of their breaking loose during the attack, had been the principal inducement to the present attempt against the city. More troops were continually

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tinually coming up to Wariore; and on the 15th, the day after the first arrived, the enemy began to throw shells into the town: during the night several parties at different times and places advanced to the ditch, not with any intention of scaling the walls, but only to keep the garrison from rest by repeated alarms. These alerts and the bombardment were continued during the four succeeding days and nights; and on the 20th, M. D'Autueil, thinking the garrison sufficiently harrassed, summoned Captain Smith in the name of the king of France, to surrender the town, and spare the effusion of blood, warning him that he should resent in the severest manner any ill usage which might have been inflicted on the French prisoners. Captain Smith answered, that he should maintain the town for the king of England; and that the prisoners had always been treated with more lenity than their practices deserved. Some hours after, spies brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a general assault in the approaching night, and at one in the morning the greatest part of their force advanced towards the west face of the town; but a few discharges of cannon made them retreat, and the continual vigilance of the rounds, witnessed by their lights and a variety of military musick, deterred them from any farther attempt.

By this time several of the neighbouring Polygars had joined the army before Madura, and were of service in supplying the camp with provision, as well as by cutting off such as were going to the town, and Captain Calliaud had entered into a negotiation with some of the Jemautdars, to deliver up the city, or to assist in surprizing it. Colonel Smith, on the first appearance of the enemy's troops on the other side of the Coleroon, had dispatched express messengers to him, with the intelligence, which he received on the 11th at three in the afternoon. At six, he began his march, with 120 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, leaving the rest under the command of Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Isloof, whom he empowered to conclude with the Jemautdars.

The troops marched without tents, baggage, or artillery; a few bullocks carried the spare ammunition, and servants belonging to the commissary

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missary were sent forward to provide the meal at the different places of halt. On the 25th at day-break they arrived and halted at the village of Eliapore, nineteen miles from Tritchinopoly. On the road Calliaud had received advices from Captain Smith, that D'Autueil, apprized of his approach, had quitted his first station at the Pagodas of Wariore, and had disposed his troops in a line of communication which extended from the Faquieres tope, round the Five rocks, the Golden, and the Sugar-loaf, to the French rock; by which all access on the southern aspect of the city was precluded. It had also been discovered that several spies belonging to D'Autueil had mingled with and accompanied the English troops, on which Calliaud ordered them to be narrowly observed by his own, but without appearance of suspicion, intending to make them the instruments of deceiving those by whom they were employed. The troops having taken sufficient rest, and a full meal, marched from Eliapore at two in the afternoon, and at six arrived at Aour, a village in Tondiman's Woods, about twelve miles from Tritchinopoly, where they stopped half an hour. Calliaud then bent his march, as if he intended to come out upon the plain, between the Five rocks and the Sugar-loaf, opposite to the middle of the enemy's line, and advanced in this direction six miles. It was now 8 o'clock, and quite dark, when the French spies, fully persuaded of the intelligence they were carrying, went off to inform D'Autueil where they supposed the English troops intended to force their way. Half an hour after their departure, none of them appearing again, Calliaud entirely changed his rout, striking on the east along the skirts of Tondiman's Woods, until he came opposite to Elimiserum. The ground, from the woods to this place on the south, beyond it to the Caveri on the north, to the west of it as far as the French rock, and a greater space to the east, is a plain mostly laid out in rice fields, which, throughout India, are divided into areas of no great extent; each enclosed by a separate bank, and kept overflowed with water until a fortnight before the harvest is cut down, until which time they remain, as these now were, a heavy swamp of mud. The French, supposing all this part of the country impassable to a body of troops, had not thought

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it necessary to station a watch either at Elimiserum, or on the bank of the Caveri; and the information which Calliaud had obtained of this neglect suggested the advantage he was now taking of it. The troops entered the rice fields at ten o'clock, the Europeans marching first; the Sepoys were observed by the English serjeants of their companies, and their own Subadars or captains were men of duty: but no discipline could be exerted, where the success intirely depended on silence and darkness; and the spirit of the soldier himself determined, whether he should give out, or persevere in gaining his toilsome way, after so much fatigue already endured. At 2 in the morning two companies of Sepoys were sent off, with orders to push for the town between the French and Sugar-loaf rocks; lest the enemy should be led to suspicions of the real march, if no alarm were given to any part of their line: but, contrary to expectation, these Sepoys passed close under the French rock without being challenged by a single centinel; for all the troops stationed hereabouts had been drawn to the main body, guarding the ground to the south, indicated by their spies. At 4 in the morning, the two companies arrived at the Madura, or southern gate of the town, where they were immediately recognized and admitted. It was near the dawn of day before the main body with Calliaud reached *Chuckleyapollam* on the bank of the Caveri, having employed near seven hours in wading through the rice-fields, although the distance was only seven miles; two more still remained; but the sight of the city inspired the whole line with new alacrity: and their commander, who from the multiplicity of his attentions had endured more fatigue than any of them, now marched at their head, supported by two grenadiers. Captain Smith, apprized, drew out half his garrison, with two field-pieces, ready in case of need to protect them. Every man was received with open arms; the meal and every refreshment was ready for the welcome and exhausted guests; and with the rising sun, a discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon announced their exultation, with the news, to the French troops on the plain. On a review it was found, that 300 of the Sepoys had dropped behind,

but they recalled their advanced posts into their intrenchments, and only sent out their hussars, who, as before, ventured nothing. This trial convinced Col. Lawrence that nothing but the certainty of advantage could bring them to action; and enough being done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in consequence of fear, he thought it best to **put an end to** the expence of the campaign. The army marched away on the 26th, and the enemy made no motion to harass them. On the 28th, they arrived at Conjeveram, where 500 Europeans, with 1500 Sepoys, remained in cantonments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Forde: the rest returned to the garrisons and stations from whence they had been drawn. Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force that Madras and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained 40 days within a few hours march of each other, and separated, without a man wounded on either side. Nevertheless, both were right, according to their different views and circumstances, in refraining from action.

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The garrison of Madura was so much elated by the departure of Captain Calliaud with the best of the troops, and by the cause in the danger of Trichinopoly, that the Jemautdars, who had made proposals to him, would not continue any communication with Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Issoo; who ordered up six of the 12 companies of Sepoys from Tinivelly and Palamcottah, and moved the camp from the s.e. to the n.e. of the town on the other side of the river Vigee, in order to cut off the communication of the garrison with the river, from which they drew their water, as all in the tanks of the town and plain was putrid.

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The four sides of Madura front nearly to the four cardinal points. The river passing from the n.w. washes the walls at the n.e. angle; the bed, unless immediately after heavy rains, lies in dry flats of sand, on some of which are buildings; the channels between are shallow. The English camp extended on the northern side of the river, opposite the angle, and within point blank of part of the walls on the east and north sides; for nothing was feared from the decayed artillery of the town.

The

757. The gate-way of the north side, from whence the garrison got
uly. their water, was near the N.W. angle, and about 80 yards from the river; on the side of which, opposite to the gate, they threw up a retrenchment, in which they kept a guard to protect the water-carriers. Lieutenant Rumbold, with the Europeans, passed the river under cover of a field-piece, and having dislodged the guard from the post on the other side, kept possession, strengthened it with better retrenchments, and stationed two companies of Sepoys to maintain it. This immediately obliged the enemy to open another gate, it was that to the south, and to get their water from the tanks within and without the town, which soon threw many of them into fluxes.

Rumbold and Mahomed Issoo remained three or four days without doing any thing more, hoping to put the enemy off their guard, and then, taking a night when the wind blew very strong, advanced with a large party of Sepoys, carrying bundles of straw mixed with more effectual combustibles, which they piled and set fire to against the outward doors of the gateway; which were soon consumed, and the party suffered very little, being concealed by the thickness of the smoke, and still more protected by the indifference of the garrison, who knew their own security; for, when advanced with a petard through the windings of the gateway to the second door, which opened immediately into the city, the troops, to their great surprize, found the front of it bricked up with a strong wall; upon which they retired without delay. By this time, the Sepoys from Tinivelly were advancing; and Captain Calliaud, being convinced that the French army were not likely to return again to Trichinopoly, had detached a platoon of 30 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, and an 18 pounder, which were likewise on the road to Madura. The garrison hearing of the approach of these reinforcements, resolved to make a vigorous effort before their arrival. Intelligence was received of their intention, and to be prepared against it, the ground on each side of the camp was sluiced by cutting the mound of a large tank at some distance in the rear; and Mahomed Issoo undertook to defend the
post

post on the other side of the river with the usual guard of two companies of Sepoys, and the addition of a field-piece. On the 9th of the month the enemy made the fall at noon-day. They were 300 Sepoys, 200 cavalry dismounted, and 200 more on their horses. The riders came round from the west, and crossing the river, kept galloping on this side the camp, but without venturing to pass the swamp; but the foot issuing from the north gate, which they had unbricked, advanced straight forward to the watering post. A shot had scarcely been fired, before the two companies of Sepoys, either from panic or spite, for Mahomed Issoo was a severe commander, abandoned him, and dispersed, all but ten men, with whom he retreated to a choultry, on an island in the river, to which they were followed by part of the enemy, whilst the rest seized the gun. Lieutenant Rumbold on the danger advanced with the company of Coffrees, and one of Sepoys, leaving the four other companies, and the field-pieces for the defence of the camp. He made his way good to the choultry, where he found the small party of defenders reduced to their last cartridge, having killed more than their own number of the enemy, who retreated as soon as the reinforcement came up. On the 11th of June, arrived the detachment from Trichinopoly; when Rumbold mounted the eighteen pounder they had brought on the recovered post. It fired three days, until most of its ammunition was spent, but without being able to make a practicable breach; and in the mean time the enemy threw up a retrenchment with a deep ditch before the breach, and strengthened the ditch with palisades; so that nothing could be done by assault without more force. The presidency had foreseen this; and notwithstanding their other alarms, still continued intent on the reduction of Madura, as the most dangerous advantage of which the French were likely to get possession, if not immediately recovered; of which sense nothing could be a greater proof than their insufficient efforts; for the attempt required a complete army. They therefore left it to the discretion of Calliaud, to proceed again to the attack, with such a force as should not leave Trichinopoly exposed again to too much risque. Some days passed in waiting the

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return of a detachment of 50 Europeans, which had come from, and had been lately sent back to Fort St. David; and as soon as they returned, he took the field with 90 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, an eighteen-pounder, and 200 horse supplied by the king of Tanjore; more than half the Europeans were French and Dutch deserters, chosen, that none but the English soldiers might be left to guard the French prisoners in the city. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, and awed by the imperious temper of Mahomed Iffoof, had quitted the camp, and followed Calliaud when he marched to the relief of Trichinopoly; from whence he now again returned with him to Madura. The detachment set out on the 25th of June, and arrived on the 3d of July. The Sepoys called from Tinivelly had joined a few days before; but Mr. Rumbold had nevertheless been obliged to reduce his operations to preventing the garrison from getting water from the river, and provisions from the country.

Calliaud, seeing the dexterity with which the enemy had counteracted the battery of Rumbold, resolved to prevent them from opposing the same obstacles to that which he intended to erect, by keeping them in ignorance of the part he should attack, until the first shot was fired. The gabions, fascines, and platforms, were prepared in the camp; and as soon as all were ready, the troops allotted marched on the 9th at night to the watercourse which runs to the west of the city, and railed the battery against the curtain between the gateway and the tower which had been attempted by escalade of the 1st of May. It mounted two eighteen-pounders, with four field-pieces, was finished before the morning, and at day-break began to fire. The parapet of the fausse-bray was soon beaten down, and the inward wall, although strong, was by noon shaken so much, that the parapet of this likewise fell entirely, and the wall itself was sufficiently shattered, to permit a man to clamber to the top: but, in this short time, the garrison had staked the rampart behind with the trunks of Palmeira trees set on end: a few shot knocked down some, nor could any of them have been firmly fixed, and to leave the enemy no more time to prepare farther defences, Cal-

liaud

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Calliaud resolved to storm immediately. Of the Europeans, only the artillery-men were left at the battery: all the battalion-men, who were 120, marched, followed by the company of Coffrees, and they by 400 Sepoys. Calliaud led the Europeans, and Mahomed Issoof the Sepoys. The garrison had disciplined 300 of their matchlock-men as Sepoys; who, although much inferior to these troops, were improved far beyond their former state; these were posted on the western gateway, which, projecting beyond the fausse-bray into the ditch, flanked the tower attacked; and a multitude were crowded on the ramparts behind and on each side of the breach. The troops, although galled, advanced resolutely through the ditch and fausse-bray, and four of the most active scrambled up the breach to the rampart, but were immediately tumbled down dead, or mortally wounded. This repressed the ardour of those who were following: an officer threw out imprudent words, and the infirmity visibly caught the whole line, notwithstanding the exhortations and activity of Calliaud, who was in the fausse-bray directing the assault. Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top, pretending the impossibility, although the danger was as great in the fausse-bray below; for, besides the shower of other annoyances, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with mere powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants, and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable. Nevertheless, Calliaud continued the assault half an hour; when finding that no command was any longer obeyed, and that much loss had been sustained, he ordered the retreat. Four of the bravest serjeants were killed, and as many wounded, and 20 other Europeans were either killed or desperately wounded; of the Coffrees 10; of the Sepoys 100 were disabled, but few of this body were killed, and fewer died afterwards of their wounds.

The presidency received intelligence of this repulse on the 25th, and on the same day two Peons, escaped from Vizagapatam, brought news, that Mr. Buffy had taken that settlement, in which were 150 European soldiers. These evils were aggravated by the circum-

way, although slowly, waiting for her comrade, which soon joined her, when both, under such a cloud of sail as amazed the enemy, stood before them; but were nevertheless so pressed by two of their prime sailers, which kept without, that they were obliged to sail through the road of Pondicherry itself; where a ship of force was riding, which, instead of cutting her cable, and beginning an engagement, suffered the cruizers to pass, whilst she was weighing her anchor at the capstone to pursue them. As soon as they were beyond Pondicherry, the enemy, afraid of falling to leeward of their port, ceased the chase, and anchored in the road. The cruizers then hailed, and agreed, that the *Revenge* should proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal, and the *Triton* to Madras, where she anchored early the next morning.

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The council was immediately summoned, and their determinations were soon taken. All the scribes in the settlement were not adequate to the orders and advices which it became immediately necessary to issue. The main body of the army at Conjeveram was ordered to come into Madras, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tripetti: Calliaud with the Europeans to return from Madura, whether taken or not, to Trichinopoly; if taken, to bring away likewise Mahomed Iffoof, with 1000 Sepoys. Instructions were sent to the English garrisons in Carangoly, Chinglapet, and Arcot; and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country subject to, or in the interests of, the Nabob: advices to the presidency of Bengal, and the squadron there; to Bombay and all the factories on the Malabar coast. A vessel was dispatched to cruise off Ceylon, with intelligence for the ships daily expected from England. Another was sent to anchor off Cobealong, 20 miles to the south of Madras, in order to make signals on the first appearance of the French squadron now at Pondicherry.

The Council at Fort St. David, not observing, or not discerning, the motions of the cruizers, fancied the ships they saw arriving, were the men of war expected from England, with some of the company's ships under their convoy, and in this persuasion sent one

not able to furnish a sufficiency. From hence they sailed on the 1st of August, and on the 9th of September, the day after their arrival at Pondicherry, landed 983 men of Lorrain, of which 63 were sick, the 50 artillery-men, and 60 volunteers from Bourbon, with their equipages; besides which had been embarked in the ships, 20 pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls. M. Soupires, who by his commission took the direction and command of all military operations, summoned a mixed council, of the military, the marine, and the civil government, in which he proposed that the ships and troops should immediately invest and blockade Fort St. David; but the letter from the presidency of Madras to the English Admiral had been discovered in the Massoola, and raised such a consternation in the French squadron, by the apprehensions of seeing every hour a force superior to their own, that Mr. Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and should sail immediately back to the islands: no arguments could change his resolution, nor would he wait to disembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, because they served as part of the ballast in the different ships, which it would require fifteen days to shift and reinstate in a condition fit for sailing. Thus was much detriment prevented by the accident of discovering the letter, which, at the time it happened, was deemed a great mischance.

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The sudden departure of the French ships diminished in some degree the apprehensions which had been raised by their arrival. The army from Conjeveram was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madras; the detachment with Polier, which had returned as far as Tripassour, to march back and protect the feast at Tripetty, until concluded: and Calliaud was permitted to continue before Madura, if any chance remained of getting the place.

This officer, very infirm before, fell dangerously ill immediately after the repulse of the last attack, and was obliged to retire to the neighbouring village of Trivalore, where he remained until the 4th of August, before his health was sufficiently restored to endure the fatigues of the camp; however, this time was not entirely lost. The greater and lesser Moravars, at his solicitation, sent their troops as far

August:

57. as Coilguddy, ready to act on call. The Polygar Catabominague came himself with 1000 Collieries. Myanah, who was the fugitive governor of Madura when Maphuze Khan came into the country, quitting the recesses of Nattam, and disclaiming all farther connexions with the rebels, came to the camp, with a large retinue, some troops, and, as a proof of his sincerity, brought his family: by his influence the assistance of most of the Nattam collieries was secured. Nabey Cawn Catteck, the ancient colleague of Myana, kept himself concealed in the woods of Moravar, without making any efforts to assist the garrison; and what perhaps was equal to any one of these advantages, 50 Europeans, and a nine-inch mortar, had arrived at the camp from Trichinopoly.

With the other defections, the Jemautdars in Madura had reason to doubt of the assistance they expected from Maphuze Khan with the western Polygars of Tinivelly, and from the Mysooreans at Dindigul.

Five hundred horse and a thousand foot remained with Maphuze Khan at Nellitangaville, when Berkatoolah left him and came away to defend Madura, which Calliaud at the same time was marching to attack with the main body of the English troops from Tinivelly. As soon as Calliaud was out of sight, Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver took the field, and were joined by other Polygars, which all together made up a camp of 10,000 men. This army marched from Nellitangaville in the latter end of April, and advanced beyond Alvar Courchy within 15 miles of Tinivelly, but were deterred by the Sepoys left there from attempting the town; nor did they immediately plunder or terrify the inhabitants of the open country, because the harvest, from which they intended to collect money, would not be reaped until the middle of June; however, they published their mandates that all who were accountable to the renter Moodilee should then become accountable to them. In the mean time Maphuze Khan negotiated with the king of Travancore for assistance, with the proffer of Calacad and all the other districts to which the king had ever made any pretension, and more; but, lest this should fail, he, with his usual uncertainty renewed his negotiations

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ations with the English, and sent off an agent with letters to Calliaud, proposing to rent the country from them on the security of substantial shroffs. Lieutenant Rumbold received these offers whilst Calliaud was returned to the relief of Trichinopoly, and, thinking them worth attention, sent a Jemautdar of Sepoys named Ramanaig, with an intelligent Moorman, to confer with Maphuze Khan in his camp. They were accompanied by an escort of 50 Sepoys; but just before their arrival, Maphuze Khan had received information, that the six companies of Sepoys, of the twelve left at Tinivelly and Palamcotah, were ordered to join the camp at Madura; which changed his schemes, and instead of negotiating, he surrounded the two deputies and their escort with his horse, and threatened to put them all to the sword, if they did not send an order to the Sepoys in garrison at Palamcotah to deliver the fort to him. The deputies with their escort stood to their arms, and said, they would rather die; but, just as the fight was going to begin, one of Maphuze Khan's Jemautdars, named Ally Saheb, declared his detestation of the treachery, and joined the Sepoys with the horse of his command; on which the rest recollected themselves, and retired; but Ally Saheb, having still some suspicions for the safety of the deputies and their escort, marched with them to Palamcotah, and delivered them safe into the fort. Soon after the six companies of Sepoys began their march from Tinivelly to Madura, and the harvest began, on which the enemy's army entered the town, where Maphuze Khan proclaimed his dominion, which his agents and dependants exercised with much violence and injustice. Even the shroffs, or bankers, did not escape; although the necessity and neutrality of their occupation protects their persons and property throughout Indostan from the violence either of the despot or the conqueror. The main body of his army invested the fort of Palamcotah, which the Sepoys within easily defended, and with loss to the enemy; but there was danger from scarcity of provisions; to prevent which, Bussaponiague, the commander of the Sepoys, solicited the assistance of the Polygar Catabominaigue, who stipulated the cession of some lands convenient to his districts; which being promised, he took the field with his

1757. ^{own troops, and those of his dependant of Etiaporum. On their}
 October. ^{arrival the garrison sallied, and in a slight skirmish obliged the}
 enemy to raise the siege : after which, the two Polygars returned to their homes, and Catabominaigue from his, came and joined the English camp before Madura. Maphuze Khan continuing at Tinivelly, neither sent money or troops to the Jemautdars, but suffered the incomes to be dissipated, notwithstanding Berkatoolah had continually represented to him, that the scarcity of provisions in Madura was daily increasing from the want of money to pay for them, and of parties in the field to facilitate their importation.

Berkatoolah was at the same time equally disappointed of the arrival of the Mysoreans, which had long been promised from day to day, and more lately with assurance that Hyderally himself was come to Dindigul to command them in person ; but, on more diligent enquiry, it was discovered that Hyderally was still at Seringapatam, and that the troops at Dindigul did not exceed the usual garrison. Thus deserted, he resolved to treat with Calliaud, and proffered to deliver the city, if the English would pay the arrears due from Maphuze Khan to the troops within ; but made no stipulation for those who had been their former comrades and were now either with Maphuze Khan, or any where else out of the town. The arrears he stated at 1,600,000 rupees, but, on account of sums levied in the country, offered to abate 400,000 : these proposals were signed by himself and four of the principal Jemautdars. Calliaud, after treating them for some time with contempt, proposed his own ; which were, to pay 100,000 rupees for the arrears of the troops, 20,000 as a present to Berkatoolah himself, 8000 to each of the four Jemautdars who had signed with him, and 2000 to each of the commanders of the three companies of Sepoys ; in all 150,000. Many days and messages passed in chaffering concerning the money ; during which the Polygars kept their watches so strictly in the country round, that no provisions could be carried in, and the inhabitants were reduced to rice alone, and that without salt ; on which all, not occupied in military services, left the town, and were permitted to go away unmolested. At the same time the former battery was strengthened,

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ened, and enlarged to the capacity of receiving all the artillery, which were two eighteen-pounders, 10 field-pieces, and a nine-inch mortar. Every day the distress increased; and in the beginning of September, horsemen daily came over to the camp. On the 7th Calliaud informed Berkatoolah that his battery was ready, and would open the next morning; after which, no terms of composition would be received. The negotiator was a relation of Berkatoolah, whom Calliaud had attached by generosities, and Berkatoolah believed: his representations in this decisive moment prevailed; and he returned on the morning of the 8th with the treaty signed: the sum agreed was 170,000 rupees, 20,000 more than the first offer; and at noon Calliaud with the troops were received into the town. This important acquisition was made on the very day that Mr. de Soupires with the French forces landed at Pondicherry.

The presidency received the news on the 16th. It was the only advantage which had been gained during the losses and distresses to which the company's affairs in Coromandel had been exposed since the departure of the armament to Bengal: it would have been deemed of the highest importance even in fortunate times; and at present was the more acceptable, because scarcely within expectation; for, had the surrender been protracted until the arrival of the French squadron had been known to the garrison, little chance would have remained of gaining the place; which continuing in the possession of enemies confederated with the French, would have greatly influenced many subsequent events, by means which were now entirely precluded.

In the mean time the French at Pondicherry were holding councils what to do with their new force. It having been determined not to attack Fort St. David, from apprehensions of the English squadron, Trichinopoly would probably have been the object, if Mr. Soupires had not been instructed to refrain from any distant enterprize, which might impair the force under his command, before the arrival of a greater which was following from France; when both united might attempt any thing. It was therefore resolved to

1757. Paliar, as the rains were approaching, unexpectedly turned from
 October. Chittapet to the south, and went against Trinomalee.

During these operations and alarms in the Carnatic, the arrival of the French squadron had created equal apprehensions in the southern countries. Calliaud received the intelligence from Devi Cotah and Fort St. David several days before the advices from the presidency could reach Madura, and without delay began his march back to Trichinopoly, with all the Europeans; but left Mahomed Iffoof with the Sepoys and the rest of the camp, to defend Madura and its dependencies, and to recover and protect, as far as the force and occasions allowed, the districts of Tinivelly: for the timidity of Modilee could not stand the field; and dreading still more to be left alone with Mahomed Iffoof, he again accompanied Captain Calliaud; who the day after he left Madura, met at Nattam the first letters of the presidency ordering both himself and Mahomed Iffoof to return immediately to Trichinopoly; nevertheless several arrangements, necessary on a new acquisition of such importance, induced him to continue Mahomed Iffoof ten days longer at Madura. On the 20th, he himself arrived with the Europeans, 250, at Trichinopoly, where he was soon after informed, that the whole of the French force had taken the field; and although in the interval he received orders countermanding the return either of himself or Mahomed Iffoof, he now preferred the first idea of being ready to make head at Trichinopoly, with a strong force, until the season, intelligence, or the chance of war, might determine what might justly be apprehended from the operations of the enemy. Accordingly Mahomed Iffoof with a thousand Sepoys, followed him and arrived at Trichinopoly on the 8th of October. In the mean time Berkatoolah had been sent with proposals to induce Maphuze Khan to quit the Tinivelly country, but the arrival of the French force had elevated him with such hopes, that he rejected all terms excepting the government both of Madura and Tinivelly at certain tributes, which he never intended to pay. This answer Mahomed Iffoof received before he left Madura; as also certain intelligence that Hiderally, the Myfore general, was at length arrived with a considerable force at Dindigul: and, as the
 setting

setting in of the rains in the Carnatic had by this time removed all apprehensions of immediate danger to Trichinopoly, notwithstanding the reduction of Chittapet, Calliaud resolved that Mahomed Issoof should return again to Madura with the troops he had brought, as soon as they were refreshed and furnished with some additional equipments. They accordingly set out on the 20th of October.

On the 16th, the same day that the presidency received the news of the loss of Chittapett, arrived a vessel from Bengal with authentic advices of the revolution in that province produced by the success at Plassy: the succeeding days and vessels brought to the company, and to individuals, some part of the treasure which had been poured into Calcutta by that extraordinary event, and the reputation of a credit, adequate to the utmost wants of the English affairs in Coromandel: but this unexpected prosperity was somewhat clouded by the certainty of not receiving back any part of their troops in this season of necessity. Nor were any of the ships of war to be expected; for Admiral Pococke, on hearing of the French squadron, had taken the resolution of remaining in the Ganges until January, for the protection of Calcutta, and in expectation of being joined there by the ships coming from England; soon after, arrived the Queensborough frigate, dispatched by Commodore Stevens in August, from St. Augustine's bay in the island of Madagascar, with information of his intentions to proceed with the four ships under his command, to Bombay, from whence they could not reach the coast until the beginning of the next year; but the approach of the tempestuous season lessened this disappointment, as it was known that the French themselves expected no more ships of force during this interval.

The French army from Chittapet appeared before Trinomalee on the 18th. This place, notwithstanding the gallant defence of Berkatoolah in 1753, is more famous for its sanctity than strength; it is situated 30 miles s.s.w. of Chittapet, and 30 w. of Gingee, a craggy mountain, about two miles in circumference, and rising in the middle to a great height, hath, besides others, on the highest

1757
Decemb

Novemb

ing off the cattle and other booty to Dindigul. On the approach of Mahomed Iffoof, he took post with a part of his army near the issue of the pass of Nattam, in order to intercept his march. Mahomed Iffoof without hesitation attacked, and, with the advantage of superior discipline, and the execution of his field-pieces, obliged the Mysoreans to give way; who, decamping the ensuing night, crossed the country to Chevelpetore. By this time, the mischief they had done having left nothing more to get worth the expence of remaining in the country, Hyderally collected his detachments, and returned to Dindigul. Mahomed Iffoof, on his arrival at Madura, enlisted 400, the best of Berkatoolah's cavalry; the whole of which were remaining encamped 15 miles from the town, waiting for the second payment of the agreement, having as neutrals, neither given molestation to the Mysoreans, or received any from them. He, at the same time, sent invitations to those with Maphuze Khan, and whatsoever other bodies were acting as independent plunderers in the Tinivelly country. As soon as the Mysoreans were gone, he began his march to Tinivelly, with a very considerable force. Passing along the districts of Etiaporum, the Polygar redeemed his hostages, which were in the camp, paying 18,700 rupees, the balance of his fine. The army arrived at the town of Tinivelly about the middle of November, from whence Maphuze Khan on their approach had retired to Nellitangaville. He had, during his residence there, made various attempts to get possession of the fort of Palamcotah, but had taken Calacad, and given it to the king of Travancore. Mahomed Iffoof, with a part of the army, marched immediately against this place, which the Travancores abandoned without resistance, and, being followed by him, retired behind their walls in the passes of the mountains, at the foot of the promontory. At the same time, the appearance of other detachments drove away the guards which Maphuze Khan had placed in Papancolam, Alvarcouchy, and Bermadais; and those stationed by the Polygar of Vadagherry, in Tirancouchy. All these places lie to the N.W. of Tinivelly, about Nellitangaville; and parties of Sepoys were left to maintain them. Mahomed Iffoof had returned

THE new year opened in the Carnatic with as little activity as the last had closed. The French troops remained in Pondicherry waiting the arrival of their expected armament from Europe, during which, Mr. Soupire, as he says in a memoir he has published, entered into a negociation with two Jemautdars of the English Sepoys to surprize Trichinopoly, by means of the French prisoners. Four hundred were in confinement in the city, and 50 or 60 had at various times been received into the English service, and in the end of December, soon after Calliaud returned from Madras, two of the enlisted Frenchmen accused one De la Forge, who had been accepted as a surgeon's mate, that he had tampered with them to concur in a project, by which the foreigners in the service of the garrison were to murder the English guards in the night, then open the prisons, arm the prisoners, and with their assistance, overpower the rest of the troops. Four other Frenchmen avowed the same conversation with De la Forge, who, with much obstinacy, denied that he had ever spoken one word to any one of them: he was however hanged two days after his trial. This might have been the first opening of Mr. Soupire's scheme, although he says nothing of it; but nothing was discovered of his conspiracy with the Sepoys, which he seems to have protracted until the end of April.

1758.
January.

Ensign Banatyne at Outramalore, receiving intelligence that 200 of the French Sepoys at Carangoly had deserted on some dispute

758.
April.

could not be diminished without danger from the garrison in Trichinopoly, Mr. Soupire sent the force he intended for Hyderally from Pondicherry; and from the restraint laid on all his military operations, they were no more than 300 Sepoys and 75 Europeans, who arrived at Dindigul in the end of January. They were commanded by Mr. Astruc, the same officer who had been defeated by Major Lawrence before Trichinopoly in the year 1753, from which time he had continued a prisoner on his parole until the month of October of the preceding year, when he was exchanged. On his arrival at Dindigul, he found Hyderally pressed by urgent affairs to return to Seringapatam, the capital of Myfore, which broke the scheme of attacking Madura; soon after the interview, Hyderally departed, and Mr. Astruc returned to the pagoda of Seringham, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and, having been long ill, died on the 22d; he was a gallant and worthy man.

77. The agent sent by the Nabob to Maphuze Khan arrived at Nelli-tangaville on the 28th of February, and found him there, encamped in paltry tents, with 50 horse, ostentatious of his poverty, pretending much discontent against his allies, and much attachment to the Nabob; but when terms of reconciliation were proposed, nothing less would satisfy him than the government of the whole country as an appanage in fee; indeed he was never master of his own opinion, and at present not of his will, for the western polygars, elated by the rising superiority of the French in the Carnatic, took the field, and obliged him, who depended upon them for his subsistence, to lend his name, and to appear with them in person as the pretension of their hostilities: the army was composed of the troops of the Pulitaver, of Vadagherri, of the three minor polygars, Cotaltava, Nadacourch, and Savandah; and from the eastern side, of Etiaporum, the dependant of Catabominaigue, who himself continued firm to his new connexion with the English. The confederates had likewise persuaded the Polygar of Shatore under the hills, whose fort is only fifteen miles to the south of Chevelpetore, to enter so far into their views as to admit a body of the Pulitaver's Collieries into his fort, with whom and his own he made depredations into the ad-

1758:
June.

Paliar, could arrive to cut off their retreat. Frequent debates had been held in the council concerning the expediency of withdrawing the garrison of Trichinopoly, which it was resolved to postpone until the last extremity; but in the interval the commandant Mahomed Iffoof was ordered, after leaving a sufficient force in Palamcotah, to move towards Madura, and even to march to Trichinopoly itself on the first summons from Captain Calliaud. This officer, on the 16th of May, the day after the French garrison had quitted the pagoda of Seringham to the Mysoreans, summoned them to surrender it, and detached his second, Captain Joseph Smith, with a party, to take post in Jumbakistna. The Mysoreans replied by firing cannon from Seringham against this place, which were answered the next day by a bombardment from two mortars; and in the ensuing night they abandoned Seringham, leaving a considerable quantity of military stores, and eight pieces of cannon, which the French had left to them: they returned from whence they came, to Dindigul. Calliaud immediately took possession of the pagoda, and garrisoned it with 500 Sepoys.

Mr. Lally, notwithstanding his wrangles, consulted Mr. Deleyrit and the jesuit Lavour concerning the future operations of the field. Madrafs seemed the immediate and most important temptation; for, notwithstanding the utmost exertions, many of the essential parts of its fortifications still remained incomplete; and the defence of Fort St. David had raised in Mr. Lally a contemptible opinion of the English troops in India: but Pondicherry could not immediately furnish money to support the campaign, nor means to transport by land the vast quantity of artillery and stores necessary for the siege, which could not be conveyed with any certainty in the ships of the French squadron, whilst the English kept the sea. The Nabob's country to the north of Chittapett and Vandiwash, by the retreat of the English garrisons, presented a much easier conquest, and the chance of no inconsiderable revenue, with the advantage of pressing Madrafs itself by a variety of distresses; but Mr. Lally could not brook the slow, although certain means of collecting money, which would have arisen from this expedition. Yielding therefore to the advice

Tondiman, and even from the two Moravars, although he was at this very time in enmity with all the three Polygars. The presidency and the Nabob were in no condition to send any assistance from the Carnatic, but they authorized Capt. Calliaud to act as occasion might require from Trichinopoly, where the commandant Mahomed Iffoof, in obedience to the orders sent to him on the first appearance of the French squadron, arrived on the 16th of June with 2000 Sepoys from the Tinivelly country. This reinforcement enabled Calliaud to succour the king without too much impairing his own garrison; but the continual and authentic intelligence which he obtained of the duplicity of the king's councils, created no little perplexity in the option between sending succours which might be betrayed to the enemy; or by withholding them, give the king a pretext to make terms with them, which in this conjuncture must be dangerous to the English affairs: he however, at all risques, as soon as he heard the French army were in motion from Nagore, detached 500 Sepoys with 10 European artillery-men, and 300 Colleries collected from the neighbouring Polygars dependant on Trichinopoly, deeming this reinforcement in the present instant sufficient to keep up the king's hope of more; and waiting to assist him hereafter, according to his conduct with the enemy, which he caused to be narrowly watched. The exhortations of the presidency had likewise induced Tondiman and the two Moravars to suspend their resentments so far as to let their Colleries also take service with the king, who hired 4000 of them; and they were sent, as they arrived, to Monacjee's camp, as were afterwards those supplied by Calliaud. The French army remained at Trivalore until the 12th of July, during which their cavalry swept the country round of all the cattle, of which Mr. Lally sent large droves to be sold at the towns on the sea-coast; which precaution was imputed to him as a project of private gain; but not much was got by it, for Monacjee had detached his Colleries to maraud in the rear of the French army, who cut off every thing which moved to and from the camp with slender escorts, and recovered great numbers of the cattle, which they too drove away, and sold for the lowest prices to any who would buy them. However,

some

158. not only on the country and city of Tanjore, but likewise on the
 guil. king and his whole family, whom he threatened to carry as slaves to the island of Mauritius. In the evening the army moved from the suburbs, and formed a regular camp about a mile and a half to the south-east of the town.

The expressions in Mr. Lally's letter to Kenedy, determined the king, who had hitherto fluctuated in irresolution, to defend himself to extremity, and he now repeated his solicitations with the utmost earnestness for assistance from Trichinopoly. Captain Calliaud, by the accounts he continually received of the king's negotiations, had hitherto thought it unsafe to trust any more troops in his power, whilst making engagements to assist the French in the reduction of Trichinopoly: but, being convinced by this last rupture, that he had renounced all designs of accord or reconciliation with them, detached on the 6th of August 500 of his best Sepoys, with two excellent sergeants and 27 cannoneers, who in order to avoid the encounter of the French troops, proceeded in a round-about road along the bank of the Coleroon.

A deep water-course, running within 400 yards parallel to the south side of the city, furnished a much more commodious trench than any which are opened in sieges, determined Mr. Lally to make the attack under the advantage of this cover. The south face of the city is much the narrowest aspect, extending only 480 yards. Two batteries were erected on the nether edge of the water-course, the one of three guns opposite to the middle of the face, but turned to breach between the cavalier of the eastern angle and the next tower. The other, of two guns, was 200 yards to the right.

Both opened on the 2d of August. It was the 7th in the evening, after five days firing, before the batteries had produced a breach six feet wide: but by this time there remained only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, and not 20 cartouches a man for the troops; and, notwithstanding the numbers of cattle which had been seized, there were not provisions for two days remaining in the camp, and the great distance
 from

1758.
August.

army, who concurred in remonstrating to Mr. D'Aché the necessity of meeting the English Squadron again, or at least of deferring the departure of his own whilst they remained on the coast. Mr. D'Aché returned the unanimous opinion of all his captains, that the one was impracticable, and the other too dangerous to be risked : however, after some mediations, he consented to leave 500 of his sailors and marines to serve on shore ; and on the 3d of September sailed with all the ships for the Isle of Mauritius.

The detachments which had been sent from Trichinopoly to assist Tanjore, and the attack impending on Trichinopoly itself, if Mr. Lally should succeed in his views at Tanjore, had obliged Captain Calliaud not only to withdraw the guards of Sepoys stationed in the distant villages, but even to call in the garrison he had placed in the pagoda of Seringham, although under the guns of the city. The brother of Hydernaig, with the party of Mysoreans who had lately been driven out of it, had returned from Dindigul, reinforced with more, and were waiting at some distance to the west ; and as soon as Seringham was evacuated by the English troops, they came on, and took possession of it again : but Calliaud, as soon as the French army retreated from before Tanjore, sent out parties to attack them, who with little effort dispossessed and drove them away. No probability then remaining of any intermediate danger, Calliaud resolved, as soon as his detachments returned from Tanjore, to dispossess the reigning Rheddy of Terriore, and to restore his cousin, the expelled Rheddy, who had long solicited this assistance, which could not with prudence be afforded, whilst the French garrison were remaining at Seringham. The vicissitudes of these two competitors had been peculiar. The French found the Rheddy, now expelled, in possession when they overrun Terriore in 1753 ; and then deposing him, appointed the Rheddy now reigning, whom they removed in 1755, and reinstated the first : but, being afterwards dissatisfied with his conduct, expelled him in 1756, and again reinstated his rival ; who, from this last appointment had kept possession. The plunder of the adjacent villages between Terriore, and the streights of Utatoor, was the only detri-
ment

1758.
August.

defection of other allies. The usual tardiness of preparations detained the troops in the town until the 18th; when Colonel Lawrence marched with eight field-pieces, 620 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys. On the 24th, they encamped on the other side of the Paliar, about eight miles beyond Chinglapet, when having received intelligence of the retreat of the French army from Tanjore, they returned themselves to Madrafs, where they arrived on the last day of the month. Whilst abroad, a party of the Nabob's troops from Arcot, encouraged by their march, joined those of Abdul Hay, the renter of Salawauk, and, after an awkward attack, which lasted eight days, retook the fort of Trivatore by assault, and put many of the garrison, which consisted of 500 men, to the sword.

Mr. D'Aché retired from the last engagement with a conviction that the English remained to windward with the intention of falling suddenly upon his ships, whilst moored and repairing in the road of Pondicherry; and it was supposed that they had two fire-ships, although they had only one, which had been of no service in the last engagement: however, these notions determined him to anchor opposite to the town, as near the shore as possible, under the protection of the line of guns to the sea; and the council, in complacency, it is said, to his ideas, recalled the detachment of 600 Europeans encamped with Mr. Soupires at Gingee, who came in on the 14th, on the same day that the troops from Madrafs took the field. Neither the remonstrances of the Count D'Estaigne, sent forward by Mr. Lally, to protest against the disrepute which would follow this apprehensive conduct, nor Mr. D'Estaigne's offers of embarking any number of troops on the squadron, and of accompanying them himself, as a proof of his confidence of success, availed to induce Mr. D'Aché to sail, and try the risk of another engagement. Mr. Lally moved with the army from Karical on the 24th: they were two days in passing the Coleroon at Devi Cotah, and obliged at last to leave their artillery and carriages there: when Mr. Lally went forward with a small detachment, and arrived on the 28th at Pondicherry, where he immediately summoned a mixt council of the administration and the

army,

not suffer them to rest until they took refuge in the Mysore country, where they remained, proposing schemes, and soliciting assistance; but meeting little encouragement from this government, Hussein Cawn offered to join the Rheddi, who had retaken Terriore, in making incursions into the Nabob's country: but the Rheddi, making a merit of refraining from the mischief in his power, proffered money and regular terms of submission to the Nabob, who, for the sake of the money, and to save the expence of defending the distant villages, accepted his obedience, and confirmed him in the government; in which this was his fourth installation, and the other Rheddi had lost and resumed it as often.

The countries of Madura and Tinivelly had relapsed into their former state of anarchy and confusion, after Mahomed Issoo, with so large a part of his force, was recalled out of them in the month of July. All that the seven companies of Sepoys left in the city of Madura could do, was to collect from the country provisions sufficient for their subsistence. The incursions of the Nattam Colleries from the north, and of those under the Polygars along the hills to the west, ruined or appropriated whatsoever cultivation or revenue arose in the districts at a distance from the city. To the southward, in the Tinivelly country matters were much worse. Maphuze Cawn forgot all his former professions of reconciliation, united more firmly than ever, and took up his residence with the Pulitaver, who led the western Polygars; and Catabominaig, with Etiaporum, who were the heads of the western, concluding from the superiority of the French in the Carnatic, that the affairs of the Nabob and the English would never recover, seized whatsoever country lay convenient for them: nor did the five companies of Sepoys left in the fort of Palamcotah, and bereft of all alliance, venture any opposition to their encroachments, or even to maintain the town of Tinivelly; of which Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver once again took possession. The Sepoys contented themselves with preserving Palamcotah, where they were often obliged to defend the walls against the skirmishes of the Pulitaver's Colleries, which consumed their ammunition; and, as none of their letters reached the Carnatic, or even Trichinopoly, they

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1759.
March.

they wrote by the hand of a Topas, a letter to Anjengo, which is the southern of the English factories on the coast of Malabar, requesting supplies; but the Topas writing what he thought English, the letter was so unintelligible, that the factory neither understood from whence or whom it came, nor what they wanted. At length, letters from Mahomed Iffoof procured them credit, which enabled them to purchase provision, and even to get lead and gunpowder from the sea-coast in the bay of Tutacorin. It was very fortunate, that the fidelity of the Sepoys in Madura and Palamcotah continued unshaken; for had either of these fortresses been betrayed, no means remained of retaking them; and the cession of Madura might have purchased Hyderally, the Mysore general, to join the French, who at this very time had an officer of distinction treating with him at Seringapatam.

The repulse of the French from Madras had increased the danger of losing these countries, since the French, being no longer under the necessity of keeping their whole force collected in one point, might, still leaving sufficient to oppose the English army in the field, detach the rest to other objects. The partizan Lambert was moving with his flying troops from Pondicherry to the westward; and danger to the city of Madura might accrue even from Husein Cawn, if he should get a body of Mysoreans to accompany him from Dindigul. On these considerations, the Presidency resolved to send Mahomed Iffoof back into these countries, and to accept his offer of renting Madura and Tinivelly together, at the rate of five lacks of rupees for the ensuing year clear of all charges, excepting what might arise from the necessity of defending them either against the French, the Mysoreans, or Morattoes. The Nabob had, ever since the first appointment of Mahomed Iffoof to conduct the war in these countries, regarded him with suspicion and aversion, and insisted that they should be left to his own disposal and controul; although he had not in his whole dependance, a relation or officer of military resolution and experience sufficient to maintain them in this time of difficulty.

The French and English armies continued almost in sight of each other for two and twenty days; the one wishing to be attacked, in
their

1759.
October.

petrow, and would probably have advanced into the plains of the Carnatic, with equal professions to the French and English, if the English troops had not arrived as they did at Kalastri. Their appearance disconcerted him the more because the commander of the French troops in his army, and the agent deputed to him from Pondicherry, had, with as much confidence as imprudence, assured him, before he crossed the Pennar, that Mr. Buffy would join him at Sydaporum on the 1st of October. It was now the 19th, and Bassaulut Jung, so long disappointed, would not at length believe that Mr. Buffy had even left Pondicherry; when reports arrived of the revolt at Vandiwash; on which, he beat his great drum, recrossed the Pennar, and marched to the N. W. into the country of Cudapah, towards the capital of the same name. The French troops accompanied him, distressed for necessaries; but their officers prevailed on him to request of Mr. Buffy, that he would immediately advance and join him in Cudapah. Mr. Buffy received this intelligence on the 24th, and set out the same day; but, as more than half the way he had to pass was through the mountains, he took with him only three companies of Sepoys, 100 of the European horse, and 200 black under a good partizan, which he had enlisted at his own expence at Arcot, because those he had brought from Vandiwash were gone off for want of pay. They marched without artillery and with very little baggage.

The monsoon, with signs of stormy weather, warned Admiral Pococke to quit the coast: the presidency endeavoured to persuade him to leave such of his ships as did not require the dock, in the bay of Trinconamallee; from whence they might return with the fair weather in January, ready to oppose any part of the French squadron, which might be sent back expeditiously from the islands, in order to command the coast during the absence of the English; but Mr. Pococke judiciously resolved not to diminish his strength, until he had rounded Ceylon, and was far enough up the Malabar coast to be sure the enemy were not waiting to meet him there, under this very disadvantage: but promised, as soon as secure from this event, to send round Mr. Cornish's ships, if they should join him in the

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December.

grenadiers and 500 Sepoys to prevent their embarkation. The French troops had gained no certain intelligence of the force with Fischer, and waited on their ground until they could distinguish the number of Yorke's division, who when near sent off the Sepoys to gain their flank, and hastened up in front with the grenadiers as fast as they could march. The French only remained to give one fire, and then ran as fast as they could through the grove, followed almost at the same pace, to gain the Dutch factory, into which they were admitted. Yorke immediately surrounded the factory, which had very slight defences, and Fischer coming up in the evening with the main body, invested it more closely, and peremptorily demanded the French troops, whom, after a very formal protest, the Dutch agents delivered the next day, which was the 28th of December. In the ensuing night Poete sailed with the rest of his detachment 200 men, Europeans and Topasses, all in the snow. From Cocanara the English troops marched on to Vizagapatam, where they arrived on the 16th of January; and a few days after, all the Europeans embarked in two English ships proceeding to Bengal; but the Sepoys were left to pursue their route on shore by Ganjam and through the province of Orixá. Thus nothing remained to fear in the company's possessions and acquisitions to the north of the Krishna. We shall now describe the progress of their officer Mahomed Issoo in the countries towards Cape Comorin.

May.

He arrived at Madura on the 4th of May, and had been absent ten months. The force he left in the country, when called away, was 14 companies of Sepoys, six in the fort of Madura, five in Palamcotah, and three at Tinivelly. Nothing more could be expected from either of these bodies, than to defend the ground in sight of the walls they garrisoned. Accordingly all the districts of both provinces from the forest of Nattam to the gates of Travancore, lay subject to their contributions, or exposed to their ravages. The declension of the English affairs, which began with the surrender of Fort St. David, (on which Mahomed Issoo was recalled,) and continued until the French were obliged to raise the siege of Madras, kept Maphuze Khan in continual hopes, that he should be joined by a body of French troops, and established

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December.
July.

killed and wounded in the attack, which lasted three days, and then the polygar made his escape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Issoo, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were scarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whose mind always wavered with every change of circumstances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Issoo, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic; provided he was allowed a suitable jaghire for his maintenance: He even asked a safeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Issoo, without authority, assured him that his requests should be complied with; and recommended them to the Presidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eastern and western Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal station from which the eastern made their inroads into these districts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, situated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by easy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed; and Mahomed Issoo soon after his arrival at Tinivelly marched against him with the greatest part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed some troops; and stationed a guard of 50 horse, and some peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate post. He was no sooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pulitaver and Vadgherri surprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horses, with their riders; on which Mahomed Issoo detached seven companies of Sepoys, who recovered the post, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confusion prevailed in the districts to the south of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incursions from their wall to seize the harvests at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of distractions,

tractions, which existed on every side, could not be all opposed at the same time, unless a greater army were embodied than all the revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the least inveterate enemy to the English; because the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his resentment, by continually employing his Colleries to make depredations in his country on the other side of the mountains, through the pass of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the south of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Iffoof opened a negotiation with the king; who consented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of August, and the interview passed with much politeness and seeming cordiality. The king, at least publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to desist from his inroads into the districts of Tinivelly, and to act with a considerable force in conjunction with Mahomed Iffoof against Vadagherri, and the Pulitaver. On the 3d of September, Mahomed Iffoof still remaining at the gates of Travancore, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muskets made in his own country, and disciplined, although awkwardly, in the European manner; but they were well supplied with stores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly against Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the residence of the Pulitaver: when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, consisting of 10,000 more of the king's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the pass. This was perhaps the greatest force that had been assembled for some centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both sides; but in the night abandoned his fort, and escaped away to the Pulitaver at Nellitangaville.

1759.
December.

August.
September

The arrival of such a guest, who, for the first time, had been reduced to such distress, frightened the Pulitaver; and set his cunning to work to divert the storm from himself. The repulse of the English troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwash on the 30th of

October

September,

1759.
December.
October.

September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had represented it, a signal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Bassaulet Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they should very soon overpower the English in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be substituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be deposed from the Nabobship. This correspondence, and these expectations, the Pulitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the English, and join Maphuze Caun against them, to give him whatsoever districts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately exposed these documents to Mahomed Issooof, and standing on his importance, demanded the cession of Calacad and the adjacent districts, for which he had so long contended against the Nabob's government. He said, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his assistance; that what might be refused by one, would be readily given to him by another; and that, if he should join the Polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be established in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Issooof, whilst perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muskets, which had been sent, according to his request, from Madrafs, were lost at sea; and that the two six-pounders, although landed, were stopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacorin. This mischance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his assistance; for the force of Mahomed Issooof alone was not sufficient to reduce the Pulitaver, whom all the best colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore surrendered the districts which the king demanded; and the Presidency approved the cession; but the Nabob suspected that it had been promised by Issooof at his first interview with the king, in order to secure his future assistance to his own ambitious views.

ember. As soon as this agreement was settled, the Travancores moved again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November, they invested the wood and fort of Easaltaver, which was one of the

1759.

December.
November.

the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Colleries defended the wood three days, and then abandoned both; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this success, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Iffoof to remain until he received supplies from Madura, Palamcotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent disgusts from disparity of customs, encamped separately, but in sight of Mahomed Iffoof's; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Colleries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Iffoof, on the first alarm, sent his horse, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot; but the Colleries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleness, with the ruggedness of the country, rendered the pursuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travancores, before they went off. A day or two after this skirmish, Mahomed Iffoof received three howitzes, with some stores, and a supply of ammunition from Anjengo; and the two six-pounders with their shot likewise came up from Tutacorin; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December set down before Washinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much stronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is situated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the same direction from Outamaly.

Washinelore stood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the west and south sides of the fort; but turned to a much greater distance on the north, and to the east the plain was open, and every where covered with profuse cultivation. A very extensive pettah, the residence of some thousand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls: a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, surrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards: it was of mud, but almost as hard as brick; it had four large square towers, one at each angle, and several smaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a separate redoubt, enclosed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort: the access to the tower was a steep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet; the curtain between the
towers

surrendered the place before any impression had been made on the walls.

1760.
February.

At the same time that Mr. Lally recalled the troops from Seringham, he likewise ordered the fort of Devicotah to be evacuated; and the garrison, having made several breaches in the walls and towers, marched away in the beginning of February, but left a company of Sepoys in the pagoda of Atchaveram, which stands five miles inland of Devicotah.

Captain Joseph Smith, on this intelligence, detached two companies of Sepoys, under the command of serjeant Sommers, on whose approach the French Sepoys at Atchaveram were reinforced by another company from the pagoda of Chilambarum, with which they marched out, and met Sommers's detachment on the plain, who routed them completely, taking five stand of their colours, with four of their officers, and, beside the Sepoys who were killed, many were drowned in the hurry of crossing the Coleroon. Immediately after this encounter, Sommers proceeded, took possession of Devicotah, and began to repair the breaches.

The news of the victory at Vandivash reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th of January, and cleared at once the cloud of despondency which had overwhelmed the Nabob ever since he left Madras to proceed thither. He pitched his tent, displayed his great standard, and declared his intention of returning into the Carnatic; but waited until the French troops should be removed from Seringham; and his wish was soon gratified; for Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, dispatched a second order, under the severest penalties of disobedience, for all the troops between Volcondah and Tritchinopoly to join his army without delay. They hoped to conceal their retreat from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and made the preparations with all secrecy; but some of the Malabars employed by them were natives of this part of the country, who, solicitous to secure pardon, if not favour, with the change of government, gave immediate and constant intelligence to Captain Joseph Smith, who made ready to take such advantages as usually occur, when troops retreating are pursued. The

1757.
June.

bers, and immediately sent out all the cavalry remaining in the camp, which were 1000 black, and 80 European horse: they were led by Vasserot, but whilst proceeding straight towards Trivadi, the Mysoreans filed off from thence along the Panar, until they reached the bounds of Fort St. David, and then crossing the plain, and keeping about a mile from the sea, came in towards the evening at Ariancopang, three miles in the rear of the French camp at Perimbé. They set out from Trivadi, with 2000 head of cattle, which retarding their march, they left in different herds in various places, intending to return and bring them in by detachments; so that only 300 bullocks arrived with them at the French camp.

The day after, Mr. Lally, in order to make proof of their service, advanced with them all, and the French European horse, towards the grand guard of the English cavalry, which was posted a mile and a half in front of the camp. All, when at a proper distance, set off on the gallop, and surrounded the guard on every side. Colonel Coote immediately pushed to relieve them with the main body of the cavalry, from the camp; but before they came up, as these kind of onsets are generally decided in a very few minutes, the whole guard was dispersed, and hurrying back to take shelter with the main body. The Mysoreans carried off 30 horses belonging to the black cavalry, and seven to the hussars.

Ensign Turner, who commanded at Cuddalore, receiving intelligence of the cattle which had been left on the way, went out with the Sepoys of his garrison, and in two or three days collected and drove in 900 of them; and none of the rest got into Pondicherry.

The detachment of Mysoreans escorted the officers appointed by Hyder Ally to settle the treaty and the plan of operations with the French government. A little before their arrival a report had been spread, that orders were on the way recalling Mr. Lally to France; which the Mysoreans hearing insisted that Mr. Deleyrit, and all the members of the Council, should sign the treaty; had they refused, no further assistance was to be expected; they therefore signed it, but at the same time composed a protest, which they kept entirely

1760.
June.

tirely secret amongst themselves, objecting more especially to the monthly sum which the Mysoreans were to receive as pay, to discharge which no money existed; and that the territories ceded to them were of much more value than the indefinite services they were likely to perform. Nevertheless this clandestine disapprobation was unworthy their office, being calculated to exempt themselves from blame, and to exaggerate it on Mr. Lally, if affairs should better with the assistance of the Mysoreans; at the same time the apparent sanction evinced that the council saw no immediate means so likely to stop the progress of the English successes, which had taken every thing abroad but Thiagar and Gingee, and were at this instant menacing the capital, Pondicherry: so that had the council meant sincerely, they only promised the half of what they had lost, or never possessed, to obtain the only chance of gaining the other half, perhaps of preserving what remained. The treaty was signed on the 27th, and on the 28th at night all the Mysoreans went away, promising to return very soon with their whole force, and abundance of provisions. The next day the French army retreated from Perimbé to the bound-hedge.

In this interval, the squadron had been joined by two ships of the line from England, the Norfolk of 74, and the Panther of 64 guns, which anchored at Cuddalore on the 15th; and a few days after one of the Company's ships arrived from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, with a detachment of 100 Europeans, and 122 Topasses, sent from that settlement by order from Bombay. This, with the detachment of artillery which arrived a little before, would have been a great reinforcement at any time, but was at this juncture more especially seasonable; and these exertions did honour to the councils of that Presidency, which had hitherto been very cautious of parting with any part of its force.

On the 30th, the day after the French army returned to their bounds, Colonel Coote detached the remainder of the hussars, who were 20, 500 black horse, 50 European infantry, and four companies of Sepoys, to Major More, that he might be strong enough to encounter the whole body of the Mysoreans in their approach to Pondicherry. This officer had been joined at Tricalore on the 24th, by Kistna-

row,

out from hence on the 29th, the day appointed; but Captain Preston having two days before taken a mud fort, called Penamalee, situated at the opening of the hills, posted a strong guard there, which the enemy mistaking for the whole of his force, retired again, and afterwards hearing of the dispositions made from the English camp, resolved to proceed as before in separate troops.

1760.
August.

On the 2d of September arrived at Cuddalore three of the King's ships, convoying several of the Company's from England. Of the men of war two were the *America*, and *Medway*, each of 60 guns, which complicated the squadron before Pondicherry to 17 sail of the line. In the Company's ships were part of a Highland regiment, supplied by the government, in addition to the troops it had already sent to India. These mighty aids witnessed in this quarter of the globe, as equal efforts, wheresoever necessary, in every other, the superior energy of that mind, who possessing equally the confidence of his sovereign and the nation, conducted the arduous and extensive war in which they were engaged against their great and only rival.

The same evening Colonel Coote ordered 400 men to march and invest the fort of Ariancopang; but Colonel Monson, the next in command, did not approve the operation, although it had been pleaded to Admiral Stevens, as the principal inducement to land the marines of the squadron: and Colonel Coote, not to disgust pertinacity, when concurrence was so necessary, countermanded the detachment.

Mr. Lally received information, that the detachment had been paraded, and suspected the service for which it had been intended. Such a proof of the opinion which the English army entertained of their own superiority, convinced him that it would soon be followed by some real blow of equal detriment, if they were not immediately convinced, that his own was capable of more than acting on the defensive. He resolved to attack their camp by surprise on the night of the 4th, and his dispositions were made with much skill and sagacity.

In the three ships at anchor before the town, were 150 European mariners; they were all landed, and Lascars sent on board. These Europeans,

they were enlisted in the English service. Mr. Lally, on hearing that his detachment was retreating, and that Arcot was pressed, took a sudden resolution of marching with all the rest of the cavalry, in order, as he gave out, either to throw reinforcements into Arcot, or to retake Chittapett by surprize, and release the wounded prisoners there; but the cavalry, when drawn out, mutinied, refused to proceed with him, and all went out of the bounds, as if they intended to go over to the English garrisons; their officers however brought them back; but such was the general discontent for want of pay, that several of the common soldiers were overheard, in the night of the 11th, proposing among themselves to turn the guns in the ramparts against the government house, as the only means of bringing Mr. Lally to reason. He immediately represented the depositions of the witnesses to Mr. De Leyrit and the Council, who, having no money in the public treasury, proposed expedients, which Mr. Lally did not approve. All the country in the rear of Vandivash and Chittapett, quite up to Pondicherry, had been let for five years to two of the European inhabitants of the colony, at the rent of 1,450,000 rupees a year: they were applied to in this exigency, and answered, that they had no money, having been disappointed of much they expected by the loss of Vandivash and Chittapett; on which the Malabar, to whom Mr. Lally had rented the districts round Arcot, whilst they remained under his authority, offered to advance 50,000 rupees in ten days, and 80,000 in twenty more, if what remained of the districts let to the two Europeans were leased out to him, with the addition of all the country to the south of Pondicherry, as far as Chillambarum and the banks of the Coleroon. His proposal was accepted; but the present assistance he supplied could not serve long, and the future depended on the protection of the countries: they were farmed to him at 1,750,000 rupees a year.

This arrangement was not approved by the council, because they doubted of the credit and integrity of the Malabars; and, perhaps, because it was a supercession of their own authority in the administration of the revenues. Immediately after, arrived intelligence of

1760.
April.

produced less than 30,000 pagodas a year, sufficient for the expence of the garrison. As the fort was too small, all the European inhabitants had their houses in the pettah, which were well built, as were many of those belonging to the natives, and room was left and marked for more to both. The Nabob derived no advantage by this success, beyond the detriment it occasioned to his enemies; for a member of the council of Madras had been sent in the squadron, to negotiate with Tanjore for the redemption of the districts.

The absence of Colonel Coote and Major Monson had left the main army to the command of Major Robert Gordon, who moved with it from Alamparvah on the 28th of March, and on the 1st of April encamped at Killenore, from whence he sent forward a detachment of observation, to take post at Manoor, within five miles of Valdore. The sweep of country to the westward of Killenore as far as Villaporum, which lies 20 miles due west of Pondicherry, abounds in cattle, and is as fertile as any part of the Carnatic, and remained at this time, as the French territory became every day more circumscribed, their last resource for provisions. All the countries, which had been reduced to the south of Chittapett and Vandivash as far as Permacoil, had been let by the Presidency of Madras to a Malabar, named Ramalinga, who accompanied the army ready to rent more, and kept several companies of irregular Sepoys with him, to place as guards in new districts, as reduced. By his advice, Major Gordon resolved to send a detachment against Villaporum. The distance was 35 miles, and the way lay between the garrison of Gingee on one hand, and of Valdore on the other. The detachment consisted of 200 black horse, and five companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Wood, and the renter accompanied with his people. They marched from Killenore on the 3d of April, a little after sun-set, and passing through Vicravandi, Captain Wood, with the horse, arrived before Villaporum at ten the next morning, but the Sepoys did not come up until two in the afternoon. The best intelligence that could be obtained, reported, that there were 300 Sepoys and 400 horse in the place; and at six, as soon as the Sepoys were refreshed, Wood led them to the attack, which could
only

1760.
May.

without them. The offence and punishment left no bounds to the mutual aversion between him and the company's servants. Whilst the English army were attacking Valdore, two ships arrived from the islands: they brought neither troops nor money, but unfavourable advices, which were with much caution suppressed, and published as good news with salute of cannon, fireworks, and rejoicings, "That
" Mr. D'Aché's squadron, reinforced from France to 25 sail of the
" line, might be soon expected on the coast, with a large body of
" land forces on board." After the fall of Valdore, a few enclosures under the guns at Villanore and Ariancopang, with the ground within the bound-hedge, and the town of Pondicherry itself, contained all the live provisions, on which the colony was to rely for their future sustenance, and all further means were precluded of bringing in grain or other articles of store from the country without; for although Gingee and Thiagar remained in the hands of the French, their situation was distant, and their garrisons not strong enough to furnish sufficient escorts, and no parties equal to the same purpose could be detached from the main body, without incurring the risk of interception. When the farm of the districts adjacent to Pondicherry was taken from the European renters, and let to the Malabar, after the defeat at Vandivash, there was a sufficient quantity of grain on the ground in reach of Pondicherry, to have stocked the place, as some say, for years; but money was then more scarce than victuals, and the new farmer was permitted to sell his grain, that he might be enabled to pay his rent in coin into the treasury, instead of delivering grain, as acquittal, into the magazines. As soon as Permacoil and Alamparvah fell, and the English army advanced between Gingee and Pondicherry, Mr. Lally saw this error, and that it was not retrievable, but by means which he had hitherto, with too much presumption, despised.

Hyder Ally, the general of the Mysores, had at this time acquired the whole power of the government. He had lately taken the King out of the hands of his uncle, the Dalaway, whom we have seen commanding the Mysore troops before Trichinopoly.

The

out from hence on the 29th, the day appointed; but Captain Preston having two days before taken a mud fort, called Penamalee, situated at the opening of the hills, posted a strong guard there, which the enemy mistaking for the whole of his force, retired again, and afterwards hearing of the dispositions made from the English camp, resolved to proceed as before in separate troops.

1760.
August.

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The depredations of the polygars continued; but, deprived of Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, they ventured nothing more: the Pulitaver's colleries were as usual the most active in the robberies; and to repress them, Mahomed Issooof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville, which in December encamped at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Issooof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars sent to him the year before from Anjengo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Trichinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, falling, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell; but they killed ten of Mahomed Issooof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses.

At this time the Mysoreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

61. ing for mortars from Madras. These advices removed any farther
 ary. apprehensions of succours getting into Pondicherry from the land.

By the morning of the 10th, the Hanover battery was completed; but before it opened, Colonel Coote, with several officers, advanced from the Villenore redoubt, to reconnoitre the bastions of the town. As they were standing about 800 yards from the walls, a flag appeared approaching. Colonel Coote sent forward his aid-de-camp lieutenant Duespe, (not the officer we have mentioned at Vandivash) to receive his message or letters. Two other officers accompanied Duespe, and went on in the avenue leading from the Villenore redoubt to the glacis, until they were challenged by the centries, and ordered to retire; but not obeying, a shot was fired from a six-pounder on the Villenore gate, which missed them, but unfortunately struck and killed Duespe, as he was talking to the messenger. Colonel Coote sent to demand satisfaction for the outrage, supposing it unprovoked. Mr. Lally confined the officers on duty at the gate, and the next day sent his aid-de-camp to explain the mischance, for which he expressed much concern.

A few hours after Duespe was killed, the Hanover battery opened with ten guns, six were twenty-four, and four eighteen-pounders, and with three mortars, two of thirteen and one of ten inches. The six guns on the left fired upon the west face of the n. w. bastion, and of the counter-guard before it. The two next upon the next bastion on the left, which was small, and mounted only three guns: it was called St. Joseph. The two other guns on the right battered the two projecting towers standing on each side of the Valdore gate, which had a good ravelin in front between them. The mortars fired variously. The fire of the cannon ceased in three hours, but the mortars continued at intervals throughout the day. The garrison returned very sparingly. The next day, the 11th, the battery, having been damaged by its own use, fired less, and the town more, with the addition of shells from two mortars in the Valdore ravelin, which several times fell in and near the Hanover battery; which nevertheless opened again the next morning quite repaired, and with
 great

great vivacity; but the enemy neither in this nor the preceding night had given any repair to the N. W. bastion, and its counter-guard; which, in consequence of this neglect, had very little fire to return, nor did much come from the bastion of St. Joseph, or the works of the Valdore gate. Many deserters came over in these two nights, and their accounts agreed of the dismal distress of the garrison. The English army, on the contrary, received the confirmation of a report, that more forces from England (sent by the same spirit as the others) were arrived at Anjengo, on the coast of Malabar. Six hundred men, the remainder of the Highland regiment, had embarked in the month of May in five of the company's ships and two men of war of the line. Three of the company's and one of the men of war arrived at Anjengo on the 15th of December, and the others were daily expected there.

The redoubt on the spit of sand to the south was completed by the night of the 12th, and the workmen and tools recalled, to serve at the opening of the trenches, for which all the materials were by this time collected. The Hanover battery fired little through the 13th, and received only a few shells. In the beginning of the night, all appointed for the trenches were assembled at the bleaching town. They were 700 Europeans draughted from the rank and file, 400 lascars, the pioneer company of 70 Europeans, and 200 coolies: there were likewise 400 oxen, with their drivers, one to three. The ground was opened, under cover, just within the skirt of the bleaching town, in the part nearest the beach. After three short returns, the trench was brought to the outside of the houses, and from hence pushed on obliquely in one straight line, until it passed cross the high road leading from the Madras gate, on the other side of which road, the intended battery was to be erected. This oblique trench was 480 yards long, and from its termination was continued another of 280 yards, parallel to the defences of the town. Two short trenches continued, one from each end of this parallel, and fell in with the two ends of the intended battery, which was to be constructed 40 yards in front; and the parallel in the rear was to be the station of the main guard for the

11. Trichinopoly; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's service.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tellicherry was prosecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahé. The first is called Fort Delhi, situated on the strand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliserum, which, descending from the mountains to the east, turns short many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the sea, from which it is no where a mile asunder; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, stands Ramatilly, which is a small fort; on the same side, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which stands strong on a rocky eminence: seven miles farther, on the N. side of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neliserum, which is much larger; and six miles up this river, to the east, and on its left shore, stands the fifth fort, which is small, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliserum and Ramatilly were garrisoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compensated; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no service, if the two continued in hostility. Delhi and Ramatilly surrendered on the first summons, but at Mattalavy were assembled a large body of Naires, whose bravery is always desperate. The two ships from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coast of Malabar, and had passed beyond the river of Neliserum; and Major Monro, finding more resistance than he expected in his expedition, sent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected against Mattalavy: but the settlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in possession of Matalavy and Veramally, who consented to surrender them on condition of receiving an annual ~~fine~~ which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As soon as these forts