Pigott boldly declared that unless Pondicherry were delivered up to him he would not furnish the money for the subsistence of the King's troops or for the prisoners. Neither the admiral nor the commander of the King's troops were authorised to draw bills on the government at home, and acquiesced in the demand, declaring the Presidency answerable for the consequences.

The first use that the council of Madras made of this authority was to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry. It was part of Lally's instructions to destroy the maritime possessions of the English which might fall into his hands. The instructions were intercepted, and the Directors of the East India Company gave instructions to deal out the same measure to the settlements of the French should they fall into their power.

The demolition was carried out without delay, as the English fleet had to repair to Bombay to refit, and apprehension was felt that the French might arrive on the coast during their absence.

The fall of Pondicherry virtually brought the war to a close. There remained only on the coast of Coromandel two fortresses in possession of the French, Thiagar and Jinji. They occupied the crests of elevated mountains, the latter being of great extent, the walls of the works measuring more than 12,000 yards, and the forts being supposed to be unapproachable. The garrison of Jinji consisted of only 150 Europeans and 600 sepoys, besides irregulars, and that of Thiagar was but little more. After some show of resistance they capitulated on terms. The fort of Mahé and its dependencies, on the coast of Malabar, was also reduced, and on April 5, 1761, the day of the surrender of Jinji, there remained not a fortified post in the possession of the French, thus terminating a contest which had lasted with scarce an

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intermission of a year for fifteen years, from the date of La Bourdonnais' attack on Madras in 1746.

For more than five years after these events was the struggle between Lally and his enemies carried on, till it was closed by the sword of the executioner. Two months after the fall of Pondicherry, he sailed for England, a prisoner of war, and arrived in London in September of the same year. He there heard that a storm was gathering in Paris, and that the complaints of the council of Pondicherry had already reached the capital. He instantly asked and obtained permission to return to France on his parole, to meet the charges on the spot.

He was soon followed by his enemies, and a series of printed volumes were launched on either side, and circulated freely in the city.

It would not appear from the statement of Lally's biographer that the ministers were disposed to make him answerable for the loss of the Indian possessions.[9] His reception was not discouraging. The Duke de Choiseul sought to reconcile him with Bussy; D'Aché made open advances to him in the full court; the Minister of Finances stood by him, and pressed Lally to submit himself to the decision of the King, a proposal tending to crush the whole dispute. In the temper in which Lally returned to France, conciliation was impossible, nor were his adversaries more inclined to moderate counsels. Lally had enemies in the ministry who were ready to take advantage of the storm that broke on his head, and screen themselves under the cover of those attacks. A war had now ended, in the course of which the armies and navies of France had been worsted, and it had been stripped of important possessions in all parts of the world. On November 3, 1762, terms of

[9] *Biographie Universelle*, xxiii., article 'Lally.'

peace were signed under which these cessions were acknowledged. On the 1st of the same month the Minister of War signed the lettre de cachet, by which Lally was to be consigned to the Bastile. Intimation was conveyed to him by the friends of the Minister, in the hope that he would quit the scene. He was too proud and too conscious of his innocence to act on the suggestion. On the contrary he hastened to Fontainbleau, and wrote to the Duke de Choiseul, bringing, as he said, his head and his innocence, and he surrendered himself to the prison which he was not to quit till he was dragged to the scaffold.

In the petition which the Governor and council of Pondicherry presented to the King in reply to the attacks of Lally, they urged him to name the tribunal to which they should be referred. A difficulty now presented itself to the Government as to the court which should take cognisance of these mixed charges of military and civil crimes and misdemeanours. They were instituted in the first instance in the Châtelet or criminal court, but the letters patent of the King removed them to the grand chamber of the Parliament, and the charges were drawn up in general terms which involved inquiry into the conduct of all parties. They were there required to investigate all criminal acts in India both before and after the arrival of Lally in the settlement.[1] This show of impartiality was set at naught in the subsequent proceedings. The Procureur-General directed the proceedings against Lally alone, and as the terms

[1] These are the terms of the reference as quoted by the author of the article in the *Biographie*. The court was instructed to take cognisance 'de tous les délits commis dans l'Inde, *tant avant que depuis l'envoi du Comte de Lally*.' The words italicised do not appear in the terms as quoted by Voltaire, but he adds words which make them equally general: 'Pour être le procès fait et parfait aux auteurs desdits délits, selon la rigueur des ordonnances.'

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high treason and *lèse-majesté* had been introduced into the act of accusation, he was deprived of the aid of counsel. The accused now became accusers and witnesses in their own cause, and the disgraceful spectacle was produced of a general officer being confronted with officers of the lowest rank before a civil tribunal of the highest instance, to meet the accusations of a monk and a party of merchants regarding the operations of a campaign. The scandal of the procedure did not rest there For nineteen months he remained in prison before he was subjected to the usual interrogations. Through the whole of the proceedings he was deprived of counsel, though on three several occasions he made the demand to be allowed the assistance afforded to the meanest criminal. For two more years did this disgraceful process drag on, during which he was confronted with a troop of witnesses, against thirty-four of whom he entered charges of incompetence. With his usual indiscretion he had brought charges against Bussy and D'Aché—against the latter with some reason, as having by his abandonment of the coast been the chief cause of the fall of Pondicherry ; though the charge really bears more against the Government at home for their long neglect of the settlement.

These officers published volumes in vindication of their conduct, and contributed to swell the proceedings and confuse the case. During the whole process the general maintained the same haughty and intemperate bearing, retorting charges against one and all of his accusers, and even attacking his judges. This last conduct was calculated to provoke an adverse decision, but neither the violence of the attack nor of the defence serve to clear the conduct of the court in their sentence.

The Parliament of Paris when in full court consisted

of upwards of 100 persons, and by its constitution was independent of the crown. It had been on some memorable occasions in conflict with its authority. It had sympathies with the people and had partaken of the passions of the multitude. Two French historians, Voltaire and Sismondi, referring to these transactions, attribute their conduct on this occasion to their hostility to all officers in military command, and reference is made by the latter historian to various instances where this spirit was shown.

The charges against Lally resolve themselves into three heads; abuses of his authority in his treatment of public servants in the East, pecuniary corruption, and military misconduct. The council of Pondicherry, in framing this indictment, did not pretend to specify any acts of malversation, but held him accountable for the receipt of revenues and contributions, leaving the pecuniary question to the investigation of the Government, and nothing but vague suspicions were alleged against him on that score. It was on the last charge that they laid the principal stress, and they were embodied in nine articles, which in their words proved 'something more than mere want of capacity.'[2]

They cover the whole campaign, which was marked by many blunders, but none of them warranting the malignant accusations against him, and embraced such questions as the conduct of the siege of Madras, the division of the French army before Vandewash and its dispersion after that event, the imprudence of keeping the Mysore forces inactive on the glacis of Pondicherry, to the exhaustion of the stores of the place; and finally the rejection of every expedient and counsel that was incessantly offered to him for the relief of the place.

[2] Lally, *Mémoire, Pièces Justificatives*, No. 98.

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These were questions for a military tribunal, which Lally in vain demanded. The Parliament of Paris, after admitting every frivolous accusation, specimens of which may be found in Voltaire's narrative,[3] gave a deliverance which stands as a monument of judicial folly. No specific acts of misdemeanour are alleged, the military misconduct is entirely passed over, but he is declared attainted and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the King, the State, and of the East India Company; of abuse of authority, and exactions and vexations against the subjects of King and foreigners, inhabitants of Pondicherry; in expiation of which he was condemned to be deprived of his honours and dignities, and to be beheaded by the public executioner.

Voltaire, in recording this sentence, takes pains to inform his readers that the expression 'betray interests' signifies in French no more than to neglect or injure interests, and not fraud, and that it has no analogy to the high treason of England, the corresponding words in French law being *lèse-majesté*. The terms in the sentence were employed deliberately to give colour to the malignant cry that was raised in France that he had sold Pondicherry to the English, and they were so understood by Lally himself, who, when the sentence was read, interrupted the officer of the court when he came to the words betrayed the interests of the King, and exclaimed 'It is false; never, never!' He then broke out into violent language against his judges and the ministers, whom he accused of being the authors of his fate; then recovering himself he suddenly seized a compass that was lying on the table and plunged it into his bosom. The blow did not penetrate the heart, and he submitted with fortitude to the sentence, which was

[3] *Fragmens sur l'Inde*, article xix.

attended with circumstances of unusual ignominy. The execution was hastened by six hours, in order to anticipate, so it was supposed, any appeal to the crown; a common cart was prepared, and a large gag was placed in his mouth, and in this state he was dragged to the place of execution.

So perished, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, a man whose faults of temper and want of judgment are conspicuous in the narrative of the struggle in which he took a part. The national historians of these events take pains to point out the extravagance of the charge against him of having sold Pondicherry. They do not deserve a serious refutation; and yet it was to the belief in his guilt in this respect that he owed his fate, and this sentence was pronounced by a tribunal composed of public functionaries of the highest dignity, not in the first burst of passion which followed the announcement of the national dishonour, but upwards of five years after the events to which they refer, and nearly four years after the signature of the treaty of peace.

Orme closes his narrative of the career of Lally with a brief review of the military questions which would have been submitted to a board of general officers had his request been complied with, and points out that, of the many errors attributed to him, some were venial, and others capable of justification in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, and all would have been viewed with discernment and judged with impartiality. His narrative closes with a well-merited encomium on the sagacity and enterprise displayed by Coote throughout the campaign, in which he won the confidence of his troops, and was seconded by the civil authorities.

It is to be remembered throughout that Lally was confronted by public servants of the highest abilities

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(Clive, Coote, and Pigott) who acted together with the utmost harmony, in marked contrast to the wretched bickerings of the French.

Ten years later this iniquitous judgment was annulled by an act as formal as that which had pronounced the sentence.

Lally left a son to whom he gave a parting charge to vindicate the memory of his father. On his coming of age he presented a petition to the Council of the King to annul the judgment. So complete was the change in public opinion that the petition received the unanimous assent of eighty magistrates, and after thirty-two sittings of the court the unanimous decree of seventy-two magistrates was declared, not merely on the injustice but the illegality of the former sentence. The violation of legal forms which had preceded and accompanied this judgment was so glaring that the reporter, Lambert, in drawing up the decree of cassation pronounced emphatically that there were no witnesses and no crime.

The memory of Lally was now vindicated, not merely in public opinion, but in the technical language of the court. The young Lally, to make his victory complete, resorted to another process, not unusual in French history, by which the attaint which attaches to those who have suffered for the crime of *lèse-majesté* has been removed by subsequent judicial proceedings. He demanded his honourable acquittal of the crime of *lèse-majesté*. This appeal was also accepted, and the procedure was closed by a royal edict in which a high eulogium was passed on the conduct and services of the unfortunate Governor.[4]

The death of Lally did not restore life to the French East India Company. On the termination of the war,

[4] *Biographie Universelle*, article 'Lally.'

when the settlements were restored to France, it became a question with the Government whether the exclusive privilege of trade should be renewed. A review of the disastrous career of the Company was drawn up by the Abbé Morellet, who spoke on this occasion, according to Voltaire, as the mouthpiece of the ministry, and in opposition to the renewal of those privileges which it was contended had been the cause of their ruin, and which ought never to have been confirmed.

It would be harsh to pronounce with this writer that there was something in the genius of the French character, if not its Government, which rendered them incapable of association for such commercial enterprises.

The failure of the French, as contrasted with the success of the English, the Dutch, and even the Danes, is pointedly referred to by the Abbé Morellet, with the apparent approval of Voltaire ; but this failure is rather attributable to the acts of the Government than to the servants of the Company. The Company of France had been pampered from the time of Richelieu, and between the years 1727 and 1769 they had been supplied with funds from the State amounting to the enormous sum of 376 millions of livres,[5] while the treatment of men

[5] Voltaire, *Fragmens sur l'Inde*. He contends that were it not for the monopoly they possessed of the sale of tobacco, their bankruptcy was inevitable. The Abbé Raynal (*Histoire Philosophique*, ii. 479) concludes his history of the French settlements in the East with a review of their finances, and concurs with Voltaire in attributing their failure in a great degree to their dependence, or, as that author expresses it, to their servitude to the Government, more particularly after the year 1723, when the Directors were appointed by the Court, but overshadowed by the King's commissioner. But Raynal attributes far more to the corruption that pervaded every branch of the administration. The local government was tainted by the irregular gains which the wars of Dupleix and the alliances with native princes gave rise to, and the peculation was unbounded. Men of quality with ruined fortunes flocked to the East, and the Directors who profited by the patronage were obliged to shut their eyes to the disorders that prevailed. Many of the charges detailed by Raynal are a repetition

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like La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, would have destroyed any State however prosperous.

The French settlements never recovered from the ruin of their affairs in the war which closed in 1762. Pondicherry was restored at the peace a heap of ruins. The council of Madras, in their dread of the revival of French influence, had destroyed not merely the fortifications but the interior buildings. It was again occupied by French forces, and when the war broke out in 1778 it was defended for forty days, when it again succumbed, with other French settlements, to the now well-established power of the English. In the course of the war which proved so disastrous to England in America, a vigorous effort was made to re-establish French influence in the Deckan. When Heíder Ali invaded the Carnatic in 1780, and reduced the British power in the Deckan to the lowest ebb, overtures were made to France to join in the attack on their common enemy. A fleet was despatched to the Eastern seas in March 1781, conveying a considerable land force under Bussy. In a campaign which lasted about eighteen months the French fleet under Suffren, one of the most able and enterprising sailors that ever served in the French navy, encountered the English on four several occasions in 1782, though the latter were superior in numbers of vessels and guns, and wrested from them Trincomalee.

of those that had been advanced by Lally in his *Mémoires*, and which the Directors, in their zeal for reform, had commissioned him to redress. Similar charges, we know, were brought against the early English administrators of their Indian possessions, who were exposed to and succumbed to the same temptations. The contrast between the treatment by England and France of their Indian rulers has been often remarked upon. Voltaire was the first to institute the comparison. The parallel which he draws between the career and lot of Lally and Clive is forcibly drawn, and in no respects more marked than in his concluding remarks: 'The one was a conqueror, the other conquered. The one was beloved, the other hated.'

A final encounter took place off Cuddalore, which was occupied by the French under Bussy. The English had commenced the siege of the place with an inferior land force, but with the support of their fleet. Suffren, by a skilful manœuvre, interposed between the English fleet and the fort, and as harmony now reigned between the naval and military commanders, he borrowed 1,000 men from Bussy, and attacked the English fleet, now seriously reduced in numbers by the scurvy. In the encounter which followed both suffered severely. The English found themselves so seriously weakened that they bore away for Madras, and Suffren returned to the forces ashore the men he had borrowed, and added a corps of sailors from the fleet, which established their superiority over their opponents, whose numbers were so wasted by casualties and sickness that their position became very critical.

A.D. 1783.

In these circumstances intelligence reached the belligerents of the signature of the terms of peace at Versailles, and terminated a war which had assumed proportions dangerous to the stability of British power in the south of India.

In this struggle the relative position of the French and English was completely reversed. Unseemly struggles broke out among the English authorities both in Calcutta and at Madras, which was carried so far that Pigott, who had been honoured with a peerage, and was sent out to India to reverse the decision of the Madras council regarding the Rája of Tanjore, was, in a dispute arising out of the claims of the notorious Paul Benfield, arrested and confined in a prison, where he languished and died. General Stuart, who was the instrument of the civil government, was in his turn arrested by the order of Lord Macartney, Governor of

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Madras, and sent home. When the war broke out with Heíder, the Governor of Madras was suspended, by the orders of Warren Hastings, and Coote employed the extensive powers conferred on him with effect and dignity; but on his retirement to Bengal, on account of his health, the want of harmony between the civil and military authorities again proved disastrous to our affairs.

This was summarily terminated by the arrest of General Stuart, who had been the instrument of the Council on a former occasion in the arrest of Pigott, and was sent home. Though no imputation rests on Sir Edward Hughes, who commanded the fleet in the Eastern seas, for any want of zeal in co-operating with the land forces, and he fought five actions with his adversaries; yet on one occasion, when he left for the coast of Malabar to refit his shattered vessels, he experienced the same reproaches which assailed D'Aché in the former war, when he left the coast in possession of the enemy. Two duels arose out of these contentions; Hastings challenged and shot Francis, and Lord Macartney was challenged and wounded by General Stuart when he returned to England.

So closed the last effort of France to contend with its rivals for empire in India. Dreams of Eastern conquest, we know, passed through the mind of Napoleon, and excited a temporary alarm in the councils of England, but they had little influence on the politics of India itself; and from 1783 until the British armies passed the Indus in 1839, all the wars of the English arose from their relations with the native states only, and with no reference to the affairs of Europe. From the close of the struggle with France we enter on a period distinguished by a new class of events. England

became the first military power on that continent, and its government took a firmer tone in its dealings with the native powers; but its history is not that of wars and brilliant conquests only, but of the administration of a great empire, embracing the conduct of its governors and the well-being of the people, and involving questions which for more than a hundred years have profoundly interested the people and parliament of England. Here, therefore, naturally closes the first chapter in the history of the rise of British power in the East.

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