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THE LIFE OF LORD CLIVE

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LORD CLIVE

From the portrait by George Dance, R.A.,
in the possession of Earl Powis.

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The Life of LORD CLIVE

By

SIR GEORGE FORREST, C.I.E.

With Six Photogravure Plates
and other Illustrations

VOLUME I

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To

THE MEMORY OF

PERCY ROBERT HERBERT

VISCOUNT CLIVE

ELDER SON OF THE 4TH EARL OF POWIS

HE DIED FIGHTING FOR ENGLAND

HER WIDE-SPREAD DOMINIONS AND

HER INDIAN EMPIRE

WHOSE FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID FIRM

AND DEEP BY HIS LINEAL ANCESTOR

ROBERT LORD CLIVE

PREFACE

THE SOURCES OF THE NARRATIVE

THIS biography concerns the actions and character of a soldier who won great victories, and a statesman who effected brilliant triumphs of policy and legislation. The materials on which it is founded consist mainly of original documents obtained by me from Public Archives in India and Europe, and from the vast accumulation of private papers at Walcot, the fine country house which Sir Robert Chambers built for Clive.

The duties of my office as Director of Records of the Government of India led me to pay sundry visits to Madras—the scene of Clive's earliest service—and I took advantage of my opportunities to select from the archives in Fort St. George the documents which threw light on Clive's career when, in the full freshness of youth, he took part as a gallant soldier and victorious commander in the struggle between the English and French for establishing a solid dominion in India. In order to gather fresh material and to revise impressions produced by the study of contemporary documents written by Englishmen, I made frequent journeys to Pondicherry. Through the courtesy of the Governor, I was enabled to search the ancient records in the official archives, and considerable work was devoted to mastering their contents. A number of the despatches and letters written by French soldiers, giving accounts of the Homeric combats which occupy this page of history, were copied for me. They illustrate the chivalry of the French race. A judge of the Pondicherry High Court, who took a deep interest in the history of his countrymen in India, informed me that there was in the archives some important evidence as to La Bourdonnais having taken a bribe from the English to conclude an unauthorised treaty for the

ransom of Madras. He also gave me an authentic copy of the document, a translation of which is printed in the Appendix.

During one of my visits to Pondicherry, General Macleod, R.A., the Consular Agent, informed me that Ranga Pillai, the chief broker who transacted business with the natives for the Pondicherry Government, and was on intimate terms with Dupleix and his wife, had left a most important diary. In 1892 General Macleod and myself brought to the notice of the Madras Government the existence of the diary, and it was suggested that the matter which it contained was of such interest and value that it was highly desirable that a copy of it should be obtained, and a translation made of this and published. The Madras Government, which was then presided over by Lord Wenlock, readily adopted the suggestion, and after considerable research the undoubted originals of volumes i. and ii. and the last volume were discovered. They have been transcribed, and five volumes of translation published. This diary, from which I have often quoted, is of considerable historical value.

The work begun by me at Pondicherry was continued at Paris, and I desire to tender the expression of my gratitude to the French officials for their constant kindness and assistance. I am also deeply grateful to French Ministers for the indulgence accorded me to copy a certain number of documents. The limit of space has allowed me to print only two of them in the Appendix.

During a term of special duty in England, I was employed in examining and summarising the State Papers relating to Clive and the epoch covered by his career in India, kept in the Archives of the India Office. A large number of most important original documents—some of them extracts from the Orme Manuscripts—were copied and forwarded to me when I returned to India. My intention was to use them to illustrate the Introduction to a selection of State Papers dealing with Clive. But, before I could mould the Introduction into form, General Sir George Chesney, K.C.B., at that time Military Member of the Government of India, re-

quested me to examine and arrange systematically, with a view to publication, all the State papers relating to the revolt of the Bengal Native Army in 1857 deposited in the different military offices of the Imperial Government. The editing of the Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers relating to the Indian Mutiny proved a more difficult and laborious task than I anticipated, and the publication was delayed considerably beyond the date at which I hoped to conclude the work.

During the time I was engaged in writing the History of the Indian Mutiny, derived from these sources, it was a relief to withdraw from the difficult task of composition, and employ moments of leisure in arranging and exploring a huge mass of authentic materials which Clive had accumulated during his lifetime. On his death these documents passed into the possession of his son, Edward Clive, who succeeded to the Irish Barony, and for twenty years sat in the House of Commons as Member for Ludlow. In 1784 he married Henrietta, sister of George, the last Herbert, Earl of Powis, and, ten years after, he was created Baron Clive of Walcot in the British peerage. In 1799 he was appointed Governor of Madras, and landed at that port about the end of August. Three months before, Richard, Lord Mornington, the brilliant scholar and great statesman, who has stamped the name Marquess Wellesley upon the pages of the history of our Indian Empire, had assumed the office of Governor-General. The second Lord Clive had inherited some of his father's capacity for government. Soon after he arrived at Madras, Colonel Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) wrote : " The truth is, he does not want talents, but he is very diffident of himself ; and now that he has begun to find out there is no conjuration in transacting the business of Government, he improves daily, takes more upon himself, and will very shortly have less confidence and reliance than he must have at present upon the opinion and abilities of those who have long done the business of the country." During the campaign against Tippoo he rendered substantial aid by pushing on the preparations for supplying

the infinite wants of an army in the field. At the close of the war he conducted with firmness and tact the negotiations which led to the treaty by which the territories of Arcot and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut passed into the possession of the British Government, " perhaps," wrote the Great Marquess, " the most salutary and useful measure which has been adopted since the acquisition of the *dewanny* of Bengal." Lord Clive was a sound administrator, desirous to extirpate every abuse, and on the watch for every improvement. He appointed a Committee of Reform, and his long Minute, based on their reports, is worthy to rank with the State Papers of his father. Many of the reforms he proposed were at once introduced. In the work of administration he had received loyal and able support from Mr. Webbe, Secretary to the Government, and when the Court of Directors requested him to remove that official from his post he remonstrated. The Court persisted in their order, and he resigned the Governorship. " The result," said Wellesley, " had been to drive that honest, diligent, prudent and able public servant from India." On his return to England, Lord Clive received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services, and was created Earl of Powis. He was succeeded in 1839 by his son Edward, who took the arms and surname of Herbert only, in lieu of Clive, by royal licence, in accordance with the will of his maternal uncle, George, Earl of Powis. The present Earl is the grandson of the second Earl, the direct male descendant of Clive, and the fifth to hold the proud title Baron Clive of Plassey.

When the second Lord Clive was governing Madras he became acquainted with Sir John Malcolm, and their acquaintance in due course ripened into a close friendship. On Malcolm's return to England he was often a welcome guest at Powis Castle and Walcot. Malcolm suggested that he should write the Biography of Clive, and Lord Powis entrusted to his care the vast collection of political papers and correspondence brought together by his father—the founder of the Indian Empire. The collection is characterised by animated variety,

and it would be difficult to exaggerate its value for historical and biographical purposes. It is not practicable in this place to give a full account of the papers Clive had stored during his strenuous lifetime. The collection consists of Minutes on important administrative measures which he laid before the Council, and the drafts of the more important Despatches to be forwarded to the Court of Directors. There are Memoranda on miscellaneous subjects of importance, and a mountain of bills. Clive had, as a Factor, before he became a soldier, been trained in the accuracy of mercantile method, and he kept his accounts with the greatest precision, and filed his bills with the utmost care. The Company obliged their servants to keep duplicates of their letters, and Clive acquired his lifelong custom of keeping copies, often written by himself, of his own letters. Among them is a copy of the first letter he sent to his father, when he landed at Madras, written in a firm, clear hand, and there are a few illegible lines written shortly before his tragic death. The letters written to him constitute numerous bundles, and those written by Stringer Lawrence, Eyre Coote, Forde, Watts, Scrafton, and other colleagues, are of the highest interest and importance. A number of letters written by Warren Hastings have come to light, and they supply an important gap in the biography of the great statesman who built the stately fabric whose wide foundations his great chief laid. There are also letters written by the leading statesmen of the day, and a multitude of epistles from all sorts and conditions of men, seeking his counsel, or his patronage, or his pecuniary aid.

Soon after these abundant materials were placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and his biographer informs us that " he thought that he might turn the leisure afforded to him by the long sea-voyage to profitable account, by digesting his materials, and commencing the actual composition of the biography. He employed some of his young friends in copying his manuscripts." Malcolm embarked for Bombay on July 5th, 1827, and he arrived there on October 26th. On November 30th

he wrote to his friend Sir Charles Metcalfe, afterwards Lord Metcalfe, "I have been busy during the voyage with the Life of Lord Clive—all his papers, public and private, having recently been discovered and given to me. I have finished about one thousand pages, and Elphinstone, who is fastidious enough about such works, is quite delighted—not with my composition, but with the admirable letters of Clive, whom he thinks I have managed to make tell his own story in a way that is both instructive and entertaining. I may have to refer upon some points that may require looking into old public records, or inquiries from natives." The Introduction and early chapters, written during the leisure of a long sea voyage, are the best in the Life. But Malcolm did not continue to make sufficient use of the materials placed at his disposal. As Governor of Bombay, he had to make extensive tours through the Presidency, besides performing the multifarious duties of his high office. He wrote to Sir Walter Scott: "I am toiling from dawn to sunset to bring to a good finish the labours of my public life." It is a marvel that he had been able to finish thirteen chapters when he departed from Bombay. On his return to England, Malcolm allowed himself to be lured into the strife of politics, and he had a restless longing to write a great work on the Government of India. The Life of Clive was neglected, and only two more chapters were written when Malcolm died, in 1833. The work was finished by a friend, and published in 1836. It exhibits the defects of the author and the conditions under which it was written. The narrative is often dull, and intermingled with disquisition; the valuable matter is ill-arranged, the style that of the official report, and the biography remains an important work with intrinsic weaknesses.

The collection of papers consigned to Malcolm's care was returned in a state of hopeless confusion. Some of the original bundles appear never to have been opened, others to have been broken up, and the correspondence and papers extracted for publication in Malcolm's work were not put back.

The present Earl, who takes a deep interest in the career

of his direct ancestor Robert Clive, has rendered a service to the student of history by undertaking the difficult task of replacing the folios and bundles as nearly as could be ascertained in chronological order. I am specially indebted to him for the liberality with which he placed these muniments, in which he delights, under my care, in order that a more thorough examination should be made of their contents for the purpose of this work.

Other sources, besides the Powis MSS. have been freely drawn upon, and it may be well to indicate briefly the authorities on which I have relied for specially important or interesting episodes in Clive's life. The story of the first siege of Pondicherry, which gave Clive—a young subaltern—his first insight into the practical difficulties of the business of war, is told by himself in a modest and distinct narrative, which is now put in print for the first time. The tale of the "first fruitless expedition" to Tanjore is told in a memorandum written by Clive for Orme, and here printed for the first time.

In devoting a chapter to "The Political State of Southern India" I may have made the preponderance of history seem excessive in the story of Clive's life. But it is almost an impossible task to draw a line between history and biography in writing about a soldier-statesman whose career covers two of the most critical periods in the history of British Dominion in India, and who played so vital a part in fashioning them. The feature which distinguishes the first period is the long struggle between the French and English in the Carnatic, and it is impossible to form a just or discriminating estimate of the character and measures of Dupleix, or the conduct of the British, without a knowledge of the political state of India at that time. Without this knowledge the campaigns in which Clive took a leading part cannot be followed with interest and utility.

My account of the Valconda disaster is founded on the contemporary Journal of Captain John Dalton, whose narrative differs considerably from that given by Orme. The tale of

Clive's capture and defence of Arcot is derived from a journal which Orme, who became possessed of it in 1752, says was written by a Serjeant who served in the operations of which he gives such a simple, clear, and accurate account. Besides being a contemporary narrative of a most animating military episode, it has a strong attraction as a revelation of the character of the British soldier.

The Serjeant's account of Arni, Clive's first important victory in the open field, is here printed in its integrity. The history of the siege of Trichinopoly and the stern contests around it is mainly told from the Madras MS. Records, the Fort St. David MS. Records, Stringer Lawrence's own modest narrative, Clive's account of "Several Events," and the correspondence of Clive and Lawrence. These letters illustrate the beautiful and father-like interest taken in Clive's career by Stringer Lawrence, who had fired Clive's imagination to be a soldier, and had told him that Trichinopoly was the Gibraltar of India. Among the many memoranda which Clive sent Orme is a narrative of the siege of Covelong, and the surrender of Chingleput, which Orme embellished and incorporated in his work. It is now printed in its original state.

The account of the expedition made by the Royal Squadron under Watson and the King's troops under Clive, against Gheria, the stronghold of Angria the pirate chief, is constructed from the records in the Bombay archives, and from an Introduction to the present writer's Selections from the Bombay State Papers. The origin, progress and loss of the settlements and factories in Bengal have been traced, in order that the subsequent narrative may be intelligible and instructive. The substance of the account appeared in three papers—"Job Charnock," "The Siege of Calcutta," and "The Tragedy of the Black Hole," contributed by the present writer to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The sketch of the career of Job Charnock was drawn from "The Diary of William Hedges," illustrated and illuminated by Sir Henry Yule, and fresh material gathered from the archives

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of Madras. The account of the siege and capture of Fort William, and the dismal catastrophe that followed, was mainly told from the narratives and other writings of those engaged in the siege. The second volume of Orme's history deals with the important and interesting period of the annals of our Indian Empire from "The calamity which befel the English settlements in 1756 to the peace of 1763." In his account of the calamities which befel the English settlements Orme omits materials for forming a fair judgment as to the causes which led to the siege; he enhances the errors and crimes of Surajah Dowla, and suppresses facts which bear on individual characters. Eighteen years after the siege of Calcutta, John Zephaniah Holwell, who had so gallantly defended the fort after the dastardly flight of the Governor, published "A Genuine Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen and Others who were suffocated in the Black Hole in Fort William, at Calcutta, in the kingdom of Bengal, in the night succeeding the 10th day of June, 1756. In a Letter to a Friend." The friend was "W. Davis, Esq.," and the letter was written "from on board the *Syren* sloop, the 28th of February, 1757." In a short preface Holwell informs the reader that "the narrative has been freely communicated to several, and amongst them to persons of the first distinction; who thought it might gratify public expectation, more especially if it appeared in the same natural and undignified dress in which they had seen it."

Nothing in Defoe's "History of the Plague" is more life-like nor more appalling than Holwell's natural and matter-of-fact narrative of what took place in the Black Hole. It was from Holwell that Orme took his account of the horrors of that night, and Macaulay borrowed from Orme. Besides Holwell, two other survivors of the tragedy have left notices of what occurred that night. The last four pages of the "Account of John Cooke, Esq., who was in the Black Hole, June, 1756," refer to events after the surrender; and there is a very brief mention of the tragedy in "The Journal of Captain Mill, who was in the Black Hole, from the 7th of

June to the 1st of July, 1756." The last half-page of "Mr. Grey, jun.'s Account of the Siege of Calcutta," refers to the catastrophe; and Mr. William Lindsay, in his letter to Orme, dated Fulta, July, 1756, mentions it. William Tooke also refers to it. We have a further account of the tragedy by Watts and others from hearsay; and Captain Alexander Grant, Adjutant-General of the Forces engaged in the defence of Calcutta, briefly notices it. It has been argued that it would be wiser to let that "great crime" fall under the shadow of the great power oblivion. But that crime cannot, any more than the Massacres of St. Bartholomew, Drogheda, and Glencoe, be effaced from the page of history. The contemporary evidence proves that Surajah Dowla was not guilty of that great crime. He was sleeping far from the fort when the deed was perpetrated. Holwell mainly attributes the severity with which he himself was treated to Omichund, the Punjabi banker. It was, indeed, a common belief at the time that the English owed their sufferings to the intrigue and resentment of Omichund; and letters in the old records show that when, after the battle of Plassey, the money sent to Calcutta as compensation was about to be distributed, a vigorous protest was raised against any restitution to Omichund, "because it is well known he was the chief instigator of the massacre of the Black Hole."

The circumstances that led to the formation of a conspiracy to dethrone Surajah Dowla amongst the Mohammedan officers and Hindu capitalists who were his subjects have been reviewed, and the urgency of the case that pressed the Bengal Council to accept the overtures of the chiefs and nobles of the Nawab's court to enter into a compact to deprive him of the rulership has been explained. The conduct of the intrigue was confided by the conspirators to Omichund. The fabrication of the fictitious treaty to deceive Omichund has been regarded as "an indelible stain" on the memory of Clive. The whole transaction is here discussed by the light of contemporary evidence, fortified by contemporary documents. No full discussion of the sources of the incident has been

attempted by any historian, but there has been no lack of criticism. The chief basis of our historical knowledge must rest upon the statements of those who had good means of knowing the truth. The evidence reproduced in this book has lain buried in the Report from the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons on April 13th, 1772.

The account of the march to Plassey and of that famous victory is constructed from fresh material of interest and importance. An exact transcription of the original record of the Proceedings of the Council of War, signed by the Officers present, from the Powis MSS., is given. The incidents of Eyre Coote's fruitless pursuit of Law after the battle of Plassey depend on a correspondence between Clive and Eyre Coote, preserved in the Powis MSS., which not only reveals a half-forgotten episode, but throws light on the characters of Clive and Eyre Coote. The narrative of the disastrous campaign of the brave and impulsive Lally is illustrated by a memorandum by John Call, the able engineer of Fort St. George. It contains much fresh material for the historian.

The story how the Dutch were defeated by land and water is taken from a straightforward "Narrative of the Disputes with the French in Bengal," Grosse's "Voyages," Clive's "Evidence," the Report of the House of Commons, and Forde's Letters. The account of Clive's residence in England in Chapter IV. of Vol. II. is illustrated by letters from Clive, Eyre Coote, Lawrence Sulivan, and by extracts from an original memorandum—"Memorials as to the East Indies by Lord Clive"—written by Clive for Lord Bute. The letters of Eyre Coote, which are printed in the same chapter, give a vivid description of the final contest between France and England in India.

An account is given of Clive's voyage to India, from June, 1764, to April, 1765, from a paper in a hand which resembles that of Strachey, the letters of Edmund Maskelyne to his sister, and Clive's letters to his wife. The survey of Clive's second Governorship of Bengal—the last as it was also the most arduous work of administration he was to engage in—

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has been chiefly derived from his Minutes and Despatches. A study of his despatches shows that his foresight was clear and far-reaching, his judgment sane and sure, and his knowledge of the facts with which he dealt comprehensive and solid. The true man is, however, not made known to us in his seasons of victory and supreme power, but in the last record of his years of persecution and of the bitter moments of taunts and false charges. The courage did not sink, and he was still stirred with a zeal for the service of the kingdom he had governed and for causes and policies now beyond his control. He replied to his assailants in a speech which Lord Chatham, who was present during the debate, declared was " one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in the House of Commons." In a last speech, setting forth the services he had rendered his country, there is no trace of egotism. It is a great man's satisfaction at the great work he had done.

Clive's actions and his inmost thoughts are now given in their integrity to all who read our English. History, which seeks first to know what was done before delivering a verdict, has ample original authentic materials to judge critically and calmly the conduct and character of the man. Men of his race will remember him as a man of boundless devotion and charity, as a soldier of dauntless courage, a sound and brilliant commander of victorious armies, as a wielder, by sympathy, of great influence over alien races, as a statesman who, by the power of an unfaltering will, founded a mighty Empire.

G. W. Forrest.

Iffley,
Oxon.

NOTE

My thanks are due to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College for affording the Powis MSS. shelter, and granting me the privilege of conducting my work in their splendid Library. In the early chapters of the work I have had the great advantage of the advice of Mr. C. H. Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and I also owe my warmest acknowledgments to Mr. R. S. Rait, Professor of Scottish History in the University of Glasgow, for his helpful corrections and important suggestions while the sheets were passing through the press. I desire to record my obligations to Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Fellow of All Souls, for the generous assistance he gave me, and to Miss L. M. Anstey for her explorations in the archives of the India Office for fresh material. My friend Mr. F. G. Stokes has rendered me willing and valuable help in the correction of the proof sheets—a difficult and tedious task, owing to the multitude of Oriental words and names, and the infinite inconsistencies in their transliteration. After careful consideration I determined to make no alteration in the spelling of words and names in the passages quoted, but, in order to maintain some uniformity, and that they should not be a non-conductor of interest to English readers, the forms which have become familiar to them have been adopted in the text, as far as possible. Complete uniformity is neither desirable nor practicable.

G. W. F.

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The Life of Lord Clive

CHAPTER I

1725–44: EARLY LIFE—ARRIVAL IN INDIA

MARKET DRAYTON is a small town in a sequestered corner of Shropshire, not many miles from the Staffordshire border. The ancient timber houses convey a sense of prosperity and comfort befitting a town which has been for centuries a focus of agrarian commerce. On a wooded height above the sloping street stands the ancient church, built of red sandstone, whose square sentinel tower has lightness, strength, and dignity. About two miles from Market Drayton nestles amongst its trees the hamlet of Moreton Say. Near it is one of the gates which open on the wide, undulating grounds of Styche, and on the brow of a slight eminence is situated the house which has long been in the possession of the Clives. The old seat commands a perfect English prospect—wide green meadows where the cattle love to browse and the stout oaks delight to grow, cultivated fields, wooded uplands, and, in the distance, the blue barrier which cuts off Shropshire from Staffordshire.

A pleasant mansion, built in the Georgian style, has taken the place of the black-and-white timber house with projecting wings in which was born, on September 29, 1725, one of England's greatest and most resolute sons. On October 2 the babe was baptized in the parish church of Moreton Say. He was given the name of Robert, for his grandfather and great-grandfather had been "Robert Clive, of Styche, in

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Shropshire." His father, Richard Clive, was so called after Richard Clive, of Huxley, in Chester, who also owned the small estate of Styche, and who lived in the days of Henry VII. The second Richard Clive inherited a long pedigree and a short rent-roll of some five hundred pounds a year, and, thinking this too small a provision, he followed the profession of the law. His letters show him a man of an affectionate nature, not lacking in ability, but wanting in those sterner qualities which are necessary for success in the actual business of the profession he embraced. His wife, daughter of a Mr. Gaskell, of Manchester, was, unlike her husband, endowed with homely sense and force of character, and Clive always said he owed more to his mother than to any school.

Robert Clive was a delicate child, and though he grew energetic and fearless, there never came to him through the length of days the voice of joy and health. Before he was three years old he was sent away from home to live with one of his mother's sisters who had married a Mr. Bayley, of Hope Hall, Manchester. The vigorous air of Styche may have proved unfavourable to so frail a constitution. He had not been long at Hope Hall when he had a severe attack of illness. On December 22, 1728, Mr. Bayley writes :

" If I were given to be superstitious, and to believe things ominous I think I should omit writing to you, for it has been poor Bob's Fate to grow worse just after I have finished my Letters ; from the Time of Andrew's leaving us till yesterday about five o'clock, He was worse than at any Time yet, and the Dr discovered by all his Behaviour that he apprehended full as much danger as ever, but since that time He has been much better, and we hope that then was the Crisis of the Fever. He slept pretty well last night, and when awake talked with his usual chearfullness, and I can say is now better, and in a more hopeful way to recover than hitherto, if no Relapse come upon him. He is (as you may well imagine) very weak, but the Dr doubts not his getting more Strength if the Fever continues (as it has began) to go off and leave him." [1]

Two days later he sends more hopeful news :

" I thank God I can now inform you that Bob continues better, and is in a very likely way to recover. We hope that the Crisis of

[1] Powis MSS.

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the Fever was on Saturday Last about Noon, it having abated ever since. His exceeding patience is also exchanged for an eminent Degree of Crossness, which we take as a good Omen of his mending."

The fever, however, returned with great violence, was attended with convulsions, and there was grave danger that the child would not recover. But death was not awaiting him. On January 26, 1729, Mr. Bayley writes:

"Yesterday Bob came down into the Parlour the first time, he goes on successfully with the Bark and is very merry and good as it is possible. He is poor and thin, but in a brave way, and has a stomach for more meat than we dare give him. He can run about, and chatters continually and is always asking Questions."

The worthy man adds: "This afternoon Bob with some reluctance suffered Aunt Bay to go to Chappel."[1] The boy recovered, but the fever was the cause, or the result, of some constitutional weakness that made him liable to fits of despondency, only overcome by the instincts of action and of command. Very early did the imperative instinct display itself. Clive was only seven when his uncle Bayley wrote:

"I hope I have made a little further Conquest over Bob, and that he regards me in some Degree as well as his Aunt Bay. He has just had a fine new suit of Cloths, and promises by this Reformation to deserve them. I am satisfyed that his fighting (to which he is out of measure addicted) gives his temper a fierceness and Imperiousness that he flies out upon every trifling occasion, for this Reason I do what I can to suppress the Heroic that I may help forward the more valuable Qualities of Meekness, Benevolence and Patience. I assure you Sr it is matter of Concern to us, as it is of Importance to himself that he may be a good and virtuous man to which no care of Ours shall be wanting."[2]

The heroic was never suppressed, and the quality of meekness never acquired, but the benevolent and affectionate nature shone forth through the dark clouds of contention and battle.

While still a mere child, Clive was sent to a private school kept by Dr. Eaton, of Lostock, in Cheshire, evidently a shrewd man, able to gauge character. He observed that in courage and sagacity Clive surpassed his fellows. "If," said he, "that lad should live to be a man, and an opportunity

[1] Powis MSS. [2] *Ibid.*

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be given for the exertion of his talents, few names will be greater than his." [1] From Lostock, Clive returned to Market Drayton, where he was placed under the Rev. Mr. Burslem, the master of the grammar school, who was "eminently skilled in the Latin tongue." How long Clive remained at the grammar school, and what proficiency he attained in study, we do not know, but many anecdotes have been related as to how he spent his playtime. He is said to have been the leader of a little band in all their mischievous tricks, now levying black-mail on anxious shopkeepers trembling for the security of their windows; now turning his body into a temporary dam across the street gutter to flood the shop of an offending tradesman.

The stories of Clive's wild youth must, however, be received with caution. The tale of his seating himself on a gargoyle of the parish church is the one which rests on the most credible traditional evidence. It has, however, been altered and embellished by successive writers. Clive's first biographer wrote:

"In that town there stands, on the edge of a high hill, an antient Gothic Church, from the lofty steeple of which, at the distance of a few feet from the top, there projects an old stone spout in the form of a dragon's head. On this head he once seated himself, to the great astonishment and terror of his schoolfellows." [2]

Sir John Malcolm relates the incident thus:

"One well-authenticated and extraordinary instance is recorded of his boldness as a boy. The church at Market Drayton, which stands on the side of a hill, has a lofty steeple, near the top of which is a stone spout of the form of a dragon's head. It was with no slight surprise and alarm, his companions, and some of the inhabitants, saw young Clive seated on this spout, and evincing by his manner an indifference, if not insensibility, to the danger of his situation."

Malcolm adds that

"several of the oldest inhabitants of Market Drayton not only confirm this fact, but add, on the testimony of their parents, that Clive

[1] A. Kippis: "Biographia Britannica" (2nd edit.), art. Clive, p. 645.

[2] "His object was to get a smooth stone which lay on the projecting stone spout, for the pleasure of jerking it." "The writer has heard this anecdote related by several of the inhabitants of Drayton."—"Biographia Britannica" (2nd edit.), art. Clive, p. 645.

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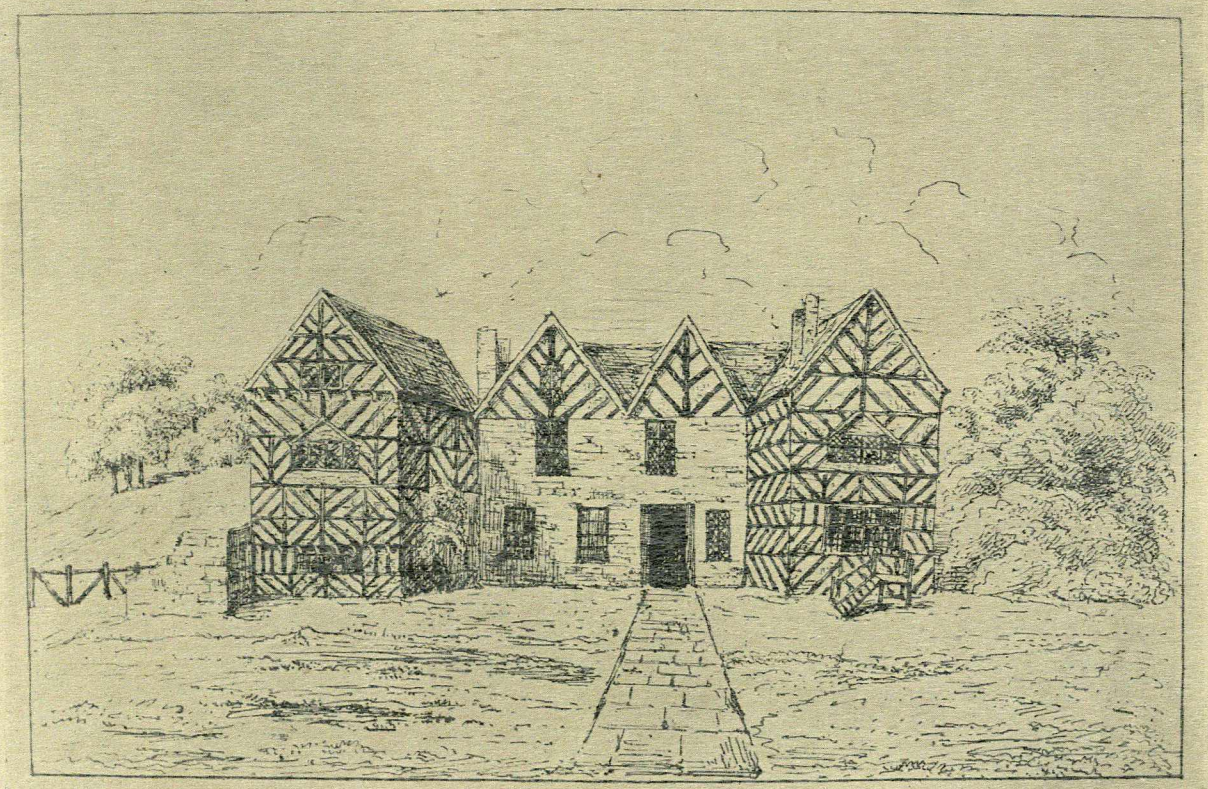

OLD STYCHE: THE BIRTHPLACE OF LORD CLIVE

(From a Drawing made before the year 1754)

was wont to levy from some of the shopkeepers contributions in pence and trifling articles, in compensation to himself, and the little band he led, for abstaining from breaking their windows . . ." [1]

Macaulay, in his essay on Clive, gives, however, an exaggerated impression of the boy's daring:

"The old people of the neighbourhood," he writes, "still remember to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit." [2]

But we have no reason for assuming that Clive did not ascend the steeple—or rather tower, for such it is—of Market Drayton by the stairs in the ordinary way. In any case, to sit astride the gargoyle was a daring feat for the lad to perform; but Clive, like Nelson, never saw fear.

From the grammar school at Market Drayton, Clive was sent, in 1737, to Merchant Taylors' in London,[3] and he was one of the first of the many illustrious men who, by the life and discipline of a public school, were prepared for the work of founding and governing an empire. In 1739 he was removed to a private school, kept by Mr. Sterling, at Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, in order, as we may reasonably conjecture, to be taught the science of book-keeping and the fine art of penmanship—accomplishments which the directors of a trading company considered of far greater importance than an acquaintance with the authors of Greece and Rome.[4]

Clive's father had always formed great hopes of the high destiny of his eldest son. At first he was desirous that the boy should follow his own profession. But the younger sons of squires had begun to come home with large fortunes made in a few years in India. To a boy of good understanding

[1] "Life of Robert, Lord Clive," Vol. I., p. 35 (1836).
[2] "Critical and Historical Essays," Vol. III., p. 112 (1843).
[3] "Robert Clive, born 29th September, 1725. . . . The usual date assigned to his birth is 24th February, 1726, but the Probation Lists give the above. . . . Left the school in 1739."—C. J. Robinson: "A Register of the Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylors' School from A.D. 1562 to 1874."
[4] Warren Hastings was removed from Westminster and placed for a time under the tuition of Mr. Smith, the teacher of writing and accounts at Christ's Hospital.—"Memoirs of Warren Hastings," by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, Vol. I., p. 13.

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and strong will it offered the best field of enterprise. A post in the service of the East India Company was sought, and we find the following entries in their Court Minutes :—

"At a Court of Directors holden on Wednesday the 15th December, 1742 * * *

"The Court proceeded to the Choice of Writers for Fort St. George, Bombay, and Bengal, and the following Persons being ballotted for were chosen accordingly, vizt.—

William Smith King Robert Clive Henry Cope John Walsh Samuel Bankes John William Speck John Andrews John Pybus	For Fort St. George

"And they being called in were acquainted therewith * * *

"At a Court of Directors holden on Wednesday the 5th January, 1742 [1743]—

"The following Securitys were approved of, vizt.—Richard Clive, of Copthall Court, Gentleman ;

"Mr. George Wapple, of Ladd Lane, Merchant ; for Robert Clive, Writer, for Fort St. George, in £500." [1]

The foundation of Fort St. George, the presidency to which Robert Clive was appointed, was due to the struggle between the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, as to who should enjoy the trade between India and the Spice Islands. In 1611, eleven years after Elizabeth had granted the first charter to "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," Captain Hippon was dispatched by the directors of the India Company in the ship *Globe* to open a trade with the Coromandel Coast. He was accompanied by two Dutch merchants, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunis.[2] The English and Dutch were both attracted to the eastern coast of Hindustan by the same object. They wished to purchase painted cloths, or Indian cotton goods, and take them to the Moluccas in exchange for spices to be sold in Europe. The *Globe* touched at Pulicat, where the Dutch had established a

[1] Court Minutes, Vol. LX., pp. 182, 202.

[2] The Journal of Peter Floris is in the India Office. Extracts from it were printed by Purchas.

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factory and built a fort. The Dutch governor refused to allow the English to trade. Hippon, therefore, left Pulicat and coasted up the Bay of Bengal till he reached Masulipatam, at the mouth of the Kistna, then the principal port of that part of India. At Masulipatam the English managed to establish a small agency, which was put under a chief, and a council was chosen from the merchants. Fifteen years later, in 1626, a factory was established and fortified at Armagon, a roadstead south of Masulipatam, and about forty miles north of Pulicat. It was the first fortification erected by the English in India. In the year 1628–9 Armagon is described as defended by twelve pieces of cannon mounted round the factory, and by a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The factory at Masulipatam was transferred in 1629 to this fortress owing to the oppression of the native governor. But Armagon was not a good entrepôt for the supply of cotton goods, and three years later the agency was again established at Masulipatam.

In 1639, Francis Day, one of the council at Masulipatam, was sent to examine the country in the vicinity of the station which the Portuguese, who were then friendly to us, had established at St. Thomé.[1] Day

"was Inordered to goe towards St. Thomay to see what payntings[2] those parts doth afford, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon."

In August of the same year, three years before the outbreak of the Civil War in England, Day, "haveinge Dispatcht what hee was sent about," returned to Masulipatam and told his colleagues what he had done.

"And, first, hee makes it appeare to us that at a place Called Madraspatam, neare St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or

[1] Alfred the Great sent an embassy, under Bishop Sighelm of Sherborne, to do honour to the tomb of a Holy Thomas. Gibbon hints that the envoys got no farther than Alexandria, the great centre-point of the East and West, where they collected their cargo and invented a legend. According to this legend of antiquity the Gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas. Recent research has shown that it was preached in the eighth century by Thomas Canam, an Armenian merchant, as Marco Polo was informed on the spot, at Meliapur (*Mayillapur*), the native name for St. Thomé.

[2] Paintings, painted cloths, i.e. chintz.

as good as anywhere on this Coast, likewise Exellant long Cloath, Morrees,[1] and percalla[2] (of which wee have seene Musters), and better Cheape by 20 per cent. then anywhere Else. The Nague[3] of that place is very Desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that Effect; for, first, hee proffers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a ship of any Burthen may Ride within Muskett shott, Close by a river which is Capeable of a Vessel of 50 Tonns; and, upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what Charges hee shall have disbursed."[4]

Day was "dispeeded" back to Madraspatam, and so important was the new acquisition considered that the agency at Masulipatam directed him to begin building "the Forte" without waiting for the orders of the Court from England.

The fort, as first erected, was but a small place, not a quarter of a mile long, only a hundred yards wide from east to west, and situated in the north-east corner of the present fort. Five years after its first erection its total cost had been only Rs. 23,000, and the highest estimate of a sufficient garrison was one hundred soldiers. In 1652, thirteen years after its foundation, it was considered safe with a garrison of twenty men. No great change was made in it for a century.

Clive sailed "from England towards Madrass" on board the *Winchester*, a vessel of about 500 tons, one of the Company's ships. This was only her third voyage. Gabriel Steward was commander and John Samson chief mate. The log kept by them[5] is among the "Marine Records" at the India Office, and the water-stained and almost illegible pages tell a story as exciting as any embodied in "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation," compiled by Richard Hakluyt. On March 10, 1743, the *Winchester* left the Thames, and on "Sunday, 20 March 1742/3 . . . . Lay too for the fleet and some Mercht. Ships to come out of Plymouth. In

[1] Morrees, murry (*muri*), purple-red cloth.
[2] Percalla (*parkala*), spangled cotton cloth.
[3] Naik, naique (*nayak*), a ruler, provincial governor.
[4] "The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras," by William Foster, p. 10.
[5] Log of the *Winchester*, Captain Gabriel Steward, succeeded by John Samson. To Madras, Calcutta and Tellicherry. Log begins 1 Dec., 1742, and ends 18 March, 1746.

Company with the *Stirling Castle* of 70 Guns, Capt. Clealand, the *Princess Louisa*, Capt. Pinson, and 26 Sail of small Merchantmen, unbent our Cables and Stowed our Anchors."

When the *Winchester* sailed, England and France had begun to contend against each other in the War of the Austrian Succession, and it was to protect them from French privateers that the fleet was convoyed by H.M.S. *Stirling Castle*. The two Indiamen were soon left to make their voyage to the Eastern seas. But they did not long pursue their way together.

On Monday, April 18, 1743, at 8 P.M., the *Princess Louisa* fired a gun as a signal to the *Winchester* to alter her course.

"We shortned Sail and went under an Easy Sail, Vizt. our topsails on the Caps, till ½ past 12 A.M., at which time we saw the land bearing S.W. upon which we wore Ship fired a Gun hung four lights up the Mizen Shrouds and fired false fires as a Proper Signal of Danger."

At 1 A.M., finding the *Princess Louisa* drew from them very fast,

"we Wore Ship and stood to the N.Wd. after her, at two Do. she fired two Gunns."

It was the last they heard.

"At 4 A.M. the body of the Isle of May[1] bore S.W. b S. distance about four Miles; at Break of day could not see the *Louisa*, upon which we Tack'd and stood to the Shoals again, soon after we saw her among the Rocks without ever a Mast Standing and the Sea making a free Passage over her."

They stood as near her as they thought they could do with safety, tacked and lay to. The pinnace and yawl were hoisted out, and the captain sent them, "to go to Endeavour to save the men if Possible."

"I went within hail of them, but found the Sea Run so high & Break that we could not venture any further, they waved their Hatts and Call'd to us but we could not distinguish what they said. We went on board our own Ship again, took two Coyles of small Rope and a Grapnail . . . so as to take some of the men out, but when we Came there her upper works was all wash'd away, nothing to be seen but the Bowsprit, some of her Top Timbers, and not a man to be seen, then we went on board, hoisted our Pinnance in, and

[1] One of the Cape Verd Islands.

made Sail, there being no possibility of saving anything. And am Affraid there is not a man alive of them to tell their Tale."

Some, however, lived to tell the tale, though the ocean swallowed seventy. After spending three days at Santiago (another of the Cape Verd Islands), the *Winchester* sailed from "St. Jago towards Madrass." It was the constant practice of vessels bound for the Indies to use the North-East trade wind to carry them right across the Southern Atlantic until they could pick up the South-East trade wind which would take them round the Cape. The North-East trade blew merrily, and the *Winchester* sailed across the Southern Atlantic for Brazil. For twenty-four days all went well with them. Then, "Tuesday May 17th 1743. Between 3 and 4 o Clock A.M. to our great surprize found the Ship to Strike. When notwithstanding all our Endeavours she was so fast a Ground that she would neither veer nor stay." At daylight they saw "severall small Vessels in Shore at an Anchor, and a place which seemed to be a large Town to the S.W. of us. We hoisted our Collours, when there came on board a small boat and several Catamarans with some Portuguize who informed us the Governour livd at a place call'd Pernambuco." About 9 A.M. there came to them "the most experianced Pylot of the coast." Acting on his orders they landed all their sails and all the "Treasure" belonging to "the Honble. Company." "Made a tent upon the Sand in which the Treasure was putt, and guarded by a Company of Soldiers. Struck Yards and Topmast." A week passed before the lightened ship was got into 6 fathoms of water, where they moored. The pilot informed them that they must lie where they were until the month of September or October before they could get the ship up to Pernambuco "on account of the bad weather they generally have between this and that time." In June the wild gales compelled them to "go back," and they "hired some Portuguize and set them to work to build a house to put our Masts, Yards, Rigging, &c. out of the weather." The battered ship had to be repaired from stem to stern, and the crew found it hard, monotonous work in the damp heat.

At length, on September 22, 1743, "the Pylott came on board to Carry us into the Harbour." There was still much to do, and two months passed before they "began to heave the ship down: in about 2 hours had her keel out, find she makes but little Water, so as to keep her free with one Pump, if she continues so till to-morrow morning the Carpenters will begin on her bottom." The work now progressed fairly rapidly, and on Saturday, February 11, 1744, the *Winchester* weighed anchor, and "saluted the Fort with 9 Gunns which number they returned. Stood to the No. Ward." During the nine months he was detained at Pernambuco Clive acquired a knowledge of Portuguese, which was afterwards of service to him. After leaving the Brazils a storm fell upon them, and they had to put in "att Cape Bona Esprance," and "found riding here His Majesties Ship the *Centurion* of 60 Gunns, Commadore Anson, the *Warwick*, Captain Mizner, and the *Salisbury*, Captain Burrows, all for England, and Eleven Sail of Dutch Indiamen." Eleven days later they again weighed (7th April 1744) and sailed north-eastward, till on

"*Friday* 1 *June* 1744. Att 7 P.M. came too in Madrass Road with the B Bower in 10 fathoms Water & ¼. Found Riding here, the *Montague*, Captain Freeman; the *Prince of Wales*, Captain Pelley; and the *Winchelsea*, Captain Baron. At Sun Rise Saluted the Fort with 9 Gunns, and the Governour with 21. Was Saluted by the *Montague* and *Winchelsea* with 7 Gunns each, for which we returned 13."

The landing of Clive at Fort St. George as a writer, at the age of 17, marks the first point of a career which was to shape the destiny of the whole continent. There was little brightness in the dawn at Fort St. George to awaken hope. He was in an alien land, without money or friends, and sick for home. Frequent correspondence between the exile and the loved ones whom he had left at home did not in those days mitigate cruel separation. Clive landed on the southern coast of India at the time when the monsoon or season of south-west storm was approaching, and only a few coasting ships anchored in the open roadstead some miles off the dangerous coast. The homeward bound East Indiamen had sailed, and

it was not till September, when the monsoon began to lose its force, that he had an opportunity of sending his first letter[1] announcing his arrival. It was written to his father in the stiff old style:—

Hon^D S^R—It is with no small Satisfaction that I can inform you of my safe Arrival at Fort St. George, after the long and Dangerous Passage, and the many Inconveniencies which by that means we have met with. I can also acquaint you of my enjoying a perfect State of Health ever since my Departure from England, which I think is something remarkable, considering the different Change of Climates, and so many Misfortunes which generally from thence ensue, especially as I have been accustomed to live in one of the most moderate Climates in the World. I shall now make it my Duty to inform you in what Manner I have acted with respect to my Expences, which indeed are very considerable, tho I used all the Prudence and Frugality I was then Master off; I must confess at my first setting out from England was a little Careless and lost several of my Things on the Coast of Brasil, tho I can assure you I am not the only Person by many who have met with the like Misfortune, it being impossible to avoid it considering the fright and Confusion we were all in at the Ships first running on Shore. I hope you'll be so candid as to excuse me and impute it to want of Experience rather than any careless Extravagant habit in my Nature; since I can assure you I have so much instructed myself in the Way of the World, as easily to foresee the bad Consequences that must attend such misdemeanours, and am willing to undergo your Displeasure If ever I am guilty of the like Folly: We lay at the Brasils upwards of nine Months, during which time I receivd of Captain Stewart, Necesarys to the Value of ten Pounds, £10 and about forty 40 Shillings in Money, the p^r Centage being charged makes it more, of which I gave you an Account at the Cape of Good Hope; I found my own Brakefast almost all the time since our first Arrival on that Coast, and what with the Expence of Washing, and lining for my Cloaths, I persuade myself you wont think I have been Extravagant. Upon my Arrival at this Place I immediately waited on the Governour and had the Honour to dine with him also deliver'd him my Letters of Recommendation, but when I enquir'd after Mr. Benyon, was inform'd he had embark'd from this Place towards England about 4 Months ago, upon which I advis'd with the Captain, also made bold to open the Letter directed to Mr. Benyon,

[1] Malcolm gives a brief summary of this letter in his "Memoirs of Lord Clive." He writes, p. 40: "The whole of the last part of this letter being lost, we are left in the dark as to its date, and such other particulars as he may have communicated." A complete copy of the letter, written by Clive himself, was, however, discovered by me among the Powis MSS., in an old packet of bills dated 1752 and 1753.

where I found a Letter of yours inclos'd with Orders for him to receive the Bag of Dollars, upon which Account I waited on Governour Morse, and enquir'd if he had receiv'd any Letters relaiting to the Money, which I thought not improbable, as Mr. Benyon was gone home, and our Passage had been so much prolong'd, but finding myself mistaken, I receiv'd the Money of Captain Stewart, and have given him a Receipt for the same. Some of the Factors and Writers were so good as to inform me of the Customs and Manners of the Place, and with their Advice, I sold the Silver for one hundred thirty seven Pagodas thirteen Fanams sixty Cash Pag^{s} 137 : F 13 : C 60 which in Stirling Money is valued at about fifty four Pounds Sixteen Shillings and Sixpence £ 54 : s 16 : d 6. You must needs think that so long a Passage has made me very bare of all Wearing Apparrel, as for the Cloaths brought out of England, I have none that are of any Service to me except my double Alepine[1] Coat, my laced Wastecoat is long enough, but cannot button it, so have taken the Lace of, and put it on a Wastecoat made of this Country Silk; and in respect to Linnen was so greatly reduc'd, that I have been oblig'd to get Shirts and Stockings of some of the Gentlemen on board, and thought myself very lucky in being provided, else shou^{d} have been oblig'd to go naked, and have paid them at my Arrival on this Place, eight Pagodas, thirty two Fanams, P 8 : F 32 w^{ch} is about three Pounds ten Shillings £ 3 : s 10 Stirling Money: When I had computed the Expence that it wou'd stand me in providing Furniture for my Rooms, Linnen and other wearing Apparel, I found it woud amount to the full if not more, than the Sum you sent out with me, so found it impossible to avoid taking some things of Captain Stewart, and he has not only charg'd me a very extroardinary Price upon them, but also fifty p^{r} Cent on the Money, so that what with the Percentage, and what with the Advantage gain'd on the Goods, it amounts to thirty Pounds one Shilling and Sixpence £ 30 : s 1 : d 6. I think he has acted a very ungenerous Part in charging me such extraordinary Prizes, as I am persuaded no other Cap^{t} but himself wou'd have been so unreasonable, and I realy believe had these things been bought in England at prime Cost, without the percentage, both this Bill, and that drawn at the Cape, woud not am^{t} to above fifteen Pounds, £ 15. But when I had consider'd that I had not yet heard from you, and that it was very probable I shou'd not till next Year at the furthest, as all the Ships bound to this Place are arriv'd excepting two, as we are inform'd there is a french War, and an Invasion intended, it is every Persons Opinion that there is an Embargo laid on these two Ships, especially as they are not yet Arrivd, so that before I can have the Pleasure of hearing from you, it will be almost

[1] Alepine, a material made of wool and silk, or of mohair and cotton.

three Years, from my departure from England: so thought it the most prudent and safe Way to do as before mention'd, tho upon such disadvantageous terms, rather than any Way. detriment myself, by running in Dept, which wou'd not only be a means of incurring the Companys Displeasure, but very likely of being turn'd out of their Service, there being many Instances of the like Nature w^ch^ have happen'd to several Gentlemen in this Place by such imprudent Practizes; Mr. Stratton fourth of Council is at this present time suspended, only upon the bare Report of a Man wh^o^ did it with a Design to ruin him: The Company have given strict Orders to enquire, whether we are Persons to whose Conduct they may entrust their Affairs, and have impower'd them, either to degrade, or turn out, such Persons as dont behave consistent with their Promises; and indeed most of them seem to be a set of very prudent and Industrious People, some few excepted: I think myself not only very happy, but infinitely oblig'd to you for my Education, and as it has render'd me in a fair Way of improving my Talent, I flatter myself with y^e^ Hopes of enlarging tenfold: I have sent you an Account of the things I receivd of Captain Stewart; You may very reasonably conjecture that I have been very negligent with Respect to my Buckles, as Mr. Vere was so kind as to make me a Present of a set of Silver ones, which I had the Misfortune to loose by a very unforseen Accident, which had nigh cost me my Life, having tumbl'd overboard, whilst I was standing on the Poop of the Ship as she was laying at an Anchor on the Coast of Brasil, and shoud certainly have been drowned, there being a very great Sea and much Wind, if the Cap^t^ had not Accidentally met with a Bucket and a Rope tied unto it, which he threw out of the Balcony to me, I having the good fortune to lay hold of it; I then lost my Shoes off my Feet, and with them my Silver Buckles, also a Hat and Wigg. With respect to my Wiggs two of them are too little, which I have not as yet dispos'd of, one I wore out on the Coast of Brasil, and having but one left, thought it necessary to take one of the Cap^t^. I hope you'll be so kind as not to take Exception at the Wine, as there are no other Sort of Drinkables here but that, and Punch, and as I always shall drink it with Water, intend to make it serve me a whole Year. As for the Glasses Knifes Pewter Spoons &c^t^ I tooke them for the Reasons above mention'd, which I persuade myself You'll think was absolutely necessary; I also took ten Yards of Camlet to make me a Shewt of Cloaths, as I had none left but my Allepine Coat and one Duroy[1] D^o^ I have sent you inclos'd a List of things which I bought upon my Arrival at this Place, and I fancy you'll be surpris'd at the Quantity of Linnen &c^t^ mention'd in the Bill, there being a greater Stock than is needful in England, for in this Place there are none but what put clean Linnen on every Day, and indeed the greatest Part shift twice, upon Account of the intollerable Heat, which sweats them to that Degree, that

[1] A coarse woollen fabric.

they are just as if they had been dipt in a River, with all their Cloaths on, and upon that Account they generally wear such things as can be wash'd again, besides the Washmen live three or four Miles in the Country, and bring the Linnen but once a Month, they make no use of soap here, but beat the Shirts till they are clean against a Stone, so that in eight or ten times washing they are all in rags. As for Furniture I flatter myself you wont think I have acted with any Extravangancy, as the Companys Rooms allow'd us are entirely bear of all Manner of Such sort of things, and it was as much as even I cou'd do to get them clean'd out and Whitewash'd at the Companys Expence, being oblig'd to live at a publick House upon that Account for seven Days, which stood me in half a Pagoda a Day only the bear Victuals being Allow'd but one Boul of Punch, and one Bottle of Wine, let there be ever so many. The Companys Allowance is eight Pagodas twenty three Fanams p^{r} Month, out of which y^{e} Money paid for Servants Wages, Washing, Candles, and many other Necessarys belonging to Housekeeping, together with the Dearness and Scarcity of Provisions, makes it as much as ever we can do to live upon that Allowance ; I have sent you a short Account of the Money deducted for Servants Wages and other Particulars ; As I have nothing more to add on this Subject, I shall only make it my Request that in what I have acted amiss, You'll be so good as to excuse, as it is upon such an Extroardinary Occasion & which I hope will never happen again. If you shou'd think it Adviseable to advance me some Money, I cou'd not only make considerable Advantages by it, by saving wherewithall out of the Interest to d[illegible]ray Expences in Cloathing and other Necessarys, but cou'd also i[illegible]ease the Principal very considerably, I can Assure you we have equaly the same Priviledges when Writers, as Factors, and I dont doubt but you'll take it into your Consideration ; Money is let out here at Respondentia from 16 to 32 p^{r} Cent, besides many other Advantages by Private Trade &c^{t} and if you shoud think proper to favour my request, by entrusting it eighter into the Hands of some of the Gentlemen of this Place, or any other Way which you shall judge most convenient, I shall think myself infinitely in Duty bound to you, and shall thankfully acknowledge the Favour. I have sent you an exact Account of all the Companys Covenanted Servants as they are station'd. I shall always make it my Duty to behave worthy & deserving of your Confidence, and Esteem, and am willing to give up all Pretensions to your Favour in case I dont behave with that Sobriety and Diligence which is expected. As a Recommendation to some of the Gentlemen in this Place woud be a means of being better acquainted, and more fully instructed of the Customs and Advantages of this Country, I shoud be very glad If you cou'd get me recommended to some of them for that Purpose : When I was in England I remember you entertain'd Hopes, of removing me to Bengal, which wou'd be much more Advantageous to me, as it wou'd not only reduce my Expences, as all Manner of

Provisions are much cheaper, but also allows greater Liberty of Merchandizing, & trade is in a much more flourishing Condition, than at Fort St. George, there being three times the Number of Ships always in constant Employ, and any of the Company Servants may trade as largely as they please, therefore make it my Request you'll make all the Interest you can to remove me, there has been two Writers remov'd there very lately, so flatter myself w^th^ the Hopes of Succeeding. I can acquaint you of the Agreable News of my time being Accounted for Since the Arrival of the first Writers, in the Year 1743, and as I have thoroughly instructed myself in the Portugeese Language, it will something alleviate my unfortunate Stay at the Brasils. as we have Dayly several Instances of Persons being made Factors, whereof we hear two are coming out this Year, I don't doubt but you'll make use of all possible means for my Advancement. The World seems to be vastly debas'd of late, and Interest carries it entirely before Merit, especially in this Service, tho I shoud think myself very undeserving of any Favour, were I only to build my Foundation on the Strength of the former: I have been contriving a Scheme concerning my Cousin Bobby, but whether it may take Effect, or whether my Uncle may care to entrust him in these Parts, I am entirely at a Loss to know. The Company keep two Clergymen at this Presidency at one hundred Pounds p^r^ Annum each £100, besides twelve Pagodas p^r^ Month, which is about fifty Seven Pounds twelve Shill^s^ £57 : 12^s^ more, together with other Perquisites, now as their is a Vacancy of one of them if you coud get him chose for this Place, I cant foresee any better Provision that can be made for him in England, they have equally the same Priviledge of trading, as the Companys Covenanted Servants, and indeed if we had nothing more to depend on but their Allowance, it woud be to very little purpose for us to spend our time here, of which Truth I believe you may be very easily convinc'd, when you peruse the List I have sent you. I beg leave to recommend Mr. Simson to your Favour, he having behav'd with a great deal of Conduct and Prudence, and seems to be thoroughly reform'd of all past Misdemeaners, being well persuaded of the bad Consequences that attend a Debauch'd and extravagant Life; He's a Man of exceeding good Sense, & I think it a great Pity that persons endow'd with such Qualifications, shou'd make so bad a use of them: I believe Cap^t^ Stewart will give you such an Account of him, as you may venture to employ him in any Affair of Confidence and Trust, & if you cou'd make interest to get him out Purser, with your Assistance we cou'd drive on a very considerable Traffick: for my part I shall let no Opportunity slip of improving myself in everything where I can have the least View of Proffit: I can Assure you my stay in this Place is in every respect pleasant, & satisfactory to me, as it is back'd with the Hopes, (if it please God to preserve my Life) of being able to provide for myself, & also of being of Service to my Relations, and shou'd at this time

as much as lies in my Power, be glad of serving You in this Part of the World, if my Mother, Sisters, or any of the Family, shou'd want any Silks, Stuffs, Tea, Callicoes, or any other Productions which the Country Affords, upon Notice given I will be sure to provide and send them by the first Opportunity. I shou'd be glad if you wou'd send me some Europe Stuffs for Cloaths with their Trimmings, also some Wigs, Shoes, and Hats, and I shall thankfully acknowledge the Favour. Camblets, Barragons,[1] and Duroys tu[rn] to a very good account in the Place, especially those of a Gaudy Colour; My not hearing from you makes me very uneasy, and were it not for some little Hopes that these two latter Ships which are expected, have pass't this Place, and gone to Bengal, my time wou'd be very burthensome to me, as there is a great Part of the Year in which we have no Employment, and having no manner of Acquaintance, but with my Brother Writers, I find it of great disadvantage to me, however shall endeavour to employ my Time in reading, and all other Diversions, which may be of Service to me, & if you'll indulge me so far as to send me out some Books for that Purpose, I shall be very much oblig'd to you, a little News wou'd be also very agreable to me. I beg the Favour of you when you write me, that you'll be so good as to send the Letters, to the India House to be put in the Packet, transcrib'd at the Bottom p[r] first Ship, as they very often neglect the first opportunity unless reminded by such Memorials: I wou'd Advise not to entrust any of them on Board, as the Gentlemen very often either through Carelessness loose them, or else by neglect forget to deliver them; If you shoud think proper to send me out any Money, wou'd advise you to send it to the India House, and there by paying into the Company's Cash I or any other into whose Hands you please to entrust it, may receive the Value of it either in Pagodas, or Rupees, the currant Coin of this Place, or else by paying two & and half p[r] Cent, you may send it in any Species you please, of which that you sent out with me is the best being old Pillar [dollars]; This latter Method is the most generally made use of because it is the most advantageous, the former (or first) being us'd by Persons who pay their Money in this Place, receive the Value of it in England; I shall send Duplicate of this Letter, lest by any Misfortune the Original shoud miscarry together with all Occurrences that in the Interim may happen in the Postscript. I beg leave to remember my Duty to my Mother, Love to my Sisters, & Service to all distant relatives and [Friends . . . and Mr. Bayley . . . ?] of whom I shall always retain a thorough Sense of Gratitude for the many Favours I stand indepted to him for, and so conclude heartily wishing You, my Mother, all Relations & Friends length of Days, Prosperity, and Success in all your, and their Undertakings, and am in the meantime studious to be thought

Your most Ob[t] & Dutiful Son

FORT ST. GEORGE
10*th September* 1744.

ROB[T] CLIVE.

[1] Coarse camlets.

P.S.—I have just now receiv'd the News of Captain Stewarts Death, by the *Mercury*, who died at Bengal three days after his Arrival in that Place and was always a very noted Man for a strong Constitution but had the Misfortune to get a Fever which in these hot Countries are sure either to recover or die in three or four days.

The next letter,[1] full of warm feeling, was written to his uncle.

DEAR UNCLE,—The concern that it gives me to think that I have neglected so necessary a Branch of my Duty, in not writing to you before, has stamped on my mind no small impression, and should esteem myself very happy, if a sincere and hearty acknowledgement of my fault might be accepted of: I do assure you it did not proceed from any Slight or Contempt, but rather from a Lightness and Instability of Mind, which naturally attends all School Boys, who have not the least thought of time past, or to come, and as I am well persuaded, no one understands the Frailties and Imperfections of Youth better than yourself. I flatter myself you'll be so candid as to impute it to that cause: I shall always retain a due sense of Gratitude for the Many Obligations & Favours you have laid me under, & the pleasant and delightfull days I have spent with my kind Relations and Friends in Lancashire, refreshes & entertains my mind, with very Agreeable Ideas. I must confess at Intervals when I think of my dear Native England, it affects me in a very particular manner, however knowing it to be for my own Welfare, rest content and patient, wishing the views for which my Father sent me here, may in all Respects be fully accomplished. If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own Country, but more especially Manchester (the centre of all my Wishes), all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view.

If you'll favour me with a Letter, I shall thankfully acknowledge the same. I desire to remember my Respects to Mrs. Bailey & service to all Friends, wishing you and them length of Days, prosperity and success in all your and their Undertakings, and am in the mean time studious to be thought Dear Uncle

Your Dutiful Nephew,

ROBT CLIVE.

FORT ST. GEORGE.
10*th December*, 1744.

[1] An extract from this letter is given by Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

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CHAPTER II

1744–6: CAPTURE OF MADRAS BY THE FRENCH

MADRAS proved, as Day had prophesied, "as good as the best." A large number of natives sought protection of the English, and thus a prosperous settlement arose outside the English bounds, which part was styled "the Black Town"; the original settlement, where none but Europeans were allowed to reside, being known as "the White Town." When Clive landed at Madras in 1744, the town had, owing to the trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, "to the great returnes it makes in callicoes and muslins," to its considerable trade with China, Persia and Mocha, and to its "not being a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda," risen "to a degree of opulence and reputation which rendered it inferior to none of the European establishments in India excepting Goa and Batavia."[1] There were 250,000 inhabitants in the Company's territory, of which the greater part were natives of India of various castes and religions. The English in the colony, however, did not exceed the number of 300 men, and 200 of these were soldiers who composed the garrison, "but none of them, excepting two or three of their officers, had ever seen any other service than that of the parade." Fort St. George "was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries," but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them. The principal buildings inside were fifty good houses in which the chief Europeans resided, an English and a Roman Catholic church, the warehouse of the Company, and the factory in which their servants lived.

[1] R. Orme: "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan," ed. 1763, Vol. I., p. 66.

The servants of the Company at Madras were divided into four classes—Senior Merchants, Junior Merchants, Factors and Writers. The ten writers were the clerks and book-keepers, and their wages were small. In September, 1744, Robert Clive, an entry in the diary states, drew his first quarter's pay, £1 5s., a writer's salary being £5 per annum. The five factors, who had annual salaries of £15, received and dispatched the commodities. The senior and two junior merchants, who had £40 and £30 a year, dealt with the native merchants, who bought their broadcloths, kersies, lead, vermilion, sword-blades and looking-glasses, whilst they purchased silks, muslins, coloured calicoes, indigo, and drugs brought from the inland. The senior merchants, having been writers for five years, factors for three, and junior merchants for three, were qualified to be members of Council, with the chance of being governor. The governor had the modest salary of £200 a year with a gratuity of £100; of the six councillors the chief had £100 a year; the others in proportion, £70, £50 and £40 a year. Two chaplains on £100 a year, a surgeon £36, two "essay masters" £120, one judge £100, and the attorney-general fifty pagodas[1] completed the civil European establishment. Married men received from five to ten pagodas a month as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing and oil for lamps.

The governor and Council superintended the civil departments, had chief control of the military and maintained order. They managed the relations with native powers and they conducted the correspondence home. On Wednesday and Thursday they met in the spacious Council Chamber at eight in the morning, and the secretary entered, in the book kept for the purpose, their consultations, together with all other occurrences and observations after the manner of

[1] Pagoda—a southern Indian coin, and the standard coin of Madras up to 1818. In one of Clive's accounts, dated Dec. 11, 1752, we find the pagoda reckoned as 4 Rs.

a diary. A duplicate copy was afterwards sent home to the directors.

In these old silent "Consultation Books" preserved at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta lies buried the history of the rise of British dominion in India. From the old records and the early travellers we gain some knowledge of the daily life in the factory at Madras. At dawn the morning gun fired, and first all the writers and factors attended service in the church; for every Protestant that lodged "within the house" who was absent from public prayer morning and evening on week days, "without lawful excuse," had "to pay twelve pence for the poore or be confined one whole weeke within the house for every such default." After prayers, business was transacted with the natives, the sales of European and the purchase of Oriental goods registered, bales packed, and the accounts audited. At twelve the "Inferior Servants" had their dinner in the Refection Room. Business was again transacted from four, when the great heat of the day had passed, till the sun began to set.

"On certain afternoons in the week the younger men were taught some one or other of the languages of the country, being stimulated thereunto by the promise of large rewards for proficiency—twenty pounds being given for the knowledge of an Indian language, and ten pounds for a knowledge of Persian." [1]

Clive never became, like Warren Hastings, a proficient Persian scholar, but he had a good colloquial knowledge of the vernacular languages which enabled him to acquire that intimate knowledge of the politics and character of the natives, without which the career of an Indian soldier or administrator can never be really successful. Clive declared in after years that much of his success in securing the fidelity of the sepoys was owing to his care "to entwine his laurels round the opinions and prejudices of the natives."

Towards evening, when the sea breeze made it comparatively cool and pleasant, the inmates of the fort went abroad and watched the country boats ride over the tumbling

[1] J. Talboys-Wheeler: "Madras in the Olden Time," Vol. I., p. 49.

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surf and looked across the sea to catch the first glimpse of the vessel which brought news from home. The tolling of the church bell for another service brought them back to the fort. Evening prayers over, there was supper in the Refection Room. So one day telleth another. Their pleasures were few. They killed their leisure time in the tavern, drinking and playing at cards. Clive's dreary leisure in Fort St. George however was not idle. He read the books in the governor's library and his early classical training went with him. It is stated that he "became so good a Latin scholar that a particular friend of his remembers to have heard him in 1753 translate an Ode of Horace into very proper English extempore." Impatience of control also went with him. A companion at the time describes the lad as "short, inclined to be corpulent, awkward and unmannerly, his aspect was gloomy, his temper morose and untractable." There is some exaggeration doubtless in this, but it is also certain there is some truth in it. No man had a frame so little like an ideal hero. Another contemporary tells us: "His person was the largest of the middle size, his countenance inclined to sadness, and the heaviness of his brow imparted an unpleasing expression to his features."

Some months passed before Clive saw on the horizon the long-expected ships from Europe, and in the fervour of his youth he tells his father of his great joy and heart-breaking disappointment.[1]

HON[D] SIR,—When I wrote my Last to You I was impatiently waiting the long expected Ships from Europe, and on the 11th December arrived here under Convoy of two Men of War, five of the Company's Ships, Viz. The Scarborough, Royal George, Lincoln, Kent, and Admiral Vernon. I had for a long time kept up hope with the pleasing Pleasure of what was to come, and I do declare never in my Life, did I enjoy such real Happiness, as upon Sight of the five abovementioned Ships, not all the Riches of the Indies, could have satisfied my desires more fully than News from my Native Country, but it seems Fortune had elevated me to this high Summit of expectation, that I might in a greater degree experience so heavy a disappointment, in short I was the only sorrowful Person in Madrass, but as I cannot

[1] Powis MSS.

think You have forgot me, so shall I with Patience wait the Arrival of the London and Princess Mary, by one or both of whom, I don't in the least doubt of being honoured with your Favour: The London we hear lost her Main Mast 70 Leagues to the Westward of the Cape, so that it is conjectured she must either be at the Brasils, or Madagascar; the Princess Mary as Yet we have heard nothing of, and if not at Batavia is concluded either lost or taken, so that in case of their Arrival here, it is not at all unlikely, but before that time I may be favoured with Letters from You, of this Years date. I take the Liberty to say that as things have fallen out so unluckily, the Assistance I received from Captain Stewart was very serviceable to me, without which I must have been driven to the Necessity of borrowing Money here, and am even as it is almost reduced to my last Shift. I assure You I have managed my Expences with the greatest Frugality, and shall always endeavour to act so as to merit your Approbation. I beg leave to renew my request for some shoes, Hats, and Wiggs, and in regard to other Matters, what over you shall deem necessary or for my Advantage, shall be acknowledged by me as a particular Favour. I promised in my Letter by the Benjamin, to send Duplicate of it by Dolphin, but was disappointed by a violent Feaver, so bad, that it was undetermined for some time, whether Death or Life would be my Lot, however by the strength of my constitution, I got the better of my disease, and am now perfectly well recover'd; from the latter end of May to the Beginning of November, have died here, no less than twelve Persons, most of them Young Men, which has reduced our Number (which did not then exceed fifty at the furthest) very Considerably, and the Major Part of the rest have been visited with very severe Feavers. These Intemperate Climates demand a particular Care in the Preservation of our Constitutions, and as I have very little fault to find with myself upon that Subject, hope I shall still continue it as my Opinion, that Health is the greatest Blessing I can enjoy, at least I am sure it is by that means only, that I can revisit again my Relations and Friends in England. A great many of our Inhabitants are removed to Bengal, and more intend it, and I am persuaded it would conduce greatly to my Advantage, could I thro' your means procure Interest, to be removed likewise, I beg leave to recommend it in a particular manner to your Consideration. This Duplicate will wait on you by the Admiral Vernon as mentioned &c^{t}

I am

Your most dutiful & Obed^{t} Son

ROBERT CLIVE.

FORT S^{T} GEORGE

31*st January* 1745–6

P.S.—I desire to remember Duty to my Mother and Service to all Friends. I must beg you'll dispence with my not writing the Duplicates Better as upon the dispatch of these Ships, I have scarce an Hour that I can call my own.

Clive landed at the hottest season of the year and the climate affected his melancholic temperament. The gloom found expression in a letter which he wrote to one of his cousins:[1]

DEAR COUSIN,—The want of a proper conveyance is the only Plea I can offer for not addressing you sooner, it is a long time since I enjoyed the Pleasure of your Company and Conversation, and as both Parties have been equally culpable, I beg that from henceforth the strictest amity may subsist between us: the Bond of Friendship, especially when united by the Ties of Blood aught not to be dissolved on any consideration whatever, and I believe you'll agree with me, that the only effectual Means to preserve it entire, must be by Letters, since the vast Ocean which divides us so far asunder won't admit of it by Word of Mouth, and which I heartily wish may turn out to the mutual Satisfaction of both of us. If there is any such thing which may properly be called Happiness here below, I am persuaded it is in the Union of two Friends who each love each other without the least Guile or Deceit, who are united by a real Inclination, and satisfied with each others merits. Their Hearts are full, and leave no Vacancy for any other Passion, they enjoy perpetual tranquillity, because they enjoy content, for my part I can't ascribe my Neglect to any other cause than the Frailties and Imperfections of Youth, who at those years postpone the greatest advantage to their own private pleasures. I shan't persist in excusing my Error, since it is so evident, and will admit of but a very bad Construction when drest in its finest colours, yet give me leave to justify myself, so far as to assure you it did not proceed from the least slight, or Contempt of your Person.

I should take a particular Delight in giving you a short Description of the Country, was I not assured that you may quote many Historians, who can afford you much more accurate account than can be expected from me, whose Habitation here hath been of so short a date. I shall only add, that the Intemperance of the Climate together with the excessive heat of the Sun, are very obnoxious to our Health, and I really think the advantages which accrue to us here are greatly overballanced by the Sacrifices we make of our Constitutions; I have not been unacquainted with the Fickleness of Fortune, and may safely say I have not enjoyed one happy day since I left my Native Country; I am not acquainted with any one Family in the Place, and have not Assurance enough to introduce myself without being asked. If the state I am now in will admit of any Happiness it must be when I am writing to my Friends. Letters were surely first invented for the Comfort of such solitary Wretches as myself. Having lost the substantial pleasure of seeing them, I shall in some measure compensate this Loss by the satisfaction I

[1] Powis MSS.

shall find in their Writings ; When you write me, I beg it may be carelessly and without study, for I had much rather read the Dictates of the Heart than those of the Understanding. The Paquet is just now going to be closed, which hastens me to a Conclusion sooner than I designed ; I desire you to tender my Duty to my Uncle and Aunt. Love to my Cousins, and service to all Friends, and it will greatly add to the Obligations of him who esteems it his greatest Happiness to be thought

Your Kind & loving Cousin
Rob[t] Clive.

Fort S[t] George
16 *February* 1744/5

The time of monotonous toil and isolation was nearly out ; war and glory were at hand.

On September 24, 1744, "at a Consultation, Present Nicholas Morse, Esqr., Governour President,"

It was "Agreed to dispatch a Pattamar[1] this evening to Bombay, to advise of the war with France lest any accident should have befallen the *King William*." It was further agreed, "The war with France being broke out, and it being therefore highly proper to have our garrison in the best order we can, and as it happened that for some months past there have not been less than forty to fifty of the Military on the Sick Roll, which, with the servants hitherto allowed the officers, Reduces considerably the number of Mounting Men, it is agreed that in lieu of servants each Lieutenant have Five (5) Pagodas[2] per month, and Each Ensign four (4), and that this be continued to them only so long as the Board shall think it necessary." [3]

This is the first mention in the records of that long combat which was to determine the issue whether France or England should win an empire in Asia.

On August 27, 1664, twenty-five years after Francis Day had obtained permission to form the settlement of Madras, Louis XIV., induced by Colbert, issued an edict founding the French East India Company.[4] The French, setting to work with considerable zeal, established factories at Surat and other places on the Malabar coast. In 1672 they took from the

[1] Pattamar (*pathmar*), a foot-runner, messenger.
[2] *See* note, p. 20.
[3] The Consultations and Diary Book of the President and Governour, &c., Council of Fort St. George, pp. 293, 294.
[4] "*L'Inde française avant Dupleix*," par H. Castonnet des Fosses (1887), pp. 48-9.

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Dutch, with whom they were at war, the splendid harbour of Trincomalee; but the Dutch soon retook it. The French then passed over to the Coromandel Coast and obtained possession of St. Thomé; two years later they were compelled to restore it also to the Dutch. The fortune of the French East India Company, now at its lowest ebb, was revived by the far sight, courage and administrative capacity of François Martin, whose name shines with a fair and honest lustre in an age of intrigue and corruption.

Martin had lent the governor of Gingee, the great mountain fortress sixty miles from Pondicherry, money he could not repay, and in return received a village[1] near the coast, and permission to fortify a strip of land by the sea. Here, in 1676, Martin brought sixty Frenchmen, all that remained of the factories at Ceylon and St. Thomé. The fortification that Martin erected could not have been of any great extent, seeing that it cost only the modest sum of seven hundred crowns. Beneath the shelter of the slender walls he, however, proceeded to lay out streets and to build houses for the native weavers, whom he wished to attract to his new settlement. The aim of his policy was to gather at Pondicherry a thrifty, loyal population, and he was wise enough to see that the best way of doing this was by respecting the manners, customs and religion of the people, and so winning their love and confidence. His policy proved eminently successful. However, just as Martin's little colony began to rise and flourish, a grave danger menaced it. The Mahratta chief Shivaji seized Gingee and threatened an attack on the new settlement. But Martin pacified the great freebooter by a present of 500 pagodas, and obtained from him a grant for the French to reside at Pondicherry in perpetuity, on condition that they did not interfere in the wars of the neighbouring states. Shivaji, however, insisted that the French should pay him a heavy tax on the imports and exports of the little colony, which continued to grow in wealth and importance. To protect it

[1] It was called by the natives Puducheri, which, by degrees, was corrupted to Pondicherry.

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still further, Martin now threw around the town a wall, which was flanked by four towers, each of which mounted six guns.

He had hardly finished the new fortifications when war broke out between France and Holland, and in 1693 Pondicherry was attacked by a Dutch fleet consisting of nineteen ships of war. Martin, who had only forty European soldiers to defend the place, was compelled to surrender. The Dutch, fully realising the value of their new possession, proceeded to improve the town and fortification, and make it the capital of their Indian possessions. But, five years after it had come into their hands, the Treaty of Ryswick restored Pondicherry to the French. Martin hastened from France to resume possession of the city which he had founded, but the Dutch refused to restore it until they had been handsomely compensated for the improvements they had made. A French writer with patriotic indignation says: "The sale, characteristic of a nation of traders, took place on the 17th September, 1699, when Martin paid 16,000 pagodas to the Director of the Dutch Company as the price of the improvements and fortifications they had made." [1]

Under the wise and vigorous administration of Martin, the town rapidly grew in prosperity. He mapped out new streets on the lines of an important European capital, erected substantial houses, warehouses and shops, and built a palace for the governor. When the English had only a small factory at Calcutta, and Chowringhee (Chaurangi) was a malarious swamp, Pondicherry was a flourishing town with fifty thousand inhabitants. For the greater protection of the city, Martin proceeded to construct a citadel after the model of Tournay. When finished, the new fortress was consecrated with great pomp and ceremony. On August 25, 1706, a stately procession of laymen and priests, chanting the *Te Deum* and *Exaudiat*, wended its way around the town, and as it reached the bastion, the cannons sent forth a roar of triumph and joy.

[1] "*L'Inde française avant Dupleix*," par H. Castonnet des Fosses (1887), p. 143.

This was the crowning day of François Martin's life. A few months later the patriot's manly heart ceased to beat.

After the death of François Martin, two of his successors, Lenoir and Dumas, managed the Company's affairs with prudence and sagacity. Mahé and Karikal were acquired by France, and Pondicherry soon rose to distinguished importance among the European settlements in India. Dumas was succeeded by Dupleix, who, after being first member of the Supreme Council at Pondicherry for ten years, was appointed chief of the French factory at Chandernagore in Bengal. By his knowledge of Orientals, by his strong business capacity, he not only amassed a fortune for himself, due to the coast trade which he introduced, but he raised Chandernagore from an insignificant village on the Hugli to a rich and populous colony. The success at Chandernagore led to his being appointed governor of Pondicherry and *ex officio* director-general of the affairs of the French East Company. On arriving at Pondicherry he found there La Bourdonnais, whom he had known in former years. They were of the same age, both endowed with extraordinary abilities, but dissimilar in their talents and their character.

Born at the ancient town of St. Malo, a nursery for hardy mariners, La Bourdonnais made several voyages to different parts of the world. He entered, when he was twenty, the service of the French East India Company. After having served as lieutenant and second captain, he left the Company in 1727, and commanded, as "captain and supercargo," the *Pondichéry*, a special vessel which had been commissioned by Lenoir and the Council of Pondicherry. For five years he traded on the coast. Then he quarrelled with Lenoir and entered the Portuguese service, in which he remained for two years. In 1733 he returned to France. He sent to the Ministry a report on the situation in India, and was appointed, in 1735, governor of the Isles of France (Mauritius) and Bourbon. By his constant supervision, and the healthy stimulus of his strong character, the islands became, during the eleven years of his rule, flourishing colonies, and the naval arsenal in the East.

In 1739,[1] La Bourdonnais returned to France. He saw that war with England must shortly arise, and he proposed to certain friends that they should subscribe to equip a fleet to cruise in search of English merchantmen. But the Ministry proposed to send out a fleet composed partly of the king's ships and partly of the Company's ships, with La Bourdonnais in command, and La Bourdonnais gives us no explanation of this change of plans. On April 5, 1741, he sailed from L'Orient with five of the Company's ships, and arrived at the Isle of France on August 14. He there learnt that the Mahrattas had invaded the Carnatic and that the garrison had left the islands, summoned by Dumas, the governor of Pondicherry, who feared a siege. La Bourdonnais, when he reached Pondicherry, found the danger had blown over, but that Mahé had been eight months blockaded.

On January 14, 1742, Dupleix reached Pondicherry and succeeded Dumas as governor. To him La Bourdonnais explained his project of capturing Madras when war was declared. Dupleix approved of it and sent Paradis, an able Swiss soldier and engineer, on a secret mission to Madras, who examined the place with sufficient precision to enable him to draw up a memorandum and prepare a plan of attack. La Bourdonnais proceeded to Mahé, chastised the enemy, re-established the factory, and then returned to Mauritius, ready to prey upon the English commerce. But the finances of the French Company did not admit of their keeping ships without some commercial profit, and, hoping that neutrality would be maintained in India, they recalled the fleet. It was a grave error.

When the Ministers in England heard of the preparations made by the French, they sent a squadron of men-of-war in 1744 under Commander Barnet to India. It consisted of two sixty-gun ships, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty guns. In July, 1745, the squadron appeared upon the coast of Coromandel, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, and its fortifications

[1] Mill, Vol. III., p. 58, says 1740.

were still incomplete. This was due to no fault of Dupleix, for as soon as he took charge he began to reform the administration, to discipline the soldiers, to recruit sepoys and to build fortifications. But, on September 18, 1743, he received a dispatch from the Company which told him "to make a point of reducing all expenses by at least one half, and to suspend all outlay on buildings and fortifications." He obeyed the first order. But he continued with renewed vigour the construction of the fortifications. He advanced to the treasury of the Company "cinq cent mille livres"; a part of it he employed on the fortifications, and the remainder in supplying cargoes for two ships, which he sent post-haste to France for arms, munitions of war, and men. But before reinforcements could reach him or the fortifications be completed, the English squadron anchored off Fort St. David. Pondicherry was now at their mercy. Happily for the French, the Nawab of the Carnatic informed the Madras Government that their ships of war must not "commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions" within his territories. At the same time he assured the English that "he would oblige the French to observe the same law of neutrality, if their force should hereafter become superior to that of the English."[1]

Moved by these threats, the authorities at Madras persuaded Barnet to suspend his attack. He sent one of the sixty-gun ships to cruise at the entrance of the Ganges, where he took several ships returning to Bengal. Soon after, the approach of the monsoon compelled him to leave the coast.

In the beginning of 1746 the squadron returned to the coast of Coromandel, and was reinforced by two fifty-gun ships and a frigate of twenty guns from England. The sixty-gun ship, however, in which Barnet hoisted his flag, was found unfit for action and, together with the frigate, was sent back to England. The French squadron was now daily expected. But months went on and no French ships could be seen. "The 29th April [1746] Mr. Barnet departed this life at this place

[1] Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 61.

[Fort St. David] when all the ships were here or near us."[1] His death was generally regretted as a public loss, "and indeed he was a man of great abilities in public affairs."

Captain Peyton then commanded the squadron as senior captain. On June 9 the *Princess Mary*, laden with bales and treasure, "sailed for Madrass, under convoy of his Majesty's ship the *Lively*, as did the rest of the squadron for Trancomalay."[2] But just as they were getting to the Bay, the *Preston's* bowsprit was sprung, and they had to bear away to Negapatam.[3] "On the 25th at day break, from the mast head in Negapatam Road, they made several ships" in the offing to which they went out "and found them to be nine (9) French ships."

On September 18, 1744, the frigate *La Fière* had arrived at Mauritius with the news that war had been declared. She also brought a message from the directors of the French Company to La Bourdonnais forbidding him to commence hostilities; he was only to oppose them. La Bourdonnais began at once to arm all the Company's ships he could collect, and he wrote to Dupleix that he could assemble six vessels and 1,500 to 1,800 men. These, with 300 to 400 furnished by Dupleix, would make a little army with which they might carry out some enterprise that would repair their losses. He proposed that he should send half of his ships to cruise for the Company and half for Dupleix and himself. He further suggested that the vessels should cruise between the Cape and St. Helena, because, in all probability, the Indian Seas would be a neutral region. Dupleix replied that he had approached the English governor, and therefore counted on the maintenance of peace. He added that he had very few soldiers, barely enough to guard Pondicherry. He also disapproved of the cruise in the Atlantic, as it would be contrary to the

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, 17th October, 1746 (Madras Records).
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Negapatam—seaport town in Tanjore district; the modern spelling of Nagapatnam, snake (seaport) town, or the seaport town of the Nagas. One of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast, and called by them the City of Choramandel. Captured by the Dutch in 1660, it was their chief Indian possession until captured by the English in 1781. It was finally ceded in 1799.

wishes of the Company, who could not authorise their officers to sail under the conditions proposed by La Bourdonnais without running the risk of ruining their ordinary commerce, which was less protected than that of the English. But the capture of the China ships by Barnet, in some of which Dupleix had a pecuniary interest, roused his wrath, and drove from his mind all thoughts of neutrality. He set about equipping the country ships to follow the squadron.

La Bourdonnais now sent him a plan of his voyage, and inquired if the scheme of 1741 for taking Madras was still feasible. He asked for the service of Paradis and a body of sepoys. He was certain that, with the aid of Dupleix, he could easily take and retain Madras. He had studied Paradis's plan, and he sent Dupleix the result of his study. It was, he said, "the only means of repairing our loss."[1] A little later he asked Dupleix to send him clothes for his troops, arms, and the munitions of war. Dupleix complied with the greatest good-nature with these requests. He was full of zeal for the enterprise, and burning to have his revenge for the loss of the China ships. He once more had Madras thoroughly explored, and procured an account of the place from Madame Barneval, his wife's daughter, who was married to a merchant resident there named Barnewall or Coyle de Barneval.[2] "He even had scaling ladders made, of various lengths, in accordance with the measurements given by Paradis in his memorandum."[3]

Meanwhile the departure of the ships which La Bourdonnais had equipped was delayed by the news that a fleet was being sent from France. La Bourdonnais was appointed to the command, and it was suggested to him that, after having landed the treasure on board the ships at Pondicherry, he should proceed to the Bay of Bengal. He might, if he wished, return to Mauritius about June, 1746, and start for France with the fleet in 1747. But the French fleet, which

[1] *See* "Dupleix," by Prosper Cultru, pp. 202-203.
[2] French writers describe him as a British subject. But in the English records he is mentioned as a Frenchman.
[3] *See* "Dupleix," by Prosper Cultru, *loc. cit.*

was expected in October, 1745, did not reach Mauritius till January, 1746. They arrived in bad order, and only one was armed. La Bourdonnais, with characteristic energy, proceeded to repair and equip them, and as soon as they were ready he sent them to Madagascar. On March 24 he sailed in the last ship from Mauritius. Before the ships left Madagascar they were driven from their anchorage and scattered by a hurricane. One was lost and the rest greatly damaged. La Bourdonnais, collecting them in the bay of a desert island on the coast of Madagascar, refitted them, "overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced." [1]

In forty-eight days the fleet was again ready for sea. It now consisted of nine sail containing 3,342 men, among whom were 720 blacks, and from three to four hundred sick. In passing the island of Ceylon they heard that the English fleet was at hand, and on June 25 [2] the British ships appeared to windward, advancing in full sail towards them.

La Bourdonnais knew that he was superior to the English in number of men, but greatly inferior in weight of cannon. He therefore determined to gain, if possible, the wind and to board. But Peyton, seeing his design, kept the wind and so frustrated it. The breeze was also light, and it was not till four in the afternoon that a distant fight began and lasted till about seven, when it grew dark. "In the English squadron," wrote the Council at Fort St. David, "were fourteen killed and forty six wounded, but not one killed or wounded in the *Medway*." The *Medway* was Peyton's ship.[3]

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 63. Mill writes: "Here the operations of repairing were to be renewed; and in still more unfavourable circumstances. To get the wood they required, a road was made across a marsh, a league in circumference; the rains were incessant; disease broke out among the people; and many of the officers showed a bad disposition; yet the work was prosecuted with so much efficiency, that in forty-eight days the fleet was ready for sea."—"Hist. of British India" (1840), Vol. III., p. 62.

[2] Mill says July 6, *ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] Dispatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1746 (Madras Records). Orme states: "The fight finished with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the English squadron, and the greatest part of these on board the *Medway's* Prize. We are not exactly informed of the loss sustained by the

The next morning the two squadrons were near one another, according to the dispatch, and continued so all the day. "At four in the afternoon Capt. Peyton summoned a Councell of Warr where it was agreed not to engage the enemy but to proceed to Trancomalay Bay." The resolution was mainly due to the sixty-gun ship being extremely leaky. The English ships made sail for the harbour of Trincomalee, and in the evening lost sight of the French squadron, which had lain to the whole day as if challenging the English, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. "This appearance of resolution in Mr. De La Bourdonnais," writes Orme, "was no more than a feint, practised to deter the English from doing what he most dreaded; for most of his ships had expended the greatest part of their ammunition, and several of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours." [1] La Bourdonnais in his "Memoirs" states that it was not a feint, and that it was with supreme regret that he saw the English escape him.

It was on the evening of Saturday, July 9, 1746, that the French fleet rode off Pondicherry, and as soon as La Bourdonnais stepped from his boat a salute of fifteen guns was fired from his ship.

"Another salute of fifteen guns was fired on his arrival at the sea-gate," says Ranga Pillai, "where he was met by the Deputy Governor and other members of the Council, and by the captains and other officers—M. Dupleix alone excepted—and was escorted by them to the Governor's residence. On M. de la Bourdonnais entering this, the Governor received him at the sentinel's post, with an embrace, and conducted him into the court-yard, when a salute of fifteen guns was again fired. They afterwards conversed together for a while in the open space on the other side of the verandah." [2]

It was a mere exchange of civilities. The two men could never be friends. La Bourdonnais was a gallant sailor, re-

French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to less than 300. One of their ships, which mounted 30 guns, was in less than half an hour dismasted, and so much shattered, that immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges."—Vol. I., p. 63.

[1] Orme, *ibid.*

[2] "The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai," edited by Sir J. Frederick Price, Vol. II., p. 114.

markable for his grasp and capacity of mind, but he had the privateer's sordid desire of gain. Dupleix was a far-seeing statesman with a fierce thirst for power and for glory. They both had quick tempers, and they both were arrogant and insolent. The feeling that had long existed between them swiftly grew worse. La Bourdonnais considered he should be received with the same honour as Dupleix. The Governor of the Islands, he held, was equal, if not superior, to the Governor of Pondicherry.

Ranga Pillai, a shrewd observer, states:

"The Governor and he entertain a mutual dislike for one another. The former is aggrieved because M. de la Bourdonnais does not regard himself as his subordinate, maintains a guard of honour of troopers, keeps at his residence a party of soldiers and troopers, and conducts everything independently, and without consultation with him; whilst M. de la Bourdonnais holds that he is on a par with the Governor, and is consequently entitled to all the honours accorded to that functionary; and that the control of military operations resting wholly with him, he is not bound to consult the Governor in matters connected therewith. Thus business is transacted between them with but little cordiality. The future development of this remains to be seen."

The disputes worked to produce a delay in carrying out their common object. It was not till August 4[1] that La Bourdonnais set sail with his fleet to discover the English squadron. Mill writes: "On the 17th (August) he (La Bourdonnais) descried the English fleet off Negapatnam[2] and hoisted Dutch colours as a decoy. The English understood the stratagem, changed their course and fled." According to Ranga Pillai, La Bourdonnais landed at the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, had a grand banquet given in his honour and, whilst he was at the table, news reached him that five English men-of-war were at hand. He immediately embarked, but before he had cleared for action darkness had begun to fall and he waited for the morning to engage the enemy. When the day dawned

[1] "Ranga Pillai's Diary." Orme, who uses the old style, says the French squadron sailed from Pondicherry on July 24th, "working to the southward against the southern monsoon, and on the 6th of August discovered the English [squadron], which had been refitted at Trincanomalee."

[2] Negapatam.

no English ships were to be seen. La Bourdonnais says he pursued them all that day and the next, when having the wind they escaped.

On August 18, the French squadron appeared before Madras and opened fire on the *Princess Mary*, which was returned from the ship and from the fort.

"Each ship gave her a broadside as she stood to the northward and another as she returned, and then stood to the southward again. We are since informed that they have two motives for this expedition. One was to make a plea with the country government that the English committed the first hostillities ashoar and the other to see if Captain Peyton wou'd come to our assistance or not." [1]

The inhabitants of Madras anxiously watched for the appearance of the English squadron on which their safety depended, and they were struck with consternation when they heard that—

"on the 23rd Captain Peyton with the squadron stood in Pullicat Road, where he sent his Lieutenant Mr. Weeims, on board a vessel in the Road, who was there told of all the circumstances of their attacking the *Princess Mary*, and of their being between Madras and Pondicherry, on which he disappeared and has never since been heard of,[2] or from, by any of the English, though there has been no cost or pains spar'd for that purpose as may easily be imagined from the since mellancholly situation of affairs on the Coast. The last letter that was received from anyone belonging to the squadron was from Captain Peyton to Governor Morse dated the 4th August when he was just come out from refitting. This unhappy conduct so animated our enemy that they determined on attacking Fort St. George. We call it unhappy because it has truely been so in its consequences, though what reasone Captain Peyton could have had for this Proceeding we know not." [3]

Morse, the Governor of Madras, now called on the Nawab of the Carnatic to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land. But he omitted to forward a present of money, and consequently the Nawab took no steps to prevent them from attacking Madras.

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1746.

[2] Orme states: "They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60 gun ship was now so leaky, that it was feared the shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, if she should be brought into an engagement."—Vol. I., p. 67.

[3] Dispatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1746.

When war became imminent, the French governors, Dumas and Dupleix, made all possible preparation for the struggle; the English, according to a well-established custom, did nothing. The day after news reached them that war had been declared, they chose a safe site for a powder magazine. But it was never built. The fort was entirely unfit to stand a siege.

"The principal officer among the garrison was one Peter Eckman, an ignorant, superannuated Swede, who had been a common soldier, and now bore the rank of a first lieutenant: he was assisted by two other lieutenants, and seven ensigns. To all which may be farther added, that though the garrison had near 200 pieces of cannon, yet they wanted men that were capable of playing them; besides that, the want of military stores was equal to the paucity of military men." [1]

Long before the war with France, the English Company had promised to augment the garrison of Madras to 600 Europeans, "exclusive of the gun-room crew," but they never sent the recruits. The time had now come when European soldiers were sorely needed.

On the night of August 23, 1746, the French fleet anchored in the roads of Pondicherry. La Bourdonnais landed so enfeebled by fever and diarrhœa that he had to be supported by two men. On arriving at Government House Dupleix "came forward to meet him, embraced him, and took him into a room, where they had a conference, in which M. Paradis took part." [2] The quarrel between the two men soon blazed forth fiercer than ever. The most ungracious pretext was chosen by Dupleix for a rupture. "M. Dupleix tried very hard to have M. Paradis appointed commander, in the place of M. de la Bourdonnais, who is now ill; but the latter would not assent to this." [3] The bitter conflict of the belated antagonists further delayed the attack on Madras, and it was not till Monday, September 12, 1746, that Ranga Pillai enters in his Diary—

"At half-past 8 this night, all the ships of the expedition against Madras set sail. The fleet consisted of M. de la Bourdonnais' squadron

[1] J. H. Grose: "A Voyage to the East Indies" (ed. 1772), Vol. II., p. xxvi.
[2] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. II., p. 234. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

of seven ships, two country craft, and a number of sloops and boats. When it stood out to sea, a gun was fired to intimate this to the Governor" (Vol. II., p. 299).[1]

A letter from Madras dated October 17, 1746, states: "They came in sight the 2nd. Nine sail, and landed 800 Europeans at Covalong; marched to St. Thomé, there landed more." The neighbourhood covered with country houses was given up to pillage, and the French Commissary-General states that La Bourdonnais and his brother La Villebague harassed the town of St. Thomé for loot. On September 7/18 the French

"began to play their mortars being 15 in number from behind the garden house, 10 and 5 from across the Bar: their strength on shore I compute 2,000 Europeans, Seapiahs, and 300 Coffrees: they have when all on board 3,000 Europeans, 600 of which were Pondicherry troops: their intent was to have stormed us by escalade which we were in no condition to prevent, 1,000 Bombs having prevented our sleeping for 3 days and nights. Yet we had more to dread from our own disorder within and want of Government and Council than from the enemy without."

On September 9/20 William Monson, ensign, and John Hallyburton, ensign, were sent as deputies to treat with La Bourdonnais. He received them with all courtesy, and, after a consultation, he offered them the following conditions: "That the town should be delivered up, and all the English remain prisoners of war: that the articles of capitulation being settled, those of the ransom should be regulated amicably: that the garrison should be conducted to Fort St. David; and the sailors sent to Cuddalore."[2] The deputies pressed for more explicit explanation as to the ransom being regulated in a friendly manner. La Bourdonnais replied, "Gentlemen, I do not sell honor: the flag of my king shall fly over Madrass,

[1] Mill writes (Vol. III., p. 69): "He left Pondicherry on the 12th of September and on the 14th commenced the operations which ended, as we have seen, in the surrender of the place." Orme, who uses the old style, says (Vol. I., p. 67): "On the 3rd of September [3rd/14th] the French squadron anchored four leagues to the south of Madrass, having on board the troops, artillery and stores intended for the siege." Grose uses the same words as Orme.—"A Voyage to the East Indies," Vol. II., p. xxv.

[2] J. H. Grose: "A Voyage to the East Indies," Vol. II., p. xxvii.

or I will die at the foot of the walls. In regard to the ransom of the town, and in every thing that is interesting, you shall be satisfied with me; (and, taking the hat of one of the deputies, he said) here is nearly the manner how we will regulate matters: this hat is worth six rupees, you shall give me three or four for it, and so of the rest."[1] The capitulation was signed the next day, and in the afternoon La Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the Governor. The French flag was immediately hoisted and the boats of the French squadron took possession of the Company's ships.

The letter from Madras adds that:

"The French hitherto have been extremely civil with respects to the Inhabitants, and have come to a treaty with the Governor and Council for the ransome of the place at eleven Laack of Pagodas, payable in 3 years, half in India and half in Europe; they to carry off all the Company's goods and ½ the Cannon and Warlike Stores: but here's to be a garrison of 400 French till January and I dont much trust to their faith."

The value of the Company's goods was about "four lacks of pagodas" in silver, broadcloth, etc., and

"it is generally believed that Monsr. L. Bourdonnie in Diaminds, Jewells, etca., Screwd Us a purse of about 150,000 Pagodas, so Altogether makes up the Sum of 1,650,000, One million six hundred and fifty thousand Pagodas.[2] For security of which hostages were to be delivered to Monsr. L. Bourdonnie, the Governor's two Children, Mr Stratton and family, Mr Harris and wife, and Messrs Strake and Walsh. The first capitulation was according to the above terms, and the town was to be delivered to the English on the 1st October."

The terms did not suit Dupleix. He had agreed with La Bourdonnais that they should levy a large sum from Madras, either before the assault or in case the French were too weak to hold it. But a few days after the fleet set sail for Madras, Dupleix learnt that a squadron of three large vessels of the French Company had touched at Mahé. This reinforcement would enable him to hold both Madras and Pondicherry against

[1] J. H. Grose: "A Voyage to the East Indies," Vol. II., p. xxvii.

[2] Grose states (Vol. II., pp. xxvii.-xxviii.): "The governor and council settled the price of the ransom with the French Commodore at 1,100,000 pagodas, or 421,666*l.* sterling."

any attacks made by the English, and he at once declared that the arrangement of restoring it on the payment of a ransom must be altered. He determined to keep the town or have it at his mercy. He had, however, to consider the native power. A few days before the fleet sailed, Dupleix received a letter from the Nawab of the Carnatic, which was to the following effect :

"In spite of our explicit instructions that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have dispatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondicherry to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds ; this is improper."[1]

Dupleix was not the man to be duped or frightened. He replied : "The captains of the ships of war of France are bound by the orders of their King ; and will not care to listen to the counsels of others."[2] The next day he sent a letter to the Viceroy of the Deccan through the Nawab informing him that the King of France had heard of the capture of French ships by the English and he had therefore "despatched a few men-of-war to take Madras and to hoist the white flag over it."[3]

On September 19, when La Bourdonnais was bombarding Fort St. George,[4] Dupleix received a letter from the Nawab sent by camel-post expressing surprise that the French should have sent, contrary to his remonstrance, an expedition against Madras. He trusted that they would "in future refrain from affording ground for similar complaints." Dupleix sent the evasive answer that "No harm will be done to the merchants of Madras."[5] He fully realised the necessity of conciliating the Nawab. But he was also determined to build up solidly a French dominion in India, and in order to do that Madras, the rival of Pondicherry, must be destroyed. Dupleix met the difficulty with his usual resourcefulness. He determined that he would sack Fort St. George, dismantle the fortifications and

[1] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. II., p. 291. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[4] Orme states (Vol. I., p. 69): "On the day in which Madrass was surrendered."
[5] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. II., pp. 311, 312.

hand the place over to the Nawab. He wrote to La Bourdonnais :

" I believe I have found the means of keeping him quiet by telling him we will give up Madras, you understand, in the condition that we think suitable. This warning should induce you to press the attack briskly and not to listen to any propositions for ransoming the place after it is taken, as this would be deceiving the Nawab and causing him to unite with our enemies. After all, when you are master of this place, I do not see where the English can find the means to pay the ransom. I beg you to reflect suitably on this subject." [1]

On September 23, two days after the capitulation, La Bourdonnais wrote to Dupleix a long letter in which he announced his intention of carrying off the goods taken, and making the English pay first a ransom for the town, and second for the pillage he had stopped. The first of these two contributions was to be for the Company, the second for the soldiers. He asked advice from the Council as to whether he should seize the goods of the Armenians and Malabars. On the 24th he wrote again to Dupleix, asking him to send a scheme of how he thought Madras should be treated. All this time he was acting as if he were independent of any control. He was accompanied on the expedition by two commissioners, Messieurs d'Espréménil and Bonneau, who were charged with the duty of taking over the captured property. The former was appointed by Dupleix, the latter by La Bourdonnais. D'Espréménil was the head of the Supreme Council and second in authority only to Dupleix. La Bourdonnais, however, proceeded to act as if he were sole master of Madras. In reply to the letter in which he had asked the advice of the Council, Dupleix boldly put to him the question whether he recognised the superior authority of the Supreme Council and of the Governor-General of the Indian settlements, which were founded on the permanent orders of the King passed before the special letter that La Bourdonnais received conferring on him the naval command. La Bourdonnais promptly replied that he had never been forewarned of the supremacy of the

[1] *See* Prosper Cultru : " Dupleix," p. 212.

Council, that he had come to Madras as a man in full authority, and as a man possessed of full authority he must keep to the terms of his engagement. From this position he would not depart :

"Whether I am right or wrong," he said, "I believe myself to be acting within my powers in granting a capitulation to the Governor of this place. I have pledged my honour to the English deputies that I will treat favourably the ransom of the fort and city." [1]

Dupleix sent four more commissioners to Madras, and on Sunday, October 2, the six deputies had an interview with La Bourdonnais and demanded an explanation of the restoration of Madras to the English. La Bourdonnais replied that he had restored the town to the English because the capture of Madras was planned and effected by them all, without any authority from the King of France to wage war on land, and also because he had seized all the treasure that he found in the fort, and had settled with the English for the payment of eleven lakhs of pagodas, as a condition of restoring the fort to them. The officers then burst out into undisguised insolence and declared that a fresh order of the Council at Pondicherry conferred the supreme authority on d'Espréménil. They drew their swords and called upon the ships' crews, the officers, the captains and all others, to swear fealty to the King of France, and take an oath of allegiance to M. d'Espréménil. The order of the Council at Pondicherry was next read and proclaimed. M. La Bourdonnais was called upon to surrender his sword and to take the oath. They threatened that if he did not, he would, in accordance with the instructions which they said they had received, be taken into custody. The captains and officers of the ships remained silent. M. d'Espréménil took charge of the keys of the fort, and issued his orders. Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, and the other Englishmen, were next summoned, and informed that they were prisoners, and that the restoration of the fort to them was cancelled.

But the power of the French officials was of short duration.

[1] *See* Prosper Cultru : "Dupleix," p 216.

A few days later was the celebration of La Bourdonnais' saint's day. He ordered the guns at Madras to be fired at sunrise, and he invited the commissioners and other leading men to dine with him at midday. When the guests were seated at table, La Bourdonnais addressed them and said, "I have received a report that the English ships are approaching. You must permit me to embark all the soldiers from Pondicherry on board my fleet." "No, no," cried de Bury, Paradis, and their companions. La Bourdonnais frowned on them, and ordered twenty-four of his men, who were under arms, to seize de Bury, Paradis, and de la Tour, and to keep them in custody. He deprived d'Espréménil of his authority, and assumed the sole power. He next ordered that the soldiers be embarked on board his ships, and directed that the merchandise in fort and town should be conveyed on board.

La Bourdonnais was most anxious to put an end to his quarrel with Dupleix and to set sail with his ships for France. He had in former years traded on the coast, and he knew well the danger of remaining in the Madras roadstead when the northern monsoon burst, which it does about October 15. He, however, did not wish to leave until his treaty had been ratified by the Superior Council at Pondicherry. He therefore opened negotiations with Dupleix and informed him of the conditions on which he would leave Madras. But before the reply of Dupleix and the Council could reach him, his fleet was destroyed. On October 13,[1] the weather at Madras, Orme tells us, was remarkably fine and moderate all day.

"About midnight a furious storm arose, and continued with the greatest violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the road when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind, and was driven so much to the southward, that she was not able to gain the coast again: the 70 gun ship lost all her masts: three others of the squadron were likewise dismasted, and had so much water in the hold that the people on board expected every minute to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown overboard all the cannon of the lower tier; the other ship, during the few moments of a whirlwind which

[1] Orme, who uses the old style, says October 2nd (2nd/13th).

happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels belonging to different nations were either drove on shore, or perished at sea." [1]

La Bourdonnais was no longer able to face the English or to continue on the coast of Coromandel. On October 21, a treaty, which he asserted had been assented to at Pondicherry, was signed by him and Governor Morse and five of the English Council. All the merchandise, part of the military stores of the East India Company, all the naval stores belonging to the Company or private persons became the property of the French Company. La Bourdonnais gave up to the English and the other inhabitants all the effects and merchandise belonging to them except the naval stores. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, after which the English were to remain in possession of it without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon these conditions the Governor and Council of Madras agreed to pay the sum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or £440,000 sterling. Of this sum £240,000 was to be paid at Pondicherry, by six equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining £200,000 bills were drawn on the East India Company in London, payable a few months after they should be presented. The English gave hostages for the performance of this treaty.

On October 23, having made over the governorship of Madras to the senior member of Council sent by Dupleix, La Bourdonnais sailed for the roads of Pondicherry. He anchored there the following day but did not land. After an angry discussion with the Pondicherry Council he acquiesced in their desire that the fleet, consisting of seven ships, should proceed to Achin in Sumatra. For that port he accordingly set sail; the three ships which had arrived last from Europe, with another that had escaped from the storm, made good their destination in spite of a contrary wind; but La Bourdonnais' seventy-gun ship and two others which had suffered in the

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 71.

storm were forced to give way and sail before the wind to Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December. Here he took charge of a squadron and was directed to proceed to France, taking Martinique on the way. Owing to a storm which he encountered, he put in for shelter at St. Paul de Loanda, the Portuguese colony. As has been stated, he had been some time in the Portuguese service in India, and it was reported at Madras that he meant to send gold, silver, diamonds and merchandise to Goa. At St. Paul he chartered a small vessel, which carried his wife, his children (and, it was said, the riches that he had gotten), to Brazil and thence to Lisbon. On reaching Martinique, with only four of his ships, he found his homeward voyage was barred by English cruisers. He proceeded to St. Eustache, one of the islands forming the colony of Curaçoa, lying north from the coast of Venezuela, and took a passage to France in a Dutch ship. War, however, had now been declared between France and Holland, and the Dutch vessel was forced into an English harbour. La Bourdonnais was recognised and made prisoner. Grose states that the

> "ship was taken by an English privateer, and carried into Falmouth in December 1747. . . . But the Commodore's lady, with most of the jewels, arrived in a Portugueze ship at Lisbon." [1]

He adds—

> "The commodore was confined some days in Pendennis castle, from whence he was conducted to London in the custody of two messengers."

He was treated with the utmost politeness and afterwards sent to France. As is well known, on reaching France he was imprisoned in the Bastille and remained there for three years in the most rigorous confinement. He was charged, in addition to his political offences, with corruption, embezzlement and extortion, but was at length acquitted by a committee of the Private Council to whom his case was referred.

The chief accusation brought against La Bourdonnais is that he received a large sum of money from the English to

[1] Grose, Vol. II., p. xxxi.

conclude an unauthorised treaty for the ransom of Madras, and little doubt can exist from the evidence[1] that he was guilty of the charge. But in condemning him for the act it is necessary to consider that La Bourdonnais was a corsair of the same stuff as Drake and Hawkins. He regarded the capture of Madras as a prize in a privateering cruise, and he considered he was entitled to a share of it, as Drake did when he captured the Spanish cities and held them to ransom. It must also be remembered that La Bourdonnais was instructed not to form any new settlements, and the only alternatives in his power with regard to Madras were to restore or destroy it. The capture of Madras was but a part of his general plan to destroy the prestige and power of all the English settlements. By the capture of Madras he had dealt a severe blow to the reputation of the English, but the hurricane which destroyed his ships altered his prospects. He was no longer able to continue on the coast of Coromandel, and he had to settle with all expedition the affairs of Madras. He was obliged to leave the Indian Ocean for want of ships, but he left at Pondicherry 900 Europeans and 300 "Caffres": "1,200 disciplined men," says Orme, who were of the utmost service to Dupleix in his future operations. Resolution, daring, and professional skill historians allow to La Bourdonnais, and he must have a place among the fighting heroes of France.[2]

Dupleix had written to La Bourdonnais: "I believe I have found the means of keeping him (the Nawab) quiet by telling him we will give him up Madras." But Dupleix did not mention that he had also found another means of keeping the Nawab quiet. Clive states that "when Dupleix obtained the old Nabob's consent for attacking Madras upon paying a

[1] *See* Appendix I.

[2] Orme writes: "His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ship from the keel: his skill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending her against any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he superintended all the details of the service, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were simple, his orders precise, and both the best adapted to the service in which he was engaged. His application was incessant; and difficulties served only to encrease his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to those he commanded."—Orme, Vol. I., p. 73.

certain sum of money, the one half down the rest when the place was taken, as soon as Madras fell the rest of the money was demanded and refused, upon which the Nabob sent his eldest son Maphuze Cawn to punish the French and retake Madras." [1] The army his son commanded consisted of 8,000 or 10,000, of whom 4,000 were cavalry. Mahfuz Khan [2] on reaching Madras proceeded to invest the town on all sides, and the two deputies who were sent to treat with him he made prisoners. Dupleix had sent orders to d'Espréménil not to assume the offensive. The Oriental, as is his wont, regarded inaction as entirely due to fear. The native commander, having learnt the dispositions which La Bourdonnais had made, endeavoured to copy them. At the spot where the French had erected one of the batteries of mortars they began to construct a battery of their cannon "which were so old as not to be fired without risk to those who managed them." [3]

La Bourdonnais intended to escalade the Black Town, whose walls were very low and the bastions of very little strength, and Mahfuz Khan determined to do the same. In order to facilitate the assault he let off a piece of water which covered the south face of the fort by cutting through a sand-bank. At the same time a large body of his troops took possession of a spring lying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only source from which the inhabitants were supplied with good water. Without good water he knew the multitude in the settlement could not exist. D'Espréménil was now compelled to assume the offensive. On the following morning (October 22, 1746) the guns from the bastions of the Black and White Towns opened fire, and a small body of 400 men, with two field-pieces, marched out of the northern gate and formed on the plain, concealing their two field-pieces behind their line. The Nawab's cavalry, on seeing them, threw

[1] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 108–11.
[2] Orme spells it Maphuze Khan. Wilks, a Persian scholar, writes Maphuz Khan, Vol. I., p. 261. According to the official system of transliteration, it should be written Mahfūz Khān.
[3] Orme, Vol. I., p. 74.

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themselves into their saddles, united their squadrons and swept down like an avalanche. The French waited. The horsemen were within a few paces. The line opened to the right and left, and the two guns sent forth their shot. Men and horses went down. The cavalry bravely stood their ground. They expected the sudden fire would quickly cease. They knew not the skill of European artillerymen. More men and horses fell to the ground. Panic struck them and, wheeling round, they galloped away. The French took possession of their tents and baggage and "two pieces of cannon" which they found "so little fit for service that they flung them into a well." [1] They killed about "70 Moors" in the attack, and returned into the town without the loss of a man.

Mahfuz Khan was surprised and alarmed at the sudden attack made on his cavalry. He immediately recalled his troops from the outlying posts and concentrated his forces about two miles westward of Madras. His alarm was increased by the news which now reached him—a French force was advancing rapidly from Pondicherry. The next day he broke up his camp and moved to St. Thomé, which had so recently been pillaged by the French. The town had no defence excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall, but the River Adyar, flowing from the west to the sea, afforded it some protection from an invading force advancing from the south. On the strand between the town and river Mahfuz Khan placed in position his 10,000 men and planted his cannon along the bank of the river.

Orme's graphic account of the defeat of the Nawab's army has been accepted by English and French historians. He states that the French detachment arrived by break of day. They crossed the river under a fire of the enemy's guns and, on reaching the other bank, they gave a general fire of their small arms and charged them with their bayonets. The "Moors" retreated into the town, their horse and foot got jammed in the narrow streets and they suffered severe loss before they could extricate themselves and gain the plain to the west-

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 75.

ward. "Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great standard of the Carnatic was displayed, was one of the first who made his escape." Orme adds that the "Moors" were scarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madras arrived.[1] Clive in his answers (which have never been printed) to "a paper of queries" sent to him by Orme, stated :

"The French contrived to send a party of 300 Men from Pondicherry by land, and, as soon as they had notice of the arrival of those troops at St. Thomé, they made a Sortie from Madrass in the night time, at the same time with the other from St. Thomé and surprized the Moorish Camp consisting of about 10,000 Men, took all the Baggage, killed and wounded many and drove the rest up into the Country." [2]

One thing is, however, clear amid the differences in the two accounts; it is that a small number of French soldiers defeated a whole army. The fight on the banks of the Adyar destroyed the belief that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy, and produced far-reaching political and military results.

After the victory Paradis, who was in command of the detachment, proceeded to Madras and assumed charge of the government. On October 30, 1746, the garrison were drawn up under arms and a manifesto was read to the inhabitants who had assembled. The treaty, which the Government of Pondicherry had engaged themselves and given their parole on October 13 to keep, was declared null and void.

"The English were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception: all merchandize, plate, provisions, warlike stores, and horses, were declared the property of the French Company; but the English were permitted to dispose of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women: they were required to give their parole not to serve against the French nation until they should be exchanged; and it was declared that those who refused to obey this injunction would be arrested and sent to Pondicherry. All, excepting such as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 76.
[2] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 108–11.

Madrass, or in any of the country houses belonging to the English without those bounds." [1]

The French put their manifesto into execution with the utmost rigour. Most of the English inhabitants were ruined. Many of them not only refused to give the parole, but justly considered that they were absolved from the parole which they had given by the bad faith of Dupleix. They made their escape out of the town by night, and, travelling by various routes through the country, arrived at the English settlement of Fort St. David. Among those who escaped was Clive. "I made my escape," he wrote to Orme, "the beginning of October, disguised in the habit of a Dubosh [2] and black'd and arrived at St. David the same month." [3]

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 78.
[2] Dubash (*Dabashi*, *dubashiya*), an interpreter.
[3] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I.

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CHAPTER III

1746–8: CLIVE AT FORT ST. DAVID

FORT ST. DAVID, situated on the sea twelve miles from Pondicherry, associated with the great names of Lawrence and Clive, must always be, to Englishmen who take pride in the brave deeds of their forefathers, one of the most memorable places in the Empire. It was in the year 1690 that we purchased it from the Mahrattas, and one Mr. Hatsell was ordered "to go and to receive possession of the fort and pay the money," and with him were to be sent "some factors to be of councel there, also a lieutenant, two ensigns, gunners, &c., officers, 100 soldiers, 20 matrosses, 20 laskars, 30 great guns, 100 barrels of powder, 200 musquets, 100 cartouches, 100 swords, and ammunition, &c., necessary for such a garrison and settlement," and it was resolved that "the guns, stores, and household stuff be removed from Conemier and the southern factories thither."

The cession included not only the fort but the adjacent towns and villages "within ye randome shott of a piece of ordnance." The best brass gun at Madras was sent with Mr. Hatsell, and he was informed that it "lyes in the gunner's art to load and fire it to the best advantage." The gunner was evidently skilled in his art, for on September 23, 1690,[1] at the time when Dutch William was busy establishing his power in Ireland, the "randome shott" was fired, and it fell beyond Cuddalore. And to this day the villages included within the range of that "randome shott" are known as "Gundu Gramam" or "Cannon Ball Villages."

The English proceeded at once to introduce law and order into their new possession. Mr. Haynes, Mr. Walls, and Macee-

[1] Malleson says 1691—"French in India," p. 195.

dum Nina were appointed "justices of the Choultry[1] to try and determine causes civill and criminal and to execute according to sentence, lyfe only excepted, which must be done by another court of judicature." "All tryalls of moment" were to be registered by "an English Clerk of said Court," and "the differences amongst black merchants" to be decided by members of their own caste. Under the powers, judicial, executive and military, which the governor in Council wielded, the merchants plied their trades and tended their shops, and Cuddalore became a busy and opulent place. A traveller of the time has left us a pleasant picture of the settlement:

"Fort St. David is a small, but strong and regular fortification, built on a rising ground, about a mile from the Black-Town, which is called Cuddalore. This last has a wall running round it, with the addition of a few bastions, but is too large even for all the English troops on the coast properly to defend. In it, reside the greatest part of the native Indian inhabitants of Fort St. David's boundaries. Both the town, and the fort, are situated near the sea side; Cuddalore lying almost due south from the fort. The extent of this settlement's boundaries, are, towards the land, about four miles, and three along the sea side: the former are pointed out by a thick hedge of the aloe plant and cocoa-nut tree, having bastions of six or eight guns, at about three-fourths of a mile from each other. In one of these little forts Deputy Governor Starke had fitted up a pleasant apartment, and to which he frequently retired from Fort St. David.

"The country within the boundaries is very pleasant, and the air fine, having seldom any fogs. In the district are many neat houses with gardens; the latter were laid out with much good taste by the gentlemen, who either had been, or were in the company's service. These gardens produce fruits of different sorts, such as pine-apples, oranges, limes, pomegranates, plantaines, bananoes, mangoes, guavas, (red and white,) bedams (a sort of almond), pimple-nose, called in the West Indies, chadocks, a very fine large fruit of the citron-kind, but of four or five times it's size, and many others. At the end of each gentleman's garden there is generally a shady grove of cocoa-nut trees. . . .

"In the neighbourhood of the agreeable retreats before mentioned, are many pleasant rows of the ever-green tulip tree, which are planted through great part of the boundaries, in the same manner

[1] *Choultry*—"A hall, a shed, or a simple *loggia*, used by travellers as a resting-place, and also intended for the transaction of public business. . . . A building of this kind seems to have formed the early Court-House."—Yule and Burnett; "Hobson-Jobson" (1903), p. 211.

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as the elms in St. James's Park. At some little distance from one of these walks, is a building, belonging to the company, and designed for the governor, and called 'the garden-house.' It is roomy, handsome and well built; and has a very good and large garden belonging to it, with long and pleasant avenues of trees in the back and front." [1]

The writer omits to mention that the large garden "was inclosed with a brick wall, and before the house, to the south, [was] a court with buildings on each side of it." [2] The Governor of Fort St. David has long since passed away, but Garden House, "roomy, handsome and well built," stands at the end of a stately avenue and is the appointed residence of his successor, the modest Collector. The garden with its old trees still exists and the buildings on each side of the court have been converted into Government offices.

Clive in a letter to the Court (8th March, 1755) states that when he and his two companions "came safe to Fort St. David" they found themselves

"for some time under the disagreable Circumstances of being unprovided for, till at last the Gentlemen of St. David offer'd a Monthly writership to all those in our Condition, which was accepted of by all but us three; We were of Opinion that acting in a Military Sphere (tho then at a very low Ebb) was the most honourable of the two and most conducive to the Company's Interest." [3]

Besides the cankering inaction to which he was condemned, there were other factors which made life in the small fort far from pleasant. There was little amusement. As it was a time of war, no shooting excursions, no pleasant trips up the river, no ships from home broke the monotony of life. Gambling was the chief method of passing away the tedious hours. There was no military discipline, and the few officers were soldiers of fortune. It is therefore not strange that Fort St. David should be the scene of murderous brawls. Malcolm mentions one of these brawls. He states that Clive formed one of a party at play, whom two officers, by the grossest cheating, contrived to fleece. The winners were noted duellists, and all the party paid their losses except Clive. He told the winners

[1] E. Ives: "A Voyage from England to India, etc.," ed. 1773, pp. 18–21.
[2] Orme, Vol. I., p. 83.
[3] "Miscellaneous Letters Received," Vol. 38, No. 120 (India Office Records).

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that they had cheated and strictly refused to pay. He was challenged by one of them, went out without seconds, gave his fire and missed. His adversary marched up to him, put his pistol to Clive's head and desired him to ask his life. Clive did so. Then the bravo demanded that Clive should pay the sum of which he had been cheated, and retract what he had said. "And what if I refuse?" demanded Clive. "Then I fire," replied the other. "Fire and be damned!" said Clive; "I said you cheated, I say so still, nor will I ever pay you." The bully, finding his threats useless, called him a madman and threw the pistol away. Clive's young companions complimented him on his behaviour, but he refused to discuss the matter and would never again breathe a word against the officer. "He has given me my life," he said, "and though I am resolved on never paying money which was unfairly won, or again associating with him, I shall never do him an injury." [1]

Clive was now merely acting in a "military sphere," but the time was at hand when he would join a service which disciplines and directs the stubborn, indomitable courage he had shown.

When Fort St. George fell, the eyes of Dupleix were turned towards Fort St. David. It was the chief obstacle to the complete subjection of the English. In the month of December he recalled Paradis from Madras to command an expedition against it. Paradis set forth with a detachment of 300 Europeans and a long train of coolies carrying the chests which contained the treasure he had acquired in the administration of his government. When he had proceeded thirty miles from Madras, he was surprised by a division of the Nawab's commanded by Mahfuz Khan, who had publicly sworn to revenge the defeat of St. Thomé. Fired on by the enemy's infantry concealed in the thickets, their rear and flanks threatened by clouds of cavalry, his oppressed troops with their encumbrance made their way with the utmost difficulty to Sadras, a Dutch settlement forty-two miles from Madras. Several of the French soldiers were wounded during the march, and twelve or fourteen

[1] Malcolm: "Memoirs of Lord Clive," Vol. I., p. 47. Taken from the "Biographia Britannica" (2nd ed.), art. "Clive," p. 646.

Europeans were made prisoners. Mahfuz Khan gave out that he had won a great victory, and showed his prisoners as an incontestable mark of his triumph. The moral effect of the French success at St. Thomé was destroyed.

Paradis, when reinforcements from Pondicherry reached him, marched to Ariancopang (Arian Kuppam), a small fort built by the French about two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry and about one mile and a half from the sea. Here the force for the capture of Fort St. David was assembled. It "consisted of 1,700 men, for the most part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry: they had one or two companies of Caffre slaves, natives of Madagascar and one of the eastern coast of Africa: these had been disciplined, and were brought into India by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery consisted of six field pieces and as many mortars."[1] Dupleix had summoned Paradis, the able Swiss engineer, to command the expedition, but, owing to the petty jealousy of the French officers and their vigorous opposition, the command was given to Bury, without talent and without energy, old and infirm, the senior officer of the French troops in India.

The garrison of Fort St. David numbered 200 Europeans and 100 half-caste Portuguese infantry called "Topasses," perhaps on account of wearing a *topi* or hat.[2] When La Bourdonnais laid siege to Madras the government of Fort St. David hired 2,000 "Peons" (a species of irregular infantry, armed with swords and spears or matchlocks) for the defence of Cuddalore and their seven miles of territory. But, though the numerical strength of their forces was small and their efficiency slight, Hinde, the governor, and his colleagues were men formed by nature to fight against difficulties. They wrote to the Court that "this for us most Fortunate Storm, which we look upon as a distinguish-

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 82.

[2] "The Christians, who call themselves Portuguese, form part of a garrison: they are little superior in courage to the lowest casts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher casts, as well as to the northern Moors of Indostan; but because they learn the manual exercise, and the duties of a parade with sufficient readiness, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, these pretended Portuguese obtained amongst the natives of India the name of Topasses; by which name the Europeans likewise distinguish them."—*Ibid.*, p. 81.

ing mark of Providence in our favour," had prevented the French from attacking "this Place" by sea. "Though it is the opinion of most of our officers that, had they come, we should have taken up more of their time than they had to spare." They added:

"We have about Twenty of the Kings people that were left ashoar sick who have put our Gun room in Excellent order, some of the people came to us from Madras, though not many. The additions and alterations to our Fort within this Twelve month have made it Infinitely more secure than it was. We have full six months Provisions of all Kinds in the Fort, so that we doubt not but we should have been able to make a defence for a considerable Time had they come; they now Talk of coming to us by Land, in which case We Bless God we are no ways apprehensive but with the Common protection of Providence we shall be able to Defend and Secure this Place till we are releived, for which purpose We assure your Honours our Utmost Endeavours shall be used." [1]

Their dependence on Heaven did not prevent Hinde, the governor, from applying to the Nawab for his assistance against the French when he learnt that a force had been collected to attack Fort St. David. The Nawab, exasperated at the defeat of his son, readily engaged to send his army to their aid. Clive, in the memorandum mentioned, states that "under the command of Maphuze Cawn and Mahomed Ally Cawn [the Nawab's sons] these forces, who were encamped on the plain by Chemundalum [three miles from the fort] arrived the day before Major Bury took Possession of the Garden House." [2]

On December 8, 1746, the French troops set out at night from Ariancopang, and as the scarlet shafts of sunshine broke above the palms they arrived at the Panar River and crossed at a ford about a quarter of a mile from the Garden House. They moved quickly forward and took possession of the walled garden. "There might be," says Clive, "a few scattering shot fired from some of the points on the Enemy when they were advancing towards the Bound Hedge, and they might have received some trifling Molestation from a Body of about 600 Peons commanded by one Malrauze and

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, 17th October, 1746 (Madras Records).
[2] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 108–11.

who were posted in and about the Thicketts near the Garden House." [1] Weary with their long night march, the French intended to rest at the Garden House during the day. They had no reason to expect an attack. The scanty garrison would not leave their fortifications, and Dupleix had told Bury that the English had not been able to prevail with the Nawab to send more than 1,500 men to their assistance. The slight resistance offered to their advance confirmed them in the belief that they had no formidable foe to fight. Bury, who expected a detachment of native troops, suddenly found an army. But Clive, who served that day as a volunteer, must tell the story of his first action :

" The French commander as soon as in possession of the Garden House and Plantation thought he had nothing to fear and gave leave to all the troops without exception to lay down their arms to look for Pots and wood to dress their Victuals and to refresh themselves after the fatigue of their march: in this unSoldierlike and scattered condition were the French when the whole Moorish Army were descried marching towards the Plantation and Garden House: the Enemy had just time to lay hold of their arms but not to form and their panick was so great that instead of making a disposition for defending themselves in their naturally strong Situation they began to retreat towards Pondicherry in an unformed Heap and did not recover their Order or fears for the first three miles: had the Moors been good for any thing and made a Charge upon them in that condition they must every man have been cut off: on seeing the Enemy retreat from the Garden House we made a Sortie from the fort, with 200 men 50 of which were Topasses and marched after them for about 6 miles before we overtook them but then they were in too good order and too much recovered for us with our small force to attempt any thing against them: however they lost a great many men by the random Shot of the Moorish infantry and our Peons: what military Stores were lodged in the Garden House were all abandoned and we found there a great many Chests of small arms: the Moors also took great quantities of Stores and Baggage, in short the French arrived at Pondicherry the Evening of the same day greatly fatigued and frightened." [2]

Dupleix now set himself to surmount the hostility of the Nawab and Mahfuz Khan by bribes and blandishments. At the same time he formed a project to take Cuddalore by

[1] Letter from Lord Clive, Cundover, July 19, 1762 (Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 137–41).

[2] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 108–11.

surprise. The Government of Fort St. David wrote to the Court :

"The 20th [December 1746]. We are advised they fitted out a Force by sea to surprize us that day but Providence disappointed them, some of their Boats were drove ashoar and their ammunition all spoiled which reduced them to a necessity of laying aside their Design and putting back into Aria Copang River : The 31st We had a skirmish by Land, we again obtained an advantage over them, and had we even then been succoured your Honours Affairs would have been in all humain probabillity Restored in a great measure, if not altogether. The Nabob was so well disposed towards us, but as yet we had not had a line or any assistance from Bengall since Madrass was taken, now 4 months. . . . We shall only add we think it somewhat unkind in our Countrymen and Fellow Servants to have abandoned us, and that we will do all wee can under these discourageing Circumstances, and Trust to Providence for the Events. Hitherto we have been [at] but a small Expence, our Presents to the Country Government not Exceeding above Three thousand 3,000 Pagodas, Triffle not worth mentioning in Proportion to the Expence they are at, and the Desquiet it has given our Enemys, who are trying every possible method to make up Affairs with them, and the above Circumstance[s] greatly Facillitate their Negotiation as they clog the Wheels of ours. We have in General Terms promised in your Honours' name that we will not be ungrateful for any favours the Nabob may show us." [1]

Hinde and his Council were persecuted with sordid importunity by the Nawab, who had a great appetite for subsidies. But they had not the money to gratify his "extreme lucrative disposition." Their treasury was almost exhausted when a gallant sailor anchored his ship in the road and landed £60,000 in silver, and twenty recruits. Dupleix had all the plunder of Madras at his command. He spared no art which could withdraw the Nawab from the English. He appealed to his avarice by offering him lakhs of pagodas. He aroused his fears as to the fate of his kingdom by sending a detachment from Madras which burnt his villages and threatened his capital. Just at that time the four ships of La Bourdonnais' squadron, which had made their way to Achin, returned to Pondicherry. Dupleix informed the Nawab of their arrival, and he exaggerated the strength of the reinforcement they brought. The English at Fort St. David were, he urged, a handful of men

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, January 10, 1746–7 (Madras Records).

deserted by their countrymen. His statement was supported by the long absence of the English squadron. The Nawab became convinced that the English cause was the losing cause. The inevitable result followed. The Government of Fort St. David wrote to their masters :

" Since our last account of the melancholy Situation of this Settlement which must Certainly have appeared to be very Precarious, We had the misfortune to be reduced to almost inevitable Danger, for as our security chiefly depended on the assistance of the Moors, We were soon brought to the utmost Extremity by being abandoned by them, notwithstanding all the arguments and Persuasions that could possibly be used on our parts to Continue them in our Interest; but the long delay of our ships with the uncertainty of their coming at all, and the frequent offers and proposals they received from the French, which arose to five Lack of Rupees, made all our endeavours prove fruitless, as we could by no means think of making such offers, and if we could, they would have still outbid us, having this advantage of us, that if they did not perform their Promises, they could not be on worse Terms than they were, whereas We must literally have performed all ours upon the whole. On the 4th February, both their armies decamp'd, leaving us wholly to ourselves ; In which destitute Circumstances the French, on the last of February, came out of Pondicherry, and on the 1st March made another attempt upon us by Land, bringing with them a Force considerably superior to any yet sent or we could equal in more than a Quarter part." [1]

Clive gives an account of the second attempt to capture Fort St. David, March 2/13, 1747.

" Soon after Dupleix bought Maphuze Ally Cawn off, who went and paid him a visit at Pondicherry, But Mahomed Ally Cawn returned to Arcot with the greatest part of the forces seemingly much disgusted at the treacherous behaviour of his Brother: by the latter end of February the French had recovered their spirits and began their march a second time against Fort St. David with 1200 Europeans a body of Caffrays [*kafir*, negro soldier] and a troop of horse all under the command of Paradis. To this great force we could not oppose near the 200 Men ; however we marched out with 2 or 3 field pieces to oppose the French in crossing the Peneer River. About a mile to the North of Shoemakers and Patchere Points the French were drawn up on the other side of the river at the distance of about 600 yards. We Cannonaded one another the whole day without the Enemy ever attempting to cross the River; but as the Evening came on we could perceive the Enemy were making dispositions to cut off our retreat upon which we re-

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, May 2, 1747 (Madras Records).

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turned to the Fort; in this Cannonadement we lost 8 Men and the French 22; the next morning at daybreak the 3rd of March we could discover from the Fort that the French had taken Possession of the Garden House but we shortly after discovered something of a much more agreeable nature, which was the sight of Mr. Griffins squadron and as soon as the French had made the same discovery they retreated a second time to Pondicherry with great precipitation." [1]

Soon after the repulse of the second attack, Robert Clive received his first commission. The document marks the very outset of a military career, distinguished by a series of successes that laid great foundations:

John Hinde Esqr, Deputy Governor for All Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies at Fort St. David, and the Towns of Tevenapatam, and Cuddalore in the Chinie [? Gingee] Country, and the Territories thereto belonging. To all to whom these presents shall come. Greeting.

Seal of the Company

BY VIRTUE of the Power given to the President of Fort St. George by the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, which power is derived by Charter from our late Sovereign Lord George, and is now devolv'd on me, I do hereby Constitute and Appoint you Robert Clive Gent[n] Ensign of the Second Company of Foot Soldiers at Fort St. David, giving and Granting you full power and Authority to call together, train, conduct and to Battle lead them according to military and martial Discipline, strictly willing and Commanding all your Inferior Officers and Soldiers to obey you as such, and You Yourself are strictly Enjoyned to obey all Orders You shall receive from me, or the Deputy Governor of this place for the time being, or from any your Superior Officers for the time being.

GIVEN under my hand, and the United Company's Seal this Sixteenth day of March, in the twentieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of Faith, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand, Seven hundred Forty and ~~six~~ seven

Witness (Sgd) *Thomas Cooke Junr* Secry.

(Sgd) *John Hinde.*

[1] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 108–11.

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In a dispatch to the Court, dated May 2, 1747, the Governor in Council writes :

" Mr. Robert Clive, Writer in the Service, being of a martial disposition and having acted as a volunteer in our late engagements we have granted him an Ensign's Commission upon his application for the same." [1]

The Court in their letter of December 4, 1747, remark :

" Be sure to encourage Ensign Clive in his martial pursuits, according to his merit : any improvement he shall make therein shall be duly regarded by us."

On January 1, 1748, there arrived at Fort St. David a veteran commander who fostered the military ardour of the young soldier and taught him all the details of the profession. It was from Stringer Lawrence Clive learnt that by discipline and a training in details soldiers can be made with whom battles are won.

Stringer, the son of John Lawrence of Hereford, and Mary his wife, was born March 6, 1697. Little is known of his ancestry or his early life. At the age of thirty he was appointed ensign in General Jasper Clayton's regiment (afterwards the 14th Foot, and now the West Yorkshire), then stationed at Gibraltar, and there is some reason to suppose that he served in the ranks of some regiment during the previous siege. Clayton's regiment was at Gibraltar for several years, and was employed as marines in Wager's fleet on the coast of Italy. Legend states that Lawrence was taken prisoner by an Italian pirate vessel, and was for some time on board it. In 1746 he became lieutenant. He was present when the column, headed by the King's son, broke the heart of the French line at Fontenoy ; and he heard the wild yell with which the Highlanders threw themselves on our ranks at Culloden. On December 17, 1746, the Court of Directors

" Resolved that the garrison of Fort St. George be strengthened with a number of recruits, sergeants, and ensigns, and that an able officer be sent from hence as Major thereof, at the salary of £250 per annum, and one hundred guineas for his charges out. And

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, May 2, 1747 (Madras Records).

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Captain Lawrence being recommended as a person qualified for the post, Resolved by the Ballot that the said Captain Lawrence be appointed Major of the Garrison on the terms above mentioned, and being called in, he was acquainted therewith." [1]

On February 18, 1747, Stringer Lawrence took the usual oath, and set sail in the *Winchelsea*. His appointment was notified to the Governor of Madras in the following terms:

"Stringer Lawrence Esq., is entertained by us to be Major of our Garrison at Fort St. George upon the same terms as Major Knipe, viz., two hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum and one of the Companies." [2]

But before the notification reached India, Madras had surrendered to the French, and the Government of Madras had ceased to exist. In January, 1748, Stringer Lawrence, a "stout hale man of fifty," landed at Fort St. David.

When Lawrence assumed command of the garrison, it had been reinforced by 100 men from the Bombay European regiments, 150 recruits from England, and 400 sepoys from the English settlement of Tellicherry on the Malabar coast. Griffin's squadron of "Nine sails" had landed 100 Europeans from Bengal, and the admiral had lent 500 sailors and 150 marines "as a temporary augmentation of the garrison." [3] Clive tells us that soon after the arrival of Lawrence a report reached the garrison that the French intended to make a third attempt on Fort St. David.

"Being 7[00] or 800 Strong Major Laurence encamped with these forces between the Garden House and the River Pennar; in this Camp we continued some time till we had discovered a Conspiracy formed by the Commander of the Tellicherry Seapoys to desert with all his men to the French in the day of Battle; this discovery led us to many others and by seizing the Papers of Mr. Morse's Dubash it appeared that Mr. Dupleix and he had carried on a constant Correspondence together in the Country Language. Mr. Dupleix got acquainted with him during the time Mr. and Mrs. Morse were at Pondicherry and upon examining his Papers it appeared by numbers of Letters from Mr. Dupleix that he had received exact intelligence of the most minute Transactions and that all our Counsels were betrayed. In one

[1] "Court Minutes," Vol. 62, quoted by Col. S. Biddulph: "Stringer Lawrence," p. 18.
[2] "Letter Book," Vol. 26, quoted *op. cit., loc. cit.*
[3] Orme, Vol. I., p. 89.

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of Mr. Dupleix's Letters he says to the Dubash, You write me the English have pulled down your House and that you desire I would send you Money to build you a new one; if I was to comply with your request the English knowing you are poor would immediately inquire how you came by the money and by that means discover the Correspondence between us and put you to death. I make no doubt but by your means we shall soon be in possession of St. Davids and then I will build you a house of double the Value at Pondicherry.

"A General Court Martial being held upon these Traytors, the Dubash and his Second were hanged, the Commander and others of the Tellicherry Seapoy Officers were banished to St. Helena and the West Coast: the Dubash at the Gallows declared his Master's Mr. Morse's Innocence of his intrigues with Mr. Dupleix: this Plot being unravelled the French gave over their designs and we returned to Garrison." [1]

The treachery of the Tellicherry sepoys showed the necessity of stricter discipline, and led to the introduction of a Military Code. Lawrence also knew that to carry on a campaign with success you must place your army on a systematic footing. He formed the different companies of the European Corps into a regular battalion of seven companies, one of them being a grenadier company. Each company consisted of one captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, three drummers, and seventy privates. All the men of the battalion, except the grenadiers, ceased to wear swords. The officers carried in addition to their swords light fusils, the sergeants halberds. The peons were formed into companies and were trained in the manœuvres and evolutions practised in the Royal Army. Lawrence had learnt the value of cavalry in war, and the first troop of horse in the Madras Presidency was raised at this time.

The Government of Fort St. David wrote to the Court:

"As our enemies are furnished with a troop of horse, by which they have greatly the advantage of us in sending out parties thereof, that make frequent incursions near our limits, and the adjacent villages, we have thought it absolutely necessary, with the opinion of Major Lawrence and several of the officers, to raise a troop also in your service, and have granted commissions to Lieutenant Gengins and Mr. Hallyburton to act as Lieutenants, and one to Ensign

[1] Letter from Lord Clive, Cundover, July 19, 1762 (Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 139–40).

Cheseborough to be a Cornett, these being the properest persons. We have only been able to provide horses and accoutrements for 30 men, but we daily expect more horses from the country, and hope in a short time to make up this number, one hundred." [1]

Lawrence had also under his command a company of artillery which consisted of a hundred gunners commanded by a First Captain and Chief Engineer.[2] The little force, disciplined and trained by Stringer Lawrence, was the germ of the army that won an empire for England.

On the night of June 9, 1747, an English 20-gun ship, returning from a cruise, brought the intelligence to Fort St. David that she had discovered seven large ships to the south. Next day at noon the French squadron was discerned in the south-east. The sea-wind was set in, and they were sailing directly before it towards St. David. The English squadron was at anchor near the land, and during the sea-breeze could not get near the enemy. At four in the afternoon, the French squadron, "being within three leagues of the road," altered their course, and as they kept to the windward the English admiral thought their intention was to make Pondicherry at all events. About midnight the English fleet put to sea with the land-wind. In the morning they shortened sail, in expectation every minute of seeing the French squadron again to the south. But when evening came, and no ships were seen, Admiral Griffin, feeling that he had been deceived, made sail for Madras, where he arrived the next evening and found no French ships in the road. Bouves, the commander of the French squadron, an able and experienced mariner, had reached Pondicherry in the morning, and having landed 400 soldiers and £200,000 in silver, immediately put out to sea on his return to Mauritius.

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, February 13, 1747–8 (Madras Records).

[2] The Artillery Company . . . was of the following strength:

1 First Captain and Chief Engineer.	1 Ensign Fireworker.
1 Second Captain and Engineer.	4 Sergeant Bombardiers.
1 Captain-Lieutenant and Director of Laboratory.	4 Corporal Bombardiers.
	2 Drummers.
1 First Lieutenant Fireworker.	100 Gunners.
1 Second Lieutenant Fireworker.	

—Vibart's "Military History of the Madras Engineers," Vol. I., p. 9.

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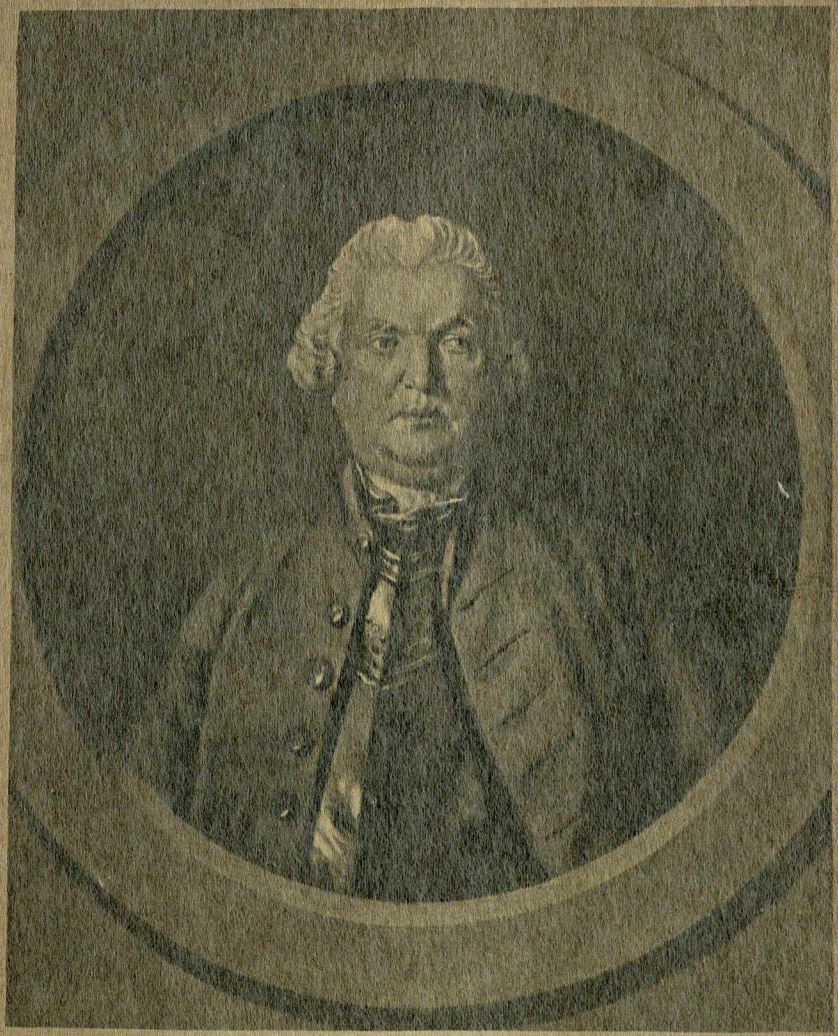

MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER LAWRENCE

From the mezzotint by R. Houston after a painting
by Sir Joshua Reynolds

When Dupleix at Pondicherry saw that the English squadron had sailed to Madras, he determined to attack Cuddalore at once by night and capture it by surprise. Master of Cuddalore, he could deprive the garrison of Fort St. David of their direct communication with the English squadron. Lawrence met his plan with a dexterous move. What took place Clive has described:

"Some time after this Mr. Floyer and Major Laurence received intelligence that the French intended to attack Cuddalore by Scalade: to encourage them in the attempt they artfully withdrew all the forces and Cannon from Cuddalore in the day time and as soon as it was dark sent them back with a strong Reinforcement. The next morning the French force consisting of 800 Europeans at least began their March and marching a good deal inland possessed themselves of [Bandiopollam] Hills and march[ed] down towards Cuddalore between 10 and 11 o'clock and immediately began the Attack by planting Ladders against the Walls: the Garrison being prepared for them they were readily repulsed with considerable loss, and they made the best of their way back again overwhelmed with Fatigue and disgrace: their Ignorance was plainly discovered by their attacking the only place which was fortified and had a Wall for to the North and South it was quite open and they might have entered with ease and overpowered our Numbers." [1]

Three times had the French endeavoured to take the fort, and three times they had been gallantly repelled by the small garrison. The outlook for Dupleix was grave. Early in the year 1747 the Governor and Council at Fort St. David had received advice that a strong armament was fitting out under the command of Admiral Boscawen for the attack of Pondicherry.[2] Letters received from the French Ministry had also informed Dupleix that the English armament had left England in November. It might now appear at any moment. Dupleix, who had been confident about capturing Fort St. David, became anxious for the security of Pondicherry. He proceeded, with the expert advice of Paradis, to strengthen its defences. The preparations were being actively carried on when a native courier brought Dupleix the news that the great English fleet was come at last.

[1] Letter from Lord Clive, Cundover, July 19, 1762 (Orme MSS: India, Vol. I., pp. 140–1).
[2] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 111–20. Siege of Pondicherry.

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CHAPTER IV

1748–9: THE FIRST SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY

On November 4, 1747, the squadron under the command of Admiral Boscawen sailed from St. Helena "with a fair wind which only served for that day." On March 29, 1748, the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay.

> "On the 30th, the ground was pitched on to encamp, and men were ordered on shore to clear it; but the wind blowed so fresh, that the forces could not land till April 6th, when the whole encamped in good order and discipline, being three battalions, with artillery; on the right were 400 marines, making one battalion: six English independent companies, of 112 men each, were on the left; and six Scotch companies were in the centre. The men made a good appearance, and no pains were spared, as to discipline and refreshment, in order to fit them for their better performance in action." [1]

On May 8 Boscawen sailed from the Cape with his squadron, together with six ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. Owing to the stormy weather the fleet did not make the Mauritius till June 23. Boscawen had been ordered to attack the island. But he found the landing, owing to the rocks and breakers, dangerous, and the coast strongly defended by the fortification which La Bourdonnais had erected during his administration. Port Louis was protected by forts; across the harbour lay moored a large ship of two decks, "and there were besides twelve ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of considerable force, and ready for sea." A council of war was held to consider what should be done next. They thought themselves sufficiently strong to reduce the island, "yet the loss, they would probably sustain in the attack, and the number of men which would be requisite to

[1] "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802 (Characters, p. 35).

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garrison the fortifications, would necessarily so much weaken their force, that it would certainly retard them, and might, perhaps, entirely prevent them from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his command." [1] It was determined to run on to the coast of Coromandel without delay. On June 27, Boscawen "sailed from the Mauritius, when the Dutch ships parted with the fleet, and steered for Batavia."

On July 29, 1748, Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David, and Admiral Griffin resigned the command of his squadron to him, and a few days after proceeded with a 60-gun ship and two frigates to Trincomalee.

"The junction of these fleets," writes an English officer who had sailed with Boscawen from England, "formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen in the Indian seas; it consisted of more than thirty ships, of which thirteen were of the line. The English at Fort St. David, and all the native powers attached to their cause, beheld this formidable armament with a joy proportioned to the success which was naturally looked for from its operations." [2]

Boscawen carried a commission from the King as General and Commander-in-Chief of the land forces employed in the expedition. Stringer Lawrence was actively engaged in preparing his men for the business of war, when they were called upon to undertake an arduous siege under a commander who, being a sailor, knew nothing whatever of soldiering. Boscawen's object was to capture Pondicherry. He regarded it in the same light as an enemy's fleet. He would go straight in and win. He had not a moment to lose. He must strike a decisive blow before the French called in their ally the Rajah of Tanjore to their assistance. As soon as his troops were landed, he dispatched three line-of-battle ships and a sloop of war to Pondicherry in order to blockade the place by sea. On August 8 the army under his command began

[1] "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802, p. 36.
[2] Orme, Vol. I., p. 100. "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802, pp. 36-7.

their march. But Clive must tell the story of the siege, in which he distinguished himself by his daring and obstinate determination. His narrative, which is now put in print for the first time, is modest and distinct.

"If there be any Officers or Soldiers in India remaining of those who were at the Siege of Pondicherry, 12 or 13 years experience must have convinced them how very ignorant we were of the art of war in those days. Some of the Engineers were Masters of the Theory without the Practice, and those seemed wanting in resolution; others there were who understood neither, yet were possessed of courage sufficient to have gone on with the undertaking if they had known how to go about it. There was scarce an Officer who knew whether the Engineers were acting right or wrong till it was too late in the Season, and we had lost too many men, to begin an Approach again; in another (*sic*) the duty of the Engineer was in a great measure performed by the Office of Artillery and they seemed to be the only people who knew something of what they were about during this memorable Siege.

"We received advice early in the year 1747 that an Expedition was fitting out under the command of Admiral Boscowen for the attack of Pondicherry. In August the Admiral arrived himself in the *Namur*, and was soon after followed by the rest of the Squadron and Transports. On board the Fleet were embarked 1200 Independants under the command of Major Mompesson. As soon as the forces were disembarked and had refreshed themselves, being joined to the Company's troops, they consisted in Numbers as nearly as I can remember as follows: 1200 Independants, about 7 or 800 Marines, 750 Company's troops, Topasses included, two Companies of artillery (one was belonging to the King the other to the Company), and about 1100 Seapoys, or rather Peons in those days, for they knew little of Discipline and were of little Service in comparison to what they are now.

"The Regulars amounted to about 3000 men. The Independants were formed into two Battalions commanded by Majors Muir and Peppe, the Marines by the oldest Captain,

the Company's troops by Major Laurence, and the Train by Major Goodere; the whole was commanded by Major Mompesson, under Admiral Boscowen who was Commander-in-Chief by Sea and Land and had the rank given him of Major General.

"With this Force we began our March towards Pondicherry, and our first Mistake in my Opinion and one principal cause of our miscarriage was the resolving to attack Ariocopang. Their little fortifications were not to be defended against Battering Cannon or a bombardment, but was not to be taken by a Coup-de-main, for it had a very good deep dry ditch full of Pittsell, a covered way, and Cavaliers in each of the Angles, and many other advantages which made it necessary to attack the place with heavy Cannon. The Engineers were ordered to reconnoitre this fortification, and make their report to the General; their Report was that the Enemy had thrown up an Entrenchment and manned it a few Yards in front of the Place, and that this Entrenchment must be stormed first, and afterwards the Fort of Ariocopang might easily be taken. Accordingly a detachment of Marines, Independants, with part of the artillery under the direction of Major Goodere, were ordered upon this service. The troops marched up to the Entrenchment, as they thought it, at daybreak, with great Spirits and resolution, but how great was their disappointment to find, instead of an Entrenchment full of Frenchmen, only a heap of rubbish consisting of a few old bricks, and a Fortification (not to be taken by a coup-de-main) fraught with all those advantages before described. The Troops finding themselves exposed to a terrible fire of both Musketry and Cannon loaded with grape Shot, from the Walls, all within Pistol Shot, without a possibility of doing any thing, had no Choice left but that of surrend'ring or making a precipitate retreat. They chose the latter, and we had near 180 Gallant Men and officers killed and wounded to no manner of purpose; 3 or 4 Officers were killed outright, and many desperately wounded, among the rest was Major Goodere who lost his leg, and soon after his life. On this Officer's

experience the General chiefly depended for the Operations of the Siege. This unfortunate blundering Disaster affected the Spirits of the Troops in such a manner that it was a long time before they recovered themselves, and I believe never after entertained any great hope of Success against Pondicherry.

"Grown wise by fatal experience, they began now to find it necessary to bring on them some heavy Cannon for the reduction of the place. The French finding us resolutely bent upon carrying this Point, very judiciously threw every Obstacle in our Way, well knowing that by employing us at 3 miles distance from Pondicherry we lost both time and men, and should be nothing nearer to the taking the Place when Ariocopang should fall.

"To the Northward and about the Fort ran a broad deep river called Areacopang River. On the banks of this river the French erected a Battery of heavy Cannon to obstruct and enfilade our approaches to the Fort. Our Engineer[s] erected a Counter Battery to this, but with so little judgment that when they came to open it in the Morning at day-break, there was a thick wood between ours and that of the Enemy. This blunder must be owing to their great caution in reconnoitring. As soon as the Mistake was set to rights, the Batteries played upon one another to little purpose. An entrenchment was thrown up in front of this Battery for its greater Security, and a strong detachment posted there. It was usual for the French Seapoys to fire a few popping Shot at the distance of 4 or 500 yards; one of these random Shot happened to kill one of the Sailors in the Entrenchment; this, added to the appearance of the French Troop of Horse, struck the others with such a panick that they all abandoned the Entrenchments. The Example of the Sailors was followed by all the Military in spight of the Exhortations of their Officers to the contrary; this unaccountable panick was immediately observed by the Enemy, and taken advantage of by them. They advanced with some Seapoys and the Troop of Horse, took possession of the Entrenchments, and afterwards pursued

the fugitives to the Battery, who were there assembled in a confused Heap of at least 15 Deep ; however, in this confusion they fired upon the Horse, killed 6 or 7 of them, dropp'd the Horse of the Commanding Officer, and took the Officer Prisoner. This obliged the French to turn tail, and thus ended this curious Exploit. If our loss had only ended here, it had been nothing, [but] this Action was rendered truly unfortunate by the Loss of Major Laurence, who commanded the Entrenchment that day, and sooner than follow the Troops in their ignominious flight, chose rather to be killed or taken Prisoner, as did Captn. Bruce, a very gallant Officer." [1]

In announcing this incident to the Court of Directors, and how "very unfortunately our brave Major [was] made prisoner," the Governor and Council of Fort St. David state, "We have since received a letter from the Major, who says he received no hurt in the action, and that they meet with extream good treatment." [2] In their next letter mention is made of their attempt to exchange him. But Dupleix was "very ready to exchange all but Major Lawrance, as he is pretty well acquainted with the use that gentleman is of to us ; but as the General has returned him for answer that unless he is exchanged none of the rest shall, but be sent to Europe, we hope that may have an effect upon him, and induce him to favour us with the Major again." [3] But Dupleix was too wise to favour them with the major again, and it was owing to his absence and Boscawen's want of knowledge of the art of war that the siege proved so disastrous a failure.

Clive proceeds to relate how an accident caused the French to blow up the fort at Ariancopang :—

"Our operations before Areocopang went on very slowly, and no appearance of its being reduced, when, very fortunately for us, the French Battery by some accident blew up and with it the whole Guard, consisting of 100 Europeans. This had such an Effect that the Enemy to our great Joy and

[1] Orme MSS.: India, I., pp. 111–20. Siege of Pondicherry, 1748, by Lord Clive.
[2] Dispatch from Fort St. David, September 2, 1748 (Madras Records).
[3] Dispatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1748 (Madras Records).

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surprize blew up the Fort of Areacopang themselves the same day, and abandoned it, which we took possession of. In the Undertaking we lost a fortnight of time, which was irrecoverable, and a great many brave Officers and Men, in my Opinion to no purpose, for there was not the least necessity for attacking this place; being 3 miles from Pondicherry we had only to avoid it, and the Enemy as soon as they had seen us marching between them and Pondicherry would immediately have abandoned it, or if they had not, a Detachment of 200 Men, while we were forming the Siege, would have kept open our Communication with Fort St. David and kept the Enemy within the Fort, for it was not capable of holding above 100 men, neither did the Garrison ever consist of more.

"Areacopang being taken we began our march for Pondicherry with great Caution and circumspection, and encamped on the heights about 2 miles from the town, and took possession of Mr. Dupleix's House and Garden and the Village of Wolgary, which consisted of houses built by the French like our Mount houses. In this Camp we were reinforced with 1100 Sailors from the Ships, under the Command of Captn. Lloyd, and about 150 Dutch from Negapatam.

"The same Evening a strong detachment was sent to possess themselves of the French bounds, which was effected with little or no opposition, but so prevailing was the panick amongst the Men that in the night time the advanced Sentries were constantly firing without seeing any body, and very often at one another: this kept the whole detachment in continual alarm the whole night, and I am persuaded the appearance of 50 of the Enemy would have put us all to flight.

"Having made some preparations for the Siege we began it by opening of ground at the distance of about 1500 Yards; in the night time we threw up one Trench in front which contained 100 Men, and another in the rear which we called the Grand Trench, containing 300 men. These Trenches were neither of them compleated, being without Epaulements, and the lesser Trench had many Hutts in front at the distance of about 10 yards, which we could not level or destroy in the

day time without being exposed to the fire from the Town. At about one o'Clock we could perceive the Enemy advancing with a large body of men and field-pieces to drive us out of the Trenches; notice was immediately sent to the General, but before Succours came the sally was decided. Paradis who commanded, ordered the French Grenadier Company and some Seapoys to attack the lesser Trench, whilst he with the main Body advanced to attack the large one. Fortunately for us, whilst he was advancing with his Field pieces to enfilade the Grand Trench, he was mortally wounded in the head by a Random Shot; this put an end to the Design, and the Detachment retreated back to the Town unobserved by the French Grenadier Company and Seapoys, who according to Orders attacked the Front Trench, where Captn. Brown, who commanded, was mortally wounded, and his Platoon fled and abandoned the Trenches, as did the Platoon belonging to Ensign Greenville, so that there remained only one Platoon consisting of about 30 Men belonging to the Independants, with Ensign Clive. The French Grenadier Company could approach under cover of the huts within 10 yards of the Trench, which they did, and fired upon the Men in the Trenches for about 3 or 4 Minutes, when they attempted to force the Trench, but were received with such a heavy fire from Ensign Clive's Platoon that they immediately went to the right about. In this Affair Captain Le Roche and 27 French were killed upon the Spot; of Ensign Clive's Platoon, 8 Men were shot through the head." [1]

An English officer who was present at the siege remarks in his journal that Clive on this occasion "by his gallant conduct gave the first prognostic of that high military spirit which was the spring of his future actions." [2] But the valour of veterans instead of the rawest of recruits would not have counteracted the extraordinary series of blunders made by those who guided the operations. Clive criticises them with clear touch: [3]

[1] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 115–17.
[2] "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802, p. 40.
[3] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 117–20.

"The disappointment of the Enemy in this Sally, together with the loss of Paradis, dispirited the Garrison in such a manner that it was some time before they recovered themselves. In the mean time we continued carrying on our approaches, very ignorantly and very slowly; a Battery of 3 Pieces of Cannon was erected by the Train at the distance of about 1200 Yards, to cover our Trenches and check the Enemy in their future Sallies, but they never made another upon our Trenches, tho' they had many Opportunities given them from the heavy Rains which had fallen in the Night time and destroyed all our Ammunition.

"After some Weeks hard labour we carried on our Approaches to the distance of about 850 yards, tho' the Engineer assured the General we were within 500 yards. Here we began to erect our Batteries in Breach, and here in fact we were much too far from even destroying the Defences; after several days Labour we finished one Battery of Eight 24-Pounders and one of four 24-Pounders, besides one or two Mortar Batteries. From these Batteries we began to play upon the Town, and attempted to make a Breach in the Courtain at the distance of 850 yards, without even destroying the least of the Enemies Defences. In this useless work we continued for several days, one half of our Cannon dismounted, and our Batteries torn to Pieces every day by the superior fire of the Enemy. In short, the Enemy increased their fire every day and ours diminished every day, until at last the Enemy had 37 Pieces of heavy Cannon playing upon our Batteries, and we not more than 5 or 6 upon theirs. To have seen a Plan of this Siege an Experienced Officer would have thought the Besiegers were the Besieged, so much were we beset by the Enemies Batteries without the Walls of the Town.

"In short the General, finding he had been deceived by the Engineers, and that the Monsoon was too far advanced to make an Attempt in another Place, came to a resolution of withdrawing the Cannon, burning the Batteries, and raising the Siege, which he accordingly put in Execution without any Opposition from the Enemy, and arrived at St. Davids after

having first destroyed the fortifications of Areacopang. In this expedition we lost between 5 and 600 Men by Death and Sickness.

" During the Siege we had several skirmishes to the Northward of the Town, in escorting our military Stores, in most of which we were unsuccessful, particularly in one when they sallied from the Town, defeated the Escort, and took two of our 24-Pounders, Transports and all, and carried them in Triumph to Pondicherry before our Forces who were in the Trenches. A Detachment from the Camp was sent to intercept them, but they met with so warm a fire from the Enemy, who lay concealed in a Wood, that they were oblidged to retire with considerable loss.

" Reasons without number may be assigned for our ill Success against Pondicherry. In the first place, the Engineers made a very injudicious choice, for they pitched upon a Spot of ground fraught with every disadvantage which could attend a Siege ; by being to the Westward we could receive no advantage from our ships, but were oblidged to send strong Parties every day the distance of 7 Miles to Escort all our military Stores, while the French had not half that Distance to march to intercept them. Our communication with the Sea and with the Ships was by this means continually interrupted, and our Numbers for the attack of the Place greatly lessened by the men which were constantly employed upon this service. I need not represent the many ill consequences besides the loss of time which must attend transporting such an infinite quantity of Stores 7 Miles. Had we opened ground to the Northward, or even to the Southward, all these Inconveniences had been avoided, all our Stores would have been at hand and could have been landed and made use of in half the time, several hundreds of Men could have been spared for the Siege which were employed to guard the Stores, besides the ground where we carried on our approaches was so low in itself that the Trenches were quickly filled with water, and by the time we had finished our Batteries the French let out such a quantity of pent-up Water from the Paddy Field that a great part

of the ground between the Front of our Batteries and the Town was overflowed, so that it was impossible for us to carry on our approaches any further in that Place.

"We ought to have encamped on the Northwest of the Town, and opened ground, if possible, within 6 or 700 yards of the Walls. Our first Batteries should have been so constructed as to have ruined all the Defences which could have annoyed our Batteries or have obstructed the carrying on of our approaches. The Defences once destroyed, we might have continued our approaches to within 2 or 300 yards, where we might (as there was no Glacis) have erected other Batteries for Battering in Breach, [and] during this time have advanced near enough to fill the Ditch; then it would have been soon decided whether the Place could be taken or not. None of these Steps were taken by us, for which reason we could not have succeeded, without the Enemy, more ignorant than ourselves, had been frightened into a Surrender at our appearance. It is esteemed next to impossible to master a place till the fire of the Besiegers becomes superior to the fire of the Besieged; the contrary being our case, we could not succeed, and this the Engineer as well as every Officer ought to have known if they had known ought of the Matter. Brohier, who saw the French return, informed me the Garrison of Pondicherry consisted of about 1400 Europeans and 1500 Blacks."

Clive's estimate of the loss sustained by the English at the siege of Pondicherry does not tally with the figures given by an English officer. He writes:[1]

"On a review of the army it was found, that during the siege there had perished in action and by sickness 757 soldiers, forty-three artillery men, and 265 seamen, in all 1065 Europeans: of the sepoys very few were killed, for they had only been employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and being altogether undisciplined, generally took flight at the approach of danger. The French garrison, commanded by M. Dupleix (a man justly distinguished for his spirit and sagacity), consisted of 1800 Europeans and 3000 sepoys, of which 200 Europeans and about fifty sepoys were killed."

[1] "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802, pp. 41–2.

Among those killed on the English side was John Hallyburton, who had specially devoted himself to converting the peons into disciplined soldiers. But he did not fall in fair fight. The Governor and Council wrote to the Court:

"We have also been so unfortunate as to loose Mr. John Hallyburton to whom, as we before acquainted your Honours, we had given a Commission to be Lieutenant of the Troop of Horse, and of which he was very deserving, for he took infinite trouble in disciplining the Troop and shewed himself very active in the field. It was by one of our own Sepoys that he had the misfortune to be killed, who shot him upon his reprimanding him for some offence, of which the poor Gentleman died the next day, And the Villain did not live so long, for his Comrades that stood by him cut him to picess (*sic*) immediately." [1]

The defence of Pondicherry reflects equal honour on the courage of the garrison and on the conduct of their governor. When Paradis was mortally wounded the details of the defence fell entirely on Dupleix. Then, as he wrote, the study of mathematics and especially of fortification, which his father had impressed upon him, became of great assistance to him. He showed his skill in strengthening the weak places and in repairing the ravages to the works. Every day, regardless of the fire from the trenches, Dupleix, accompanied by his wife, walked on the summit of the ramparts giving orders to the officers and encouraging the French soldiers by his presence. Macaulay states [2] that Dupleix "was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice; and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms." The basis for the statement appears to be a note in Mill's "History," which states:

"The memoir drawn up by the French East India Company, in answer to Dupleix, alleges more than once that Dupleix was defective in personal courage; and says he apologized for the care with which

[1] Dispatch from Fort St. David, September 2, 1748 (Madras Records).
[2] "Essay on Clive" ("Essays," Vol. III., p. 135).

he kept at a distance from shot, by acknowledging 'que le bruit des armes suspendoit ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenoit à son génie.'"[1]

The "memoir, drawn up by the French East India Company," is merely the testimony of the Company which, as Mill himself states, "ruined in the space of a few years the only eminent men she had placed at the head of her affairs in India—Labourdonnais, Dupleix and Lally." On Monday, September 10, Ranga Pillai writes:[2]

"This morning at half past seven o'clock, while the Governor was inspecting the battery on the sea shore a bomb fell near him . . . thanks to God, it did not burst but buried itself in the earth. The Governor immediately returned to the citadel . . ."

Dupleix was forty-four years of age when he married the widow of M. Vincens, an intimate friend who had been his colleague in the Pondicherry Council. Her father was a Frenchman, by name Albert, who had passed his life in India, and her mother was Elizabeth de Castro, the daughter of Thomas Lopes de Castro, who had married a native woman.[3] As the wife of Vincens, Mme. Dupleix had been distinguished for her beauty, her ready wit and her keen interest in affairs. She was the mother of eleven children, five of whom were alive when she was left a widow. Dupleix invited her to come to Bengal in order that he might act as guardian to the children of his old friend, and he took the most effectual step for carrying out his intention. He married their mother on April 17, 1741, the year he was appointed Governor of Pondicherry. The following year was born the only child of the marriage—a son who died the day of his birth, October 10, 1742. Ranga Pillai writes:[4]

[1] Mill: "History of British India (1840)," Vol. III., p. 83.
[2] *See* Vinson: "Les Français dans l'Inde," p. 216.
[3] The grandmother of Mme. Dupleix was a native woman (see below).—Eugène Guerrin: "Dupleix d'après des Documents inédits."

Thomas Lopes de Castro = a native
|
Jacques-Theodore Albert = Elizabeth Rose de C.
|
Dupleix = Jeanne = M. Vincens
| |
(son) 11 children

[4] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. I., p. 201.

"About half past 12 this afternoon, the Governor, M. Dupleix, was blessed with a son. As soon as he was born, each ship in the roads fired a salute of twenty-one guns and the church bells rang peals for half an Indian hour. But the life of the infant was limited to this period, and his soul then retired to the feet of God."

Mme. Dupleix was well qualified to be the consort of Dupleix. She was endowed, as Stringer Lawrence states, "with as much spirit, art and pride as himself." Born and educated in Pondicherry, she was well skilled in the vernacular languages and conducted her husband's negotiations with the native princes. She had Eastern blood in her veins and was Oriental in her tastes and feelings. Ranga Pillai lays bare her political machinations, her money-lending transactions, her bribery, her corruption. During the siege, however, she proved herself to be a woman of virile energy and determination. She not only encouraged by her firm attitude the French ladies, whose privations she shared, but revived the drooping courage of the native inhabitants. She took an important part in the councils of the defence. It was she who pointed out to Dupleix and Paradis, while they were on the summit of a bastion, the plan of the sortie which cost Paradis his life. Fifteen days later she ordered, on her own authority, a company of sepoys and peons to make a sortie. As an active instrument in the defence, to her must be given with good reason some of the credit for its complete success. Dupleix and the French garrison had every right to be proud of their victory, and the day the siege was raised was a day of joy.

So ended the first siege of Pondicherry. The failure to reduce the city gave Clive, a young subaltern, his first insight into the practical difficulties of war. He had seen in the trenches how easily panics may be generated, he had marked the fatal weakness inherent in half-trained troops and he had realised the advantage of a vigorous attack. He had learnt the value of war as a school of character. "Few men," says Wolfe, to whom Clive may be aptly compared, "are acquainted with the degrees of their own courage till danger has proved them." Danger had proved that Clive possessed in the highest

degree physical courage and at critical moments self-control absolute and judgment clear and prompt. That a young lad, who had recently been a civilian, should display these high military qualities aroused the envy of some of his comrades. Malicious anecdotes were spread, as they always will be spread about anyone who raises himself in a slight degree above his fellows. They reached the ears of Clive; he traced them to their chief source and took decisive action. At a Consultation, held February 28, 1749,[1] at which Charles Floyer, President and Governor, and six Councillors, including Stringer Lawrence, were present, the following letter from Robert Clive was read:—

To—The Hon'ble Charles Floyer, Esq., *President & Governour, &ca Council of Fort St. David.*

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,—I have been informed that the Reverend Mr. Fordyce some days ago preferr'd a Complaint against me to your Honour, &ca., this therefore is to request that your Honour, &ca., will be pleased to examine into the Cause of the Said Complaint for the Justification of

Your most obedt. humble Servant,
Signed Robert Clive.

Fort,
28*th February* 1748–9.

The Secretary was ordered "to Summons the Reverend Mr. Fordyce to attend on Friday next at 9 o'Clock in the Forenoon, when its agreed to hold a Consultation to examine into this Affair, and that he brings with him such Persons as he thinks necessary to prove what he has to Alledge against Mr. Clive who is also ordered to give his attendance at that time." On Friday, March 3, the Council again met, and the following letter from the Reverend Mr. Fordyce was read:—

To—The Hon'ble Charles Floyer, Esqr., *President & Governour of Fort St. David, &ca., Council.*

Sirs,—I have received Mr. Bourchier's Letter of yesterday's date signifying your direction that I should attend you next Friday to prove my Allegation against Mr. Robert Clive for Assaulting me, and in answer thereto, I beg leave to acquaint you that it never was nor is my Intention to give you any trouble in that affair, having

[1] "Consultations at Fort St. David, 1749" (Madras Records).

only mentioned it to the Governour and Major Lawrance, as I then thought and do now that their knowing of it might be somewhat Conducive to favour a further Prosecution of Mr. Clive and his accomplices, since I apprehend there is not a proper Court of Judicature in these parts, wherein to try it, and as I conceive that no part of the Laws of England can justify Mr. Robert Clive or any other person in assaulting a Laick much less a Clergyman. However as it is your orders I shall attend at the Appointed Time, who am with Respect, Sirs,

Your most obedient & most
Humble Servant,
Signed FRAN. FORDYCE.

CUDDALORE,
1*st March* 1748–9

Mr. Fordyce being then called before the Board, he handed to the Secretary a paper forbidding

"this Cause to be heard or try'd Directly or Indirectly before the Honourable The Governour and Council of Fort St. David for special reasons I need not name they being well known."

After the protest was read,

"The Board having directed it to be enter'd and an attested Copy to be delivered to Mr. Fordyce, then asked him if he disputed their Authority, to which he gave them no direct answer, but being ask'd the same a second time, he rudely replied he would answer no Questions, and so left the room abruptly, which so extraordinary Behaviour being taken into consideration, the Gentlemen are Unanimously of Opinion, that as it is Evident he disputes their Authority, and for his Insolent Behaviour, he is no longer worthy to be entertained in the Service of the Hon'ble Company, from which Its agreed he be dismiss'd and the Secretary is ordered to acquaint him therewith, and that his allowances will cease from this day."

The Board then

"directed Mr. Clive to be call'd in, as also Messrs. Dalton and Worth, whom Mr. Fordyce in his protest accuses of being his accomplices, and the said protest being read to them, Mr. Clive is desired to acquaint the Board with the particulars of the Affair, when he replied as follows :—

"That being at Dinner with Messrs. Dalton & Worth on or about the 16th day of February at Bandipollam, they told him Mr. Fordyce had said to a Gentleman in publick Compy. that he was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane over him in the presence of Mr. Levy Moses. Mr. Clive further says that some time

before this he had been inform'd by Capt. Cope that Mr. Fordyce did in Conversation with him threaten to break every Bone in his Skin, and he says that these repeated abuses so irritated him that he could not forbear on meeting Mr. Fordyce in Cuddalore to reproach him with his Behaviour which he told him was so injurious he could bear it no longer, and therefore struck him two or three times with his Cane, which at last Mr. Fordyce returned and then clos'd in with him, but that they were presently parted by Captain Lucas who happen'd to be by. Mr. Clive further observes that he is not the only person who has been abus'd and Calumniated by Mr. Fordyce, who had also aspers'd the Character of Mr. Joseph Fowke, by saying he was a dark designing Villain, that he would slit his Nose the first time he met him, and that he had knock'd him under the Table at the Governours. He further says Mr. Fordyce had told Capt. Dalton at Mr. Belsches's that if every body would discourse the Governour in the manner he had done, it would alter affairs greatly, and that he had talk'd to him till he made him quake or shake in his Shoes, or words to that effect. Mr. Clive also says Mr. Lindsay told him he had heard Mr. Fordyce say that Mr. Bulkley was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane at him as he had done at Mr. Clive. Mr. Clive further says he threaten'd to thrash Mr. Bouchier, and that he had declar'd to several people, he had taken away Gentlemen's Swords before now, and would pull off his Canonicals at any time to do himself Justice ; and lastly Mr. Clive says Mr. Lennox told him that Mr. Fordyce was generally shunn'd & detested both at St. Helena and the West Coast on account of his medling Disposition w^ch render'd him disagreeable and obnoxious to every one.

" Signed ROBERT CLIVE."

The Governor in Council in their dispatch referring to this matter wrote, on November 22, 1749 :

" A complaint having been brought before us by Mr. Francis Fordyce for an Assault that was made on him by Mr. Robert Clive, due Enquiry was made by us into the same. In the Course of which it appearing that Mr. Fordyce had given great Provocation for such Proceeding, by having frequently scandalized his Character in a most unsufferable manner, and being further acquainted that he had at several times taken great Libertys in his Conversation in making use of many unbecoming Reflections on the President and all the Members of the Board, In Consequence of this his Aggressions and Disrespect together with the many Instances we have had of his Insolent and Medling disposition, We came to a Resolution of suspending him your Honours Service, And besides the reasons already given for our so doing, We might still add that He was in General remark'd to be extreamly Negligent and remiss in the several Duties of his Functions, particularly in the Burial of the Soldiers and Seamen,

which part of his Office he scarce ever attended, notwithstanding he had been twice or thrice Rebuk'd by the President for not doing, and which neglect had at length began to Create great Discontent in our Military. We therefore presume that upon a due consideration of all these Circumstances, your honours will concur with us in the measures We have taken herein. In which dependance we shall only add, as It is not to be doubted but Mr. Fordyce will set forth his own Story to your Honours, and least the same should be to Mr. Clive's Prejudice, We think it not improper to assure you that he is Generally Esteem'd a very quiet Person, and no ways guilty of Disturbances." [1]

Mill, in his sketch of Clive, states: "His turbulence, though he was not ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals." [2] It appears, however, according to the evidence of his superiors who were in constant contact with him, that he "was generally esteemed a very quiet person and no ways guilty of disturbances." Clive was stern and imperious, but "turbulent" is the last word that with justice could be applied to him. No man had a greater love of order and of discipline.

Dupleix "sent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the great Mogul himself, acquainting them that he had repulsed the most formidable attack that had ever been made in India; and he received from them the highest compliments on his own prowess and on the military character of his nation: this indeed was now regarded throughout Indostan as greatly superior to that of the English." [3] Dupleix at once determined to act on the offensive. He was busy making preparations for another attack on Fort St. David when an official intimation from Paris reached him, which disconcerted for the moment his plan of expelling the English from Southern India and converting the Deccan into a French dependency—a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed in the preceding April.

[1] The foregoing papers were discovered by me in the Madras Archives and a brief extract given from them in a Memorandum printed in 1890. No mention of this quarrel is made by biographers or historians. It is, however, possible that the account of a fracas between Clive and an officer given in the "Biographia Britannica" is a distorted version of this affair.

[2] Mill: "History of British India," Vol. IV., p. 116.

[3] Orme, Vol. I., p. 110.

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CHAPTER V

1748–9: THE TANJORE EXPEDITION

In December, 1748, hostilities ceased between the English and French in India. A few months later, however, circumstances occurred which led to Clive being again employed on active service. South of Cuddalore, separated from it by the River Coleroon, lies the province of Tanjore, which extends seventy miles along the sea and sixty inland.[1] It is not what Burke called it, "the most exquisite spot on earth," but its ancient reservoirs and canals have so husbanded its many streams and fructified the whole country that it has become a well-watered garden, vying in fertility with the delta of the Nile. Two or three years after the English had obtained their first settlement at Madras, Shahaji, the father of Shivaji the founder of the great Mahratta Confederacy, was appointed by the independent Mohammedan king of Bejāpur to administer his possessions in the Carnatic. It was the Mohammedan custom to bestow on men for distinguished service to the Crown a jaghire (*jagir*), or hereditary assignment of land and of its rent as an annuity, and a large territory which included part of Mysore was conferred on Shahaji as a jaghire. He introduced into his new domain a large number of Mahratta Brahmans for establishing a new system of revenue administration and for suppressing the universal anarchy which prevailed. From that day the Mahratta Brahman has played an important part in the politics and administration of Southern India. His influence at the time for evil or for good was great. Shahaji's aim was to establish an independent Mahratta Kingdom in

[1] The present Collectorate of Tanjore.

Southern India. But it was his son Venkoji (or Eccojee), half brother of Shivaji, who carried out his design.

About 1675 the Naicks or Hindu Rajahs of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, according to the normal course of things in India, began to wage war one against another. The Rajah of Tanjore, being hard pressed by the superior force of his neighbour, sent envoys to the king of Bejāpur to solicit protection and aid for his vassal. The monarch sent two Mohammedan agents with an order addressed to Venkoji at Bangalore, directing him to march for the relief of Tanjore. Venkoji set forth on the expedition, and having raised the siege of Tanjore, "made the customary demand of the expenses of the expedition; the account of which, as usual, doubled the actual amount." [1] This the Tanjore Rajah was unable or unwilling to satisfy.

It was Shahaji, the grandson of the founder of the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore, who, not long after the return of the troops from Pondicherry, asked the Government of Cuddalore to assist him in regaining the Tanjore throne from which he had been expelled by his natural brother Pratap Singh. Pratap Singh had before and during the siege of Pondicherry proved himself to be an active ally of the French and an active enemy to the English. Boscawen was burning to punish him and wipe out the disgrace of the failure of the siege of Pondicherry. He was a usurper. The cause of Shahaji seemed just, and it was asserted with great confidence that he should no sooner appear in the kingdom, supported even by a moderate force, than his standard would be joined by numbers, and his title acknowledged by thousands. It was stipulated that he would give the Company the Fort of Devicotah at the mouth of the River Coleroon.

"The Fort of Devi-Cotah is," says Orme, "situated in a populous country, in which manufactures of linnen proper for the company's trade are fabricated; and the territory in its neighbourhood is the most fertile part of the coast of Coromandel. On this coast, from Masulipatnam to Cape Comorin, there is no port capable of receiving

[1] Wilks: "Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor," Vol. I., p. 79 (ed. 1810).

a ship of 300 tons burden; which defect subjects the navigation of these parts to great risques at particular seasons. The mouth of the river Coleroon, near Devi-Cotah, is indeed generally obstructed by sands, but the channel within the bar is deep enough to receive ships of the largest burden; and it was thought that the bar itself might with some labour and expence be removed: if this should be effected, the coast of Coromandel would be no longer without a harbour, and the greatest advantages would accrue to the European nation which should obtain the exclusive possession of it." [1]

Shahaji also agreed to pay all the expenses of the campaign. The Governor and Council of Fort St. David accepted these terms, and in the early days of April, 1749, they sent a small force under the command of Captain Cope to replace him on the throne of Tanjore.

Clive, who had been appointed on March 1, 1749, to be Lieutenant of a Company of Foot in the Honourable Company's Service at Fort St. David, took part in our first frontier expedition as the commander of a company. The story of "this fruitless expedition" is told in a memorandum which Clive wrote for Orme: [2]

"Early in the beginning of the year 1749, a young man who had resided some time at Fort St. David, under the English protection, asserted that he was the lawful heir to the Crown of Tanjore, and accompanied this assertion with a very probable story, which being laid before Admiral Boscawen and Governor Floyer they resolved to support him with a military force to recover his right, and accordingly in the month of March, 4 Companies of Europeans, a detachment of Artillery with 4 field pieces, some cohorns and 1000 sepoys were ordered upon this service under the command of Captain Cope. The young Pretender accompanied this little army, with great promises that as soon as it entered the Tanjore Country it would be joined by great numbers and his Right to the Throne acknowledged by thousands. The forces being encamped on the banks of Porto Novo River, about 12 miles inland of that Town, we were overtaken with such a dreadful Storm, which began at about 8 o'Clock in the Evening and continued till 4 o'Clock the next morning, as entirely disconcerted the expedition for some days. The tents were all blown to rags, many of the Tumbrills were overset by the violence of the storm, and the military stores in general much damaged; this obliged the Commanding Officer to make the best of his way with the Troops to Porto Novo. To remember (*sic*) the ravages of the storm at this

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 116.
[2] Orme MSS.: India, Vol. I., pp. 219 *sqq.*

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place we received the melancholy News of the loss of the *Namur*, *Pembroke*, and *Apollo*. A few days having put the army in condition, it resumed its march for Tanjore, passed Chellambrum, and arrived on the Banks of the Calderoon, where the Commanding Officer encamped and entrenched waiting for Intelligence from the opposite shore, which not being satisfactory, and there not being the least appearance of our being joined by any of the forces on the opposite shore, numbers of which we saw constantly in motion on the banks of the river, the Commanding Officer did not think himself strong enough, and wrote for another reinforcement which was accordingly sent him. Being joined by this reinforcement we crossed the River in sight of the Enemy without much opposition; the object of this first Expedition was the taking of the Fort of Devi Cotah, in order to make it a Place of Arms for carrying on our future designs against the Capital of Tanjore. As we entered further into the Country our difficulties seemed to increase, the Country became very woody and the Enemy annoyed us very much from the Bushes; the Enemy's army now appeared in full view in our Rear and Flank upon the Plains, being very numerous; this being our first Expedition the Men and Officers were a little staggered at the appearance of so great an Army; however, the brisk firing of our field Pieces kept them at some distance and gave us time to recover that confusion which we were thrown in by our situation. We then changed our situation and drew up on the Banks of the river; our flanks were covered by our Field pieces and our Rear by the river. The Commanding Officer then held a Council of War whether to proceed or wait for better advice, when he received orders from Mr. Boscawen to continue his march and attempt the Fort of Dave Cotah, let what would be the Consequence. Fortunately for us we discovered a Road by the river side which at the same [time] that it covered our left flank disengaged us from a very close and woody Country through which we must have marched 10 or 12 miles back, frightened and harrassed most of the way. We met little or no interruption on this road and encamped near a Pagoda at the distance of about a mile from Dave Cotah. Here we expected to have heard of the ships with more forces and military stores, in order for the attack of the Fort, but such was the singularity of our condition, and so totally ignorant were we of the Country, that we could not receive the least intelligence of them or they of us, altho they were at Anchor near the mouth of the river at the distance of about 4 miles from us. We had not three days Provisions with us, all supplies by land being cut off by the Enemy, and by sea we could not receive any for the Reasons recited above: our Artillery were only Field pieces, so that we could only try the Effect of a few Cohorn Shells, which we threw into the Fort all night, which had no manner of Effect. It was proposed to advance the field Pieces and endeavour to batter the Gates, but this was disapproved of by the Commanding Officer as attended with too much risque, and two days after we came before the place the

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Forces began their march back again, which the Enemy being apprized of, took possession of some woods which lay upon our flank, and fired upon us with artillery and musquetry; this obliged us to advance some platoons of Europeans to dislodge them, or keep them at a distance, that the army might pass a Nullah which, tho not breast high when we passed it, was now by the rising of the Tide above our heads. This inconveniency was not foreseen till the Cooleys with the Baggage had entered into the Nullah, and those in front being prest upon by those in the rear and fired upon by the Enemy from the adjacent Wood near 400 of these poor wretches were drowned and with them we lost great part of the Baggage. The Nulla falling, we passed over without further interruption from the Enemy and continued our retreat all that day, passed the Calderoon in the afternoon, and arrived at Chellambram much fatigued late at night. The next day we continued our march to Fort St. David, and thus ended this fruitless Expedition by Land."

Clive does not mention that it was he who urged blowing the gates open and delivering an assault. The storm he mentions was the violent hurricane in which the *Namur* of 74 guns (the admiral's flag-ship), the *Pembroke*, and the *Apollo*, hospital ship, together with the greater part of their crews, were unhappily lost. It was on April 13 that the hurricane arose.

"When the gale commenced, the *Namur* was at anchor in the road of Fort St. David. The admiral was on shore, but the officer in command of the ship immediately cut the cables and put to sea, though the impetuosity of the tempest and the uncommon height of the sea were such, as to offer little prospect of being able to save the ship; and, after struggling for some hours in the endeavour to get off the coast, she foundered in nine fathom water, Captain Marshall, Mr. Gilchrist the third lieutenant, the captain of marines, the surgeon, purser, chaplain, boatswain, and about forty seamen, being all that were saved out of six hundred." [1]

Boscawen was not inclined to sit down in patience under a second failure. He at once began to make preparations for another expedition, and the whole of the Company's troops under the command of Major Lawrence, who had again assumed charge of the garrison, were ordered for this service. [2]

[1] "Asiatic Annual Register," 1802, p. 42.

[2] "The day after the receipt of the News of the Cessation of Arms, &c., and His Majesty's Proclamation thereof, General Boscawen sent an account of the same to Mr. Dupleix, whereupon Major Lawrance and Captain Bruce that was taken Prisoner with him were permitted to give their Parole, and

The operations under Lawrence were carried on with vigour. But Clive, who volunteered to lead the attack at the storm of Devicotah, must be allowed to tell the tale :

" It was now determined to attempt the reduction of Dave-Cotah by Sea, as it was found inpracticable to attempt it by land on account of its Situation. Accordingly, all the Company's Forces under the command of Major Lawrence, amounting to 800 Europeans, Artillery included; and about 1,500 Sepoys, embarked on board the men-of-war and Company's ships. The Sepoys were mostly in boats. Captain Paulet of the *Exeter* commanded the Expedition. Having landed all our forces near the mouth of the River without seeing any of the Enemy, we immediately encamped, and Officers sent to reconnoitre reported that we were upon an Island, that a branch of the river Calderoon, being about 300 yards broad and very deep, separated us from the Fort of Dave Cotah. The heavy artillery being landed, it was agreed to erect a Battery of four 24-pounders to batter in and breach the Fort, which was at the distance of about 400 yards ; accordingly a Battery was erected, and after three days a practicable Breach was made, which the Enemy did not attempt to repair, but threw up a Trench from one angle of the Fort quite across the Breach, which trench they filled with musquetry and gingalls. The difficulty now was to cross the River, when John Moor, the King's Carpenter, offered to make a stage which should carry over 400 men at a time : this stage being made was brought up the river in a very dark night, and a rope was carried across the River and fastened to some trees within 50 Yards of the Enemy, who were in possession of the opposite ground which was very woody ; the rope was sunk in the water that the Enemy might not discover it. Every thing being ready for the attack, the first division of 400 men passed the river at 2 o'Clock in the Afternoon, and by 4 the whole Army was landed on the opposite shore : this was not effected without considerable loss from the enemy, who fired briskly from the Trenches and the walls of the Fort all the time. It was agreed [1] should be first stormed : for this service Lieut. Clive offered himself voluntarily ; a platoon of 30 Europeans and 700 Sepoys were allotted him for this attempt, and as soon as the trenches were carried, the grenadiers and the rest of the Europeans were to attack the Breach. Lieut. Clive, at the head of his party, advanced, being followed by the rest of his Army, till he came to a Nullah which was very deep and muddy : this Nullah he passed with much difficulty, having lost 4 or 5 of his Platoon in passing it,

come hither, and upon the Arrival of the *Favourete* with them the 7th. instant, who brought a Confirmation of the same, all the Prisoners they had there belonging to us were sent hither, and the Major has again taken Charge of the Garrison."—Dispatch from Fort St. David, January 16, 1748–9 (Madras Records.)

[1] Some words seem to be omitted here.

for the Enemy's trench was not at the distance of more than 50 yards, and he was fired upon the whole time. As soon as he had formed his Platoon, and the Sepoys who were to support him and cover his Rear had begun to pass the Nullah, he marched up briskly close upon one of the flanks of the intrenchments, and ordered the front ranks to kneel in order to give his fire ; but before he could effect this, a body of the enemies Cavalry having turned the corner, and the Sepoys not doing their duty in covering his Rear, all his platoon, excepting 3 or 4 men in front, were in an instant cut to pieces by the Horse. Lieut. Clive was just upon the point of falling a Sacrifice to one of the Horsemen, who had his sword uplifted to cut him down, which he avoided by slipping on one side, and seeing himself abandoned by the Sepoys and all his platoon cut off, he had nothing for it but flight to the Nullah, where he found the rest of the forces drawn up, waiting the Event of his attack of the trenches. Upon this disaster, a Platoon of Grenadiers were ordered to attack the trenches, supported by the whole army, and the men being seconded, the trenches were easily carried : the breach was then mounted, and no resistance made, the Fort being abandoned. In marching to the breach, a body of Cavalry attempted to make a Charge, but were received with so warm a fire by 1 or 2 Platoons that they were obliged to retire with very considerable loss.

" As soon as we were in possession of the Ramparts, we could perceive the Enemy's army retreating over the plains which was very numerous, being not less than 15 or 20,000 men, but their chief strength being Cavalry, they did not chuse to shut themselves within the walls of a fortification.

" The Breach being repaired, Major Lawrence detached a Party under the command of Capt. Cope to take possession of Acheveram Pagoda, a fortified place at the distance of 5 miles from the Pagoda [*sic*], which he easily effected : here the Enemy attempted out of zeal for their religion what they could not be prevailed upon to do for Pay or from a principle of honour, for as soon as night came they made many desperate attempts to make themselves masters of the Pagoda by scalade and by piling up great bundles of straw against the gate and setting fire to it, in order to burn it down. While this was transacting, the Soldiers opened the wicket of the gate and fired upon the Enemy, and the Serjeants with their halberts tumbled down the straw, notwithstanding which, and a very severe loss sustained, they persevered in their attack, tho' they were always repulsed, until day break, when they retired. Major Lawrence receiving intelligence from Capt. Cope of his condition, immediately marched to his relief with all the forces, but before he could arrive, the Enemy had abandoned the enterprize.

" By this time Admiral Boscawen and Mr. Floyer had sufficient reason to distrust the Pretender to the crown, and to us there was little prospect of success in any future undertaking. They therefore agreed to a Peace with the King of Tanjore upon the following terms :

That the fort of Dave Cotah with as much land as would produce 9,000 [? Rs.] Per Annum should be ceded to the English East India Company for ever, and that the King of Tanjore should defray all the expence of the whole Expedition against him, also that the King of Tanjore should allow the Pretender an Annual Income of R.... Per Annum, and that the English should be accountable for his Person, and that he should never give any more disturbance to the Kingdom. These articles being ratified and fulfilled on the part of the King of Tanjore, Major Lawrence returned to Fort St. David with the army, leaving a sufficient garrison for the defence of the Fort." [1]

The high military qualities, daring, courage, sound judgment and quickness of apprehension which Clive showed at the siege of Pondicherry and the storming of Devicotah won the confidence and friendship of the veteran commander. "This young man's early genius surprised and engaged my attention," wrote Lawrence, "as well before as at the siege of Davecottah, where he behaved in courage and judgment, much beyond what could be expected from his years, and his success afterwards confirmed what I had said to many people concerning him." [2]

[1] Orme MSS.: India, Vol., I. pp. 222–5.
[2] R. O. Cambridge: "Account of the War in India," 1750–60, p. 14.

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CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL STATE OF SOUTHERN INDIA

It has often been stated that in supporting the cause of Shahaji the English first set the example of taking part in the quarrels of the native rulers. But the Tanjore intervention was due to the active influence which the French had acquired in that state, and before the Tanjore expedition Dupleix had matured a scheme for establishing by the aid of French arms a ruler dependent on the French connection. It is, however, impossible to form a just or discriminating estimate of the character and measures of Dupleix, or the conduct of the British, without a knowledge of the political state of South India at this time. Without this knowledge the campaigns in which Clive took a leading part cannot be followed with interest and utility.

When the long and splendid reign of Aurangzib, the ablest of the Mogul emperors, was drawing to a close, South India, or The Deccan, came under the Mogul government. Twenty-three years before Clive landed (1721), a Turki nobleman—best known by the title of Nizam-al-Mulk [1] or "regulator of the state," bestowed on him by the Mogul Emperor—assumed the subahdarship or viceroyship of Hyderabad, one of the six *subahs* or provinces into which the Empire had been divided. A man of great ability and greater cunning, a brave and capable soldier, he converted a large territory in Southern Central India into an independent kingdom with Hyderabad as its capital, and his descendants are known as the Nizams of Hyderabad. Each *subah*, or province, was

[1] His name was Chin Kilich Khan. He received the honorary title of Asaf Jah, which according to Mohammedan tradition was the name of the minister of Solomon, and hence he is often called Asaf Jah.

formed of a number of territories varying in size, governed by nawabs or deputies under the subahdar or viceroy, and of native states under rajahs who had been allowed to survive, subject to the payment of tribute to the Emperor, which was collected by the viceroy, or his deputy the nawab. The nawab was appointed by the Emperor, or, in the case of a death vacancy, by the viceroy, but the appointment, it is important to remember, was not valid until it had been confirmed by royal letter and insignia or investiture. The viceroy and the nawab were, so far as the people of Southern India were concerned, foreigners. The mass of the people were Hindus; the small minority who conducted the administration were Moslem, the descendants of the Afghans, Mongols, and Turks who had come to India with every successive wave of Mohammedan conquest. A contemporary native authority states that the government of provinces was now held by nobles of inferior rank, poor and rapacious, who oppressed the people. Contributions were collected in lieu of the regular revenue, and "collectors of the *odious religious capitation* forced millions from the farmers." He adds, "The farmers thus oppressed left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment." [1]

The most important of the principalities under the suzerainty of the Viceroy of Hyderabad was the Carnatic (Black Country) below the Ghauts,[2] a stretch of land between the mountains and the sea which extended from the Kistna to the Coleroon. It was bounded on the north by the province of Orissa and on the south by the Mahratta state of Tanjore and the Hindu kingdom of Trichinopoly. The two chief towns of the Payanghat, or Lower Carnatic, were Arcot and Vellore (*Kêlûr*, javelin town), and when Arcot became the capital the principality became better known as the province of Arcot, and the Nawab of the Carnatic was called Nawab

[1] Wilks: "History of Mysoor," Vol. I., pp. 221–222.

[2] For the boundaries of the true Carnatic, or Karnatika-desa, *see* "Imperial Gazetteer of India," new ed., ix., 301.

of Arcot. In the year 1708 the Viceroy of the Deccan appointed one of his officers, whose name was Saadat Ali Khan, to be the Faujdar, or military commander of the Carnatic. He fixed the seat of his government at Arcot about the year 1716, and he founded the first dynasty of the Nawabs of Arcot. He died in 1732, leaving a will appointing his nephew Dóst Ali to succeed him in his government; but the strong fort and territory of Vellore he bequeathed to Murtaza Ali, married to one of his daughters. Another daughter was married to Husain Dost Khan, known in history by his nickname Chanda Saheb. Soon after the accession of Dóst Ali the Rajah of Trichinopoly died without issue. What followed is a very Eastern tale. The first wife became regent by the help of the confidential minister to the government. The Commander-in-chief supplied another heir, and with the aid of the Rajah of Tanjore he organised so powerful a party that the Rani was driven to solicit the aid of the Nawab of Arcot. Dóst Ali, under the pretext of collecting the revenue, sent a force into the province of Trichinopoly commanded by his eldest son, with Chanda Saheb as his chief civil and military officer. The city of Trichinopoly was well fortified, but the Rani was induced by Chanda Saheb —swearing by "a false oath on a false Koran"[1] that they should be employed only for her protection—to admit some of the Moslem troops within the walls.

Chanda Saheb, master of the capital and the provincial towns, imprisoned the queen and hoisted the flag of Islam. The Hindu kingdom of Trichinopoly was brought under the rule of a Mohammedan power, and Chanda Saheb was appointed its first governor. He was a bold, dashing soldier, who added to the qualities of a warrior a power of political organisation and an infinite capacity for intrigue. High above the intellectual level of the princes of the time, he was acquainted not only with the classical languages of the East but with the French tongue, and had a great admiration for

[1] It was actually a *brick* wrapped round with the same splendid covering in which a Koran is usually enveloped.—Wilks: "Mysoor," Vol I., p. 250, footnote.

the French nation. In 1739 he took from the Rajah of Tanjore the town of Karikal and the adjacent territory, and handed it over to the French. The following year a host of Mahrattas spread like locusts over the face of the Deccan. By a series of rapid marches they reached the mountain barrier, and, entering through an unfrequented pass the lower Carnatic, took by surprise the Nawab's army and defeated it. Dóst Ali was slain in the battle, and Safdar Ali, who succeeded him, made a treaty with the Mahratta chief that he should evacuate the province on the payment of a large sum of money. There was, however, a second agreement that these freebooters, who lived on the pillage of India, should return to capture Trichinopoly, and retain a large portion of the territory in the possession of Chanda Saheb as the price of his effectual removal.[1] The Mahrattas quitted the province, stating they were going to seek for richer plunder in another quarter of the continent. The two brothers-in-law, seemingly reconciled, went down together to Pondicherry, where they had sent their wives, children and treasure to remain in safety during the war. After a stay of several days Chanda Saheb, leaving the women of his family and one of his sons in the French settlement, proceeded to Trichinopoly. In December the Mahrattas suddenly returned and invested the city. "After a gallant resistance of three months, Chanda Saheb reduced by famine alone surrendered at discretion; and with his eldest son, was sent a prisoner to Satara, now the declared capital of the Mahratta Empire and the prison of its prince, whose authority his minister had usurped."[2] A Mahratta general named Morari Rao was left as governor of the conquered province, which comprised the whole of the lower countries south of the Coleroon.

[1] Wilks: "Mysoor," Vol. I., p. 253.

[2] *Ibid.* From the time of Báláji Bisvanátte Bhatta (1718–1720), a Konkun Brahmin, the Brahmin Peshwa or Chief Minister, became the real head of the Mahratta Confederacy, the Rajahs, the descendants of the great Shiváji being merely nominal rulers living in splendour as state prisoners in Satara. Báláji caused the office to be made hereditary in his family. It was his son Baji Rao Peshwa who made the Mahrattas the greatest power in India. He died in 1740.

During the siege of Trichinopoly the Mahratta commander wrote to Dumas, the Governor of Pondicherry, and demanded the surrender of Chanda Saheb's wife and family and the delivery of the treasure, the jewels, the horses, and the elephants which he had sent to the French settlement. "I send my cavalry," he said, "to whom you can make them over. If you decline to do so, we shall be compelled to force you to it as well as to the payment of tribute which you have kept back for forty years." The demand of the Mahratta chief was an insult to the honour of his nation, and Dumas replied, "The wife of Chanda Saheb is in Pondicherry under the protection of the King of France, my master, and all the French in India would die rather than deliver her to you." On December 24, 1741, two thousand Mahratta horsemen, after having made a march "of 110 miles in a day and a half," appeared before Porto Novo, a town about thirty-two miles south of Pondicherry used as a depot by the Dutch, French, and English. As soon as the inhabitants heard of the approach of the marauders they flocked with their movables into the factory. Those who could not find shelter there took refuge in the boats lying near the river bank. "Every one of these was calculated to hold some forty or fifty persons, but this being a time of peril, between 200 and 300 entered each, so that they grounded and could not be moved." The Mahrattas entering the town from all sides pillaged every house. "Those who remained in their dwellings were beaten, and plundered of everything. Only a cubit length of cloth was given to them to cover their nakedness. Some were forced to hold the horses of their captors, whilst others were made to carry the spoils of their conquerors on their heads." [1] The gates of the factory were burst open and the Mahratta horse rushed into the courtyard. "Every one there was seized and stripped stark naked. Some received sword-cuts, and others were scourged with whips. They were each given two cubits length of cloth, and driven out of the fort." [2] That evening the Mahrattas encamped two miles outside the town. The

[1] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. I., pp. 142-3. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

next day they appeared in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. Dumas had strengthened the fortifications and the Mahrattas soon discovered that any attempt to capture it must fail. Dumas had also on the approach of the Mahratta force imprisoned all the Mahratta merchants who were residing in the town. The freebooters, seeing they had no chance of taking Pondicherry, proceeded in small parties to ravage the country and collect plunder.

"They pillaged the villages," says Ranga Pillai, "violated many women, and committed numerous other outrages." On March 30 a letter from the Mahratta camp announced that Chanda Saheb and his son had surrendered, and were "in honourable custody." "Such was the news of the war contained in the letter which was received by the Governor, and read by him with sorrow." On April 18 some Mahrattas appeared at Ranga Pillai's garden-house with presents from their chief, Raghuji Bhónsla, to Dumas. A large cavalcade was sent out "with two empty palanquins" to convey them to the Governor. As the gifts were being brought into the town in this stately fashion "nine guns were fired from the gate, and there was a further salute of eleven guns when they were set down at the Governor's house."[1] The Mahratta envoy asked for the release of his countrymen, and his request was granted. The resolute action of Dumas greatly increased the prestige of the French among the native princes, and this prestige his successor, Dupleix, inherited.

When his formidable rival had been removed to Satara, Safdar Ali, having sent the women and children of his family to Madras to be protected by the English from any sudden Mahratta raid, proceeded to Arcot and had himself proclaimed Nawab. But he was not strong enough to wield the power which passed into his hands. "The late calamities," says Orme, "left such an impression of terror upon his mind that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceless city of Arcot but took up his residence in Vellore which was well fortified and its citadel built two hundred years ago

[1] "Ranga Pillai's Diary," pp. 150, 162, 165.

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by the Morattoes, the strongest in the Carnatic." [1] The citadel had been bequeathed to his cousin and brother-in-law Murtaza Ali,[2] but the government of Vellore was a fief subject to the Nawab of Arcot. Safdar Ali wounded the avarice of his host by demanding that he should pay him a portion of the tribute due to the Mahrattas, and he roused his fierce resentment by threatening in public to remove him from his government.

On October 16 the Company's peons brought the news to Dupleix that on the night of the 13th Safdar Ali had supped in the house of Murtaza Ali at Vellore, " who stabbed him to death when he was in a deep sleep at about 2 in the morning." [3] Next day, the army, who were encamped outside the citadel, threatened to storm it and avenge the murder of the Nawab. But their rage was quickly appeased by a promise that the arrears of pay due to them would be settled by instalments, " and the whole army, officers as well as soldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortiz-ally Nabob of the Carnatic within two days after the murder of Subder-ally Khan." [4] Murtaza " now pitched his tents without the gates of Vellore, and caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot." [5] The chief men of the province had, however, a contempt for the cowardly assassin, and three months later the army at their instigation mutinied, and Murtaza Ali, disguised in the habits of a woman, " quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by several female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption." [6] The young son of Safdar Ali, who was residing with his mother at Madras, was proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic.

Whilst the Carnatic was being distracted by these dynastic struggles, the Viceroy of the Deccan was at the Imperial Court

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 45.

[2] Wilks calls him Murteza Khan; Orme, Mortiz-ally. It should be Murtaza Ali—One with whom God is pleased.

[3] " Ranga Pillai's Diary," Vol. I., p. 202. This account differs from the story given by Orme. His History was published twenty years after the account of the murder was recorded in " Ranga Pillai's Diary." Orme, Vol. I., pp. 47–8.

[4] Orme, Vol. I., p. 49. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

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of Delhi working, as Chief Minister, with a resolute purpose to reform a government which had since the death of Aurangzib (February 21, 1707) fallen rapidly into a state of helplessness and corruption. Nizam-al-Mulk was now stricken in age, and the old warrior in 1738 had allowed the Mahrattas by skilful and rapid evolutions to surround his army, cut off its supplies, and extort from him a convention by which he engaged to procure from the Emperor a cession of the chout (*chauth*) for Malwa and Gujerat. Baji Rao Peshwa took possession of Malwa and divided it between his generals, Ranaji Sindhia and Mulhar Rao; and the dynasties which they founded still rule Malwa as feudatories of the British Empire.

The rise of the Mahrattas was one of the main causes which led to the fall of the Mogul Empire, but it was the Turki free-booter Nadir Kuli (Slave to the Wonderful [1]) who, on assuming the throne of Persia, had taken the title Nadir Shah (the Wonderful King). He crossed the Indus towards the close of 1738, and sacked Delhi in March, 1739. After a stay of two months Nadir Shah went back home, taking with him the wealth which the trade of the world had brought to the Imperial city. Before leaving Delhi he replaced Mohammed Shah, the Emperor, on the throne, after having extracted from him all his provinces west of the Indus. Nadir, with grim irony, informed the Emperor that if he ever were disturbed by intrigues at his court and required his assistance, he could return from Kandahar in forty days. He also sent to the Rajah at Satara, Baji Rao the Peshwa, and other great Hindu chiefs, circular letters bidding them "walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother" and threatening in the event of their rebellion to return and "blot them out of the pages of the book of creation." But the Nadir had struck a fatal blow at the central authority of the empire, and a chaos of devastation, plunder and massacre followed. He also revealed to the free lances of the north that the power of the Great Moguls had vanished.

Asaf Jah, having secured the continuance of power at

[1] Slave to the Divine, "Wonderful" being a title of Divinity.

the Imperial Court by the appointment of his eldest son Ghazi-ud-din to the high office of captain-general of the Mogul army, proceeded in the year 1741 to the Deccan, where his presence was greatly needed owing to the rebellion of his second son Nasir Jang, whom he had left in charge of the province. On July 23, 1742, the Nizam defeated the troops of Nasir at Aurangabad, took him prisoner and had him confined in a hill fort as a precautionary measure. He then proceeded to Hyderabad and thence to the southern part of the province. He reached Arcot with an army of eighty thousand men in March, 1743 (two months before Clive sailed from England), and he who was accustomed to the Mogul government was surprised at the anarchy which prevailed. Every petty governor and the officer of every mud fort or town affected the designation of Nawab as a step towards independence. At the first levée the Viceroy was so enraged at this assumption of rank that he exclaimed to his guards, " I have seen this day eighteen nawabs, in a country where there should be but one ; scourge the next fellow who comes with that title."

Among those who came to do homage was Mohammed Said, the young son of Safdar Ali, who had been proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic and was residing at Wandiwash for safety. Nizam-al-Mulk refused him permission to return, and ordered some of his own officers to take charge of his person, directing them to treat him with lenity and respect, but in view of his extreme youth he appointed the general of his army Nawab of Arcot and all its dependencies. Nizam-al-Mulk, after settling the administration of the Carnatic, returned with his army and its commander, the newly appointed Nawab of the Carnatic, to Hyderabad. The morning this officer was about to return to Arcot he was found dead in his bed, poisoned, it was supposed, at the instigation of Anwar-ud-din, a native of Hindostan, who was appointed to succeed him as administrator of the Carnatic during the minority of the young Nawab. In April, 1744, Anwar-ud-din[1] arrived at Arcot, and his young charge, who had been received

[1] Wilks spells it Anwar-u Deen ; Orme, An'war-adean Khan.

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with general joy, took up his residence in the palace in the fort. Three months later Mohammed Said presided at the wedding of one of his relations, and among the guests was Murtaza Ali, the murderer of his father. "Such are," writes Orme, "the manners of a court in Indostan." [1] Anwar-ud-din was also invited, and when his approach was announced the young prince, attended by his officers and guards, went into the vestibule of the hall to meet his guardian. At the foot of the staircase were thirteen Pathans or Afghans who had been in his father's service. They saluted him with the utmost respect. The captain of the band advanced as if he was desirous to throw himself at the young man's feet. When he got within reach the Afghan drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. No sooner did the lad fall than the assassin was cut to pieces by the guard, and ten of his accomplices were slain by the enraged multitude below.

Anwar-ud-din and Murtaza Ali were generally supposed to have been the instigators of the foul deed. An old man who was present at the murder as a personal attendant of the young prince told Colonel Wilks: "People of different parties invented different tales; but according to the general opinion, those persons were engaged in the murder who were most interested in effecting it; namely, Murteza Khan, who knew that Mohammed Saeed would retaliate for the murder of his father, and Anwar-u Deen, who wanted to be Nabob without a future rival." [2] The Nizam, regardless of the wishes of the people who had an affection for the family that had governed them for thirty years, confirmed Anwar-ud-din in his post of Nawab of the Carnatic.

Such was the state of things in the Carnatic when war was declared between England and France (March, 1744).

[1] Orme, Vol. I., p. 56.
[2] Wilks: "History of Mysoor," Vol. I., p. 255, note.

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CHAPTER VII

1749: RESTORATION OF MADRAS

THE Nizam, who was a vigorous administrator, soon established his complete authority over his vast territory in the Deccan. It was his strong support which enabled his deputy, Anwar-ud-din, to exercise control over the Carnatic. They both behaved to the English and French as "a sovereign to his subjects." We have seen how Dupleix spared no art which could withdraw the Nawab from the English; how he appealed to his avarice by offering him lakhs of rupees; how he aroused his fears as to the fate of his kingdom by sending a detachment from Madras, which burnt his villages and threatened his capital; how the Nawab abandoned the English when they made their second attempt on Fort St. David; how the French retreated to Pondicherry when Griffin's squadron appeared in sight on March 4, 1747. Two days later Admiral Griffin wrote to the Nizam regarding "all robberies, cruelties and depredations" committed on shore "by that insolent perfidious nation the French," and entreating him, "in the name of the King of Great Britain, my Royal Master, to call the Nabob to account for his past transactions and interpose your power to restore, as near as possible in its original state, what has been so unjustly taken from us." The Nizam sent a favourable answer to the admiral, and at the same time sent a mandate to his vassal of the Carnatic, commanding him to use his best endeavours "that the French may be severely chastised and rooted off, that his Majesty's sea-port town may be recovered, and that the English nation may be restored to their right, establish themselves in their former place, as before, and carry on their trade and commerce for the flourishment of the place." [1]

[1] Mill: "History of British India," Vol. III., pp. 104–5.

Dupleix was not a mere ambitious visionary, as he has so often been represented, but a politician fertile in expedients who grappled with events as they arose. The wife of Dupleix carried on a continuous correspondence with the native princes and the confidential agents of the French at every court. The negotiations of the English with the Nizam were no secret to her and her husband. The orders issued to Anwar-ud-din were fatal to the first great design of Dupleix, the expulsion of the English from the coast. He could not declare war against the Nizam and Anwar-ud-din. He determined to conciliate them, while at the same time he overthrew their authority by making use of the opinions and forces which existed in the Carnatic. A brave soldier, Anwar-ud-din was able to maintain order, but he could not win the liking and esteem of his subjects. He was mean and avaricious. The Nawab, said a native writer at the time, "is but a *Renter*, he does not much regard the distress of the people of this Province." [1] They longed for the restoration of the old dynasty. Chanda Saheb was the popular hero. He was esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic, uniting in every military enterprise "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince." The relations and connections of Chanda Saheb were the governors of most of the strong places in the province of Arcot. The prospect of a revolution in the Carnatic headed by his ablest and most formidable opponents would prevent Anwar-ud-din from venturing to commit himself to open hostilities with the French.

When Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherry, Chanda Saheb was being carried away to his Mahratta prison. Madame Dupleix became an intimate of his wife's, and so there was frequent communication between Dupleix and the exile. At the close of 1747 there came a communication from Chanda Saheb informing them that he had come to an arrangement with the Mahrattas, but he had not the money demanded for his release. Anwar-ud-din had declined to continue the payment of the sum exacted by the Mahrattas as the price of his

[1] Mill: "History of British India," Vol. III., p. 105.

perpetual imprisonment. It was a grave blunder. Dupleix was wiser. He advanced seventy thousand pounds to the wife of Chanda Saheb, which she conveyed secretly to her husband, and he was set at liberty.

Early in 1748 Chanda Saheb left Satara attended by his eldest son, eight of his faithful adherents "and a decent but not numerous train." [1] They slowly made their way to the south. They were free lances, and Chanda Saheb on reaching the River Kistna put his band at the disposal of the Poligar [2] of Chitledroog, who was at war with the Rani of Bednore. Soon after a bloody and obstinate battle was fought. The troops of Bednore were gaining some ground when the Rajah "ordered his elephant to be picketed on the spot, thereby indicating to his troops his fixed determination not to retreat." Chanda Saheb, while directing the operations in another part of the line, encountered the elephant of the Bednore general. They discharged at the same moment their respective pistols. The Bednore general was killed, "and Chunda Saheb, in the fall of his son Aabid by his side, felt for a moment a pang more grievous than the loss of victory; his exertions were enfeebled and the day was lost." The Rajah "was slain surrounded by a heap of his faithful adherents," the bravest troops of the south; and Chanda Saheb was taken and conducted in triumph to Bednore. The Rani was desirous of detaining him as a prisoner, but he was still in the custody of two Mohammedan officers, to whose fifteen hundred horse he had surrendered, "and having opened his views" to them, "they not only resisted the orders of the Ranee, but marched off under the command of their prisoner, to whom a recent event had opened new and unexpected means of pursuing his objects at Arcot." [3]

The recent event was the death of Nizam-al-Mulk, the ablest man the court of Delhi had produced since the death of Aurangzib. His eldest son was, as previously stated, acting as his father's deputy at the Imperial Court. His second son Nasir Jang ("Victorious in War"), who, having been forgiven, had

[1] Wilks: "History of Mysoor," Vol. I., p. 256. [2] *See* note, p. 135.
[3] Wilks: "History of Mysoor," Vol. I., pp. 257–8.