MINISTRY OF CULTURE · GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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MINISTRY OF CULTURE · GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The two years and a half, from July, 1757, to December, 1759, covered by the present volume of the Diary, mark the rise of French hopes that the Seven Years War would end for them with even more success than the War of the Austrian Succession had done; but along with these hopes goes portent after portent of the ruin that really was in store. The one large gap which we find, that from September 17, 1758, to January 23, 1759, was principally occupied with Lally's siege of Madras and its complete failure; the other gap of any size, from February 28 to April 11, 1759, was occupied by no outstanding incident. On the whole then, with the exception noted, the Diary gives the reader a fairly complete and continuous narrative of what took place at Pondichery and of the rumours which reached it from without; and the contrast between the confidence with which the diarist begins his story and the troubled anxiety of his closing pages forms a fair measure of the transformation which had taken place in the national fortunes and the decay of Pondichery.

The diarist himself was growing old. He was not thought equal to the exertion of taking an inventory of the captured goods at

Cuddalore; he often remains at home, either from actual ill-health or in pique at the neglect with which the governor de Leyrit treats him; and he records the death of one who must have been the principal surviving link with the days of his boyhood, his maternal aunt, who died at the great age of 83, having survived her sister nearly 47 years. Nevertheless at first he was confident of the good future in store both for the French and himself. The French flag is destined to replace the English wherever it flies in India, he declares on the faith of his family astrologer early in the present volume, as indeed he had often done before; Pondichery is destined to increased prosperity from its fiftieth year, he says a little later; Madras will have soon ceased to exist; even the failure of Lally's siege still left him hopeful; the English had suffered enough for one year by the loss of Fort St. David. One of the councillors, Guillard, ironically asks whether his astrologer had foretold also the capture of Masulipatam by the English under Forde; and in answer Ranga Pillai declares that good days are coming with victories in all directions. Even in May, 1759, when things were beginning to look black indeed, he comforts himself with the prospect of performing his father's anniversary in the following year with

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great pomp in the fortified town which he has been promised as the killah of his jaghir. Were not the predictions right in at least six or seven cases out of ten ?

Meanwhile there were signs that the French government had not forgotten their Indian dependencies. In September, 1757, Soupire arrived with some forces and the news that others were on their way under the Count de Lally. Soupire immediately took the field, and the English were at the time too weak to offer any opposition to him. Then, after many rumours of his approach, Lally himself arrived, with a squadron which did not sail away as soon as it had landed the troops and treasure it had brought, as had done more than one of its predecessors. Lally captured Fort St. David with an ease which was thought significant of the ease with which he would shortly capture Fort St. George. He signalised his success by a triumphal entry into Pondichery on June 9. To Ranga Pillai was assigned the charge of assembling the chief Indian inhabitants of the place to greet the general with the appropriate nazars. These, we learn, were to be presented according to the rate customary on New Year's Day. Besides the Indian notables, camels, standards, the *naubat*, and dancing-girls, were summoned to take part in the procession, and the whole

population, rich and poor, was turned out to make an impressive array of spectators, under a warning that those who neglected the order would find themselves imprisoned in the Choultry. Ranga Pillai himself was presented to Lally by the Count de Montmorency. On the next day, those who had not been of sufficient importance to be allowed to present their nazars to Lally on his way into the town, were gathered together to present them in the Fort. We find a long list of them, and they included every person of note along with representatives of all the chief castes of the place.

This festivity marked the highest point of French success in this war. Never again did their prospects look so fair. For one thing the squadron could not be induced to remain on the Coast. Twice Ranga Pillai records reports of considerable naval successes—once on August 5, 1758, and again a year later, in September, 1759; but these flattering stories were but perversions of the real state of the case. On both occasions the French fleet had had the worst of it; after each action it chose to retire to refit at the French Islands; and after the second its retreat proved to be final, for it never returned to Indian waters, not finding itself in a position to cope with the vessels of Pocock and Stevens. It was undoubtedly badly led. D'Aché, the commander,

was one of those naval officers who, like Peyton on the other side in the previous war, lacked the moral courage to risk his fleet. Nor did he get on well with Lally. The gossip of Pondichery had it that the two men were jealous one of the other ; and that the old rivalry of Dupleix and La Bourdonnais was being renewed. There is no doubt that Lally wished to subordinate the action of the fleet to the success of his operations ashore ; while it is equally certain that d'Aché insisted on his independence of the land commander. And if Lally disapproved of anyone's conduct, he did not hesitate to express his feelings in direct, uncourtly, even brutal language. There are letters written by him to Coote at a later date in which he vents his dislike and contempt of certain persons under his command in the crudest words that startle even those accustomed to penetrate below the polite exterior of that age.

Meanwhile rumours flew thick in Pondichery. Now it was that the Nawâb of Bengal had satisfactorily poisoned Colonel Clive together with most of the Englishmen who had helped to capture Chandernagore and overthrow Siraj-ud-daula ; now it was some great and overwhelming victory which the French had obtained in Europe or some other dimly apprehended quarter of the globe ; now it was

some nearer, though quite as unreal success, such as the legend which ran round of the complete defeat and death of Caillaud endeavouring to raise the siege of Madras, filled up with surprisingly circumstantial detail of how M. Aumont had shot the other with his pistol and then plundered his body of his ring and money. In time of war men are naturally keenly strung and ready enough to believe any stories that consort with their hopes. These did, and were accordingly believed for a season; but they contrasted sharply with the actual progress of events; and the position of affairs was evidently going from bad to worse. Nowhere could this have been more obvious than in the town itself. Ranga Pillai gives us a terrible picture of the disorder that prevailed and increased. Not that we should take all his details, especially those of which he does not profess himself an eye-witness, too literally. Some of them are merely "common form," which he introduces whenever he wishes to convey an idea of disorder and confusion. But even putting those aside, we see that the discipline of the troops and the maintenance of order in Pondichery steadily decayed. Quite early in the present volume we find him recording the complaints of the conduct of the troops in the neighbourhood of the town, and narrating a specific instance of persons being

molested by the guard on their way back into the place. It is not unlikely that in this case Vinâyakan and his followers, who were the persons concerned, had broken a rule of the garrison ; and in any case they were certainly unwise in attempting to re-enter the city by night in war-time without having made arrangements when they set out. But matters became much worse when the soldiers could not get their pay; and when the royal troops arrived in the autumn of 1757, it appears that they were under no better discipline than the forces of the Company. Thus on January 13, 1758, we read that women were afraid to stir out on account of the excesses of the King's troops. In the following August, a party of sailors from the King's fleet were seeking Savarirâyan to take vengeance on him for some affront that he had, or was thought to have, offered to them. In April, 1759, soldiers were forcing money from those who wanted to pass the gates, alleging the failure of the Company to provide them with pay. Ranga Pillai not unnaturally felt that the ordered world, with which he had so long been familiar, was slipping away from him, and records in words that recall the language of the political writers of an earlier age his fears of an approaching anarchy, in which

force alone would prevail and all caste rules be forgotten.

From the French point of view the great difficulty was the lack of money. Lally had brought out with him a small supply of silver; but not nearly enough to meet the demands that were being constantly made upon the government of Pondichery. The Company seems to have believed that the revenues of the French territories would suffice to meet all charges if only they were administered properly. This belief shows how they had adopted the ideas of Dupleix too late for them to be applied. Dupleix had constantly been assuring his masters that India would provide plenty of money for the conduct of war; and to some extent it was true enough, so long as there was no break of military success. The weak point of the scheme was that military failure would involve financial ruin. The revenues on which Dupleix had counted disappeared with the successes of Clive in the Carnatic and of Lawrence before Trichinopoly; nor even in the restricted region that remained within French control was it at all easy to set up an efficient financial organization. It may be remembered that Godeheu had leased the lands out to the diarist for five years on an increasing rental. It is very doubtful whether Ranga Pillai would have succeeded in

fulfilling his contract even had he been left to manage affairs as he pleased ; but he was not allowed to do so. Many persons in Pondichery wished to have a share in the profits. The military commandants interfered in the collections, and so did the persons whom Ranga Pillai had been induced to take as sureties for the renters whom he appointed to the various divisions of the country. The inevitable result was that his remittances fell far short of the instalments which he had agreed to pay ; and there was no one in Pondichery who could say with confidence whether this was his fault or not. It was the case on a smaller scale of Muhammad Riza Khân in Bengal at a later time. Leyrit's dubâsh told his master that Ranga Pillai was embezzling the collections ; several Europeans in the settlement told him the same; and he certainly was not in a position to decide whether they were telling the truth or not. The inspectors whom he sent out into the districts to report on the state of the collections were on the whole unfavourable to the lessee ; and the result was that the diarist was deprived of his lease, and heavy demands were made on him for moneys which he apparently had no means of paying. In the previous volume I printed a letter addressed to Boyelleau explaining the circumstances in which he had

failed to get in the revenues; and in the present volume will be found another letter of the same nature addressed to Soupire in which the old *courtier* renews his complaints and explanations.

At one time he certainly looked forward to a triumph over his enemies as great as that which his family had formerly secured over M. Hébert. He was assured from France that Godeheu continued to take an active interest in his fortunes; while at Pondichery itself we find him visiting and visited by de Montmorency who had been specially charged by the Company with the inspection of its financial affairs. Even more encouraging than this, he was favoured with a special private interview with Lally himself, who came under cover of night to Boyelleau's house and listened to what the diarist had to say. But Lally was clearly much more concerned to find subjects of accusation against his enemy de Leyrit than to enter into the question of absolute justice. He could not enter into the complicated accounts which the diarist had prepared, but demanded instead an account of what Leyrit and the rest owed to him. Let him but have that, he declared, and he would settle the business.

Meanwhile all these disputes brought no money into the French treasury. All kinds of

expedients were tried. Interest-bearing notes were issued—parchment money, as Ranga Pillai contemptuously describes them—in the hope that their currency would enable the affairs of Government to be carried on. But they were soon at a heavy discount, as indeed was to be expected. The credit of the council stood but low; and Pondichery was not accustomed to fiduciary issues. The only persons who wanted notes were those who owed money to the Company, and they bought them cheap in order to pay off their debts or secure credit on the Company's books for their face-value.

This almost desperate expedient was followed by a forced loan, levied on the Indian inhabitants of the place. This like the other was an unheard-of thing. No European government on the Coast had ever before ventured on such a measure. Unprecedented in itself, it was hateful also by the method of its enforcement. Every kind of threat was used to compel payment of the assessments. The peaceful inhabitants of Pondichery were harassed almost into riot. Never really wealthy, the place had decayed lamentably since the prosperous times which Ranga Pillai was so fond of recalling; and there were few rich merchants left. Consequently the great burden of the impost fell upon the poor. At

one time it had even been resolved to make the dancing-girls contribute to it, to Ranga Pillai's indescribable horror. La Selle, the Company's servant placed in charge of the collection, clearly thought that there was still a good deal of money in the town, and strove to screw up the amount to the highest possible point, while Ranga Pillai thought that a good many of his manœuvres were designed to procure private and corrupt gains for himself. Such suspicions were as natural at the time as those which had been directed against the diarist himself in connection with the land revenue collections.

While all this was going forward on the public stage, rumours of private dissensions were spread abroad. From the first the commander of the King's troops had agreed but ill with the Company's government. On Soupire's arrival we have indications of troubles almost at once. Soupire was annoyed at finding that few preparations had been made to enable him to take the field on his arrival. By round-about ways stories of quarrels between Soupire and de Leyrit reached the diarist's ears ; Soupire was asserted to have threatened de Leyrit with accusations of embezzlement ; while de Leyrit is said to have consulted the commander of the Company's troops regarding the degree of support

he would receive from them in the event of Soupire's seeking to displace him by force. Soupire even refused to sit down with de Leyrit at a feast given at the latter's house in honour of his name-day. How far all this gossip is to be taken at its face-value does not appear ; but two things are quite clear. One is that much of it is by no means unlikely and can easily be paralleled by known occurrences in similar circumstances. The other is that the circulation of such stories must have done much harm to the government of the French settlement and disposed men to disregard its orders.

But matters became even worse when Lally arrived to replace Soupire. Soupire was quick-tempered ; but Lally was passionate. Accustomed to the order and discipline of Europe, he was constantly infuriated by the haphazard ways of India. What Orme calls the vivacity of his character gave rise to many legends that flew round Pondichery. He was supposed to keep his pistols double-shotted against Tamils who intruded on him unasked ; and he was constantly offending the Company's servants by his casual treatment of them. Indeed he had brought out with him the worst opinion of their characters, and this cannot have been modified by what Soupire had to tell him. Even on the morrow

of his arrival he is said to have threatened de Leyrit because the supply of specie for the payment of the troops was delayed. He declared that he would be no respecter of persons. In the following September, he is alleged to have offered de Leyrit such insults as (it was currently said) could only be wiped out by blood—as indeed they were to be. A little later de Leyrit was consulting his friends how best to resist Lally's designs against their Indian servants. These and similar details fill in the outline given in the correspondence of the time, with some exaggeration but on the whole substantial truth. Lally, hot-headed and utterly tactless, accustomed to command and not to persuade, when brought into contact with men of petty character but great pretensions, tried to scold them into activity but only succeeded in heating them into opposition, none the less hampering because it was secret and underhand.

In these circumstances it was impossible for the French armies successfully to face the English in the field. Unpaid, discontented, and so ill-disciplined, they marched to battle sullenly, and lost trust alike in themselves and in their leader. To maintain the struggle, the French needed to co-operate and husband their resources to the utmost ; but that was what they failed altogether to accomplish.

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And when to this was added the failure of their fleet to hold the seas against the English squadron, with the resulting discouragement, lack of supplies, and improbability of getting any, prospects of success were evidently fading into the distant back-ground. All who could leave Pondichery did so. For those who, with the diarist, remained, the future must have seemed almost as black as in fact it was to prove.

Original-1

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

JULY 1757.

Friday, July 1.[1]—A peon came to me at eleven o'clock and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he asked whether he should not receive the presents sent by Sau Bhâji Râo. I said he should. He then enquired the procedure followed when his presents arrived before. I replied that the custom was to send two councillors with the State palankin, standards, chobdar, music, etc., to escort the presents. He then asked whether the *naubat* should play and how many guns should be fired. I replied that it was the custom to fire 15 guns and that the *naubat* should play only when he went in person. He then told me to bring the presents to-morrow evening. I agreed, took leave and came home at noon.

At four o'clock this evening a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me again. When I went, he said that horses were needed for the army. I therefore ordered all horses available in the town to be taken to the Company's stables. Fifteen horses have thus been procured, besides two of my own that I sent. Afterwards I reported the news to the Governor and came home.

[1] *21st Âni, Îswara.*

Saturday, July 2.[1]—On my way to the Fort this morning, I heard that the European horse-maistri had released the horses taken yesterday to the stables, on their owners' paying a few fanams, telling the Governor that the horses were no good. I also heard that my two horses had been returned to my stable. I went to the Fort, paid my respects to the Governor upstairs, and stayed there till nine o'clock; I then went to the office in the flower-garden, and came home at noon.

When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was upstairs with M. Desvaux (councillor), M. Collé (the councillor from Bengal), M. Goupil, two or three other officers, M. Solminiac and M. Charpentier. I paid my respects to the Governor who asked if I had secured any horses. I replied that I had delivered some last night to the European horse-maistri. 'Tell him to bring them here,' the Governor said. I sent the chobdar to bring the horses to the Fort and they were brought accordingly. There were ten horses belonging to the Muhammadans and sowcars of Arcot and those the owners of which had paid from four to ten rupees to the European horse-maistri for permission to take them away. Vinâyakan had done this too. The

[1] *22nd Âni, Iswara.*

Governor, M. Desvaux and another withdrew and talked till ten o'clock ; but the Governor came out when he heard that the horses had arrived. The European horse-maistri, who also came, said that only five or six horses were any good and the rest useless. The Governor then enquired the prices of the sowcars' horses, and, remarking that the prices were high, went in, telling me to speak to him again when they asked a reasonable price. The European horse-maistri accepted three of the sowcars' horses, one of mine, a fine Manilla horse and one or two more (I do not know their owners' names) and took them away. I shall write more about this afterwards. I then went to my office in the flower-garden at eleven o'clock.

At noon to-day the Governor's chobdar and Ananta Tîrthâchâri (a connection of Bâlâji Râo's vakîl) came to tell me by the Governor's order that, as Mîr Nâmat-ul-lâh Khân, who had brought the presents, had been quartered at Sunguvâr's [Company's godown] in the bazaar street, the presents should be brought thence and none need therefore go to the washing-place. I said it should be done and came home.

At four o'clock this evening, I went to the Fort, sent word to the Nayinâr, and assembled the music and nautch-people, lance-men, etc.,

at the beach *mantapam* opposite the East Gate of the Fort. I then informed the Governor who was upstairs. M. Desvaux and M. Collé arrived wearing laced coats and ornaments. The Governor told them that M. Goupil, who is proceeding to Wandiwash with a European detachment, 600 or 700 sepoys, and two or three cannon, should march forthwith. M. Desvaux told the Governor that elephants should be taken and cannon fired twice. The Governor directed me to do so. I replied that he might do as he pleased, but that there was not time enough to get elephants and their furniture. I sent men to bring elephants and ordered my howdah to be got ready. A hundred Europeans and 700 sepoys in the Fort were supplied with cartridges, muskets and shot, and, after they had been drawn up, they marched out with some German Hussars, while the Second, the councillors, and other gentlemen returned to the Fort. At a quarter or half-past five, M. Desvaux and M. Collé set out. After paying my respects to the Governor, I came down and made ready the Governor's palankin, standards, chobdars and head-peons. Two chobdars with white flags, and a head-peon went, but no ordinary peons. When the head-peon was asked for the Râchûr rockets, white umbrella, etc., he replied that Kandappa Mudali knew about them and that

they were in Vinâyaka Pillai's house. I then told them to go, and, having passed the gate in my palankin, accompanied by music, dancing and lance-men, I reached the great bazaar in the Valudâvûr Gate Street wherein is Sunguvâr's godown for the Company's cloth. Mîr Nâmat-ul-lah Khân, the trooper who has brought the presents from Bâlâji Râo, advanced and embraced M. Desvaux first, then M. Collé and lastly me, and we sat down. Bâlâji Râo's present consists of a Burhanpur shawl, two *jamawars*, a *jatidar* twisted turban, a Burhanpur *dupatta*, a laced Guzerâti sash, a *jatidar* twisted turban with an emerald in the middle and rubies all round, and a *sarpêch* worth 200 rupees but which they estimate at 100 pagodas. I reckon the cloth, women's cloth, and the *sarpêch* at 300 rupees or 350 at the most. As those who accompanied me were councillors, I suggested that they should be given something. As the other objected, I rejoined that he should conduct himself appropriately to the position of the great man from whom he had come. He then offered to pay for what I could find for the purpose ; so I procured two dresses of honour from my house, one costing 80 and the other 60 rupees. The better one was given to M. Desvaux and the inferior to M. Collé. The Governor's presents were placed on a tray

which was carried in a palankin. The man who has come is only one who lives by picking up cheroot-ends, but he has come by Arcot in a palankin like a nawâb, arrayed in a *Muhamudi* gown, a *Makashy* turban, and a Guzerâti sash. He was therefore asked to take his seat in a palankin and escorted with ceremony to the Fort by M. Desvaux and M. Collé, one on each side of the palankin. On approaching the Fort he was met by standards and white flags, and an elephant with a howdah. When I asked why standards and umbrellas had been brought, I was told that that was because the Governor had scolded Kandappan and the latter Vinâyakan. When they entered the East Gate, a salute of 15 guns was fired and another of a like number when the presents were offered to the Governor in the central hall upstairs. M. Delarche on the Governor's behalf made the enquiries in Persian after the health [of Bâlâji Râo] and was answered in Persian. The man also delivered the letter, saying that although the Carnatic *chauth* had not yet been paid as promised, no demands had been made out of regard for M. Bussy, but that there should be no longer delay, and due regard should be shown for friendship. He added that the letter contained more details. He was told that a reply would be given when the letter had been read. He was then

dismissed with *pân supârî* and rosewater, and desired to rest at ease. M. Desvaux, M. Collé and I conducted [Mîr Sâhib] to the sentry gate. He said that, as they two had been pleased to welcome and escort him, they should also see that his business prospered. When M. Desvaux repeated this to M. Collé, the latter replied that he would do so. Mîr Sâhib continuing said that all the country knew that though Muhammadans never kept a promise, Europeans always did, and that therefore they should see that the belief was justified. M. Desvaux repeated that he would certainly do so. Mîr Sâhib then got into his palankin and departed.

On returning upstairs, we found the Governor, the Second, M. Guillard and all the other councillors except M. Boyelleau. The Governor was talking to M. Delarche—I think about the troubles caused to Taqî Sâhib of Wandiwash by M. Saubinet and M. Chevreau. I, having taken leave, went to my office in the flower-garden and thence came home.

Sunday, July 3.[1]—I hear that the English army is encamped near Wandiwash where our French army also is encamped. M. Goupil has been despatched with two guns,

[1] *23rd Âni, Îswara.*

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but no action has yet occurred. I shall write when I learn what has happened.

Monday, July 4.[1]—I heard this morning that powder and shot were to be despatched to Siam[2] by the *Gloire* driven in here by the wind. I think that they are to be sent for a battery to be built there, and I have written accordingly.

Tuesday, July 5.[3]—I went to the Fort this morning. Preparations are being made to send off to Wandiwash the newly enlisted sepoys with some Europeans. Later on I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Wednesday, July 6.[4]—I heard the following news to-day :—Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, who has been staying at Villiyanallûr, visited the Governor last night with Nandi Râjâ's reply, and narrated the news written to him as follows :—'I was sent for 20 days ago and told to write to my master to recall his troops and remain at Srîrangam, and that, if the country was not given to him, you would give it up and the fort. I therefore wrote a letter as ordered about what had happened, about the troubles between the French and the English, and about the delay

[1] *24th Âni, Iswara.*

[2] In 1756 the French had recalled their factors to the eastward (*Pondichery Records*, No. 15, p. 518), so the following statement seems doubtful. Perhaps we should read *Syriam* for *Siam*.

[3] *25th Âni, Iswara.* [4] *26th Âni, Iswara.*

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of Europe ships, and despatched it with your letter. I have also received a reply. Haidar Nâyak has been sent as sardâr with 5,000 horse, 6,000 or 7,000 sepoys and 25,000 or 30,000 men and they must have reached Srîrangam by now.[1]" He related other matters and delivered the reply received from there. But the Governor has gradually dropped the matter he spoke of before, when he promised to give up the country, and allow the troops to remain, if desired, or otherwise recall them; so he dismissed Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, saying that he would give his reply after the letter had been translated. It is said that the latter observed how little he could depend upon [the Governor's] words, seeing that the matter talked of and written about 20 days ago had now proved false.

I heard to-night that, as it was the end of *Âni*,[2] Chandâ Sâhib's son and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had requested M. Delarche to tell the Governor that, if they were given the lease of the country now managed by M. Desvaux, they would pay two lakhs of rupees besides the stipulated kists, but it is not known what else was said. M. Desvaux, M. Lenoir, M. du Bausset, M. Delarche, M. Guillard

[1] Orme (ii, 238) says Hyder was at this time still at Seringapatam; but Wilks (i, 221-3) shows that he was returning to Dindigul.

[2] *i.e.*, the beginning of the Revenue or *Fasli* year.

and M. Collé visited the Second's house both this morning and evening with Nouäl, the notary, who prepares the leases.

Tuesday, July 12.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, he was upstairs with M. Desvaux, M. Solminiac, M. Charpentier, M. Brenier who is Major-General, and others.

Two ships, coming from the north flying the English flag, hoisted the French colours on coming nearer. At once the flag was hoisted at the Fort. The ships cast anchor to the south-east out of range of the Fort and, after hoisting the English flag above the white one, hauled down the latter.[2] We saw an English sloop tacking about between the two ships and the shore and from Fort St. David to Âlambarai to the northward. They have been insulting us by sailing about like this for two or three days. The Governor and others talked and watched them to-day as they lay to the south-east. Then I went to the sorting-godown.

Thursday, July 14.[3]—As a ship with Danish colours was sailing down this morning

[1] *1st Âdi, Îswara.*

[2] The two vessels—one a King's, the other a Company's ship—had been sent down to watch for the arrival of French ships. Perhaps it is scarcely necessary to observe that hoisting the English over the French flag, and then hauling down the latter, was what gave point to the insult.

[3] *3rd Âdi, Îswara.*

from the northwards, the two English ships pursued her and fired once, so the captain of the Danish ship fled back northwards. As she might be a ship from Tranquebar, the flag was hoisted at the Fort. The gentlemen who were upstairs and others on the Beach—Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and many Tamils—watched the pursuit with wonder and departed. Since yesterday an English ship has been anchored opposite Kûnimêdu to the north. There are only three English ships at Madras, and the rest are sloops or grabs ; and these have been sent to alarm us into recalling the troops from Wandiwash and our small but strong army from Srîrangam.[1] If there had been but one more ship besides the *Gloire*, which has been equipped with 350 Europeans and munitions, the English ships might have been driven away. But as that was not to be, the English ships, though weak, can move about freely. I hear that a French squadron will arrive by the end of this month.

Friday, July 15.[2]—At three o'clock this afternoon the two English ships to the southwards sighted the English ship which had been off the Âlambarai roads to the north flying the French flag. As her captain is the

[1] Cf. Orme, ii, 217, etc.

[2] *4th Âdi, Îswara.*

commodore, he was received by the other two to the south with a salute of nine guns. The commodore returned it by a like number. As these two ships did not put out to sea but sailed in-shore, the guns on the Fort battery and our ship the *Gloire* opened fire on them, but did not reach the enemy. After firing in answer, the enemy's captain sailed north, and all three (including the commodore's ship) after sailing south-east dropped anchor. Numberless people went to watch this; but on hearing the sound of the guns, they returned home, removing their ear-rings as they went, and put their wives' jewels, etc., in boxes. Some buried them and others simply put them in boxes which they locked up. Many thus prepared to leave the town. The Chettis and others who live on the Beach have removed to the street by the Valudâvûr Gate on the west. Thus for about an hour there was great excitement and confusion in the town, and it did not abate till sunset. In the firing on the *Gloire* and ashore, two men loading their guns lost their hands and had their faces burnt, so they were removed to the hospital. As for the English ships, as the captain of the ship from the north hoisted the white flag, the others pretended to pursue it, in the hope that the *Gloire* would come out to the rescue of the (supposed) French ship and so be

seized. This is what I think, and I have written accordingly.

I hear that of the Srîrangam troops all but 100 soldiers and 200 or 300 sepoys have reached Vriddhachalam, and that 20 troopers have already arrived here.

Kangipâti Lakshuma Chetti and Varadappa Chetti hoped that, if they could show that they had sustained damages when the troops marched in *Chittirai* or *Vaigâsi*[1] last, they could say that they had lost greatly and obtain great remissions. As the Governor does not know how to exercise authority and the councillors are selfish, the town is without dignity, and the Company's affairs suffer. This is what men are saying and I have written accordingly.

Vîrarâghava Chetti, Lakshuma Chetti and Varadappa Chetti obtained in the Fort a lease of Srîrangam and the country between the two rivers from 1st *Âdi*, *Dhâthu* to 1st *Âni*, *Iswara*[2] at the rate of 4,00,000 a year. The unpaid balances in the country according to *jamabandi* amount to 6,30,000[3] as follows:—

Musiri *âmuru*[4] 10,000

[1] April-May, May-June.
[2] July 12, 1756 to June 11, 1757.
[3] *Sic*, but the items give 63,000 pagodas.
[4] *Quere âmri*, grant for life.

Tottiyam[1]	10,000
Nâyakanallûr,[2] Ayilûr[3], Kattalai[4]	4,000
Krishnarâyapuram[5]	6,000
Vittukkatti[6]	10,000
Bichândârkôil[7]	5,000
Lâlgudi[8]	3,000
Kôil country[9]	15,000
Loss on the *jamabandi* ...	63,000
Loss on the price of grain, owing to its cheapness and by the difference in rates between pagodas and rupees at the last *jamabandi*	10,000
Total ...	73,000 pagodas
Collections in the country for five years	4,90,000
Dîwâni amount	4,00,000
Establishment	30,000
Total ...	4,30,000

[1] In Musiri taluk, Trichinopoly district.
[2] Perhaps Nâgayanallûr in the Musiri taluk.
[3] In Musiri and Perambalur taluks.
[4] In Kulittalai taluk.
[5] In Kulittalai taluk. [6] In Kulittalai Taluk.
[7] In Trichinopoly taluk.
[8] A taluk in the Trichinopoly district.
[9] Literally 'the temple country.' Probably Srîrangam.

Gain for five years	60,000
Amount stolen by Kallars in the Musiri country when the army marched from Pondichery to Trichinopoly	2,00,000
In the Vittukkatti country.	3,00,000
Total ...	5,00,000

Quantity (of grain ?) which M. Guillard ordered the ryots to give as *vâram* at the rate of 40 *per cent.* when he went there :—

Lâlgudi country	30 *per cent.*
Vittukkatti country ...	20 *per cent.*
Tottiyam country ..	15 *per cent.*

Thus *vâram* was given.

It is seven months since the ryots and headmen of Mûrumuttûr[1] and Kattalai left their homes, and they have not yet returned.

Saturday, July 16.[2]—I heard this morning that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had gone out by the Valudâvûr Gate, to inspect the fortifications and the Bound-hedge ; he returned to the Fort at nine by the Villiyanallûr Gate, so I stayed at home.

[1] Not identified. There is a place called Muttûr in Trichinopoly aluk, Trichinopoly district.

[2] 5th *Âdi, Îswara*.

I heard that the three English ships which were sighted yesterday, one in the north-east and two south-east, chased a ship this morning which was seen to the south-east, and reached the Cuddalore port in the evening. I have written accordingly.

Sunday, July 17.[1]—I hear that the English ships which lay at anchor at the roads put to sea and are lying farther out.

Europeans told me at the sorting-godown this morning that a paper drawing had been pasted up, showing the branches, buds, leaves, flowers, fruit, etc., of the tree of M. Leyrit, the incapable Governor ; the Europeans who went to hear mass, seeing it, reported the matter to the Governor who tore down the paper.

At six o'clock this evening M. Leyrit, the Governor, received a letter reporting the capture of Vizagapatam from M. Law, who marched with an army from M. Bussy's camp to attack the fort.[2] This news had already been received.

A European reported the following news to me :—When the fort of Vizagapatam was taken, Mr. Smith,[3] the Governor, two councillors, 200 soldiers[4] and some officers were also captured

[1] *6th Ádi, Íswara.*

[2] Vizagapatam surrendered to Bussy, June 26.

[3] This was John Lewin Smith, a writer of 1752, at this time a factor at Vizagapatam ; but not the chief, who was Mr. Perceval.

[4] The garrison included 140 English troops inclusive of the sick. Perceval's narrative, *French in India*, ii, 353, etc. (India Office).

and one Frenchman was killed; the councillors, soldiers, etc., have been imprisoned by the commandant[1], but the goods and money in the fort and the property of the merchants had been removed to Madras by the English ship which was there.[2] According to Sîtârâma Jôsier's predictions, these are tokens of the English decline, so our other affairs will prosper.

Monday, July 18.[3]—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, when he was with others in the great hall on the south. He looked cheerful. Europeans came and congratulated him on the news received last evening of M. Law's capture of the English town of Vizagapatam, the hoisting of the French flag there, and the capture of Mr. Smith, the English commander, two councillors and 200 soldiers and officers. I congratulated him also, and he was very cheerful. When M. Barthélemy came, the Governor told him that the French had taken Vizagapatam, and then read to him the letter he had received about it. After some talk with the Governor, M. Barthélemy departed. It was also written that one Frenchman had been

[1] They surrendered as prisoners of war.
[2] The *Marlborough* put in on her way not to Madras but to Bengal.
[3] *7th Adi, Îswara.*

killed, but no more. The Europeans were saying to-day that the money, goods, etc., in the fort had been sent away by sea—this was the subject of their conversation. M. Leyrit then went into his room and I to my office in the flower-garden. M. Flacourt, Guntûr Bâli Chetti, the people of Olukarai and Tânappa Mudali (Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother) were there. At twelve o'clock a salute of 21 guns was fired in honour of the capture of the English town of Vizagapatam in the north.

Receipt given by Mahârâja Râjasrî Wazârat Râya Vijaya Ânanda Ranga Râyar on 23rd *Âni*, *Îswara*,[1] to Appu Mudali, Chokkampattu Venkatapati Reddi, Kirumâmpâkkam Saruvâ Reddi and Chilkala Venkatapati Reddi, *nâttârs* of the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr countries, for 300 star pagodas paid to the sarkar to-day by Râmayyan, or 1,062 rupees at the current rate of 354 rupees *per* 100 star pagodas for the year *Dhâthu*[2] according to their account of receipts and issues.

Copy of the receipt given by Mahârâja Râjasrî Wazârat Râya Vijaya Ânanda Ranga Râyar on 7th *Âdi*, *Îswara*,[3] to Appu Mudali, Chokkampattu Venkatapati Reddi, Kirumâmpâkkam Saruvâ Reddi and Chilkala Venkatapati Reddi, *nâttârs* of Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr countries,

[1] July 3, 1757. [2] 1756-1757. [3] July 18, 1757.

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for 285 star pagodas or 736 rupees and 290 rupees in cash or 1,026 rupees remitted to the sarkar to-day by Râmayyan for the money due on Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr.

I hear it has been written that Râchûr rockets were being brought by [camel ?][1] from Arcot to the English attacking Wandiwash, but when a shot was fired, the camel fled back to camp.

Formerly our people seized Bandamûrlanka[2] and another port[3] and sent to Masulipatam those whom they had seized. But now Vizagapatam has been taken, and everything is happening according to the prediction of Sîtârâma Jôsier, who said that everywhere the French flag would replace the English. I think that what he predicted about me will come to pass.

Wednesday, July 20.[4]—I write to-day the news received last night that the English army which was encamped about three miles from the French army at Wandiwash has retreated.[5]

[1] Reading *Ottagai* for *Thottagai*.

[2] In the Godavari district. See vol. x, p. 396, *supra*.

[3] Early in May the French seized the English factory at Madapollam ; the chief, Andrews, however, had already sent away all the Company's goods by sea. He himself retired to the Dutch factory of Palikollu, but was obliged by the French to surrender himself. Nellipilli and Bandarmalanka were seized shortly afterwards. *Public Despatches to England*, July 30, 1757, and *Public Consultations* August 17, 1757.

[4] *9th Âdi, Îswara.*

[5] They withdrew into cantonments at Conjeeveram, having convinced themselves that the French would not accept battle. See Orme, ii, 220-221.

Thursday, July 21.[1]—I heard this morning that the two English ships visible to the south-east of the Fort, that visible to the north-east, and the two ships which were cruising to and fro, had sailed towards Fort St. David, but it was not known whether they would return. I then went to my office in the flower-garden.

Friday, July 22.[2]—I heard to-day that, on receipt of a letter from Balwanta Râo (the Nânâ's gumastah) who is a sardâr of 15,000 horse and is halting near Kadappanattam fort this side of Sâtghar, saying that Mîr Sâhib should be sent back at once[3], the people of Arcot were flying in panic, that houses situated a long way from the fort were being razed to the ground, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had sent his family and children to Madras and Mylapore as the Maratha horse were plundering Ambûr and Vâniyambâdi.

I heard from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's vakîl here that he had received a letter saying that Amirta Râo (the man sent by Balwanta Râo who had come from Nânâji Râo on account of *chauth*, with 20,000 horse) set out with 1,000 horse, left 400 horse in Vellore and thereabouts, and approached Arcot with 600 horse, and that on learning this, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and

[1] *10th Âdi.* [*Iswara*].

[2] *11th Âdi,* [*Iswara*].

[3] The recall of the Pondichery vakîl was apparently intended as a threat of a general attack.

others had gone out to receive him and were entertaining him at Arcot.

The English ships which were visible north-east and south-east of the town were not visible to-day but have gone to the port of Cuddalore.

Sunday, July 24.[1]—I hear this morning that the English, who had retreated, have returned towards Wandiwash; 200 of the soldiers who have come from Srîrangam have been despatched; Hussar troopers who have also come from Srîrangam will march to Wandiwash to-morrow; and 50 soldiers and some sepoys have been sent to Âlambarai. Persons who had gone out beyond the Bound-gate have been killed and women are being seized by the breast, thrown down and ravished; and others have been stabbed so that their bowels gushed out. There is no one to hear complaints, so how can we expect justice in other matters? This is the state of the town, as I hear from many people.

About half-past seven to-night, when Râmayya Pillai (M. Barthélemy's servant) was returning with music and dancing, torches, palankins, horses, etc., from *Asôkasâlai*[2], after performing his wife's ceremonies, as he entered

[1] *13th Âdi, Iswara.*

[2] The expression may mean 'A place planted with Asôka trees. Ceremonies are generally performed under the shade of such trees.

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the Madras Gate on the north, 15 sepoys posted there by an officer (whose name I do not know) with orders to wait until these people with their followers had reached the sentry north of the ditch, and then to pursue and beat them with the butts of their muskets, began to beat Râmayya Pillai's people—horsemen, palankin-bearers, musicians, torch-bearers, lance-men, dancers, etc.,—so they all fled. Then Vinâyakan and the Nayinâr who had managed the business, collected all the people and telling them to follow, entered the gate first. Râmayya Pillai's younger brother and a few others were slightly beaten, but when Vinâyakan and the Nayinâr who could not run, demanded why their people had been thus beaten, they too were struck with the butt ends, whereon they fled. After this [. . .].[1] Vinâyakan alone returned, and called to a servant from outside, instead of keeping quiet after his blows, and secured admission by promising to give the officer 100 rupees. The officer said to Vinâyakan, 'What can I do if people enter with such a train at night? There is a danger of the enemy's entering with them.[2] That is why your people were pursued and beaten.' So saying he accepted the rupees and admitted

[1] A few words have been lost here.

[2] He was perhaps thinking of some of Sivaji's enterprises.

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Vinâyakan. The others who had scattered at last reached the Perumâl temple, where they lit their torches and went home accompanied by music and dancing, and saying 'We will complain of this' placing their hands on their heads. M. Barthélemy who was told about it informed M. Leyrit, the Governor, who issued an order, with which they went out this morning. Love of money and the Governor's neglect of affairs have induced men to beat others like this and take their money. I have dwelt in this town for 38 years. When M. Dupleix formerly ruled, there were many troubles, but what is happening now is a thousand times worse than those. I also managed affairs then, but never did I see such a thing as has happened to-day. Every kind of atrocity has now been committed except dragging women from their houses and carrying them away. Peons, Europeans and coolies enter houses, and take away cattle, horses, cows, calves, etc., without the knowledge of their owners, and they beat or threaten any who question their doings. I cannot describe the injustice that is being done in the town. When the Second settles disputes at the Choultry, he orders 200 or 300 stripes. I cannot adequately describe his actions. M. Barthélemy is now what Mariyâdarâman,[1] was

[1] A man distinguished for his justice and shrewd intelligence in South Indian folk-tales a selection of which has been published by Mr. P. Ramachandra Rao. The comparison is of course ironical.

of old. Formerly, with M. Lenoir as Governor and M. Dulaurens as Second, the town prospered; the jungles became populous; poverty departed, wealth entered, and truth shone; but now untruth flourishes with its attendant evils. I have written in four lines what people say of all this injustice. But inasmuch as it prevails everywhere, none can wonder. A Carnatic Râjâ can be set up only after the Moghul Pâdshâh has fallen. All is happening as Sîtârâma Jôsier predicted in *Krôdhana*.[1] No one is therefore to blame; and the wise will conclude that this is the work of the times.

Tuesday, July 26.[2]—I hear that the English army has retreated into Conjeeveram.

Wednesday, July 27.[3]—I heard this morning that Ayyan Sâstri had tied *tôranams* in Vâlapanthal,[4] and that, as the English people in the Arumpuliyûr and Sâlamârkam countries[5] had retreated, Ayyan Sâstri was going to tie *tôranams* there also.

A few soldiers and sepoys are marching to Âlambarai to join our army encamped near Wandiwash.

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[1] 1745–1746.
[2] *15th Âdi, Îswara.*
[3] *16th Âdi, Îswara.*
[4] A village in the Arcot taluk.
[5] Arumpuliyûr and Sâlavâkkam in the Madurântakam taluk, Chingleput district.

Thursday, July 28.[1]—I heard that Amirta Râo (Balwanta Râo's gumastah), who was halting at Sâtghar for a week, has reached Vellore with 300 or 400 horse. When Murtazâ 'Alî Khân learnt this, he sent his people to receive him, gave him a feast, and is arranging about *chauth*; later on he[2] will go to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot, who has prepared a lodging for him and is expecting him; but as Muhammad 'Alî Khân has sent his children to Madras and Mylapore, the inhabitants, merchants, etc., are flying in fear, and, as Maratha horse are expected, it has been notified by beat of tom-tom that the people should depart in order to avoid danger.

I heard to-day that two English ships had been sighted off the roads.

Europeans are saying that news has reached Mahé from Bombay that two English men-of-war fully equipped for war have reached Bombay much damaged, but it is not known whether the damage was received in battle or bad weather. I have written accordingly.

Sunday, July 31.[3]—This morning the Governor read to the councillors the Europe letter received yesterday. It contained the same news about M. Dupleix as the letter which M. Barthélemy received yesterday, but added that

[1] *17th Adi* [*Iswara*]. [2] *i.e.* Amirta Râo. [3] *20th Âdi, Iswara.*

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the English had been defeated in the war between them and the French in Europe. After talking of this for a quarter of an hour, M. Leyrit and M. Barthélemy went into the Governor's room to talk privately, so we all came downstairs. I went to my office in the flower-garden, and the others went home.

At seven o'clock to-night two English ships and a sloop appeared off the roads. Immediately the Governor and others ordered men to be posted by the guns mounted on the beach ramparts. The ships were also got ready, and coloured lights were hung on the flagstaff on the ramparts. The drums beat, and the Europeans in the town were ordered to assemble and be ready. The captain fired a shot as the English ships approached, but it fell short. The ships dropped anchor to the north-east.

AUGUST 1757.

Monday, August 1.[1]—Of M. [le] Riche's letters received from Europe, one was to me and the other to M. Barthélemy. His letter says that, as M. Dupleix' affairs have not been settled, he is confined to his house with few persons about him; Madame Dupleix is very ill, and her daughter's marriage has been postponed; the English have been defeated by the French in battle,[2] but no ships had sailed till November. I reported this and the injustice in the town to the Governor, and added that I could not say when God would remove this injustice, but perhaps He would remove it in *Âvani* or *Purattâsi*,[3] and that with the ships' arrival, the town would become happy. I then took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Tuesday, August 2.[4]—I heard to-day Mîr Inâyat-ul-lâh's news that of the 1,000 Nânâ's horse who followed Amirta Râo to Arcot, 600 or 700 had gone as far as Ambûr, Vâniyambâdi, Tiruppattûr and Virinchipuram, plundering the country.[5]

[1] *21st Âdi, Îswara.*
[2] Alluding probably to the loss of Minorca.
[3] August-September or September-October.
[4] *22nd Âdi, Îswara.*
[5] Cf. Orme, ii, 228, etc.

Wednesday, August 3.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I went to the Fort. M. Leyrit, the Governor, was in the great hall with the verandah on the southern side of the *Gouvernement* with M. Guillard, M. Brenier, M. Charpentier, M. Solminiac and four or five other officers. I went upstairs and paid my respects to the Governor, etc. The Governor stared at me, and the rest bowed, except two or three who raised their hats.

A Goa *mestice* or Portuguese lascar (I do not know if he is a gunner) who was on one of the English ships in the roads, jumped into the sea last night and swam ashore. When he had reached the shore, a sentinel took him to the Fort gate, and the officer on guard there sent him with a corporal to the Governor upstairs. The Governor and others questioned him about the English ships. He replied, 'My ship contained 150 lascars, *mestices* and topasses, 10 Englishmen and some Frenchmen who were prisoners of war at Cuddalore. The same number are on the other two ships. The man-of-war is filled with all sorts of munitions—shot, shell, etc. The ship on which the captain[2] sails, has 20 or 30 more Europeans. Fifteen or twenty days ago, they tried to seize or burn the ship.

[1] *23rd Âdi, Îswara.*

[2] Captain probably signifies 'commanding officer,' *i.e.*, commodore.

[The commander] betted the Governor of Madras that he would seize or burn the ship by July 31. The month of July has passed and it is now August 3. I do not know what he will do.[1]' When he spoke thus to the Governor and the rest, the Governor said that he must be a liar and ordered a corporal to be posted over him, and the man to be detained in the hospital on hospital food.

In the course of this conversation, M. Barthélemy, M. Desvaux, M. Boyelleau and other councillors came to attend the council. When the Governor went into the council-hall, M. Desvaux gave him two letters. After the letters had been read, M. Desvaux said something about me. I think the letters must relate to the country affairs. After the Governor had entered the council room, Kandappan said that the council had met to read the letters received from M. Bussy yesterday and added, 'M. Bussy is at Vizagapatam with 30,000 men.[2] The councillor, Mr. Perceval, and the commandant of the place agreed in writing that

[1] The English ships cruising off Pondichery were H.M.S. *Triton*, Captain Townley, and H.C.S. *Revenge*. They had arrived too late to catch the *Gloire* which had arrived from the Islands on June 30. (*Madras Military Despatches to England*, July 30, 1757.)

[2] Actually about 7,000. Vizagapatam surrendered on June 26, Bussy behaving with great generosity. Owing to a mutiny of the garrison he actually entered the place before signing the capitulation agreed on, but signed it afterwards. Perceval's narrative occurs in the *French in India*, ii, 353, etc. (India Office Records.)

the custom about the bearing of arms by those taken in war should be observed, and that they should be ready to appear when required, and then departed. The soldiers have been imprisoned and Mr. Clive is coming with a squadron. This news I learnt from the harkara.' Afterwards I went to my office in the flower-garden. The council broke up at ten and then M. Barthélemy went home. I do not know what happened.

Thursday, August 4.[1]—Gôpâlakrishnama Chetti, Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Gôdavarthi Venkatâchala Chetti and others came to me and said, 'We bought Muchinisu[2] broadcloth, English pattern, from two Portuguese, the Salomons[3] for 10,000 and odd rupees in *Tai, Bhava*,[4] stipulating that the amount should be paid in six months, or in default we should furnish security. 585 rupees are due on the transaction. They have sent a note by a dubâsh (whose name I do not know) requesting us to send the amount by shroff Mêlugiri Chetti and Râyalayyan, and agreeing to return the bond on production to-morrow morning of the two receipts already given.' So saying they delivered up the receipt.

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[1] *24th Adi, [Iswara].*

[2] Is this a variant of the 'Machin' of early Arab writers? If so, it probably means here 'the sort sent to China.'

[3] They were Jewish merchants of Madras.

[4] January-February 1755.

Sunday, August 7.[1]—I hear to-day that Amirta Râo (the Nânâ's vakîl) followed by 1,000 troopers is with Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Arcot; he entered into an agreement with the latter for eight lakhs of rupees—five lakhs on mortgage of the countries and three lakhs on mortgages with the killedars—whereon Muhammad 'Alî Khân took leave of Amirta Râo, promising to send him some money as soon as he reached Madras by way of Conjeeveram. I have written this. I conclude from this agreement of Muhammad 'Alî Khân and his departure, that he is like betel-nut in a nut-cutter, for about 15,000 of the Nânâ's horse are at Sâtghar, Amirta Râo is near at hand with 1,000 more, and the French army is close by engaging the English. He therefore, thinking that there would be danger in resistance, sent his wife to Madras and Mylapore, and himself entered into this agreement in order to escape. I do not think that he is sincere.

I heard this evening that M. Aumont had entered the town with his troopers.

Tuesday, August 9.[2]—As I was unwell, I was on diet and too weak to go out this morning.

Innâsi, the Pariah servant of M. Dupleix, remained here when M. Dupleix departed for

[1] *27th Âdi, Îswara.* [2] *29th Âdi, Îswara.*

Europe. This fellow has been secretly sending offers of help to the English. He also, accompanying the French army when it marched against Wandiwash, wrote to the English from there, created disunion among the sepoys, and induced them desert to the enemy. One day one of his letters was seized, so he has been arrested and sent hither. A council was held this morning and he was hanged this evening.

Saturday, August 13.[1]—I heard seven or eight days ago that according to the orders of Bâlwanta Râo (Sau Bhâji Râo's sardâr) who is near Sâtghar, Mulavâlam, and Kôlâlam, etc. places with 15,000 horse, Amirta Râo had gone with 500 horse to Arcot, whence he and Muhammad 'Alî Khân proceeded to Madras. Now I hear that, after an interview with Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, Muhammad 'Alî Khân is residing at M. Barnewall's garden situated on the road from Triplicane to Madras.[2] Amirta Râo is at Tiruvottiyûr, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân has agreed to pay him something so that he may help him instead of withdrawing his 1,000 horse ; the merchants and rich men at Madras are sending their property away to

[1] *1st Âvani, Iswara.*

[2] Colonel Love (*Vestiges*, ii, p. 621) mentions Barnewall as having owned land at Chepauk, which was bought and added to the Company's garden. It is possible that he had also owned 'the very small house situated on the sea-shore' where Muhammad 'Alî was living in 1767 (*Op. cit.*, ii, 611).

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Pulicat and other places of safety, for they greatly fear that their heavy losses of twelve years ago will be repeated, as they certainly will. When the French captured Madras in *Purattâsi*, *Akshaya*,[1] Mahfuz Khân, and the present Muhammad 'Alî Khân (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's sons) helped [the English], Anwar-ud-dîn Khân perished, and the Arcot subah was lost. All these things are well-known. Bhâij Râo's man, Amirta Râo, has now joined Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and this is a sign that Madras will fall into French hands this year. It remains to be seen what happens according to Sîtârâma Jôsier's former and Subbâ Jôsier's present predictions.

Fifty Hussars marched with M. Goupil to-day to join the camp by way of Chêtpattu [ ].

Friday, August 19.[2]—At half-past seven this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor as he was talking to M. Pichard, M. Brenier and other officers, M. Desvaux, etc., in the great hall on the south. After waiting there for about a quarter of an hour, I went to the sorting-godown. There M. Guillard came and paid me his compliments. I thanked him. He said, 'You have been saying ever since last year that this year all the country, the expenses of war, the

[1] September-October 1746. [2] *7th Âvani Îswara*,

commanders, forts, etc., will pass under the King's control and that the Company will be limited to trade and that King's troops and commanders will arrive from Europe. Yesterday M. du Bausset and M. Delarche received letters from M. Dupleix saying that things will happen as you have said. Your astrologer must be very wise. You say that the English will lose all their factories in India and the Muhammadans a large extent of territory; last year the King of France ordered the despatch of 4,500 or 5,000 soldiers, 22 ships and two of his commanders, and 10 ships sailed on the 29th November and 12 ships on the 14th December for Pondichery.[1] M. Dupleix has gone with his family to Champagne. His wife is seriously ill, and her daughter's marriage has been deferred. M. Godeheu is highly spoken of, and his advice is being taken about the despatch of the expedition to India. I cannot say what other news there is. M. Delarche and M. du Bausset looked very downcast as they read their letters; perhaps because they contained ill news about their affairs or because M. Dupleix' business has

[1] In the following month the English learnt from a Dutch source that the expedition was to consist of 6 King's and 22 Company's ships sailing in three divisions in November and December 1756 and January 1757. (Letter from Wynch, September 23, *ap. Military Consultations*, September 26, 1757.) This arrangement was not however exactly followed—Cf. Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine Militaire sous le règne de Louis XV*, p. 399, and Orme, ii, 234.

not prospered. What do your astrologers say about the future?' I replied, 'The news now received agrees with what I formerly said. I have been told what will happen after the ships' arrival and you should observe what happens. This is but the beginning of the ruin of Delhi and the decline of the Moghul rule. I will tell you the rest after observing what happens in this.' M. Legou, M. Bertrand and M. Drouët, an old man, then came up, and they talked at length about the affair mentioned above, and departed. Afterwards M. [ ][1] asked M. Guillard how this letter had come. The latter replied that a sloop which had brought news to the Dutch at Negapatam from Amsterdam had also brought these letters from M. Dupleix, and then returned. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Saturday, August 20.[2]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, when he was upstairs talking with Senhor St. Paul, the councillor at Tranquebar. Then a ship was sighted, on seeing which the councillor said that a ship was on her way from Tranquebar. The flag was hoisted at the Fort, and, on entering the roads, the captain of the ship fired a salute, which was returned from the shore.

[1] Blank in the original. [2] *8th Âvani, Îswara.*

Then I went to the sorting-godown where I saw M. Guillard to whom I paid my respects which he returned, and said, 'The ships will arrive any day, as news has been received of their despatch from Europe and of their having been sighted half-way. I cannot say when, but their arrival must be a matter of hours, not of days. Nor can I say what new injustice will be added to the old before they come. We shall see.' I replied, 'The French flag was hoisted here 57 years ago[1] and in the last three years injustice never before heard of has occurred. The town must either prosper or go to ruin, but, as it is destined to greatness, a packet will be received with orders which will bring about twice as great prosperity as was enjoyed in M. Lenoir's time. I have learnt that after the fiftieth year, there will be great prosperity. As it begins this year, the packet will surely be received by the expected ships.'—'True,' he said and added that all said the same. We then talked about other matters.

I observed, 'The merchants at Madras are sending their money away to Pulicat and other places. When the French formerly captured Madras and hoisted their flag, the Perumâl temple, the Îswaran temple and the

[1] That is, on the rendition of Pondichery to the French by the Dutch in 1699.

houses up to Sunguvâr's house were allowed to stand. Their destruction has now been ordered and the fact published by beat of tom-tom. So the merchants went to Mr. Pigot and asked him how he could destroy such ancient temples. He replied, "The town is in danger and it is therefore necessary to demolish them. If you agree quietly, well and good; if not, I shall send men to destroy them." Thinking that it was no use seeking to bargain with him, they requested him to give them a month within which to remove the idols from the temples before their destruction and to find houses elsewhere. He refused this, but gave them 15 days.[1] When the French captured the town before and hoisted their flag, half the town was destroyed and now the whole will go to ruin, and the name of Madras will be forgotten. At first the town was very prosperous; then it lost half its greatness; and now the very name of the town will disappear; therefore the time has come to destroy the remaining houses.'—'True,' he replied, and added, 'If they had not heard of the despatch of so many ships for us, they would not have ordered such a thing; but they must have had definite news about it to have ordered the houses to be destroyed. Henceforward I think

[1] Cf. Call's letter, *ap.* Love, ii, 526.

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the English will lose all their hope of Madras.' After talking about other matters, he went home, and I took leave and went to my office in the flower-garden.

Sunday, August 21.[1]—I heard to-day that, as M. Mauricet[2] had shot M. Flacourt last night, the former tried to escape in disguise, but the Fort gate is not opened till nine o'clock in the morning, and people going to and fro are only let pass after examination, even after the gates are opened. M. Delarche and M. des Naudières, the *greffier*, have been appointed to enquire into the matter and report. I do not know what will happen.

Monday, August 22.[3]—M. Saubinet and M. Brenier permitted M. Mauricet to escape at nine o'clock to-night by the Sea-gate. But as he approached the mouth [of the Ariyânkuppam river], the sepoys there seized him and reported the matter to the sentinel at the Sea gate. When M. Saubinet and M. Brenier learnt this, they went and beat the sepoys and drove them away, and rousing the chelinga-people from their sleep, told them to bring a chelinga into which they put M. Mauricet with orders that he was to be taken beyond the Ariyânkuppam roads.

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[1] *9th Âvani, [Îswara].*

[2] Appointed Sous-commis in 1740. Compagnie to Pondichery, November 9, 1740.

[3] *10th Âvani, [Îswara].*

Monday, August 29.[1]—I hear to-day that Amirta Râo (the Nânâ's gumastah) who was about to return from Madras to Arcot because he could not come to terms with the English, has been pacified by Muhammad 'Alî Khân with a promise of a mortgage on Tirupati[2] for two lakhs of rupees, broadcloth for 30,000 pagodas, and a mortgage on villages in the Conjeeveram country for two lakhs of rupees.

I also hear that Balwanta Râo, who is halting in the Kadappanattam forests[3] with 10,000 or 15,000 horse, has kept 1,000 or 1,500 horse with him and sent the rest to seize Madanapalle, Gurramkonda, etc. places under the Cuddapah man ; on learning this, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah has marched with 5,000 or 6,000 horse, and therefore Balwanta Râo has decided to rejoin with his followers his army where it lies encamped, after worshipping the God in Tirupati.

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[1] *17th Âvani, Iswara.*

[2] Important as a source of ready money from the temple revenues which were farmed out. Tirupati had been assigned to the English in 1753 (*Military Consultations*, 1753, p. 146). An account of the revenue will be found in Graeme's Report, March 31, 1818. (Revenue and Judicial Selections, i, 969, etc.).

[3] Cf Orme, ii, 227.

SEPTEMBER 1757.

Friday, September 2.[1]—At eleven o'clock to-day I heard that the Governor had to-day settled by means of M. Delarche the long-standing return of Râmayyapattanam, etc. places which belonged to the Vellore nawâb but which had been attacked and seized by the French army when the Nellore country was attacked, about which two months ago Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore sent a white horse and some presents, which were lodged in the house opposite Nainiya Pillai's. Thus the matter has ended successfully, and, in consideration of the help afforded to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, he is to give presents to the value of 10,000 rupees in addition to the white horse he has already sent. I cannot say if the presents are in excess or short. When the presents were delivered to-day a salute of 15 guns was fired, instead of 11 as usual. The following presents were given in return :—

Ten pieces of broadcloth ;
four rolls of velvet ;
two rolls of silk ;
twelve small knives ;

a chest of glass[2], and six pairs of scissors.

[1] *21st Âvani, Îswara.* [2] *Vitaru* ; which I suppose is *vitre.*

Thursday, September 8.[1]—On my way to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning I heard many saying that a black and white flag had been hoisted at the Fort flag-staff as a sign of war, when ten or twelve ships were sighted. The two English ships in the Cuddalore roads had already sailed for Madras this morning, and large French ships have been seen off Narambai and Nallavâdi sailing along the coast. I went to my office in the flower-garden.

I also hear that letters arrived at nine o'clock by catamaran from Kârikâl saying that the ships are ours.

Friday, September 9.[2]—To-day being the sixteenth day after the birth of a son to Chiranjîvi Saubhâgyavathi Tripurasundari, the child has been named Saravana Sadâsivan and all ceremonies performed.

M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Pichard the German commander, and M. Law, went last night to escort ashore Brigadier Monsieur le Chevalier de Soupire and M. le Chevalier de Dure[3], his Second, who have come by the King's ship from Europe; but they said that they would come this morning. So the aforesaid four persons returned at six o'clock this morning to escort them. On hearing that they had entered their boat, I went to the Fort

[1] *27th Âvani, Îswara.* [2] *28th Âvani, Îswara.*
[3] The Chief Engineer of the expedition.

and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, in the presence of M. du Bausset and other councillors who were there. He looked blank and looked blanker still after I had gone up to him. A salute of 15 guns was fired by the ship when M. le Chevalier de Soupire and the others got into the chelinga. The other ship and the one in the roads replied with a like number. Seeing the chelinga approach the shore, M. Leyrit set out to go to the Beach, but before he had reached the stairs, M. Delarche, M. du Bausset, M. Desvaux, and M. Lenoir went and whispered to him that the chelinga had a long way yet to come, and asked if it was necessary to go so soon. So M. Leyrit returned, but he had scarcely gone ten steps when a peon came and reported that the chelinga was approaching. Thereon he again started for the Beach and waited by the Sea-gate. The Second joined him beyond the East Gate of the Fort. As the chelinga entered the roads and before M. le Chevalier de Soupire and his Second M. le Chevalier de Dure, had landed, the soldiers, Topasses and Coffrees were drawn up from below the *Gouvernement* in the Fort down to the Beach, plantain trees and coconut branches were tied in rows, and nautch-people, music, actors, the Fish standard and other marks of honour were made ready. On landing M. le Chevalier de Soupire waited

sometime, and did not leave the Beach until he had ordered sloops to be sent at once to land the troops[1]. M. Leyrit and he saluted each other and the councillors paid their respects. Then the ramparts fired 100 and odd guns and all went up the *Gouvernement*. There all went and paid their respects, and I did the same. He returned his compliments. The two gentlemen who have come, M. Leyrit, and the second and third captains of the ship, went into the room east of the council-hall in the *Gouvernement*, closed the door, and, having conferred, sent for M. Charpentier and gave him an order. When he had gone away, M. du Bausset was sent for. When after some talk he too had been dismissed, the Governor took the gentleman over the *Gouvernement* and showed him his apartments. I do not know what the new man said to M. Leyrit, but the latter told the councillors to go home. As they were leaving, M. Guillard said to me, 'Why should you wait here when we councillors have been told to go? Come along.' As we came down talking, M. Guillard said, 'Until M. Lally's arrival as Lieutenant-General, this man will be chief, so M. Leyrit must obey him. We will talk about other matters to-morrow.' M. Guillard then departed, but, as I was going

[1] The Regiment of Lorraine and a company of artillery. Soupire's *Mémoire*, pp. 5, etc.

along, I did not hear the *tambour* beating at the gate for the Second as he passed on his way home. I hear that the *tambour* which used to beat for the Second will beat for M. Leyrit and that beaten for M. Leyrit will now beat for the new man.

Saturday, September 10.[1]—The Brâhman who has brought letters from M. Louët, the *Directeur* at Mahé, dated fourteen days ago, reported the following news to me to-day :—'On Saturday, eight Europe ships were sighted off Mahé ; two of the captains landed to confer with M. Louët, the *Directeur* and told him that they were destined for Pondichery. The next day, Sunday, I was despatched with a letter about the business they spoke of. I delivered the letter last night to the Governor, that is, on the thirteenth day of my journey, and reported to him that, as the winds were favourable, the ships would arrive in four or five days.' The astrologers have predicted that M. Lally's squadron will arrive on the 6th *Purattâsi*,[2] but from what these people say, I think it will come on the 2nd.[3] This is all the news and it remains to be seen what happens.

[1] *29th Âvani, Îswara.* [2] September, 18.

[3] According to the log of the *Prince de Conti*, captured later in the year, two vessels of Bouvet's squadron were off Mahé, August 23—26 ; and these must be the vessels alluded to. Ranga Pillai was mistaken in supposing them to be the remainder of the expedition with Lally on board.

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I hear that six or seven of the ships that have now arrived will sail to-night.

Sunday, September 11.[1]—I intended to go to my office in the flower-garden this morning.

After the council attended by M. le Chevalier de Soupire and others had broken up, M. Soupire gave his despatch to M. Bouvet who commands the ships that have now arrived, and who is proceeding with seven ships to Mascareigne or elsewhere.[2] M. Bouvet, having received his despatch, went to the beach and took boat for his ship. A salute of 15 guns was fired on shore. After M. Bouvet had embarked, I went to my office in the flower-garden and came home at noon.

Monday, September 12.[3]—At seven o'clock this morning, I called on M. Barthélemy the Second. I went upstairs and paid him my respects. He asked what good news the Europe ships had brought. I replied that I had not heard anything, but that the Europeans in the town gave conflicting accounts and the Tamils even more conflicting

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1 *30th Âvani, Îswara.*

2 Bouvet's reasons for this precipitate return are explained in his letter to Soupire printed in the latter's *Mémoire*, p. 9. He says that he is short of shot, which is used as ballast on two of his vessels, and they are too high in the water as it is. It seems an odd reason, when he could have filled up with sand. But his main motive was doubtless fear of being caught by the breaking of the monsoon.

3 *31st Âvani, Îswara.*

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ones. M. Barthélemy said, 'Just so. I hear that people say that I and two or three other councillors have been dismissed and that sentries have been set over my house. This is false. M. le Chevalier de Soupire who has just arrived has power to do as he likes in the war, both ashore and at sea ; but the Company remains in charge of the country, lands, merchandise and all other affairs of the town, and the council here has been ordered by the King of France to find pay for the King's people, and even to provide him with whatever he demands. However the King's men have nothing to do with the affairs of the country, the town or the trade.[1] M. Lally is coming as *Lieutenant Général du Roi*. On his arrival, the beating of the Second's *tambour* and other honours now rendered to M. Leyrit and the honour now rendered to Chevalier M. de Soupire by beating the *tambour-aux-champs* and the honours belonging to other great men, will be rendered to M. Lally.[2] I am not now shown any respect when I attend on the Company's business ; so also then M. Leyrit will be only a Company's servant without honour or respect. There

[1] The same limitation was imposed on Lally's powers. "Il laissera entièrement aux gouverneurs et aux conseils de la Compagnie la direction du commerce." Soupire's *Mémoire*, p. 10.

[2] Cf. vol ii, pp. 120, 121 and note.

will be no difference shown in the respect paid to all us councillors.'

He then asked if M. Godeheu had sent me any letter. I replied, 'None, up to now; nor have I heard any news. I have not even enquired. Everything will happen according to my fortune. Good and evil surely come at the appointed time, so I neither seek news nor visit people.' M. Barthélemy said, 'M. Clouët has been appointed Commissary,[1] and, as master of the country, he will examine the accounts of the countries under your management. Moreover orders will be received allowing you to retain the country now managed by you with which the council will have nothing to do. There must be letters for you from Godeheu which you will get when the council's packets have been opened. I shall not have anything to do with the country or villages under you nor will I take a lease of the villages. I shall not interfere in these affairs.' I replied, 'Of course I will tell you if I receive any letters, nor will I keep any news from you.' He then asked why I had written to the Company, M. Montaran and M. Godeheu without showing my

[1] The Company had often complained that it did not receive adequate information about the management of its revenues. Finally it appointed Clouët to the general charge of the collection. Company to the Pondichery Council, March 19, 1759 (Lally, *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 21.)

letters to him as ordered. I replied that the Company's letters were already in the box, and, as the time was opportune when I went to the Fort, I had put them in. He observed that the news contained in my letters had been written to him confidentially by one in Europe. I asked if he had not seen the Company's letters to the council. He replied that he had not, for the packet had not yet been opened.

Saturday, September 17.[1]—I hear that the Tamil, Telugu, etc. merchants at Cuddalore and officials, etc. have sent their wives, children and relations with their money to Ariyalûr, Udaiyârpâlaiyam, etc. places, so that only one or two remain in each house, and the Europeans who have sent their women and money to Negapatam, Tranquebar, etc. places are preparing themselves for war and collecting munitions. As this is a time of loss for them, the sight of our army will strike them with such alarm and fear, however ready they may be, that they will deliver up the fort and become prisoners of war. I have learnt this already. In Madras itself people are dashing one pot against another, just as they are at Cuddalore and Fort St. David, and are removing in great haste their goods, money, families and

[1] *5th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

children to Pulicat, etc. places. The *Shâstras*[1] say that the English will lose all their factories in India; what is now happening confirms it. I conclude therefore that the French will conquer and rule the country up to Delhi. The French armies have marched fully equipped to the high ground at Perumbai Lakshmana Nâyakkan's *mantapam*. It is said that M. the Chevalier de Dure will set out to take command on Wednesday or Thursday.

Sunday, September 18.[2]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. the Chevalier de Soupire as he was entering the *Gouvernement* after hearing mass at church. I then went to the sorting-godown and stayed there. Two or three Europeans who came said, 'On the third, fourth, fifth or sixth January 1757 (corresponding with 23rd, 24th, 25th [or 26th] *Mârgali* last) two of the St. Paul's priests at Paris, having removed their usual padré's dress and put on layman's costume, with concealed weapons, went to the palace of King Louis XV as if to talk with him; but while the King was listening to their conversation, they stabbed him in the loins and he fell down before they could repeat the blow. Immediately these two

[1] *i.e.*, astrologers learned in the *Shâstras*.
[2] *6th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

were seized and imprisoned, their bodies cut with a chisel, and a corrosive substance poured over them. When they were still suffering from these burns, they were asked who had sent them to murder the King, but they replied that they themselves had resolved to do the act and had not been instigated by any. In spite of all their pain, they refused to betray those who had set them on to murder the King, and died; but as the King is destined to live long and enjoy more extensive dominions and fortune, he recovered from his wounds. News of this reached the King of Portugal. The St. Paul's priests have twice before tried to stab the King but in vain, but this time they have succeeded in wounding him. It is not known what has happened to the St. Paul's priests. This news has been brought by this Portuguese ship.'[1] Having listened to this conversation, I went to my office in the flower-garden. In *Kârttigai*, *Krôdhana*,[2] Sîtârâma Jôsier of Vaippûr said that in the year *Krôdhana*[3] and in the 37th year of my

[1] This refers to the attempt of Damiens on the King's life, at Versailles, January 5, 1757. He had been a servant of the Jesuits, and both that body and members of the *Parlement de Paris* were accused of complicity, though without ground. Damiens was executed with great barbarity on March 28. The affair was one of a long list of events leading to the attack on the Jesuits a few years later.

[2] November-December 1745. [3] 1745-1746.

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age,[1] my life would be in danger by a weapon, and suggested means by which I might avert it. He again wrote that in the year *Dhâthu* and in the 48th year of my age,[2] danger would be caused by a weapon and added that his predictions never failed, but he could not suggest any means by which I could avert Brahma's writing, but that if my wife died, I might escape. He also read the leaf declaring that the King would be displeased in the time of the sixth Governor. He then made several calculations with cowries and said that, in the cycle of Saturn, there would be 56 side roots and 4 tap roots—60 roots in all, that by the year *Dhâthu* or the 48th year of my age, 59¾ of the roots had been broken and only a quarter remained, and that too would be a portion of the southern tap-root, so that therefore I should live a long life because in Libra, Jupiter's influence was predominant. He again made more calculations with cowries, and asked if the present King of France, who is the lord of the Governor of Pondichery, was crowned and seated on the throne in the month of *Arppisi*. I mentioned his capture of Madras, his marriage, the number of children (male and female) in the King's household and

[1] Ranga Pillai was born in March 1709. [2] 1756–1757.

the number of deaths every year, the marriages celebrated each year, the amounts spent in the town on cattle, poultry, wheat, bread, etc., and the number of houses and temples, and had written descriptions of all the members of the royal family with the dates of their births and marriages and the dates on which children were born to them. Books of this nature are often received and there were two such—one a short one, dated 1733 and the other dated [17]40. Both mentioned the King's coronation on the 25th October 1722. I therefore said that the date of the coronation was the 13th *Arppisi*, *Subhakrut*. He replied, 'According to your horoscope Jupiter in the cycle of Libra occupies the position of a crowned king seated on his throne. That is why I asked whether the month was *Arppisi*.' As I had not known why he was making such calculations, I had not understood why he put that question. On the 13th *Mârgali*, *Dhâthu*,[1] my single-tusked elephant ran at me, but I managed to escape. Again on the 26th of *Mârgali*[2] my palankin was broken in the Vellâla Street. He first said that the danger from a weapon was due to the influence of Jupiter and asked if the French King was crowned in the month of *Arppisi*. Although I had not understood at first why he

[1] December 24, 1756. [2] January 6, 1757.

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questioned me, yet the escape of the French King when he was stabbed with a weapon in *Mârgali*, made everything clear to me. I am sure this King will enjoy more prosperity, and conquer the Muhammadan kingdoms in India, as Sîtârâma Jôsier has predicted. So the *Shâstras* are true ; moreover what Subbâ Jôsier (Sîtârâma Jôsier's elder brother's son) has said will prove true also. I think therefore that I shall share the King's prosperity, that Appâvu, if it be his fate, will enjoy the like at the hands of the King's people who will conquer these countries ; that this time of prosperity will begin, as the astrologers have said, from the end of *Mârgali* or beginning of *Tai* and continue increasing. I write what I believe.

Thursday, September 22.[1]—I hear that Sampâti Râo (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's dîwân at Madras) has been seized and sent in a dhooli to Arcot and put in irons there[2] owing to information given by Muhammad 'Alî Khân (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son) at Madras, to Mr. Pigot, the Governor there. The cause of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's enmity against Sampâti Râo is this. Sampâti Râo always slighted Muhammad 'Alî

[1] *10th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

[2] Sampâti Râo was seized under a misapprehension by Captain Maskelyne at Arcot. Ranga Pillai seems quite misinformed about this episode. Cf. Orme, ii, 240, etc.

Khân and honoured Mahfuz Khân, Najîb-ullah Khân, and others, so Muhammad 'Alî Khân hated Sampâti Râo. This went on because Muhammad 'Alî Khân was not to see the end of his riches, or Sampâti Râo the beginning of his troubles. But now is the beginning of troubles for both. Mahfuz Khân became hostile owing to ill advice, and Najîb-ul-lah Khân of Nellore was induced to join the French ; and now in consequence of the reports made to the English, Sampâti Râo has been seized and imprisoned. Henceforward, men say, Muhammad 'Alî Khân will be beset with difficulties. This will surely happen and not prove false.

Monday, [*September*] *26.*[1]—Horses, carriages, men and dhooli-bearers have been seized and sent before, but to-day elephants were sent loaded with buffaloes and goats.[2] I can't say if respectable women will be seized and sent, but everything short of that has been done, although only in Tamil houses, not in the European quarter ; even Pariahs dressed like Europeans may drive away and beat peons when they approach their houses, and all this injustice and plunder, permitted under M. Leyrit, only reaches the Tamils.

[1] *14th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

[2] *Sic.* Perhaps the elephants were loaded with carcases for the consumption of the troops.

Europeans have already been sent under M. the Chevalier de Dure as their commander to Kâttumêttu ; but now the Europeans in the washing-place have been ordered to march and they will set out this evening for Kâttumêttu. They are preparing munitions of war in order to capture first the Arcot killa and then that of Chingleput. The troops have not yet left Kâttumêttu, and I do not know whether they will march to-morrow or the day after.

The news received to-day from Ariyalûr is as follows:—Mînâkshi Ayyan of Ariyalûr was the real ruler, while Malavarâyan was poligar only in name.[1] It was usual to carry the dead of the Nayinâr's family along the southern bank of the Kurinjan tank. Mînâkshi Ayyan had built a Perumâl temple there and an Îswaran temple south of the eastern bank. He had also built an *agrahâram* and left a path-way five or six feet broad between the temples. A month ago Mînâkshi Ayyan tried to prevent the corpse of the Nayinâr's[2] wife from being carried along the usual way : but the Nayinâr's people insisted. As his orders had been disregarded, Mînâkshi Ayyan departed and abode in Arakkattalai[3] beyond the jungles. The Nayinâr sent people to bring

[1] Cf. vol. viii, p. 6, note 1 *supra*.
[2] *i.e.*, Malavarâyan.
[3] In the Udaiyârpâlaiyam taluk, Trichinopoly district.

him back, but Mînâkshi Ayyan insisted on three conditions ; firstly that corpses should no longer be carried that way ; secondly that his commands should be observed and not disregarded ; and thirdly that he should be allowed to spend what he pleased and entertain as many *sibbandis* as were necessary to assist Turaiyûr Pâpu Reddi, and fight for him. The Nayinâr rejecting his demands, Mînâkshi Ayyan sent five or six of his servants to kill him by treachery. They went accordingly to the Nayinâr when he was upstairs with two or three people, and tried to slay him ; but the Nayinâr escaped and the two men with him attacked the six servants. As two men on each side were killed, at once there was a hue and cry ; two or three more men were killed ; and Mînâkshi Ayyan was quickly seized and put in irons. When his house was plundered, 60,000 gold pieces and jewels set with precious stones, ordinary jewels and women's cloths, etc., worth 30,000 gold pieces were found and carried to the Nayinâr's house.

Tuesday, September 27.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I went to the Fort. M. Leyrit was in the eastern hall with M. Brenier, M. Solminiac and others—six or seven Europeans in all. I paid my respects. He looked at me

[1] *15th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

smilingly. I waited about half an hour and then went to the sorting-godown and waited there. M. Guillard came and said, 'I have seen a book printed in Europe that a certain man has. It contains a correct account up to Nâsîr Jang's death as follows :— "By Nâsîr Jang's orders Coja Qalandar Khân, subahdar of Masulipatam, imprisoned M. Coquet, his wife and sons, his second, the writers, etc., down to the Company's courtier and troubled them. Conseqently M. Guillard, the councillor, was made commander-in-chief, and M. Latour captain of the soldiers, and they were sent there with 150 soldiers and 3 ships and munitions of war. On reaching Masulipatam, M. Guillard succeeded in capturing it, without fighting or troubling the inhabitants or plundering them, obtained the release of M. Coquet and others, and governed there. The inhabitants were astonished and said that they had never heard of anybody's capturing a place so easily, and that they would be happy under the management of such an able man. Coja Qalandar Khân, the subahdar, who was in the *pettai* outside the town, prepared to besiege it and prevent water, provisions, etc., from entering ; but on a certain night he was attacked and seized, and his army suffered some loss ; the poligar, merchants and inhabitants served and obeyed M. Guillard as they

found him to be just and brave. As the Muhammadans fired at the Yânâm factory, M. Lenoir who was there abandoned it after setting fire to the village, where were no houses, and some ships and sloops. As he had not the courage to attack, he is not fit to be chief of a place." I have just read this derisive account which has been printed in a lakh of copies and read throughout Europe. I am satisfied with so much glory."[1] I praised him and said, 'Please bring me that book and I will inform you of certain other things.' He said he would bring it to-morrow and then went to his *comptoir*.

M. Lenoir then came and paid his compliments to me. I thanked him. He then went home and I went to my office in the flower-garden at ten o'clock.

Wednesday, September 28.[2]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort and paid my respects to the Governor in the *Gouvernement* in the presence of M. Brenier and five or six officers. As he was talking with them, I went to the sorting-godown.

[1] Ranga Pillai's earlier references to this episode will be found in vol. vii, p. 217-230. I do not know the pamphlet to which Guillard alludes; but its attack on Lenoir's conduct in twice abandoning Yânâm, repeats criticisms which were made by Dupleix, in 1750 (Dupleix to the Company, October 3, 1750, *Archives des Colonies*)

[2] *16th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

I hear that M. the Chevalier de Soupire and the King's men who have come, have marched with the troops and reached Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry by way of Perumbai ; they will set out for Gingee to-morrow or the day after, and the panic caused by the sepoys' attempting to seize men and horses in Valudâvûr, Villiyanallûr, etc. places, is indescribable.

I also hear that M. Desvaux has ordered Savarirâya Pillai to get men, etc., from the country.

M. the Chevalier de Soupire and the King's officers have reached Perumbai.

Thursday, September 29.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that M. the Chevalier de Soupire and the others who went last night to the high ground at Perumbai where the French army is encamped, had returned, as the provisions, coolies, etc., had not arrived there, so that they are now back in the first floor [of the *Gouvernement*] in a state of great anger that horses, bullocks, coolies, etc., had not yet been procured for transport.[2]

[1] *17th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

[2] " C'est avec beaucoup de peine," wrote Soupire, " que l'on met des troupes en campagne. Les munitions et les équipages ne se transportent que sur des coulis qui désertent en chemin ou sur des boeufs peu accoutumés à porter." Soupire to d' Argenson, December 9, 1757, (Hamont, *Lally*, p. 83.)

I also heard that M. Leyrit was busy in his room writing letters to Europe.

I also hear that the Cuddalore people have sent their goods, cash, etc., to Tranquebar, Negapatam and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and those at Madras to Pulicat and other places.

Friday, September 30.[1]—I heard this morning that M. the Chevalier de Soupire who has lately arrived, sent for Vinâyaka Pillai and Savarirâya Pillai and spoke harshly to them for not having procured equipment, coolies, etc., and that M. Desvaux also came and conferred with him. After talking for about half an hour, I went to my office in the flower-garden.

I hear that news has been received here to-day that palankins, palankin-poles, all kinds of vessels, chests, utensils, etc., which are said to belong to the Devanâmpattanam merchants and were being carried in a *dhony* to Negapatam, have been seized by our people at Kârikâl.

[1] *18th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

OCTOBER 1757.

Saturday, October 1.[1]—I hear that M. d'Auteuil and others are being supplied with horses and saddles, that they will march to-morrow to Valudâvûr and thence to Gingee after halting for 20 days ; that M. the Chevalier de Soupire will also march, and that houses are being got ready for M. Lally's followers.

Sunday, October 2.[2]—M. the Chevalier de Soupire set out this morning for his campaign with the *naubat*, standards, etc., and reached Valudâvûr this evening.

Monday, October 3.[3]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Legou, M. La Grenée and M. Drouët, who were in the sorting-godown, paid me their compliments which I returned. [They said], 'According to the letter from Mahé, M. Lally's squadron has reached Mauritius, so the ships will be here in five or six days.[4] A list of all the houses in the European quarter has been made for the accommodation of the King's people who are expected, and the same is being done in the Tamil quarter also. The squadron will arrive by October 10.' I observed that, in that case,

[1] *19th Purattâsi, Îswara.*
[2] *20th Purattâsi, Îswara.*
[3] *21st Purattâsi, Îswara.*
[4] The squadron did not reach Mauritius till December 17 (d'Aché's *Mémoire*, p. 10).

the ships would return immediately so that few would be available for war during the rains. 'Just so,' they answered, and added joyfully that M. Lally was Lieutenant-General, a great man, greater than any that had ever come out before.

The Tamils here say that Nagore Krishnayyan and the Cuddalore merchants have come here to obtain orders about the seizure at Kârikâl of ten boat-loads of rice, paddy, etc. provisions belonging to the Cuddalore people on their way to Nagore and Negapatam.

Tuesday, October 4.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was upstairs with M. Brenier and five or six officers. He did not notice me when I paid my respects to him ; and when afterwards, as he was looking at me, I paid my respects again, he only stared at me. M. Charpentier then came and talked about some business. I went aside and sat down. A few Europeans came and said, 'When our people advanced upon Chêtpattu, and entered the walls,[2] the man in charge of the fort opened fire from the walls, killing and wounding about 50 of our Europeans. M. Saubinet has been wounded in the leg and one or two officers have either been

[1] *22nd Purattâsi, Îswara.*

[2] Probably the *pettah* as opposed to the *killa*. Chêtpattu was invested September 29. Cf. Orme, ii, 242.

killed or wounded. The fort will fall to-day or to-morrow.' Afterwards I went to my office in the flower-garden.

Four or five days ago, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, delivered Nandi Râjâ's letter to M. Leyrit and said to him as follows :—'Nandi Râjâ sends you word that, as Mahfuz Khân has sent people to negotiate with him, he agrees that the other should have Madura and other country in the English possession, yielding a revenue of 40 lakhs of rupees, provided that, in return, he will give you so much country and maintain cavalry, but that should you not agree to this, he [Nandi Râjâ] will provide the pay for your troops and a jaghir on condition that you send him troops ; he will agree to either of these conditions.' I hear that, when the vakîl spoke thus, and delivered the letter, the Governor dismissed him saying that he was busy despatching the ships and that he would give an answer later on.[1]

Friday, October 7.[2]—I hear that the council decided and wrote to M. Porcher at Kârikâl yesterday, ordering him to release the Cuddalore merchants' goods which were seized at

[1] Leyrit could no longer determine these questions alone, and the despatch of the ship was an excuse to hide his loss of power. At a later date Astruc was sent to Dindigul to negotiate with Hyder 'Alî.

[2] *25th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

Kârikâl and about which Nagore Krishnayyan and other merchants came here.

Saturday, October 8.[1]—The following news has been current here for the last five or six days :—On learning that ships had arrived here with troops, etc., the Madras people sent their goods, money and families to Pulicat and other places ; but they are now bringing back their families and part of their goods, having learnt that our army has gone against Chêtpattu and Arcot, and that therefore they need not fear for the present.[2] They have also left off demolishing the houses, and the panic has subsided. The European ladies at Cuddalore have gone with their money to Tranquebar, Negapatam and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, but the cultivators and other inhabitants who went to Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, etc. places are returning as their panic has somewhat abated. I think that however much the panic may have abated, the English town will be wiped out of existence within a year from 21st *Arppisi* next,[3] and that their flag will disappear, for the French flag is destined to fly. Will Sîtârâma Jôsier's prophecy of *Mârgali, Krôdhana*,[4]

[1] *26th Purattâsi, Îswara.*

[2] Soupire had not contemplated any attack on Madras at this time, but had proposed to move against Fort St. David. That proposal was rejected at a Council held on September 10, and so he decided to attack Chêtpattu, etc. (Soupire, *Mémoire*, p. 11.)

[3] November 2, 1757.

[4] December 1745—January 1746.

that the French flag will fly in the Deccan, prove false? By no means, for his predictions of both good and evil for these twelve years past have all been fulfilled. What he says will come to pass, as experience will prove.

Monday, October 10.[1]—I heard to-day that M. Astruc, who was captured in the fight at Trichinopoly and afterwards went to Europe, had arrived in the ship which brought M. the Chevalier de Soupire, the King's man, from Europe; he now commands the troops at Valudâvûr fort, with the same military rank as before, and both he and M. d'Auteuil are under the orders of M. the Chevalier de Soupire, who manages all the affairs of the country, and the expenses of the army independently of M. Leyrit. It used to be Vinâyakan's duty to maintain the accounts of the army expenses, but M. Marié and M. Abeille have been entrusted with that work now, and will appoint their own people and enter on their duties to-day or to-morrow.[2] I hear that Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan has received a message directing him to settle his business with them[3] and that the Turaiyûr, etc. affairs

[1] *28th Purattâsi, Iswara.*

[2] Vinâyakan held the office known as that of the *Arombâtai*—"the Indian writer who keeps the detail of the expenses" and who was charged with the duty of providing the army with supplies when in the field. Soupire's experiment was not continued by Lally (*Mémoire de Lally*, pp. 352 and 396).

[3] Presumably Soupire.

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will be settled in the same way. The truth will be known from further details. It is no wonder that it rained heavily to-night as this is the rainy season.

Thursday, October 13.[1]—The news from Madura is as follows:—Barakkat-ul-lah (Mahfuz Khân's man) a Muhammadan, delivered the fort of Madura to the English for 40,000 rupees in ready money, but, when the English learnt of the arrival of ships with troops for the French, they evacuated the fort and marched with their forces to the Trichinopoly fort which they are strengthening. It is said that Mahfuz Khân, the Mysore army and Haidar Nâyak, will capture the Madura fort.[2]

Friday, October 14.[3]—I heard this afternoon that the French had scaled the walls of Chêtpattu fort and hoisted the white flag yesterday (Thursday), capturing Isarat Muhammad Khân[4], slaying 250 Muhammadan guards, and capturing 40 Europeans. As the fort was captured by escalade, many French soldiers must have fallen.[5] I shall write further when I learn more of this.

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[1] *1st Arppisi, Îswara.*

[2] Cf. Hill's *Yusuf Khan*, pp. 69, 72, etc.

[3] *2nd Arppisi, Îswara.*

[4] *Sic.* The first name should, I think, read *Nazir* instead of *Isarat*.

[5] Chêtpattu was stormed by Soupire on the 14th, and the garrison put to the sword—a severity which led to the prompt surrender of several neighbouring forts. Soupire's *Mémoire*, p. 15.

This afternoon it was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that, in future, no cattle or men should be seized, and that people should be at liberty to get in grain, etc. provisions from outside, because the nine kinds of grain, etc., ghi, and other provisions, are now dear, for none have been brought into the town for the last 15 days, so that their prices have risen and panic has spread in the town owing to the seizure of men, cattle, camels, elephants and horses, for the use of the camp, and the consequent pillage.

I also hear that operations may be suspended for three months owing to the rains.

Saturday, October 15.[1]—News having come in this morning about the capture of Chêtpattu yesterday, M. the Chevalier de Soupire at Valudâvûr has ordered the French commander at Chêtpattu to march to Arcot with his troops and capture that fort. M. Leyrit has asked M. Desvaux to despatch provisions to Arcot to-day. Savarirâyan has also written to the *amaldârs* in the country about this. For the last two months, Savarirâyan has been enjoying the jaghir of the killa of Chêtpattu, which he took possession of by writing to the Tahsildâr of Wandiwash. Mangala Râmachandra Râo has been sent to-day as *amaldâr*.

[1] *3rd Arppisi, Îswara.*

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Sunday, October 16.[1]— At nine o'clock this morning a gun was fired on the arrival of a *galiotte* this side of Vîrâmpattanam on her way from Mascareigne. The ships in the roads fired two guns when she hoisted a red flag at her lower mast above the *pulâl* flag. A white *kapûla* flag and a black *kapûla*[2] flag were hoisted at the Fort flag-staff and then lowered. After this ship had reached the roads, there came ashore M. le Marquis de Conflans, who came out in M. Dupleix' time and returned by Pondichery on his way to Europe after giving the Company's presents to Salabat Jang at Golconda. He first visited M. Leyrit, and then went to M. Law's where he is lodging. The ship set sail with that on which is M. Lally, who is coming as Lieutenant-General, and who, after landing at Mascareigne, despatched this man in advance with a letter to M. the Chevalier de Soupire about his coming with 19 or 20 ships and asking him to have supplies ready for 4,000 soldiers that are with him.[3] These ships will arrive in nine or ten days, or in January, about the New Year's feast, after wintering at Achin. I hear that the captain of this ship did not salute the commandant at

[1] *4th Arppisi, Îswara.*

[2] I have been unable to identify either *pulâl* or *kapûla*. Perhaps *pulâl* is a corruption of *pavillon*.

[3] Lally had not reached the Isle de France at this time, so that part of Ranga Pillai's story must be wrong. But on October 22 Leyrit wrote to Lally saying that he had learnt by the *Diligente* of Lally's arrival in the Eastern Seas.

the Fort nor the latter the captain, because M. the Chevalier de Soupire is at Valudâvûr, and M. Leyrit and the councillors here are under the Company. Nobody believed in the coming of M. Lally's squadron until this ship arrived with the news that he was actually at Mascareigne. European gentlemen say that the news has proved to be true to-day.

Monday, October 17.[1]—To-day is the anniversary of the retreat of Mr. Boscawen the Unlucky Admiral, in *Arppisi, Vibhava*,[2] usually observed as a festival. So M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthélemy the Second and councillors and Europeans went to church, heard mass and prayed. The church bells rang and a salute of 21 guns was fired. When service was over, all returned home.[3]

Friday, October 21.[4]—I write briefly below the rumours I have been hearing for the last six or seven days about Chêtpattu :—When the fort of Chêtpattu was scaled, Isarat Muhammad Khân, after stabbing his Pathân concubine, left the fort armed and followed by

[1] *5th Arppisi, Iswara.*

[2] October-November 1748.

[3] On November 4, 1748, Dupleix and his council resolved to found in the Company's name an annual *Te-deum* to be sung every year in the chapel of Fort Louis on October 17 at four o'clock in the afternoon with all the accustomed ceremonies (*Rélation du Siége de Pondichéry*, p. 345).

[4] *9th Arppisi. Iswara. Mahânavami* feast.

ten or twenty Pathâns. But as those who scaled the walls continued to fire their guns, Isarat Muhammad Khân and others were struck and killed. Others in the fort were also put to the sword, but some escaped. Two sisters (one younger and the other older than Isarat Muhammad Khân's concubine), were seized by two officers with their jewels worth about 2,000 pagodas, besides plunder worth about two lakhs of rupees. M. Pichard, the German commandant, carried off silver and gold jewels and ready money worth about 40,000 [1] rupees. Three elephants, 50 or 60 horses, 60,000 *kalams* of paddy, rice, etc. camp provisions, were found to the value of about two lakhs of rupees. The cannon, guns and other weapons in the fort have, it is said, been carried off by plunderers. As the Tiruvannâmalai fort and country were surrendered to the enemy by agreement, grain, etc. provisions have been seized by Savarirâyan (M. Desvaux' *amaldâr*) and his people, but I do not know if the Company will be informed of what has been left behind. I hear that the killedars and agents are discussing this matter with M. the Chevalier de Soupire.

[1] Such rumours, usually exaggerated, were current after every capture. In the present case by the custom of war, everything within the fort was the prize of the captors.

Saturday, October 22.[1]—About half an hour before sunrise this morning, I washed my face, and, when I was chewing *pân supârî*, a maistri-blacksmith (whose name I do not know but who is working at the Fort), two or three other blacksmiths and two carpenters—six or seven persons in all—came, and bowing, said, 'In regard to our petition for the last two or three years that our goddess Kâli should be taken out for the *Pârvêttai Vijayadasami* along with Varadarâja Perumâl and Kâlahasti Îswaran, you said that you must consult the townspeople whom we were not able to ask. Yesterday we presented a petition to the Governor. The Governor asked M. Claré [?] who should be consulted in the matter. Without consulting us, M. Claré said if Vinâyaka Pillai were entrusted with our business and told to settle it, he would do everything. Vinâyaka Pillai who was present, therefore, received charge of our business with orders to report to the Governor. He said he would do so and then taking us away, gave us leave to take the goddess Kâli to-day in procession along with Varadarâja Perumâl. So we have now come to inform you that we shall do so.' I replied, 'I am highly pleased, for the more our religion grows in

[1] *10th Arppisi, Îswara.* The festival of *Vijayadasami*

this town, the gladder I shall be. But in these matters are needed the orders of the right-hand caste people and not those of the Governor. However you have done wisely in getting the Governor's permission and, if you will be guided by my advice, your affair will prosper without any hindrance.' They agreed. So I said, 'There are *nâttârs* for each of the right-hand castes; the most important of them are the Kavarais, Idayars, Agamudaiyans, Vellâlas, Kaikkôlars, etc.[1] Ask them softly to be pleased to allow your idols to be carried in procession along with Dharmarâjâ, Mâriyâthâl, etc. idols, so that the procession may be more magnificent, and you their servants will be pleased. If you speak thus, you may then do as you desire without trouble and everything will go well.' They replied, 'We will not approach anybody or beg people with soft words. We have the Governor's orders, and Vinâyaka Pillai, who was told to attend to it, has promised that he will do so. So it shall be done.'—'You may do as you please,' I replied; 'but when in M. de la Prévostière's time the left-hand caste people tried to take Kâlahasti Îswaran (the left-hand caste God) in procession, although Tiruvêngada Pillai Avargal and Narasappa Nâyakkan

[1] For these, see Thurston's *Castes and Tribes s. vv.*

Avargal pleaded on their behalf, the right-hand caste people refused to yield. Again, although M. Lenoir searched the records 40 or 45 days and explained the whole matter to the right-hand caste people, the latter did not agree. But when M. Lenoir requested them to consider the case specially, they yielded. Seeing that so much difficulty arose about the Kâlahasti Îswaran temple, I do not think the right-hand caste people will easily agree in the present case. But you may do as you please.' They then departed, but, instead of returning to me, they went to Vinâyaka Pillai and reported the matter. It is said that he told them that nobody could prevent them, and that they could take the goddess in procession as they desired.

About two hours later, Vinâyaka Pillai, who was at the Fort, summoned Kanakasabhai Mudali, a Vellâla, the coral-seller Dêvarâya Chetti and others belonging to the right-hand caste, and told them that the Governor had permitted the carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., to take the goddess Kâli in procession along with Varadarâja Perumâl, and that therefore they must permit them to do so. They replied that they could not suffer a new thing to be done. He rejoined that then the Varadarâjaswâmi procession would be stopped. They answered that they would rather see that

happen than consent to this request. Kanakasabhai Mudali, Dêvarâya Chetti and others came and informed me. I advised them to do as the Governor directed. They replied that though they would agree to everything but an affair concerning caste customs, in the present case they were asked to allow a thing which had never been allowed before, but could say nothing if the other party were to hold the procession unlawfully. I told them that I had heard both sides and that they and the Governor knew everything. They then departed.

Mêlugiri Chetti and others then came and said, 'Vinâyaka Pillai has been saying in the Fort and at the Second's house that you have prevented the right-hand caste people from consenting to allow the left-hand caste people to carry their goddess Kâli in procession, because the Governor managed their affair through him,[1] and that he would report this to the Governor as you were wrong to oppose what the Governor had permitted. A few who heard this story replied that it would be wrong to tell the Governor so, for you had not interfered. Vinâyaka Pillai answered that your interference had prevented the Governor's orders from being carried out, and that, as the Governor knew your attitude, he would go

[1] Vinâyaka Pillai.

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and complain to him. So saying he went upstairs. On his return he said that he and Claré had reported the matter to the Governor who was so angry that he could not tell what would happen.' Some have sent word to me about this and others have informed me in person. I think that these malicious and unfounded accusations are, as the proverb says, '*Obiyekkukairugai*'[1] only for my good.

At one o'clock after I had finished my mid-day meal, the right-hand people came and said, 'On being summoned to the Governor by a peon, we went, and, as we were going upstairs, we met a chobdar who said that the Governor had forbidden our Varadarâjaswâmi to be carried in procession unless we agreed to the goddess Kâli being carried also and that we might go away.' So the *Pârvêttai* procession has not been held to-day.

Periyanna Nayinâr's son who is now Nayinâr came this evening and said, 'As the Governor ordered the Kâlahasti Îswaran alone to be carried in procession, I communicated this order to the authorities of the temple, but they replied that they would not conduct the procession without Varadarâja Perumâl. I informed the Governor who observed that, in that case, no gods should be

[1] Unidentified. The last part might represent the French words 'que coeur gai'; but the whole seems corrupted beyond recognition.

carried out.' So saying he departed. In this manner the *Vijayadasami Pârvêttai* has been prevented.

Sunday, October 23.[1]—I hear to-day that the *Diligente* which on the 4th[2] brought the news of M. Lally's arrival at Mascareigne, set sail to-day. There is no other important news.

The Chevalier de Soupire returned here to-day from Valudâvûr, having quitted the field owing to the rains.

I hear that the army that went out is returning to the washing-place, which some reached to-day and the rest will reach to-morrow or the day after. It is also said that the Company's troops under M. Saubinet have marched to capture Tiruvannâmalai, Vêttavalam and Kalulgada and the countries and forts thereabouts.[3]

Monday, October 24.[4]—Though I was too unwell to go out to-day, I heard the following news:—When the councillor, M. Lenoir, left in *Tai* or *Mâsi*[5] last for Srîrangam to inspect the management of the Srîrangam, etc. countries, Mahfuz Khân who

[1] *11th Arppisi. Îswara.*

[2] October 16.

[3] These small forts surrendered at once. Kalulgada seems to be the 'Caliongar' mentioned by Soupire (*Mêmoire*, p. 15). The result was the effective occupation of the region south and west of Chêttpattu.

[4] *12th Arppisi. Îswara.*

January-February or February-March 1757.

was in the south opened negotiations with him, offering a lakh of rupees in cash and a jaghir for the help of 500 soldiers, 2,000 or 3,000 foot and 10 guns. M. Lenoir replied that, if Mahfuz Khân would send a vakîl with a letter, on his return to Pondichery he would speak to the Governor about the affair and help him. Mahfuz Khân did so, and it is said that the vakîl has been introduced to the Governor by M. Lenoir. It remains to be seen what will happen.

Wednesday, October 26.[1]—To-day also I was too unwell to go out.

As Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) had not visited M. the Chevalier de Soupire on the latter's arrival from Europe, Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib were presented to the Chevalier de Soupire and M. Leyrit by M. Delarche, offering a dress of honour worth 500 rupees to the first and another worth 400 rupees to the second. Accepting the presents, they distributed rose-water and *pân supârî*, ordered a salute of 21 guns to be fired and then dismissed the visitors. Razâ Sâhib ought not to be received thus. In the days of M. Dupleix, all were treated as they deserved; when M. Godeheu arrived, M. Dupleix told him that, as God had been pleased to place

[1] *14th Arppisi*, [*Îswara*].

them in such a kingly position that Razâ Sâhib and others offered them nazars, he must treat them discreetly and not show them too much respect. Therefore I sent a message to him [1] asking why he ordered a salute of 21 guns to be fired for men who would wait on me with nazars. [M. Soupire] observed, 'Is that so ? Nobody told me of it.' M. Leyrit did the same ; and the same was done when the King's people paid visits. This Razâ Sâhib is nothing but a servant of the Company with a salary of 5,000 rupees a year ; and I cannot think why such respect is shown without even enquiring his rank. I do not approve of it. Of old when Arcot was ruled by the Nawâbs, it was the practice to fire salutes here even for their *amaldârs*, and 21 guns for the Nawâbs. But now that God has been pleased to exalt [the French], so much respect should not have been shown, and nobody will approve of it.

Thursday, October 27.[2]—Ayyâ Mudali (M. Lenoir's dubâsh) and Kanakasabhai Mudali went to M. Lenoir to-day and complained saying, 'At the request of the blacksmiths, etc., Vinâyaka Pillai obtained the Governor's leave to take their goddess Kâli in procession along with Varadarâja Perumâl. As we could

[1] *i.e.*, Soupire.

[2] *15th Arppisi, Iswara.*

not agree to such an unheard-of thing, the Varadarâja Perumâl procession was not held for the first time since this town was founded. Please explain to the Governor what was done in the time of M. Prévostière and M. Lenoir, and obtain his leave to conduct things as usual.' Thereon M. Lenoir explained everything to M. Leyrit who ordered that Varadarâjaswâmi and Kâlahasti Îswaran alone should be carried in procession and not the goddess Kâli. Kanakasabhai Mudali and others came and informed me of the result, and added that they would carry the Gods in procession after *Bharani* and *Kârttigai*.[1] I dismissed them, telling them that, inasmuch as the Governor had given his orders, it must be done without a moment's delay and without regarding *Bharani* or *Kârttigai*. They agreed and to-day celebrated the *Vijayadasami Pârvêttai* festival for Varadarâjaswâmi and Kâlahasti Îswaran. When the blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., tried to stop this celebration by speaking to Vinâyaka Pillai and M. Claré, the latter said to them, 'You are mules for speaking to Vinâyaka Pillai, who is only one of many, instead of Ranga Pillai, who is head of the Tamils and knows what is just. If you had only spoken to Ranga Pillai at first you would

[1] Cf. vol., ix, p. 266, note.

have succeeded ; but as you did not, you have not only lost the day, but blackened my face as well, for speaking to the Governor about the affair.' They added that he was so angry that he even threatened to beat them. I dismissed them telling them that the time had not yet come for their God to be carried in procession and that they must have patience.

Monday, October 31.[1]—I was too unwell to go out to-day.

The Company has ordered that the Tamils' houses in the town should be hired for the King's people that are expected and those who are already here. This has created a panic in the town. The Choultry monigar, M. du Bausset's man, Nainiyappan of the surrounding fort, and a Topass put up a writing in Tamil and in the language of the whites on both inhabited and vacant houses, to the effect that the Company had hired them ; then they sealed up the doors and made a list of the houses. In alarm at this, some of the wealthier went to M. du Bausset, and got back their houses by giving him 40, 50, or 60 ; but the houses of the poor have been taken away by the Company for rent. This is what people are saying in their alarm, and I have written accordingly.

[1] *19th Arppisi, Îswara.*

NOVEMBER 1757.

Wednesday, November 9.[1]—I have been unwell for the last seventeen days. At an auspicious time yesterday evening, I drove out. When I was leaving for the Fort this morning, a peon came and said that M. Leyrit wanted me, Vîrâ Chetti and Guntûr Bâli Chetti. The peon went to fetch the latter and I went to the Fort and sat in the central hall of the *Gouvernement*, waiting for an opportunity to see the Governor. I was told that he was dressing to go out. Then Kandappan, his servant, came. I asked him why the Governor had sent for me to-day, a thing which he is not accustomed to do. He replied, 'The Company has no money for expenses, so he may have sent for you to ask about what you and Guntûr Bâli Chetti owe.' This man may have told lies to the Governor yesterday, and suggested to him that all would keep quiet if they were asked to pay their debts ; and on his representations the Governor may have ordered the several people to be sent for. This perhaps is why the Governor sent for me. But I do not think he will ask me about my management of the country, as he has not asked me about it before, and as he knows the whole

[1] *28th Arppisi, Îswara.*

matter ; so he may not have sent for me about this business, but about the liquor-godown affair. As I was reflecting thus, I heard that the Governor had come out, so I went and paid my respects to him and M. de Soupire, as they were sauntering up and down on the eastern side. M. Leyrit made no answer but M. Soupire saluted me. They continued walking and talking for about an hour, and then, when all had departed, [M. Leyrit] went into his room and called me in. He then said, 'According to the country lease accounts and your accounts, four lakhs of rupees have been due from you for two years. The Company is in urgent need of money for the expenses ; so you must pay two lakhs within a week, or I must put you in custody.' I replied, 'It is true that four lakhs are due according to my accounts ; but whereas the lease ran for five years, I did not enjoy full control of the management for two years, and then you took the country without informing me. According to the enquiries made of the renters by your commissaries in the country, thirteen lakhs of rupees were then due to me. Deducting therefore the four lakhs, I am still owed nine lakhs and how can you ask me for the money?'—'But,' he continued, 'you owe eighteen lakhs of rupees on another account. However never mind that. Give me within

a week two lakhs of rupees out of the four lakhs you owe, or I must put you in prison.' I replied, 'The Gods return no answer to men, but Kings are the voice of Gods. Should a God depart from truth, who can hinder Him? All power here is yours; and if your will is to act unjustly or untruly, none has authority to resist. Instead, therefore, of waiting a week to imprison me, imprison me now or punish me or do what you will with me. I stand before you. I cannot pay you two cash, so do not think that I shall be able to pay you two lakhs for fear that you will imprison me a week hence. Now, therefore, do what you will.'—'Why,' he said, 'that is just how you have cheated me all along.' I answered, 'When you are in authority you are my father and God and all. The moment I understood that I had lost your favour, I concluded that my bad time had begun and confined myself to my house, and had nothing further to do with money transactions. I have come to the Fort once in four or five days to visit you, and then returned home, waiting for my bad time to end and my good time to begin. However much I lost and whatever people did to my hurt, I have kept quiet lest my words should bring on trouble. But since you think thus, my bad time still continues. You may therefore do what you will, and I shall suffer it.'—'You have cheated

me thus,' he replied, 'go.' I answered, 'I do not mind whether you believe me or not. My father came here fifty years ago, and died 33 years ago[1], and always I have secured the Governors' kindness and not their anger, and they, in turn, have earned glory, not infamy. But in your time, I have received not kindness but anger, and this may bring dishonour to you, although God has placed you in a position of authority. I am but your servant and the country will extol or blame you for the good or evil that appears. God has been pleased to bless you with fortune, so you know everything, and your pleasure and my fortune are one.' So saying, I took leave and came out. Guntûr Râmânjulu Chetti asked me if his affair had been mentioned. I replied that he would be sent for, and then came down and got into my palankin. On my way, M. Guillard stopped me to enquire after my health, and then talked about various matters. Having taken my leave of him, I went to my office in the flower-garden where I briefly related to Râmânji Pandit what had passed with M. Leyrit, the Governor, and told him to report it to M. Boyelleau. On his return from doing this, he said that M. Boyelleau had asked him to inform me that, as M. Leyrit was

[1] The Diarist's father first settled in Pondichery in 1716 and died in 1726.

wrong to make such a demand, I need not be afraid, but reply boldly to him, for he could do nothing to me.[1] Then I came home as it was past twelve.

An English ship from Bengal has been seized and brought into the Bunder roads by the French on board. The news of her seizure [ ].[2]

Monday, November 14.[3]—I hear to-day that M. Leyrit, the Governor, has received a letter from M. Moracin, the commandant of Masulipatam, to the following effect:—Mr. Clive despatched to Madras a ship from Bengal with two lakhs of gold mohurs, cloth, rice, soldiers, and sepoys besides 30 French soldiers taken in the French factory at the time of its capture by the English and kept as prisoners. These latter were kept in the ship's hold. When she was off the Masulipatam roads, the French and the English on board her, who had formed a plot, killed at night two or three captains on board, and delivered the ship into the hands of M. Moracin, the chief of the factory, who landed the two lakhs of gold mohurs, rice, cloth, etc., together with the English soldiers

[1] See Ranga Pillai's letter to Soupire, dated November 17 in the appendix.

[2] See below, p. 86.

[3] *3rd Kârttigai, Îswara.*

and sepoys, put Frenchmen on board in their stead, and wrote to this place to that effect.[1] M. Leyrit smiled as he read the letter, in astonishment at such an unheard-of thing, and, sending for M. Barthélemy and other councillors, related it to them. Prosperity comes at the appointed time without effort, and at the appointed time departs, as I myself have seen, and as our elders have always said; none but the fool doubts it. To quote my own experience. In the month of *Tai* of *Yuva*,[2] a French ship, despatched to Mahé with five lakhs of rupees and goods besides, was taken easily and carried off by an English ship from Tellicherry off the Mahé roads,[3] and thereafter the French fortunes sank. But now there are signs of prosperity for the French and of misfortune for the English. What! for those on board a ship to kill the captain and to seize two lakhs of gold mohurs, that is, thirty lakhs of rupees besides cloth, rice, wheat and other goods and the vessel itself! What else is this but the influence of the times?

[1] The ship was the *Restitution*, carried into Masulipatam, October 20. She had 36 French prisoners on board, but only three Englishmen commanding the crew of lascars It is unlikely that she carried the sum of money mentioned in the text. Cf. Orme, ii, 268 and letter from the master, Samuel Brogdon, *ap. Military Consultations*, November 21, 1757.

[2] January–February 1756.

[3] She was the *Indien* taken by the H.C.S. *Revenge*, November 7, 1756. See above, vol. x, pp. 272-273.

The foolish talk idly because they know this not, but the wise know that good and ill happen according to the nature of the time and that nothing lies in man's power.

Friday, November 25.[1]—I hear to-day that a ship arrived last night from Europe with the news that the Queen of Hungary, supported by the French and Germans, has been attacked by a King, whose name I do not know, and the English ; the Queen of Hungary has won two battles, and the King whose name is unknown has been wounded so severely that he may die, his son has been cut to pieces, the English have lost 30,000 men, and that therefore all the hat-wearing Kings have agreed to make peace after the rains.[2]

[1] *14th Kârttigai, Iswara.*

[2] I suppose these vague stories refer to Daun's defeat of Frederick of Prussia (' the king whose name I do not know ') at Kolin in the previous June.

DECEMBER 1757.

Tuesday, December 6.[1]—I hear that the Nânâ has written a letter to the Governor demanding money in sharp terms without the usual respect, and he has also written to Razâ Sâhîb (Chandâ Sâhib's son), in consequence of which Razâ Sâhîb and M. Delarche have spoken to the Governor about the presents to be sent to the Nânâ, his younger brother, his vakîl Balwanta Râo, and others, and that a list has been made out, including the four elephants captured at Chêtpattu, pieces of broadcloth, rolls of silk, velvet, two small knives, two watches, guns and pistols, which are being prepared for despatch.

Saturday, December 10.[2]—I hear that, at the time of the Nânâ's birth, when his father Bhâji Râo was a captain of 60 horse, astrologers who examined his horoscope wrote that he would be so fortunate as to displace the Pâdshâh from the throne of Delhi and occupy it himself, and now on the birth of a son to the Nânâ, the astrologers who have cast his horoscope say that the child will ascend the throne of the Pâdshâh at Delhi in *Âvani*,

[1] *25th Kârttigai, Iswara.* [2] *29th Kârttigai, Iswara.*

Bahudânya[1] and so the Nânâ is making preparations.

Saturday, December 17.[2]—I hear that, when Ayyan Sâstri who marched with 300 guards, 200 sepoys and 300 guns, encamped near Conjeeveram, Muzaffar Bêg[3], an English adherent, attacked him with 500 foot, killed many, and took their guns and muskets whereon Ayyan Sâstri, having lost all he had, retreated and fled.

Sunday, December 18.[4]—A Beach peon came to me early this morning and reported that a sloop had arrived from Bunder with M. Desvaux' son and son-in-law who had been in the custody of the English in Bengal.

Wednesday, December 21.[5]—I hear to-day that Mahfuz Khân's property and chests of precious stones from Pûli Thêvan's fort in the south[6], which fell into the hands of the commandant at Tiruvannâmalai, have been sent by the latter to the commandant at Elavânasûr, and Savarirâya Pillai's younger brother and M. Chevreau have been sent to the commandant of Elamânasûr to bring them in.

Monday, December 26.[7]—I remained at home to-day ; I hear that, in reply to the letter

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[1] August-September 1758. [2] *6th Mârgali, Îswara.*
[3] See Orme, ii, 245 and *Country Correspondence*, 1757, p. 132.
[4] *7th Mârgali, Îswara.* [5] *10th Mârgali, Îswara.*
[6] Cf. Hill's *Yusuf Khan*, pp. 35, 39, etc. [7] *15th Mârgali, Îswara.*

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written to Delhi asking for the grant of a *mansab* and jaghir to M. Leyrit like the one formerly granted to M. Dupleix, a letter has been received to-day from Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân at Delhi, granting to M. Leyrit a *mansab* for 7,000 and to M. Delarche one for 5,000 horse, and stating that jaghirs will be granted either in the Carnatic or in Hindustan.

At six o'clock this evening, I heard that four Europeans had broken the head of a Muhammadan servant in Chandâ Sâhib's house, and that the atrocities they were committing in the town—beating men and ravishing women—were indescribable.

[*Tuesday*], *December 27.*[1]—I hear to-day in connection with the Madras rumour—that peace was made last *Âvani*[2] between the French and the English in Europe,—that the Europeans are now saying that the English have only given out such news because they are awaiting reinforcements, that it was too soon to expect news, and that, if it had come, the French also would have received it.

Wednesday, December 28.[3]—I returned home at noon to-day from the office in the flower-garden.

Formerly Chandâ Sâhib's son went to the Governor and said that Yâchama Nâyakkan

[1] *16th Mârgali, Îswara.* [2] August-September.
[3] *17th Mârgali, [Îswara.]*

possessed, besides leopards, five or six birds called *pâthu*[1] got from Benares, costing 500 rupees each, which birds are very useful for hunting, as they do not easily tire of their pursuit, and therefore he begged the Governor to write and get them for him. The Governor wrote accordingly, and I hear that to-day Yâchama Nâyakkan's agent brought a leopard and three birds and gave them to the Governor, but it is not known when he will give them to Chandâ Sâhib's son.

I also hear that the whole of M. Bussy's army is encamped outside Masulipatam, but he himself has been confined by its chief. This is only rumour.

It is also said that the news of the conclusion of peace between the English and the French last *Âvani* reached Bunder from Mahé and Surat and was forwarded here along with the Bunder news ; the French and English ships are reported to be sailing towards Mahé and Tellicherry for an engagement, and, when this was known at Cuddalore, the Governor ordered all to quit the place, and so all are departing, as they did before.

Thursday, December 29.[2]—At six o'clock this evening I heard that a camel-man had arrived after delivering a letter from the Nânâ to his

[1] We should probably read *pâru* (hawk) for *pâthu*.

[2] *18th Mârgali, Îswara*.

Muhammadan vakîl at Arcot, and that the camel-messenger said that a fight had been going on between the Nânâ and Salabat Jang at Aurangabad.

I also hear that the *mansab* letter, sent by Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân to the Governor and M. Delarche, asked for 1,000 soldiers, 200 artillery men, and guns, together with powder shot and other munitions of war. I think therefore that this is why Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân sent the *mansab* letter.

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JANUARY 1758.

Sunday, January 8.[1] —I went to M. Barthélemy's house this morning and paid my respects to him. He was talking with two Europeans, but rose and returned his compliments and made me sit down beside him. When the two Europeans had departed, M. Barthélemy said, 'You were our chief subject of conversation with the Governor yesterday. I learn that, when the Governor asked you about the *mahânâttârs*' visit to M. Soupire, you told him that the *nâttârs* should only visit the Governor and not the Brigadier. The Governor remembered this and mentioned it to me.'—'True,' I replied, 'it is not necessary.'—'Why do you say that?' he asked. I answered, 'The French recovered [Pondichery?] from the Dutch on February 1, 1701[2] and hoisted the white flag; and the *mahânâttârs* did not visit the King's people in charge of the Fort when M. Martin was Governor. When M. Hébert came as Governor in 1708, he brought a letter from the King which he gave to the King's people, and, after sending them back to Europe, remained himself in the Fort. During the Governorship of M. Lenoir, M. Lebo[3], the

[1] *28th Mârgali, Iswara.* [2] See above p. 36, note.

[3] *Sic* La Farelle is meant. Cf. x, pp. 5-6 *supra*.

King's man, arrived in 1728 as the chief in command of the Fort and troops. M. Lenoir thought that he would be powerless if this man commanded the Fort without regard to him, and, writing to Europe, obtained a letter from the King for his removal. So M. [La Farelle] was only Major-General, and, ever since M. Lenoir's time, the Governor has been called Commandant-General. Now M. Soupire is the Brigadier who has come to conduct the war. The first military rank is called Maréchal de France; next to this is Lieutenant-General; below this is the Marêchal-de-camp; below him is Brigadier; then Colonel; then Commandant; then Capitaine; then Major, and lastly the officers. These are the ranks of men in the army; their duty is to fight, and they have nothing to do with administration. The Minister, then the General, then the Governor, and lastly the Councillors, are the people in charge of the administration of the country, and these should be visited by the *amaldârs*, the ryots and *mahânâttârs*. In ignorance of this, M. Leyrit told the *amaldârs* and ryots to visit M. Soupire, the Brigadier, and so the Governor has spoiled everything.' M. Barthélemy was overjoyed at this and said, 'How is it that you know what even we Frenchmen, born in France, cannot be expected to know? M. Leyrit does not know this and I

will tell him to-morrow. He fears he will be run through if the *mahânâttârs* visit him without M. Soupire's knowledge. So the *mahânâttârs* cannot visit him, and the merchants are only allowed to do so in secret.' —'Indeed,' I said, and taking leave, went to the Fort and stayed about an hour with the Governor, who was cheerful. I then went to the office in the flower-garden and came home at noon.

Friday, January 13.[1]—Respectable women and even dancing-girls cannot stir out at night owing to disorders of the King's people.

Saturday, January 14.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that the Governor was talking with M. Soupire in his room, so I went and talked with the Second who was alone. I asked him if M. Leyrit had mentioned the *mahânâttârs'* visit yesterday. He replied that he had not, and added, 'M. Soupire and M. Leyrit have quarrelled so much[3] that M. Leyrit in fear of being run through by the other, has left the Fort and taken up his residence in M. Dupleix' house.[4]

[1] *4th Tai, Îswara.*

[2] *5th Tai, Îswara.*

[3] In his letter to d'Argenson of December 9, 1757, Soupire had complained sharply of the general, and especially of the financial administration. (Hamont, *Lally*, p. 83). Cf. Soupire's reported language, pp. 102, 103 below.

[4] *i.e.*, the house situated just to the north of the Fort, where Dupleix had lived before he built the great *Gouvernement* in the Fort.

Being troubled over the state of affairs, he consulted me about the management of the country. I told him that it was all his fault, for he should from the first have left the army in the Fort under M. Soupire's orders, as I told him, while he himself attended to other affairs, but, when he showed all the papers to M. Soupire, the latter took advantage of it to interfere in everything. I thus narrated to him all that you had told me, and now he is afraid and hopes that some one else will come.'

Then I asked him what I should do about my affairs. He replied, 'M. Lally is coming as Governor of the town with full power in all state affairs and over the Fort.[1] After his coming, M. Leyrit cannot do anything. We will have nothing to do except the cloth business. M. Godeheu said that he himself was responsible to the Company for the country management, jaghirs, etc., and sent M. Clouët, so the latter is in sole charge of the country.[2] M. Lally is coming with his mind fixed on money. M. Clouët is also avaricious. I cannot say what will happen if M. Desvaux makes him offers; but when he comes, you will be put in possession of the country.'

[1] Lally was appointed Commissary of the King and Commandant General of all the French Settlements in the East Indies. He printed his commission in his *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 2.

[2] See above p. 47, note.

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I replied, 'The country is in a bad state, so how can I take up the management?'—'Then,' he replied, 'I cannot say what will happen.'

Friday, January 20.[1]—Pîr Muhammad, who has arrived from Ganjam to the northward, and who, by my accounts, owes me 30,000 rupees, after fasting the day before yesterday, and remaining on diet yesterday, died at one o'clock in the night. His brother-in-law came and asked for ten rupees for the removal of the corpse, but I ordered my people to give 50 rupees and two pieces of cloth, so that the ceremonies might be handsomely performed, and told all the Muhammadans in the street to accompany the funeral procession. The evil influence of Saturn, which has been touching me like the God of death, began after the 13th *Âni, Yuva*[2] and was to continue until the evening of the 13th *Tai, Îswara*[3], whence I have suffered dangers of death, of losing my friends, wealth and land, and of losing my health by lack of blood and wasting away. I have now suffered for the appointed time, and hope that these bad influences have come to an end.

Tuesday, January 24.[4]—The two sons of Ghulâm Husain Khân of Sankarâpuram and Mîr

[1] *11th Tai, Îswara.*
[2] June 23, 1755.
[3] January 22, 1758.
[4] *15th Tai, Îswara.*

Nâmat-ul-lah, the Nânâ's vakîl—three persons in all—visited me at my office and said, 'M. Leyrit has decided the Sankarâpuram affair in our favour for 30,000 rupees and dismissed us with presents. We have come to take leave of you. There are twenty European military at Sankarâpuram; and besides the 30,000 rupees, 25,000 rupees have to be given every year.'—'Very well,' I said and giving each a dress of honour worth 200 rupees, I dismissed them.

FEBRUARY 1758.

Sunday, February 5.[1] – I hear that the two Frenchmen, who were imprisoned at Cuddalore and have been sent to the Governor here with the Bombay news, informed Kandappa Mudali that there was great panic at Cuddalore at the news of the expected arrival of 16 French ships; Kandappa Mudali has sent them away for fear that the Governor will punish them as spies.

Friday, February 10.[2]—I hear that the people of the Tanjore country are afraid that the French will attack them at any moment,[3] and that the Devikôttai people are trying to obtain the release of the Pandâram of Vaidîsvarankôyil [4] who has been seized by Gâdai Râo's [5] people and kept at Shiyali; on learning this, Gâdai Râo wrote to his men that, if they were attacked by the people, they should cut off the Pandâram's head and throw it before them, but when the Devikôttai people appeared with some foot and were asked by Gâdai Râo's men

[1] *27th Tai, Îswara.*

[2] *2nd Mâsi, Îswara*

[3] In the previous November the Madras Council had heard of French attempts to stir up a rival against the Râjâ Pratâb Singh, (Madras Military Despatches to England, November 10, 1757).

[4] A place famous for its Saivite temple in the Tanjore district. The *Pandâram* must have been the temple-manager.

[5] Uncle of Pratâb Singh, the reigning Râjâ of Tanjore.

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(fearing some trouble for the Pandâram) who they were, they replied that they wanted nothing and so departed.

Saturday, February 11.[1]—M. Soupire sent an engineer with suitable Tamil people to enquire how matters were going in the country. They went accordingly to Wandiwash, Chêtpattu, Tiruvannâmalai, Gingee, Tiruviti, Tirukkôyilûr, Kallakurichi, etc. places, enquired into everything in detail, wrote down the result and gave the writing to M. Soupire who (so I hear to-day) having read it, took it and the engineer to M. Leyrit, and, giving him the letter in the councillors' presence, said, 'What a government is yours! Instead of urging the people to attend to the cultivation, the men you send into the country beat the ryots and harass them by unlawful means to obtain money from them. How can money be expected from the country like that? and how will you be able to pay the Company?' M. Leyrit having read the letter questioned the engineer. M. Soupire then departed. M. Leyrit afterwards gave the letter to M. Desvaux who became dejected on reading it and discussed affairs with M. Leyrit. It is said that M. Desvaux said with great melancholy that, as he could not manage the country, it had better

[1] 3rd Mâsi, Îswara.

be given to some other man. I hear that this news is being spread by the Second.

I hear also that, when the King's officers asked the Second for their pay, which is three months in arrears, he replied that he could only give it when he had received it from M. Leyrit and that they had better ask him, and that, when the *écrivains* in the Fort also complained to M. Leyrit that they had received no pay for three months, he replied that the Company had no money, and that he would pay them when money had been received ; and when they rejoined that they could not get on as they depended entirely on the pay for their daily food, he replied that they could take service elsewhere if they pleased.

Two of the King's officers who are well-known to M. Lally and who arrived by the last ship, told me to-night that M. Lally who is coming is extraordinarily intelligent and discreet ; they said that M. Lenoir and M. Dupleix whom I extolled for their intelligence had only managed the affairs of a town without knowing anything about politics ; before his departure M. Lally spent 18 months with M. Dupleix, writing down everything about affairs in India, noting how much money could be obtained by conquering the country up to Delhi, what establishments would be required and what forces should be sent from

Europe for the purpose[1]; on reading this writing, the King concluded that M. Lally was the fittest man for the task, and resolved to send him here with a sufficiency of supplies; they added that I should learn what M. Lally was like on his arrival, and that no one could satisfy him when he was investigating everything. I have not written a quarter of what they said in praise of M. Lally's talents, but enough to show what kind of man he is.

Monday, February 13.[2]—I remained at home to-day.

Covelong Venkatêsa Chetti who was managing my half-share of the mint,[3] leagued himself with the Guntûr man to misappropriate large sums, so I have ordered him to be imprisoned in the Choultry, so that all his accounts may be examined, and informed the Second who has sent men to instruct the Choultry people to keep watch over him.

At seven o'clock to-night, Mêlugiri Chetti came to me and said, 'Râmayya Pillai sent for me and said, "Yesterday afternoon M. Soupire,

[1] The reference is to the *mémoire* which Lally prepared on the state of India, advocating the reversal of Dupleix' policy. Cf. Hamont, *Lally*, p. 61, where an extract from the *mémoire* is printed.

[2] *5th Mâsi, Îswara.*

[3] This must mean the ½ *per cent.* on the rupees coined, originally granted to Kanakarâya Mudali for his share in the negotiation of the *farmân*, and continued to his successor (the Diarist) in the dubâshship by the Company's special order. Company to Pondichery July 1747 (*Pondichery Records*, No. 9).

M. Leyrit and M. Barthélemy consulted together upstairs in the *Gouvernement* about the Company's lack of money, the delay of the ships, and the failure of money from the country. M. Soupire asked the Second to lend a lakh of rupees in this emergency, but the latter replied that he had nothing on hand as he had lent Rangappan a lakh of rupees. Thereon M. Soupire asked him why he had lent this to one who was said to be worth nothing. The Second answered, "You are mistaken, for the Company owes large sums to Rangappan, as I know by the accounts of these sums, and he is only awaiting M. Lally's arrival to explain his case and recover his debts from the Company, if necessary by taking his case to Europe and explaining the accounts there. M. Dupleix besides owes him large sums. M. Chevalier Guruvappan, who belongs to the same family, was known even to the King of France, and was honoured by him for his uprightness. All know this. Rangappan is known even to the King of France, so he will recover his dues. I know that the Company is indebted to him. I have also advanced money for the country management to be repaid when the ships arrive." M. Leyrit replied that Rangappan deceived every one. Many other affairs were talked about which I will relate to Mahârâja Râjasrî

Avargal when I see him to-morrow. You had better go and tell him this glad news.' I have been for the past three years under the evil influence of Râhu. Subbâ Jôsier predicted that by the 4th of this month,[1] the evil influence of Râhu would expire. The Second was the cause of misfortune from *Mâsi*, *Bhava*[2] and M. Leyrit, after him, treated me as badly. The three years of misfortune came to an end in *Tai* last. Kanakarâya Mudali who was my enemy died on the 4th *Mâsi*, *Krôdhana*,[3] that is, twelve years ago. This is the beginning of the thirteenth year after his death. My bad luck began in *Mâsi*, *Bhava*, on account of the Second, and it continued under M. Soupire and M. Leyrit. As the evil influence of Râhu has expired, my bad luck must be over and good luck coming. M. Lally will arrive this month and he will protect my prosperity.

Friday, *February 17*.[4]—I heard this noon that, as the sloop was about to sail for Europe, M. Leyrit and the councillors came downstairs after conferring, and went to the accountant's room where they signed papers and that M. Guillard, after going home, declared that he had not signed certain documents. I thought that not only M. Guillard but the Second,

[1] February 12.
[2] February-March 1755.
[3] February 12, 1746. Cf. vol. i, p. 310.
[4] *9th Mâsi*, *Îswara*.

M. Boyelleau and others should sign according to custom all matters to which they had agreed and not otherwise.

At six o'clock Ananta Tîrthâchâriyâr came to me and said, 'When Amirta Râo, the Nânâ's man, marched against Vâniyambâdi and Tiruppattûr forts, the Navâit Pathâns who were in possession of those forts sent word to Amirta Râo that they were ready for war. Amirta Râo replied, inviting them to battle, divided his army into three detachments, posting them in three places, himself waiting with ten horse in a place of safety. The Navâits, learning this, secretly marched with 200 horsemen by the foot of the mountain, and appeared before Amirta Râo's troops. Immediately Amirta Râo mounted his horse, advanced with ten horsemen, and fell upon the enemy who lost ten horses, but who managed to kill Amirta Râo's ten horsemen and wound him severely. Amirta Râo was carried to Tiruppattûr fort, and his wounds dressed, but at the time of the removal of the third dressing he died, whereon his troops retreated.[1]'

Friday, February 24.[2]—People from Madras are saying that, when the Nawâb of Bengal

[1] Orme (ii, 293) says Amirta Râo was killed besieging Tiruppattûr.
[2] *16th Mâsi, Îswara.*

sent for Mr. Clive who is there, and when the latter marched with 5,000 men, the Nawâb received him in a tent pitched outside,[1] presented him with 36 elephants, slippers embroidered with pearls, etc., and gave a feast to all in the tent itself, after partaking of which all save 100 persons who escaped to Calcutta sank in the tent and were found dead afterwards. This is the news said to have been received at Madras.

Saturday, February 25.[2]—News about the shortage of weight at the mint [ ].

When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Leyrit and M. Soupire who yesterday set out for Ariyânkuppam after examining the idols that have been dug up there, had marched with 300 soldiers, 200 foot, one gun with powder and shot, etc., to Marikrishnâpuram and halted this side of the Cuddalore Bound-hedge, within sight of Devanâmpattanam. There they fired two or three times with the gun and five or six volleys with their small-arms, and plundered the surrounding villages; on this the people of Manjakuppam, Tiruppâdirippuliyûr, and Cuddalore fled in panic towards Fort St. David, but the commander fired upon them with four guns, whereon they returned; it is

[1] *i.e.*, received him as an equal or superior.
[2] *17th Mâsi, Iswara.*

said that in four or five days troops will march on Fort St. David and the officers who accompanied them say that they will encamp at Perumbai.

Particulars of M. Leyrit's letter to Europe about my country accounts :—

Along with the Company's accounts and other papers which M. Leyrit, the Governor, sent to Europe by a sloop, he also sent my accounts, saying that the receipts and issues on account of cloth and red-wood had been correctly written up to February [21], 1758, or *13th Mâsi, Îswara.*

In the accounts of the country management, I showed 6,31,782 rupees as the balance due under the first *article* for *Bhava* and *Yuva.*[1] Of this sum, I showed 2,47,187 rupees as having been paid under the second *article*, and showed 3,84,595 rupees as the balance still due. But they have shown 6,05,083 rupees as the balance due. On considering why this was done, I have come to the following conclusion :—I paid in ready money and grain, besides what I paid the sepoys and the commandants, and advanced on the total collections in the country during the troubles, a sum of 23,83,817 rupees out of 30,15,600 rupees for the years *Bhava* and *Yuva.* The

[1] 1754-1755 and 1755-1756.

balance then was 6,31,782 rupees ; and 2,47,187 rupees should have been credited to my account, as the amount of commission due to me, the amounts paid to the European sureties, the sums seized violently by the commandants, the losses sustained by their troubles, and the sums I spent on the repair of tanks and canals. But only 26,699 rupees has been allowed by them and the balance shown as 6,05,083.

Then for the year *Dhâthu*,[1] the lease amount was 18,84,996 rupees ; or including the *rusum*,[2] *sâdalwâr*,[3] etc., at ten *per cent.* 1,88,094 rupees ; 20,73,440[4] rupees gross. Thus the total due including the old balance was set down at 26,78,523[5] rupees, against which I was credited with 7,91,388 rupees, being thus left with a balance of 18,87,735 rupees, which is shown in the account sent to Europe as due up to June 1757 (from *Âdi*, *Dhâthu* to *Âvani*, *Îswara*).[6] I have been told by the Second and the councillors that the amount paid for *Dhâthu* was 13 lakhs ; and I have heard that the same amount was written in Savarirâya Pillai's house. The

[1] 1756-1757.
[2] Customary perquisites.
[3] Contingencies.
[4] *Sic.* The last two figures should be 95.
[5] *Sic.* The last two figures should be 78.
[6] *Âdi* began July 12 and *Âvani* August 13.

reason why only 7,91,388 rupees has been shown in the accounts despatched to Europe is that besides the eighteen odd lakhs for *Dhâthu*, an amount at the rate of ten *per cent.* has been added for *rusum* and *sâdalwâr*, at which rate, three lakhs of rupees for *Bhava* and *Yuva* and two lakhs for the same two years on account of Tiruvennanallûr and Asuppur, the councillors' jaghir, etc.—five lakhs and odd in all—have been deducted from the amount actually paid and credit has been allowed only for the balance, with the design of making out this extra sum shown in the Company's accounts to have been secured by his vigilance. Else how can only eight lakhs be shown when thirteen lakhs were paid ? If this is right, I suppose further that, for *Bhava* and *Yuva*, a sum of 3,84,595 has been shown as the balance due according to the accounts presented by the councillors after inspecting the accounts ; but the commissaries, after enquiring, have admitted that the commandants received money illegally, whereby they caused losses and that the sureties appropriated large sums from the country revenue ; but though I charged these items in the accounts in accordance with the commissaries' admissions, yet the Governor forced me to pay, believing the story of the sureties that the *amaldârs* owed them large

sums; and besides only 26,000 rupees has been allowed for the cost of customary repairs to tanks and canals although the commissaries admitted 2,47,187 rupees for these items. I cannot imagine what justification there can be for not giving me credit for the entire sum.

In the *beriz* for *Dhâthu*, the *rusum* and *sâdalwâr* have been improperly included. At first M. Godeheu entrusted the country management to M. Delarche who with writer Rangappa Mudali enquired into everything in the country and gave accounts for the [last ?] eleven years. M. Godeheu after examining this account sent for me, and said, 'This is the account which M. Delarche has given, but I do not think it is complete. I have heard that, when the management was under you, the country was prosperous, and the Company received its money without hindrance. You are responsible for the entire business of the Company, so you should attend to this also. You had better take up the management of the country, pay one lakh and a half in excess of what they paid and attend to the business.' I replied, 'It is very difficult to manage the country, for [the money] does not come in regularly. Moreover the country is in a miserable condition owing to the troubles, and the Company

cannot therefore get money easily. To improve the country, money must be advanced, and the cultivators who have run away should be brought back to cultivate their land, with promises of *vâram*. It will take two years for the country to recover.' When I thus described the difficulties of collecting the money, he replied, 'Don't be afraid. Your duty is to work wholeheartedly for the Company, and ours is to help you in everything. Hesitate not therefore; but take up the management and attend to it. I will see that you are appointed to the charge of the country for life. Let the lease run for five years for the present. Should you find it difficult to collect money in one year, you may pay it the next. As you must be responsible for the lease, you need not attend to other business; but you will be answerable for the profit or loss in the management of the country, and, in the matter of collecting money, you will enjoy the same powers of punishment as the subahdar of old. The Governor will have nothing to do with it, save to help you wherever necessary. These are my orders and you had better set to work without minding anything, keeping the Company's interest in view.' As the lease was given me at a rental increasing every year, the profits are mine and the Company has nothing to do with

them. It is not therefore just that the *rusum* and the *sâdalwâr* should be added to the Company's revenue; it ought to have been remitted. When I experienced any difficulty in collecting money, I had the right to report it to the Council for the Company should collect the money. Those were the orders. And what justification was there to increase the *beriz* or make deductions from the amount paid? According to M. Desvaux' statement, 21 lakhs were due on each year, out of which the Company had to be paid; and of the balance of 13 lakhs, 4 lakhs belonged to the Company, and the remaining 9 lakhs to me so that 30 lakhs are due to me. But since *Âni, Dhâthu*,[1] when the commissaries went and inspected the country, I have not been in possession of it, but M. Desvaux, and I was told I should have what profit was due. So in the years *Dhâthu* and *Îswara*, they managed the country as they pleased, without informing me of anything or consulting me. I was not able to demand the arrears which were due for my part of the lease. The *amaldârs* were not allowed to speak to me either about the country or general affairs; and in consequence, only 13 out of 20 lakhs of the lease amount were forthcoming. I am entitled to compensation for the loss I sustained in the years

[1] The last day of *Âni* was July 11, 1756.

Bhava and *Yuva*. Altogether 21 lakhs for the three years, 13 lakhs for the old balance, and a sum of 8 lakhs representing the losses I have sustained in the two years of my management—42 lakhs in all—are due to me. But instead I am required to pay four lakhs to the Company. In the face of all these, what justification can there be to add the *rusum* and *sâdalwâr* for *Bhava* in the Company's accounts and to show that sum as due from me, as if I still held the lease? At first I had a lease for five years, and was made to pay the whole when the yield was only five-eighths; even then I was not allowed to manage the country without interference; and those who hindered me were given all support, although the Company lost by it and the country was ruined, and although the lessee could not increase the revenues unless he received all support. Careless of justice, each man did as he pleased selfishly because the management was in his hands and nobody could question him; and now they have written these accounts as they pleased, remaining in their houses. If persons of equal rank wronged me, I could complain to the Governor so that he might enquire and decide, and impose a fine or inflict other punishment. But since the Governor himself, above whom is none, has behaved

unjustly, to whom can I complain? No man can question him, but God alone. I must therefore be patient and bide my time.

Sunday, February 26.[1]—I hear that, when on Friday ten ships from Bengal arrived at Madras, the townspeople fearing they were French ships, fled inland in confusion and fear, and the Europeans loaded their guns with powder and made ready, but immediately afterwards the ships hoisted a round flag and made signals as they approached, and as soon as they were recognised as English ships, the fugitives returned home; the ships are said to have brought news that ten or twelve thousand people have died of fever in Bengal and that Mr. Clive is still there.

At nine o'clock some officers who came said that Surat messengers had brought news that, as the King of Kannadhâ—a country inhabited by Coffrees—had joined the English, the King of France sent troops to capture the place; they were opposed by the English with the help of the King of Prussia, but when the latter's son and many of his troops had been slain, along with many of the English, the King of Prussia could no longer hold his ground but fled, and the English sought peace,

[1] *18th Mâsi, Îswara.*

but it is not known whether peace has been concluded or not.[1]

Monday, February 27.[2]—Proclamations were posted with beat of tom-tom at the four gates of the Fort announcing that the rate of interest had been reduced.

The news of yesterday is as follows :—In M. Godeheu's time, orders were made limiting the rate of interest for Europeans to 8 *per cent.* and for Tamils to 12 *per cent. per annum.* Afterwards M. Godeheu sailed for Europe on 9th *Mâsi, Bhava*[3] but when M. Leyrit arrived from Bengal as Governor, these rates were not observed, but people charged from 10 to 12 *per cent. per* month. The Governor did not care to enquire what the former rates had been, or why they had been altered ; and I do not know why he summoned the councillors to a council, decided that the rate should not exceed 8 *per cent.* for Europeans and 12 *per cent.* for the Tamils *per annum* and ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom and notices to be posted at the four gates of the Fort.

[1] This very curious account of the progress of the war is no doubt in part due to its being based on rumour, in part to the Diarist's having misunderstood his informants. Kannadhâ can hardly be anything but Canada ; but I cannot guess why described as "inhabited by Coffrees," unless by confusion with the Southern Colonies where Negro slaves were numerous.

[2] *19th Mâsi, Îswara.*

[3] February 17, 1755.

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MARCH 1758.

Wednesday, March 1.[1]—I hear that the captain of a Portuguese ship, which sailed with the English ships from Bengal, says that the English when they sighted the *Dilisâs*[2] on her way back from Pegu, whither she went by M. Leyrit's orders, surrounded and seized her and carried her to Madras ; he also says that five English ships which had arrived in Bengal, having been laded with goods, rice, etc., sailed from Bengal with the seven ships which were there already, so that 12 ships in all have reached Madras. On learning this, M. Soupire said to M. Leyrit, 'Reinforcements have now reached Madras. When formerly I told you that the English should be attacked and weakened when they were still weak, you did not prepare or send troops on the plea that you had no money ; and so you have ruined matters, for now they have received strength.' M. Leyrit replied, 'Did I refuse money when the Company had any ? How could I give what the Company had not ?' M. Soupire replied, 'You

[1] *21st Mâsi, Îswara.*

[2] Or *Dilikâs.* I have not been able to identify her. On February 23, Pocock arrived at Madras from Bengal with his squadron, but the Consultations where his arrival is noted say nothing of any prize. I should have supposed her to be the *Diligente* but that she is stated to have sailed from Pondichery for the French Islands, not for Pegu (Letters from Anjengo, December 12, 1757, *ap. Military Consultations*, January 5, 1758).

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are right; how could the Company have any money when all that had been collected had been shared among you? Do I not know that you have 1,20,000 pagodas in M. Desvaux' house to be sent to Europe by the Portuguese ship? You say that you have not a single cash for the pay, but you have money to send to Europe. You have ruined the country and so prevented the Company from receiving money. You seem to think I do not know that M. Desvaux has been the agent of many of you in embezzling money, but I know everything.'[1] M. Leyrit replied, 'You say that I have 1,20,000 pagodas ready to send by the Portuguese ship. If you will prove this, I will give you twice as much at once.' M. Soupire replied, 'I will prove not only this but other things too.' M. Leyrit and M. Desvaux then talked together. M. Desvaux related the conversation to Savarirâya Pillai who related it to Tândavarâya Pillai. I hear that Savarirâya Pillai, Tândavarâya Pillai and Savarirâya Pillai's younger brother are discussing this affair at length.

Saturday, March 4.[2]—I remained at home to-day. At noon I heard that, as two English

[1] These ideas were current in France and Soupire doubtless brought them out with him. In one of his early letters Lally mentions 'l'opinion défavorable que le Comité Secret avoit cherché m'inspirer sur votre compte (*Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 9, etc.).

[2] *24th Mâsi, Iswara.*

ships from Madras had anchored off the washing-place and were seizing the boats coming from Âlambarai and Sadras with fuel, charcoal, chunam, etc., the Guntûr people had sent men to stop their own boats that are coming hither with red-wood, etc., from the north, and to bring their cargoes ashore wherever they may find the boats.

Sunday, March 5.[1]—I stayed at home today, and at five o'clock this evening, I, Chiranjîvi Appâvu and the child Mangathâl drove out to the washing-place in the coach with Annâswâmi following us on horseback. After watching the parade of the King's people and the firing, I returned home at half-past six. I then heard the following account :—On Thursday last the Mysore vakîl Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan arrived from Villiyanallûr with Nandi Râjâ's letters and two dresses of honour in the matter of the merchants' money ; as he could not see the Governor that day, he visited him the next, when M. Soupire was also present upstairs ; he gave to each a dress of honour, delivered Nandi Râjâ's letters, reported the news and requested that the money should be paid. M. Leyrit listened to him but said nothing. Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan then asked for a site to build a house in Villiyanal-

[1] *25th Mâsi, Iswara.*

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lûr, together with the necessary materials, to which M. Leyrit replied that he might build a house wherever he chose, and have materials.

Monday, March 6.[1]—At home at ten o'clock to-day I heard that M. Leyrit, the Governor, and M. Soupire General Avargal had gone out in their palankins to find houses for those coming with M. Lally, and, after inspecting the house of Kanakarâya Mudali and other large houses and godowns, they went to Mîrâpalli.

The harkara who has brought letters to M. Leyrit from Masulipatam says that M. Bussy, Salabat Jang and the Nânâ have united in an agreement, and that the Pathâns have killed Balwanta Râo, who was encamped at Siddhavattam and those parts, and have conquered the Cuddapah country. I think that, if this news be true, and, as Amirta Râo, the Nânâ's chief man and agent has died, the Nânâ who has been very prosperous these twelve years will decline in power.

The harkara added that M. Law's younger brother[2] who left Bengal, had gone to Benares and Delhi where he visited the Pâdshâh, and would return to Bengal with troops.

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[1] *26th Mâsi, Îswara.*

[2] The Diarist means Jean Law. He was however the elder brother of Jacques-Francois, the military officer at Pondichery. (*Law's Mémoire sur Bengale* ed. Martineau, introduction, pp. xviii—xix).

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Wednesday, March 8.[1]—I stayed at home till five o'clock this evening when I drove out to my garden with Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi by the Valudâvûr Gate and returning home at half-past six, remained in my office. There I heard the following from the King's officers :— This morning M. Leyrit, the Governor, gave an order on M. Desvaux for 500 rupees to be paid to one of the King's officers who came with M. Soupire General. The officer gave the order accordingly to M. Desvaux, but he, receiving it, said that he had no money. Thereon the officer said that he and M. Leyrit had robbed the Company and asked how he could refuse money on his demand. This roused M. Desvaux' anger and he spoke so hotly that the King's officer, in anger, gave him severe blows with his cane. M. Desvaux saying that he would not keep the country and that he would tell M. Leyrit, immediately went to the Fort and reported the matter. Afterwards both he and M. Leyrit went to M. Soupire and asked him angrily if such uncivil behaviour could be tolerated. M. Soupire replied angrily, declaring that this or worse would be done if money could not be had, and that M. Lally should learn the whole on his arrival. M. Leyrit then went back into his room, the

[1] *28th Mâsi, Îswara.*

anger and wrath which he had exhibited at first having abated. Nobody knows what will happen. English sloops and ships are cruizing about, sometimes in, sometimes out of sight.

Thursday, March 9.[1]—I heard to-day from Europeans that, when M. Lally, *Lieutenant Général du Roi*, reached Achin with 35 ships, the people there trembled with fear lest he should have come to punish them for their former misdeeds, and sent men to confer with M. Lally, but he replied that his mission was quite different and that they need fear nothing, as he had put in only for provisions and water. This news which was brought to Tranquebar by a ship that had voyaged to Achin, was forwarded by the Governor of Tranquebar in a letter to M. Leyrit in consequence of which the latter is going on with the works which he had suspended.

After the hot quarrel between M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux, and the King's officer yesterday, they are taking their meals apart in their rooms, without speaking with one another. M. Leyrit fearing what M. Soupire may do, sent for M. Saubinet, the Company's commandant, and asked him whether M. Soupire could do him any harm if they quarrelled.

[1] *29th Mâsi, Îswara.*

M. Saubinet replied encouragingly that he need fear nothing so long as he [M. Saubinet] was on his side, for he would call on the Company's officers and soldiers to do their utmost, should M. Soupire contemplate violence, as M. Soupire's strength was nothing when compared with his own.

This is what took place between M. Soupire and M. Leyrit.

Sunday, March 12.[1]—I did not go out this morning, but at five o'clock in the evening I drove out by the Valudâvûr Gate, as fresh air increases the blood, and returned home at half-past six.

When I was in my office at nine o'clock, the King's officers who came to listen to music said, 'On the 28th *Mâsi*,[2] M. Soupire sent an order to M. Desvaux for the officers' money. But when the officer went to M. Desvaux with the order and demanded the money, the latter said that he had none and that he only recognized M. Leyrit's orders not M. Soupire's. The officer replied, "You do not recognize Râjamânya[3] M. Soupire, for you are nothing but a tailor, and your wife a washerwoman, whom you abandon to M. Leyrit, and you have stolen the Company's money ; so how can you be expected to recognize M. Soupire ? But you

[1] *3rd Parguni, Iswara.* [2] March 8, 1758.
[3] *i.e.*, His Excellency.

will recognize him when you and M. Leyrit are tied up and beaten and sent to the gallows for stealing the Company's money." On this M. Desvaux went immediately to the Fort and told M. Leyrit what the officer had said. M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux and M. Soupire then went into a room ; before us M. Leyrit said to M. Soupire, "I understand that your officer spoke insolently to M. Desvaux. Is it proper to do so ?" M. Soupire replied, "You are right to ask me about it. Five of you have stolen the Company's money. The first was M. Delarche who now will be content if he can keep the money he thus acquired ; and after him you four, namely, you, M. Barthélemy, M. Desvaux and M. du Bausset—have stolen. You know that M. Lally is bringing the King's orders, and that the money you stole belongs to the King. I have accounts of all your thefts. You are only a servant of the Company. What is your pay compared with what you spend ? Where did you get your house ? Where the mirrors and other things ? How did you come by all this wealth ? By trade ? I will make you render a complete account, and if you cannot, your property shall be confiscated and you shall go to the gallows. You and M. Barthélemy shall be chained, beaten and hanged ; and the others shall be hanged outside the South Gate ; and your

dubâshes shall be hanged outside the Fort for all to see. When M. Lally arrives, I will place the accounts before him and cause him do all this, and, should he not come, I will do it myself. Before I take the field, I will search your house, seize all the money and issue it. I was wrong on my arrival to have gone out with you or visited M. Desvaux' house, and I have ever since repented of being such a fool." ' To this, I replied, 'You are the King's people, and may speak as you like ; but it is not proper for you to talk so in my house.' They replied, 'How can you conceal this matter which was said openly before M. Leyrit and before us by M. Soupire and why should we not repeat it ? We have nothing to fear and we will repeat it.' I said nothing, fearing what they might say, if I asked them not to mention this affair. I think that this confirms Subbâ Jôsier's prediction of trouble during the influence of Mercury.

Wednesday, March 15.[1]—M. Desvaux now seeks to pacify M. Soupire.

When I was going out this evening by the Valudâvûr Gate, M. Soupire was coming behind in a carriage. On seeing him, I got down from my palankin and stood on one side. He drove westward, and so did I, when

[1] *6th Panguni, Iswara.*

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I met M. Barthélemy and M. Delarche in a carriage being driven by M. Drouët. Having paid my respects to them, I went as far as the garden to the west, and then returned home. I thought the whole night that M. Barthélemy must have supposed that I was following M. Soupire to tell him about everything.

M. [Le] Blanc came to me and said, 'M Desvaux means to pay M. Soupire out for his conduct, and so he has decided to induce M. Soupire to visit him, under pretext of a feast, and make friends until M. Lally's arrival by paying him 50,000 rupees, so that he may tell M. Lally, if M. Soupire then accuses him, that the latter has only accused him out of greed, for when he was troubled before, he had quieted him with 50,000 rupees. M. Desvaux hopes by this trick to bring M. Soupire's authority to an end ; and he is therefore collecting rupees and negotiating with M. Soupire who, ignorant of M. Desvaux' plan, is inclined to come to terms with him. M. Desvaux' plan will succeed in two days.' I have heard the same from others also.

I hear that a storm arose during M. Lally's voyage, and that four ships have been driven from their course into Mahé.

Officers say that, as M. Soupire has forbidden them to allow Tamils go upstairs in the *Gouvernement*, the officers on guard at the

Gouvernement therefore prevent people from going up, and the sentry carries M. Leyrit's letters to the officers, who give them to M. Soupire, who, in turn, sends for M. Leyrit and gives them to him, but does not allow them to be taken away until M. Leyrit has read them to him.

I also hear that M. Soupire has withdrawn the officer who has been posted at the East Gate of the inner Fort for the last 50 or 60 years.

Saturday, March 18.[1]—I drove out this evening and returned home at half-past six.

Êndapalle Krishnappan said, 'Out of the revenue of 16 lakhs due from the country this year, only 13 lakhs will come in, leaving a balance of three lakhs. Out of these 13 lakhs, 21,000 must be paid out monthly—17,000 and odd to Savarirâya Pillai's *sibbandi* and 3,000 and odd [in grain] at the rate of six *kalams* a month, 67,000 a month for the Company's sepoys and troopers; 12,000 a month for the *sibbandi* at Srîrangam—a lakh of rupees in all a month or 12 lakhs of rupees a year.' I reflected that, if the money from the country was spent like this on *sibbandi*, the expenditure on account of the European soldiers, gentlemen and

[1] *9th Panguni, Iswara.*

coolies for the sick at the hospital could not be met.

Monday, March 20.[1]—I stayed at home this morning. At noon I heard that two of 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's people, who have been waiting for the last 15 days to see the Governor, were told by Kandappan that they were to wait at the customary place where they would be met and escorted by persons of suitable rank, along with the presents, and introduced to the Governor under salutes proportioned to their dignity. I also hear that he told them to have four dresses of honour ready for presentation to the people who would meet them and that they have been prepared. But I do not know what the Governor said.

The two people from 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, having set out at eight o'clock with two dresses of honour worth 500 rupees to visit the Governor, reached the carpenters' shop and waited there till eleven o'clock, when they were taken into the Fort. They presented M. Leyrit with one dress of honour and M. Soupire with the other. No guns were fired.

Thursday, March 23.[2]—At home this morning, I heard the following news :—A clever

[1] *11th Panguni, Iswara.* [2] *14th Panguni, Iswara.*

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French physician, who was treating the French prisoners in the Trichinopoly fort, conspired with 15 clever Frenchmen to escape on a certain night with all the other Frenchmen, after murdering the English commander, etc., and then capture the fort. All agreed and signed a writing which they sent to Srîrangam ; and the commander there sent the paper on to Pondichery. M. Leyrit in reply directed all the people in Srîrangam to be on the alert on that particular day and march out. But 15 days before the appointed day, a Frenchman betrayed the plot to the English commander, who immediately ordered the physician and the 15 Frenchmen to be seized and hanged.[1]

As five English ships and a sloop had entered the roads, our ships fired from eight o'clock till ten, and the Governor and others remained at the beach till midnight when the English ships sailed away.

As Vêlâyudham Pillai's letter of the day before yesterday from Porto Novo reported

[1] At the end of December a plot was formed at Trichinopoly by one La Forge, nicknamed the Surgeon, to release the French prisoners there. With this object he attempted to seduce certain Frenchmen who had taken service with the English, pointing out that they must have large arrears due to them from the French Company. One who was so approached answered that the French commonly paid arrears with blows and informed Caillaud, the commandant. La Forge was hung. (Report of a Court of Enquiry at Trichinopoly, dated December 28, *ap. Military Consultations*, January 12, 1758.)

that a ship with elephants had arrived there, I at once sent peon Venkatapati Nâyakkan with orders to bring them along with the pagodas due to us or their value in gold pieces.

Sunday, March 26.[1]—At six o'clock this evening a black Muhammadan who was Imâm Sâhib's gumastah came to me and said, ' 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân has written saying that he has 2,000 horse and as many foot, that he has received a grant of the Arcot subah, and that, if he receives the help of 500 Europeans with 20 cannon, powder, and shot, whose expenses he will defray, he will march and capture Arcot and he desires to receive the same treatment as was given to Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib. This letter has been translated into French and given to the Governor. After reading it, he and M. Soupire said that they would think over the matter and give orders.'

I also hear that as the Nânâ's vakîl, a Muhammadan, wrote to Balwanta Râo that Chandâ Sâhib's son has not delivered the elephants, velvet, broadcloth, etc., promised, Balwanta Râo sent for Razâ Sâhib's gumastah to whom he spoke so angrily that the gumastah wrote to Razâ Sâhib about it ; on learning this, Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib grew angry

[1] *17th Panguni, Îswara.*

with the Nânâ's Muhammadan vakîl whom they have made their enemy, and they hope that M. Lally is bringing out the King's order to grant them the management of the country and appoint Razâ Sâhib subahdâr of Arcot which orders (M. Delarche thinks) they expect M. Lally will execute on his arrival.

Tuesday, March 28.[1]—I did not go out this morning. I hear that, when the European who yesterday killed his officer took refuge in St. Paul's church, the church people put him into a box and buried him ; on hearing which news, the Governor and M. Soupire sent 100 soldiers who surrounded the church and searched the whole place, till they found a spot where the earth seemed to have been recently turned ; on digging there they found the man in the box and dragged him away with blows.

I also hear that soldiers and an officer went out at midnight with drawn swords threatening to run through every one they met in the street ; on hearing of this, the Governor and M. Soupire sent for Nayinâr the head-peon and promised him 30 pagodas if he seized and brought in these six persons ; the Nayinâr replied that he could not seize them, as he was unarmed, while they had drawn swords

[1] *19th Panguni, Iswara.*

which they might use; but the others told him that, if they resisted with arms, he might disable them and bring them.

The English ships are cruizing to and fro in the roads.

Thursday, March 30.[1]—Early this morning, Murtazâ Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's man) presented the Governor upstairs with a dress of honour worth 300 rupees, four Burhanpur turbans worth 800 rupees, two Burhanpur cloths worth 60 rupees and a *kalgi*. I have not heard the subject of the conversation which followed, but I expect that he has bribed Kandappan and the Governor, to support Chandâ Sâhib's son, and has spoken to the Governor about me.

I drove out at five o'clock to the great garden and came home at seven.

[1] *21st Panguni, Iswara.*

APRIL 1758.

Monday, April 3.[1]—I hear that, as the Governor has received news of M. Lally's arrival with his ships this side of Mahé, cattle and other things are being got ready.

I also hear that five or six of the King's officers at the washing-place have stabbed one another with their swords.

Tuesday, April 4.[2]—I stayed at home to-day.

On my return after driving out in the evening, I heard that cattle and fowls and other things were being got ready against M. Lally's coming, and that M. Leyrit's things were being removed to M. Dupleix' house.[3]

I also hear that *dalavâi* Alagappa Mudali,[4] who exercised authority in the southern country, has received a passport from M. Leyrit for his journey to Madras.

One of the King's officers last night gave me the following information:—M. Lally is so intelligent that nobody can deceive him; he will treat truth-tellers properly, and suitably punish even the least guilty; he is coming to secure large sums out of the crores available

[1] *25th Panguni, Îswara.*

[2] *26th Panguni, Îswara.*

[3] The old *Gouvernement* outside the Fort.

[4] Son-in-law of Tîttarappa Mudali, Company's renter in Madura and Tinnevelly. *Country Correspondence*, 1756, p. 146, *Country Correspondence*, 1757, p. 77.

here and send them back to the King; a certain man is coming with him who can detect false accounts and another named Clouët an accountant; from this I shall find out what sort of man he is and it will be hard for the people here to lie to him and prosper.

Wednesday, April 5.[1]—I did not go out this morning.

I hear that a council has been held to decide what should be sold at auction and other matters. People say that 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's people cannot expect their affairs to thrive until the ships come in, and that daily allowances for 50 persons are being issued.

I drove outside the Fort this evening and came home at seven.

Wednesday, April 12.[2]—At eight o'clock to-night, I heard the following news:—The messengers from Surat who arrived the night before last have brought Europe letters saying that the French army was encamped about twelve miles from the English fort and had conquered about a third of the English country; that the King of Prussia, who joined the English, had been unable to hold his ground, that the ambassador of the King of Portugal had proposed peace in the month of *Âvani, Îswara*,[3] that an armistice had been concluded under

[1] *27th Panguni, Îswara.* [2] *3rd Chittirai, Bahudânya.*
[3] August-September, 1757.

agreement that neither side should take up arms till the month of *Chittirai*,[1] when the war would be resumed, if peace had not been concluded; and that three squadrons of ten, ten and seventeen ships respectively—37 ships in all—were coming from Europe with M. Lally on board and M. d'Aché in command.

Sunday, April 16.[2]—This morning when I was at home Annâswâmi's son-in-law came about the Nêsanûr affair. After talking with him and with the Râzu from Kanda Pillai about affairs there, and when I had explained the whole matter, I ordered three fanams to be given to each of Annâswâmi's four people.

I drove out in the evening and came home at seven.

Tuesday, April 18.[3]—I hear that a letter arrived yesterday afternoon from Kârikâl, saying that a sloop had reached Kârikâl with news of the squadrons' arrival, and returned immediately after putting the letters ashore as English ships were visible under full sail; but I have not heard the contents of the letter she brought.

I hear that M. Leyrit and General M. Soupire discussed the news this morning, and this evening drove out in a coach and six as far as Villiyanallûr, but left before Ganapati

[1] *i.e.*, April 1758.
[2] *7th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*
[3] *9th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

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Gurukkal, the manager of the temple, could fetch fruit to offer them at the temple gate, and that Vinâyaka Pillai who was at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry hid himself both as they went and as they returned.

The King's officers came to me to-night and said that at dinner-time this afternoon it was stated in the presence of M. Soupire that though people expected squadrons would arrive shortly, they would not come in this month of *Chittirai*,[1] which is often stormy, but by the *5th Vaigâsi*.[2] This news only confirmed what I had heard before.

Thursday, April 20.[3]—This morning I stayed at home. When I set out at half-past four this evening in a carriage to visit my *agrahâram*, I found every one present at a great parade at the washing-place; so, thinking it would be improper to go by, I got down. After all had paid their respects to me, I returned my compliments and said that M. Lally must have returned to Europe with the squadron. Immediately General Soupire's secretary said, 'The squadron has not returned to Europe for there is news of 22 ships having reached Mahé. A sloop has also put in at Kârikâl. M. Lally will not come here till he has taken

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[1] April-May. [2] May 15.

[3] *11th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

Tellicherry and another English port. According to reliable news it will take him three or four days to take the places and 15 days to arrive here. So he will arrive in about ten days' time.' After talking for a little while, I returned home at seven. Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi and Appâvu returned home at seven after attending the festival at Pudupattu.

Tuesday, April 25.[1]—This morning I went to the Second's and showed him a copy of the account written by the European who quarrelled yesterday, and related his quarrel to me. Thereon the Second sent for his writer, and angrily told him that he was stirring up this European and causing trouble. Then the European arrived. The Second spoke angrily to him also and dismissed him with the 20 rupees he had.

Afterwards in the course of my conversation with the Second, he said, 'By M. Desvaux' advice, M. Leyrit has acted without consulting us, in a very despicable way, only having the *générale* beaten for himself outside like a stranger, instead of having it beaten within the Fort. He did so because he thought that the Company's soldiers and officers should not bear arms without the

[1] *16th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

permission of the King's men who have come. With us this is a shameful conduct to which death is preferable. The news must have already reached the Governors of the other ports who will laugh at us. Nor was this all. He invited M. Soupire General to his name-day feast and the latter attended it. When he desired him to sit down to table, M. Soupire said, " I am sorry to offend you, but I cannot sit down with any but you. However do not be dejected, but rejoice on this day of festivity." So saying he hastily departed, and this is a very injurious thing with us. God has brought this disgrace upon M. Leyrit and cast him into this abyss for his fraudulent conduct and crooked mind.' I replied suitably, ' How can I know your customs as you do ?' Then I came home, and sent 20 rupees to the Second.

As I drove out this evening, the Bishop Padré[1] was in the garden, so I went up to him. He advanced to receive me and said, ' M. Leyrit has been much disgraced, for M. Soupire has ordered M. Desvaux to be imprisoned if he enters the Fort. That is why M. Leyrit gave his feast at the garden, for if he had given it in the Fort, M. Desvaux could not have come. So the Governor's

[1] Noronha, titular Bishop of Halicarnassus.

dignity has gone. This M. Leyrit has been telling M. Soupire that you are the worst of the Tamils, I of the Portuguese and M. Boyelleau of the French. His dishonesty has now turned against him for now M. Soupire is kind to me and unkind to him. As soon as M. Lally arrives, nobody need go and report matters to him. M. Soupire has written down everything after full enquiries and will inform M. Lally of everything. M. Leyrit's dubâsh, M. Desvaux' dubâsh and two other persons, four persons in all, will be hanged outside the Fort on M. Lally's arrival, and perhaps a few Europeans will be hanged here or sent to Europe.' I said that everything would happen according to destiny. On returning home at eight, I heard that M. Soupire had ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that no Europeans should go out after eight at night and that those who did so would be beaten, fined 60 rupees and shut up in the dungeon.

Wednesday, April 26.[1]—I hear that the Marquis de Conflans and M. Moracin[2] have marched with some sepoys with English passports to join M. Bussy by way of Masulipatam.

[1] *17th Chittirai. Bahudânya.*

[2] A mistake for the Chevalier de Bazin. See *French Correspondence*, 1757-1758, No. 15.

I also hear that seven sous-lieutenants, seven lieutenants, seven officers and 350 soldiers, all King's people, have set out for Srîrangam, Kârikâl, Chidambaram, Tiruviti, Vriddhachalam, Gingee, Tirukkôyilûr, Tiruvannâmalai, Chêtpattu, Wandiwash, Utramallûr and other places to relieve the Company's men there according to orders.

Since his arrival, M. Soupire the General has done nothing, but has frequently offered M. Leyrit, the Governor, to send out people to take possession of the country if he received the necessary supplies. But M. Leyrit has always refused on the ground that the Company has no money. M. Soupire has kept a record of his requests to M. Leyrit and of the latter's replies. Now I hear that on the 12th of this month,[1] M. Soupire asked for 10,000 rupees for a certain business; M. Leyrit replied that he had no money; two days afterwards having privately reflected that, although M. Leyrit always denied possessing money when it was asked for, he had country here worth 20 lakhs, and 30 lakhs more to the northward, besides the control of merchants and others, and that he had been Governor of Bengal, for three years, and Governor here for the same period, and that in spite of all this

[1] *i.e.*, April 21.

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he still refused even 10,000 rupees, M. Soupire therefore resolved to write out a paper saying that M. Leyrit had refused him 10,000 rupees when required for an urgent affair, on the ground that he had no money, and to take it to him and ask him to sign it. On the 15th[1] then he took this to M. Leyrit and asked him to sign it, but M. Leyrit refused saying that he would manage to find the money.

Friday, April 28.[2]—News of M. Lally's arrival here from Europe.

When I was at home to-day, I heard that a ship had been sighted, and on enquiry learnt that she was believed to be English. When after twelve o'clock, she entered the roads, 11 guns were fired from the land and from the ships in the roads. One shot fell close M. Lally's ship and another struck it. M. Lally immediately ordered a gun to be fired, struck the flag he was flying, and hoisted a red one. A black flag was then hoisted at the Fort; and M. Lally hauled down his red flag and displayed one white and one square flag,[3] on which [the Fort] hoisted the white

[1] *i.e.*, the 24th.

[2] *19th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

[3] Lally (*Mémoire*, p. 39) says that on his arrival in the roads, his vessel, the *Comte de Provence*, was saluted by five-shotted guns, three of which passed through her and two damaged the rigging. D'Aché (third *Mémoire*, p. 8) says that as soon as Lally went on board the *Comte de Provence*, he hoisted the square flag at the main-mast as the sign of his rank. A comparison of these statements with the narrative in the text suggests that Lally's flag was the reason why his vessel was not recognized as French. The firing evidently was not part of the formal salute of welcome as Malleson (*French in India*, p. 515) supposed.

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flag, and catamarans were sent which brought ashore letters for M. Soupire, the General. The latter immediately rose from table, and went off to the ship by boat, while M. Leyrit waited on the beach. As soon as M. Soupire reached the ship, M. Lally got into the boat and came swiftly. Seeing this, M. Leyrit also entered a boat, and, meeting M. Lally half-way, paid his respects to him and escorted him ashore. Then all went upstairs. There was no time to draw up the troops, fix plantain trees, water the streets, or spread *kôrai* grass. A salute of 21 guns was fired. Immediately after landing, he said, 'I have ordered the ships following me to proceed to attack Fort St. David. The European officers and soldiers, the German troopers, and foot, etc., must be ordered to march at once by land and attack Fort St. David to-night. Moreover 4,000 earth-diggers and bullocks must be got ready as well as powder, shot, guns, munitions of war and provisions which must be sent at once.' Having ordered M. Soupire to proceed, he went upstairs, and then M. Barthélemy the Second came and paid his respects. M. Leyrit then sent for me, and made me present M. Lally with limes, saying that I was Rangappan, the Company's *courtier*. M. Lally paid me his compliments. Then the Company's merchants visited him. Vinâyaka Pillai then came and

stood in front of me (which made me angry with him) until M. Lally looked at him. Vinâyaka Pillai then withdrew and said that he also had visited M. Lally. Having posted the King's men at the Fort gates with orders to allow no one to go out, M. Lally went into a room, and by means of seven writers, wrote letters describing what should be done as soon as the ships reached the Fort St. David roads. Only two ships came here, and among those known to me on board were M. Clouët, M. Boyelleau and M. Dusaussaye. Then I went to the office in the flower-garden.

M. Leyrit sent for Vinâyakan and Savariya Pillai and told them to collect cattle, horses, coolies, etc., without delay, so Vinâyakan sent people to collect them in the town. A man with a silver staff came to me and said that M. Lally and M. Leyrit wanted horses. I gave orders for them. This is the news.

Saturday, April 29.[1]—This is the news of to-day :—At nine o'clock this morning M. Lally told off M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy and the councillors to the following duties :—M. Leyrit to attend to the unloading of M. Lally's things from his ship and to the loading of the ships, and M. Barthélemy to assist him. They are at the Choultry at the Beach arranging for

[1] *20th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

sailors for the ships, cabbage, radish, fowls, ducks, rice, water, bread, etc. provisions, and despatching boats ; M. Clouët is to disburse the pay of the soldiers, troopers, sepoys, etc., and be in charge of other expenses—in short, to have the charge of the purse from May 1, in the place of M. Barthélemy.

There is news that Tiruppâdirippuliyûr, etc. places were plundered last night and that Cuddalore fell at ten o'clock to-day, and has been plundered and set on fire ; but this news is not true. It is said that Manjakuppam has been seized, entrenchments are being dug and shots are falling on Fort St. David, while powder, shot, bundles of leaves, and sand-bags for the works and provisions are being hastily got ready, and M. Soupire is always angry with Vinâyakan and even beats him ; cattle, horses and coolies are being seized and sent; and a few Englishmen, who had not escaped from the walls, have been seized and brought in, together with seven or eight wounded persons. Moreover when nine English ships from Madras arrived at three o'clock to reinforce the Cuddalore army, the nine ships already engaged in attacking Cuddalore opened fire on them. The English fired in return and lay to the northward. Seeing this, the two ships which came with M. Lally hoisted sail, and stood to the east to intercept the English ships which

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they attacked. The ships of both sides then put out and the sound of firing ceased by the evening. Each man tells a different story, and each minute brings different news.

M. Lally having left Europe in May last reached Mascareigne in December and stayed there forty days; he sailed again on January 26, reached Kârikâl on the afternoon of April 27, corresponding with *Chittirai* 18, where a captain went ashore to get news as d'Aché was unwell, and then, setting sail, reached Pondichery at noon on the 19th.[1]

I hear that at six o'clock M. Soupire marched to attack Fort St. David.

Sunday, April 30.[2]—I heard the following news to-day:—When M. Soupire and M. Lally reached Fort St. David last night, the troops there demanded why they were to die of starvation instead of falling in the field by the hand of the enemy. M. Lally at once [returning to Pondichery] went upstairs at midnight without even a torch, and angrily aroused M. Leyrit, who, coming out, sent for Vinâyakan, and kicked him twice in his great rage. Vinâyakan at once started for the camp. All night M. Lally kept on interrupting M. Leyrit's sleep by sending for him and talking

[1] April 28.

[2] *21st Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

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with him. This teasing has made M. Leyrit hate M. Lally in a single day.

Men having been sent to fetch back the Marquis de Conflans who had set out for the northward, he arrived early this morning.

Moreover when M. Leyrit and the councillors attended M. Lally yesterday morning, the latter said to M. Leyrit, 'I represent the Company and you must consult me about everything and carry out my orders.'

I hear that two English ships have been taken and that the remainder have been damaged and put to flight[1].

M. Lally then set out for church, so at eleven o'clock I took leave of him and went to my office in the flower-garden where I heard the following news :—When the roundel was being held over him, M. Lally struck it with a switch which he held in his hand, saying he did not want it; nor did he want it on his return from church, but walked in the sun to the Second's house. M. Leyrit also walked without a roundel and had to run as M. Lally walked with him. M. Lally then went back to the Fort whither M. Leyrit followed him in the sun with great distress.

[1] The two vessels lost by the English were the *Bridgewater* and *Triton*, which were surprised off Fort St. David and had to run ashore, where they were burnt. But in the action of the 29th the English had obtained some, though not a decisive, advantage over the French fleet.

Some say that M. Leyrit produced three lakhs of rupees yesterday but others deny this.

I came home at noon, bathed, and ate, and, just after I had lain down, two peons came at three o'clock and said that the Governor wanted me, so I went to him.

He said, 'During the sea-fight, the English ships had the advantage of ours. One of our ships[1] has gone ashore south of Âlambarai; arrange for carriages, horses, palankins, etc., to fetch the gentlemen on board.' Agreeing, I came out and told the Nayinâr, and also sent people to collect horses, palankins and carriages in the town. Just then Kandappa Mudali said that he had been told about them, and that therefore he would get them ready. I agreed.

Afterwards a messenger came and said that the camp was short of provisions. How can I describe the kind words with which M. Leyrit requested the messenger not to inform M. Lally? Nevertheless the messenger did so, and M. Lally, in unspeakable anger, set out on horseback with guns and munitions and escorted by 15 troopers and about 100 sepoys and soldiers.

[1] The *Bien-Aimé*.

MAY 1758.

Monday, May 1.[1]—On my way to the Fort this morning, Nayinâr, the head-peon, said, 'The Governor gave me five of the Company's peons and told me to get the carts and bullocks that Kandappa Mudali, Appu Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Tiruvêngadathâ Pillai are said to have hidden in their houses, and if they objected, to imprison them at the Choultry. I was also to speak to you about them.' I gave him orders to seize the carts and bullocks and went to the Fort. M. Leyrit was walking to and fro busy with certain business, and I walked up and down with him.

As to-day is a feast-day, he ordered the flag to be hoisted, and then went to church, so I went to the office in the flower-garden.

I hear that M. Lally, who last night joined the army sent to attack Fort St. David, is still there; the English ships having failed in their efforts, have departed with shattered masts and shaken hulls; the cargo of the French ship that went ashore is being removed to Âlambarai fort; Nayinâr, the head-peon, has been sent with elephants, horses, carts and palankins to fetch the gentlemen on board the stranded ship; and M. La Selle, who has been rightly

[1] *22nd Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

appointed to the Arumpâtai Vinâyakan's post, for he is the chief man, has desired the assistance of M. Le Blanc who was responsible for the Tirukkôyilûr country under me, and of Malaiyan.

I hear that the people who went to Tiruppâdirippuliyûr, Pudupâlaiyam, and Manjakuppam, are selling the idols, vessels, cots, mattresses, knives, daggers, women's cloths, chintz and other things they stole there.

This evening I drove out of the Fort and returned at seven. 'Abd-ul-qâdir, the chobdar with a silver staff then came to me and said that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had ordered that from to-morrow no liquor should be sold, not even Colombo arrack, that all who possessed any liquor were to measure and deliver it to M. Cornet, and that I was to give orders to the people who sold Colombo arrack, and see that all available *pattai* arrack[1] was delivered to M. Cornet. So I sent for the dealers in Colombo arrack and the liquor godown-people and communicated the Governor's orders to them. I also sent the chobdar to communicate these orders to the Colombo arrack dealers.

Tuesday, May 2.[2]—Having gone to the Fort this morning, I paid my respects to M. Leyrit,

[1] See vol i, p. 153 and note *supra*. For Colombo arrack see note *ap.* Bowrey, *Bay of Bengal*, p. 77.

[2] *23rd Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

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and informed him of the order I had given about the delivery of Colombo and *pattai* arrack to M. Cornet. I then waited there. M. La Selle, who has been appointed to do the duty of the *Arumpâtai* who ought to have collected the cattle in the town, is paying the coolies two fanams a day each besides half a fanam for batta, so many coolies are coming in of their own accord. Having seen this, I was going out when M. Boyelleau called me and said, 'I want to talk with you about the mint business, so come to the mint.' I agreed, and went to the mint, but finding no one there, went back to M. Boyelleau who said, 'I have received a letter from M. Godeheu asking me to send chintz and just mentioning M. Lally's departure. I do not know what messages he may have sent by M. Clouët. When M. Leyrit first complained that you had not paid the country revenue, as soon as I learnt of it, I wrote down the particulars which induced all people to write complaints against him [? Leyrit]. I think that orders for the future management will be received by the ships that must have sailed last *Arppisi* or *Tai*.[1] As in future you may know less about your affairs than I, I will inform you about everything. M. Lally is declaring

[1] October-November or January-February.

that he will hang people for the least thing. From private rank,[1] he rose to the rank of officer, and now has been appointed chief in command here, so that he is superior by virtue of his office ; but another man has also come noble by birth [2] and ancestry and invested with authority over the Company's affairs ; he is lodged in the room situated in the south-west of the *Gouvernement*. After you have gone upstairs to-morrow, I will call on him and you had better come, as if by accident, wait a little while, and then go away. I will then tell him everything.'—'Very well,' I said and, having taken leave, came home.

Wednesday, May 3.[3]—This morning I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, and stayed there.

M. Clouët who was on the stranded ship this side of Âlambarai, arrived in a dhooli and reached the *Gouvernement* at half-past nine. Mêlugiri Chetti informed M. Boyelleau, who went to the *Gouvernement* to call on M. Clouët and remained. I also went there. When M. Clouët came out with M. Boyelleau, I paid my respects to him with some oranges He accepted them and enquired after my health.

[1] He was commissioned as captain in the *Régiment de Dillon* at the age of eight.

[2] *i.e.* of the French *noblesse*. Boyelleau perhaps means Montmorency.

[3] *24th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

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'I am well,' I replied. 'I had heard so,' he answered. 'I have arrived in safety.' Then some Europeans came, whom he embraced and kissed. I and M. Boyelleau then visited and paid our respects to the gentleman from Europe who is in the north-west corner of the *Gouvernement*. This gentleman talked kindly with a cheerful face. I talked with him for about a quarter of an hour and then went to the office in the flower-garden.

There I heard that Vinâyakan who has taken to his bed with a pain in the chest by reason of his beating, has been telling his visitors that he hurt himself on the knob of his cot. In camp no one may even mention the name of the *Arumpâtai* and the coolies are implicitly obeying M. La Selle who distributes their wages promptly. Entrenchments are being raised at Cuddalore, and the English are reported to be strong.

Thursday, May 4.[1]— I heard the following news this morning :—At the third watch yesterday, the troops in camp marched to Cuddalore and hoisted the white flag, and a proclamation was ordered by beat of tom-tom that any English sepoys should be killed at sight[2]. Yesterday morning a European gentleman

[1] *25th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

[2] The town of Cuddalore surrendered on May 3, on the following terms:—(1) the inhabitants and their property were not to be molested; and (2) the French prisoners in Fort St. David were to be sent to Tranquebar, Devikôttai or Porto Novo, to await the fate of Fort St. David. *Military Consultations*, May 9, 1758.

with 300 soldiers and 200 sailors having landed some chests of silver from the ships, carried them to my *agrahâram*; there they took up their quarters, having set an armed guard and demanded with threats of death sheep, fowls, rice, ghi, etc. provisions, so that the people took to flight. Not until Venkata Râo told them that the *agrahâram* was mine, and that the people should not be threatened but merely asked for supplies, were 50 sheep, 100 fowls, 300 measures of rice, 30 seers of ghi, and other things obtained from the out-villages and supplied. One of the men who went to the tope to gather young coconuts, being detected, was seized and given 50 stripes and kept fasting till evening. At eight o'clock at night, they brought to the Fort 32 chests of silver. Each chest contained 300 marcs of silver and the whole quantity was weighed off to the mint this morning.

I also hear that, before M. Lally the General went to camp, he asked M. Leyrit for three lakhs of rupees, but the latter excused himself, on which M. Lally in anger said sharply, 'If matters go like this, I shall be no respecter of persons, but will deal suitably with any one. The things I ask for must be supplied either from the Company's coffers or from your own house, otherwise I shall be very angry, and you will not be able to

blame me then.' He then set out for camp. A lakh and a half of rupees were sent the day before yesterday, and a lakh and a half will be sent to-day. Then I went to the office in the flower-garden and coming home at twelve, sent off some dhooli-bearers.

I heard this evening that the Governor had ordered Ayyan Sâstri to be imprisoned at Nayinâr, the head-peon's house as (it was said) there were no peons at the Fort.

M. [Le]Noir says that, as M. Lally is impartial and goes deep into affairs, nobody can deceive him.

Friday, May 5.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, who told me to visit M. Boyelleau and M. Clouët. So I went to M. Clouët's house, and, as I was getting out of my palankin, M. Boyelleau arrived. After salutations we entered M. Clouët's house. He came to the door to receive us, took us in, and we three sat down. M. Boyelleau then related to M. Clouët in an impressive way all M. Desvaux' actions, the state of affairs in the country, the course of events in the town, the taking of the country from me, and the obstacles thrown in the way of my continuing as *courtier*. M. Clouët then rose and opening his box, took a

[1] *26th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

packet of papers which he showed to M. Boyelleau. The latter read one of the papers and, as both were engaged in reading it and discussing the contents, and I could only sit still, they gave me leave. I rose from my seat to take leave, and M. Clouët accompanied me to the door where he dismissed me with compliments, which I returned.

I then went to the office in the flower-garden, where I heard that M. Lally who returned last night had held a council to-day, but I did not hear what it was about.[1] I came home at noon, took my food and went to sleep. While I was sleeping, a chobdar came and said that M. Leyrit, the Governor, wanted a horse. I told him that I had already given all my horses, except two lame ones, which I sent with him, telling him that M. Leyrit might have them if he liked. After inspecting them, he returned them to me. I then drove out and returned home at seven o'clock.

Saturday, May 6.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and after paying my respects to M. Lally, the General, and M. Leyrit, the Governor, I went to the office in the flower-gar den.

Venkatarâma Chetti, who came to me last night to report the mint news, said that

[1] Probably to consider d'Aché's letter of this date demanding materials for the repair of his ships (d'Aché's first *Mémoire, Pièces*, p. 10).

[2] *27th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

M. Boyelleau had been appointed Governor of Cuddalore and would set out at twelve o'clock to-night after delivering the mint accounts, keys, etc., to M. [Le]Noir. So I sent for Chiranjîvi Appâvu and told him to go and offer my congratulations to M. Boyelleau on his appointment and to ask what should be done about my affairs as he had acted as M. Godeheu's agent about them before. Appâvu went accordingly and sent in word of his arrival. He was asked to wait, and when all the Europeans had gone away after dinner, M. Boyelleau sent for him and said, 'I am not going to Cuddalore as Governor but only to make an inventory of the goods at the harbour. I shall return in five or six days. You need not be anxious about your affairs, and I will now tell M. Lally, the General, that the work entrusted to me ought to have been entrusted to the Company's *courtier*, your father, but that I am going because your father has not strength enough to move about and work hard at this business. I will return in five or six days and see to everything.' Chiranjîvi Appâvu reported this to me at midnight. As M. Boyelleau has read the letter which M. Clouët brought, and as he has sent me this reply, I think that something may be expected.

When I went to the house of M. Barthélemy the Second, he said, 'As I had already heard, M. Lally treats all courteously and properly. But he said before the Council that he would not talk with us until Fort St. David and Madras had been captured. So something will happen—what we have still to see.' Then I took leave of him and came home.

When I drove out in the evening, 21 guns were fired. I learnt by enquiry that the salute was fired on the landing of the commander of the eight ships which yesterday[1] attacked the English and drove them away. In M. Lenoir's time, he is said to have come here as the third in rank of a ship (the name of which I do not know).

Sunday, May 7.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning and thence to the office in the flower-garden. There I heard that, as, after hearing mass, M. Lally, the General, M. Soupire and M. Clouët were talking in the room upstairs, the former councillors waited talking below till ten o'clock. At noon I came home.

When I returned home at seven after driving out in the evening, five or six majors[3] brought me M. Lally's and M. Leyrit's letters

[1] This must be a slip for April 29, the date of the naval action.

[2] *28th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

[3] Lally was accompanied by six officers of this rank. Their names are given in the *Orme MSS.* (*Various* 52, pp. 10–11) as follows:—Le Veu, Soubinet, Haussire Bassin, Aller, and Rousillo.

about securing houses for them. I sent them with a chobdar, instructing the latter to take them to Pâlayappa Mudali's godown, whither they went accordingly.

Afterwards I heard the following news :— When d'Aché arrived, all paid their respects to him at the Fort. Since the ships arrived, the principal people, the soldiers and the business people have been brought ashore, as well as the chests of silver. M. d'Aché, having inspected the palankins in the Fort, ordered them to be sent to carry the wounded to the hospital. Some were wounded in the face, some had lost a hand or a leg, but all were removed to the hospital.[1] There are not many soldiers in the Fort, as a large number have taken the field ; and the Valudâvûr gate has been ordered to be closed. I hear that the gate stands closed accordingly.

Tuesday, May 9.[2]—I heard this evening that six or seven English ships had been seen at sea[3] and that M. Soupire was setting out for Fort St. David.

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[1] On the 18th d'Aché reported that he had 1,274 men in hospital (d'Aché's *Lettres*, p. 7).

[2] *30th Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

[3] A mixed council met this day to consider the news and resolved that the French fleet, being still unrepaired, could only anchor in shelter of the Pondichery guns. (d'Aché's first *Mémoire, Pièces*, p. 11).

Wednesday, May 10.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit, the Governor, who had gone alone to the Beach, at five o'clock called Râmachandra Ayyan and told him to send quickly for Pattanavars. When they came, sheep, fowls, bullocks, etc., were despatched to camp, and on the arrival of M. Barthélemy at seven, M. Leyrit left him, and after going with two chobdars to inspect the carpenters' shop, he went upstairs again at eight. I paid him my respects and waited.

After finishing the business at the Beach, M. Barthélemy came with M. Delarche to visit M. Lally, the General. As the latter was in his room, they waited outside. Just then the commander of foot reached the Fort from Âlambarai with 200 sepoys in marching order ; and M. Lally came out to watch them in his shirt-sleeves, cap and slippers and with his hands behind his back. M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche and the other Europeans saluted him, but he did not notice them and kept his hands as they were. When he turned round, they saluted him again ; at first he made no answer, but then after glancing at them, he took M. Barthélemy and M. Delarche in. It was then ten o'clock. They remained talking—of what I do not know—so I then went to the office in the flower-garden.

[1] *31st Chittirai, Bahudânya.*

There I heard that Chandâ Sâhib's son had presented M. Lally, the General, with a palankin, a horse and a dress of honour worth 10,000 rupees in the hope of obtaining Arcot.

A chobdar came and said, 'The Governor says you have some Porto Novo cloth, which he wants you to deliver to M. Abeille.[1]' I said that I had none to be delivered to M. Abeille, and that I knew nothing about it, but asked him to go with Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti to ask M. Abeille about it.

M. Leyrit went this evening to the Beach to lade the ship in the harbour.

Troopers and men are being sent daily into the country to seize cattle.

Thursday, May 11.[2]—On my way to the Fort this morning, I heard that M. Lally had last night joined the army attacking Fort St. David, so I went to the office in the flower-garden where I heard that M. Leyrit and the councillors had been in council since nine o'clock. I do not know what they discussed. Large quantities of Salem stuff and other things are being put on board a ship. There has been no fighting at Fort St. David; but English ships are cruizing to and fro.[3]

[1] An engineer in the Company's service. See vol. viii, p. 197 *supra*.

[2] *1st Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[3] Pocock was trying to work his way southwards against the wind and current.

M. Lally's followers have not said anything about his intentions or the object of his visit, so nothing is known as to what will happen here. I came home at noon.

I drove out in the evening and returned home at seven.

Friday, May 12.[1]—At six o'clock this morning, I heard the following news :—The Daulatabad killa, 12 kos north of Aurangabad and containing the Pâdshâh's treasury, is entered by a passage but one stone broad, so that both the former Pâdshâh and Âsaf Jâh found it very difficult to capture. Shâh Nawâz Khân managed to secure it and posted his people there. M. Bussy, having conferred with Shâh Nawâz Khân, procured from him a letter to the commandant permitting him to visit it. He therefore set out and having mounted the fort and seen the sights, seized those within, hoisted the white flag and removed the treasure consisting of a crore of rupees and women's cloths, chests of precious stones, gold and silver vessels worth another crore—two crores in all M. Bussy, having removed all these, sent ten lakhs of rupees to Salabat Jang and wrote a letter announcing this to M. Lally, the General.[2] Immediately M. Lally wrote a reply, asking M. Bussy to

[1] *2nd Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.* [2] Cf. Orme, ii, 345–346.

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send the money, and he [M. Lally] is sending it by the Marquis de Conflans and M. Bazin with an escort.

When I drove out last evening by the Fort, I met the Marquis de Conflans who is setting out on his journey, and he took leave of me.

I hear that a letter from Madras reached Fort St. David marked to be read by all the councillors but the Governor. The councillors having read it imprisoned the Governor and appointed one of themselves.[1] They then defied the French to attack and there has been sharp fighting since last night. A shot fired from the battery north-east of Cuddalore fell inside Fort St. David, whereon they raised a battery south of the river.

M. Lally the General accompanied by M. Boyelleau arrived here at noon to-day from camp.

Saturday, May 13.[2] — M. le Comte de Montmorency and M. Clouët conferred in the small garden about [ ].

This morning I went to the Fort and after paying my respects to the Governor went to the office in the flower-garden.

[1] This sounds like a travesty of the commandant Major Polier's assuming control from the Deputy Governor, Alexander Wynch. For a similar story of a later date see Leyrit to Lally, May 25, 1758 (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 38).

[2] *3rd Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

The news of yesterday :—At twelve o'clock yesterday, M. Clouët's man came and said that he had been sent by the Comte de Montmorency (who is one of the four masters of the Company's directors and who has come out on behalf of the syndics) and M. Clouët to inform me that they would visit me. 'Very good,' I said, and told Chiranjîvi Appâvu to send chairs, etc., to the small garden and get other things ready there. Then I bathed, ate and took a nap. Presently I was awakened and told that M. le Comte de Montmorency and M. Clouët had arrived. As I was not dressed, I sent the men back to say that I would be present at the garden, and having sent Appâvu in advance, put on my gown and went to the garden at half-past four to pay them my respects. Being a nobleman he[1] received me with great politeness and enquired after my health. I told him everything. M. Clouët said that M. Godeheu had foretold a great future for my two sons. The Comte de Montmorency observed that that was true, that, though he had heard in Europe of my fame and ability, on seeing me his opinion had been strengthened a hundredfold, and that he had heard in Europe of my efforts on behalf

[1] M. de Montmorency.

of the Company. 'All my labour has been vain,' I replied. 'Why do you say that?' he asked. 'You will have justice shortly.'

Afterwards fruit, sweets, attar, etc., were brought; there was music, the candles were lit, and the time passed cheerfully. I then ordered cloths, rolls of silk, etc., to be brought and offered them. But they declined, saying, 'This is our house and we are all one, so gifts are needless.' Thus they refused to take them in spite of my importunity, but only thanked me and took leave after eight o'clock. I then returned home.

When a council was being held at the Fort this evening, the officers who are King's people complained that their pay was 18 months in arrears and that they would not march to fight until their arrears had been paid. Thereon M. Lally ordered a palankin to take him to the washing-place, and came out; but as his palankin was not ready, a six-horse carriage was brought. In anger at this he threatened to beat Kandappan and half a dozen times went down to the place where the palankins are kept and then went upstairs again, even threatening to have somebody hanged. When M. Leyrit's palankin was brought, M. Lally struck it demanding why a merchant's palankin had been brought. At

last his own palankin came and he got in and went to the washing-place.

Sunday, May 14.[1]—I went to M. Barthélemy's this morning, but, as he was confined to the house and out of his usual spirits, I went to the office in the flower-garden. There I heard that the Lieutenant-General M. Lally had appointed Appu Mudali his private dubâsh and ordered his chobdars and others to obey him.

After discussing affairs at the council and despatching things on bullocks, in carts, by coolies and on elephants, M. Lally set out by palankin at five o'clock to join his army at Fort St. David with 30 or 40 troopers. No paddy, vegetables, etc., are coming into town. All the pack-bullocks are being seized and sent to carry things to the army, so none are available, and rice and paddy are scarce. Men and women are being seized, so the country is alarmed. Moreover when the Lieutenant-General M. Lally came, and the Tamils visited him, he refused to see them, angrily saying he would shoot any who came and that he would only see those whom he sent for, and he ordered his pistols to be double-shotted and kept them by him[2]. I hear that ten months'

[1] *4th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] A remarkable illustration of what Orme calls 'the vivacity' of Lally's character.

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pay, amounting to 17 lakhs, is owing to the soldiers and officers who have accompanied M. Lally, so the Europeans and others are very anxious to see what M. Lally will do about money, on his return after capturing Fort St. David.

I drove out in the evening and returned home at seven.

Monday, May 15.[1]—I heard this morning that our people had occupied the region north of Fort St. David comprising the Dutch factory and sandhills, and also [the English] entrenchments on the south, and that fighting was still going on.[2]

I also heard that the troopers who went northwards had seized the bullocks of the Vîrarâghavaswâmi temple at Tiruvallûr and other cattle. I came home at eleven o'clock, drove out in the evening, and returned home at seven.

Tuesday, May 16.[3]—I went to the Fort this morning, but hearing that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had gone to the Fort gate to order Brâhmans and others to carry the mortars for which M. Lally the General had sent a camel-

[1] *5th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] The news was premature. Cf. Orme, ii, 308-309. Wynch reported the loss of the out-works on the 17th (Letter of that date *ap. Military Consultations*, May 25, 1758).

[3] *6th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

messenger from Cuddalore, I waited in the office in the flower-garden. I heard that M. Leyrit had been busy in the hot sun till noon collecting men to carry three cannon, promising them two fanams each besides a present of fifty rupees if they arrived with the cannon by three o'clock. As even that did not secure men enough, he ordered some sepoys to lay aside their muskets and carry the three cannon promising to pay them half a rupee each.[1]

In the evening men were impressed in every street, including the Brâhman street.

Wednesday, May 17.[2]—In my house to-day I heard the sound of guns which began firing at Fort St. David at half-past seven last night and continued till seven o'clock this morning, but I understand that the fire must have been the enemies' and not ours. Yesterday evening M. Lally divided his troops into three parts, of which he himself commanded the first, M. Soupire, the second, and M. Law, M. Saubinet and others of the Company's service, the third. The Company's troops attacked Chuckler's Battery and M. Lally's, the Uppalavâdi Battery. Light was

[1] On the previous day Lally had written demanding that three 12-inch mortars should be despatched by five o'clock on the 16th and threatening to inform the King and the Company of the little zeal displayed by the latter's servants. (Lally to Leyrit, May 15, 1758, *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 9.)

[2] *7th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

provided by tying torches (which were afterwards extinguished) to the horns of bullocks. M. Soupire's troops appeared in large numbers in several places and carried off cattle. The Company's troops who attacked and took the Chuckler's Battery, slew 40 of the soldiers and sepoys found there, and captured 15 or 20 soldiers and three or four officers trying to escape ; but many of our troops also perished. M. Aumont, M. Law, M. Saubinet and two Lorraine officers—five in all—who received bullet-wounds survived as the bullets passed through without striking a bone. M. Lally who attacked the Uppalavâdi Battery, cut off 100 soldiers and 200 sepoys who had marched from Fort St. David to reinforce the troops posted in the Uppalavâdi Battery and cut them to pieces, but a few escaped back to the fort. Our troops, then attacked the Uppalavâdi Battery, killing 40 soldiers and 300 sepoys who were there, and capturing the battery though with the loss of many. Two batteries have thus been taken and it is said that there are only two more between our people and the fort.[1]

[1] Orme describes these outworks, vol. ii, p. 307. Lally had wanted the mortars mentioned on page 165 *supra* to cover his attack ; but the pieces sent had been spiked, and as in the hurry of their despatch the touch-holes had not been filed out, they could not be used. Lally gives the enemy's total loss as 40 Europeans and 200 sepoys. (*Mémoire pour Lally*, p. 41, etc.)

I also hear that in the plunder of the day before yesterday, 20,000 pagodas were seized in the house of an oil-monger from the north and between 5,000 and 10,000 pagodas in four or five other houses besides other booty.

I also hear that M. le Comte de Montmorency has been appointed in the place of M. Leyrit.

Early this morning I heard that orders had been given not to seize Brâhmans or bazaarmen. The council sat from five till seven in the evening.

M. Boyelleau then sent a man to demand the money I owe him. I sent word back that he had as a pledge bales of coarse bluecloth which should not be sold at present owing to the troubles, but as soon as they were over, he might sell them himself, or I would sell them and pay him what I owed, and that therefore he should be pleased to wait. As after the council had broken up, he again demanded the money, I think that money affairs must have been discussed at the council and that all must have agreed to contribute.[1]

I hear that orders have been given to take Europeans' carts and bullocks for transport for the munitions that have to be sent;

[1] Ranga Pillai's guess is very probable. On the 16th, 20,000 rupees were sent to camp and on the 18th Chevreau was sent with a lakh (Leyrit to Lally, May 18, 1758, *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 21.)

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M. Law has returned wounded; the officers captured in the batteries have been imprisoned in the Fort dungeon, and the soldiers in the godown by the Villiyanallûr gate.

The sound of firing at Fort St. David was heard from five this evening until midnight.

Thursday, May 18.[1]—When I was at home this morning, a chobdar came at ten o'clock and said that M. Leyrit wanted me. I left at once, paid my respects to him, and stood waiting. Half an hour after, he asked if I had come. Kandappa Mudali replied that I had come about an hour before. He then turned to me and said that the towns-people should be ordered by beat of tom-tom to attend at the Beach this evening, under penalty for neglect of being tied to the Choultry posts and receiving 50 stripes each, besides the sale of their houses by auction, and a fine of 50 pagodas. Agreeing, I came out and directed the Choultry-people to announce this order by beat of tom-tom. I then came home, and, after taking my food at two, went back to the Fort at three and visited the Governor who said that he was going to the Beach, and that I should go first. So I went and waited by the stone *mantapam* where the towns-people had assembled. Cannon, bombs, shot, powder-chests, planks,

[1] *8th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

bundles of leaves and other things were being laded on a ship and a sloop. Then the Governor came and I followed him to the Beach. He ordered me to tell all the people to carry bundles of leaves. I replied, 'No coolies or work-people have come here, for all have gone to camp. Here are only officials, writers, Chettis, merchants and Brâhmans.'—'Then,' said he, 'I will carry some and you should do the like.' I replied that such a thing should only be done in an emergency. 'What else can be done when there are no people?' he replied. I continued, 'In no Governor's time has the town suffered so much as now. Surely people will desert the town, and this will bring infamy upon you. I tell you this as it is my duty to do so.' He then said, 'Get 200 people for the work and send the rest away.' So I sent away the Brâhmans and supplied 230 men from among the rest. The Governor sent for me again and said, 'By sunrise to-morrow, you must supply 1,000 men, or I will exact 10,000 pagodas from you.'[1] I replied, 'I see no one here, but I will do my

[1] "Ce n'a pas été le moindre de mes embarras," wrote Leyrit, "durant tout le siège que celui de fournir des gens de corvée. Arrivés au camp, personne n'avait le soin de les garder, de les nourrir, et de les renvoyer, de sorte qu'ils fuyaient tous dans les terres, sauf à moi à recommencer de nouvelles levées pleines de désagréments et de difficultés, et devenues quelquefois impossibles." (*Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p 35 note.)

best.' Having come out, I sent for the Choultry-people and two of the chief people of each caste, whose signatures I obtained for the number each should supply, arranging with them to provide 1,000 persons by to-night. I then came home.

I heard afterwards that a lakh of rupees had been sent to-day to M. Lally for the army expenses and that more would be sent.

Friday, May 19.[1]—This morning I sent to the Fort the 300 men impressed last night, with orders that they were to be sent to M. Lally. I then went to the Fort, and, having visited the Governor, went to the office in the flower-garden. A chobdar came and told me that the Governor wanted me, so I went to the Fort and saw M. Leyrit, the Governor, and M. La Selle in the sorting-godown. [The Governor] asked why I had sent no men. I replied that I had sent 300. He answered that the men I had sent were those already in the Company's employ, and that therefore they had gone to work under it. I answered that all the available men in the town had gone to the camp and that no more coolies were available. M. La Selle said that there were still a few in the Brâhman houses. I replied, 'There are not. All those who live

[1] *9th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

here are working for the Company; and those who came here to beg have gone, and those Brâhmans who still remain here are having their food cooked by their women.' Then I sent for the Choultry-people, gave them the necessary orders, and came home at noon.

At three o'clock the Governor sent for me again and asked why no coolies had been supplied. I replied, 'There are none; those that have been sent are natives of this place, and those that go out do not return; yet 70 men have just been sent.'—'I will levy fines,' he replied. 'You must collect what amount you please,' I answered, and came home at seven.

To-night I heard the following news:—Two men came out from Fort St. David with a white flag, to treat for peace with M. Lally, offering to surrender the fort and the Company's goods on condition of being allowed to depart with their arms and goods and money. M. Lally replied that any women there were might go without interference, but that the men must surrender the fort, lay down their arms, and march out under guard, for he would not suffer them to march out like victors with their goods and weapons. After doing their utmost, the two returned to the fort.[1]

[1] No capitulation seems to have been proposed at so early a date.

A shell fell in the fort the day before yesterday and demolished a house ; but two others which also fell in the fort dropped into the mud and another fell into a tank. There were in the fort about 40 Brâhmans and officials, 1,000 sepoys and guards, and 200 Europeans. Out of these 200 Europeans, 50 or 60 have died, and there are only 150 Europeans and 100 Topasses.[1] I hear that the above news has been reported by Rangô Pandit's man.

No heavy firing was heard to-day. I gave presents of rupees to my peons and sent them out to impress men and bring them in. I summoned the *nâttârs* of the several castes and repeated the orders to them. I also gave similar orders to the Nayinâr and the Choultry-people. This is the news.

Saturday, May 20.[2]—I sent to the Fort this morning the 120 men impressed by the peons I sent last night, and then went to the office in the flower-garden and stayed there till noon, giving orders to collect men. Till eleven o'clock I could hear the sound of the mortars firing at Fort St. David. I came home at noon, had my food, drove out at five and

[1] By a return of April 1 (cited *ap. Military Consultations*, May 2, 1758) the garrison consisted of 286 Europeans, 93 Topasses, 1,300 Sepoys, 83 Pensioners and 234 Lascars to whom were added the crews of the *Bridgewater* and *Triton*—250 Europeans—run ashore on d' Aché's arrival.

[2] *10th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

returned home at seven. As I have heard no renewal of the firing, I think that the negotiations of yesterday must be continuing to-day also.

I hear that M. Lally, on learning yesterday that the people impressed by beat of tom-tom the day before were suffering greatly, wrote to M. Leyrit saying that only coolies should be seized, and the towns-people should not be troubled. I also hear that Brâhmans, merchants, Chettis and others are leaving the town.

Sunday, May 21.[1]—When I was at home this morning, I heard that people had been collected at the Choultry and sent, that men had been posted at the Villiyanallûr gate to seize people, that three cannon had been sent to camp, and that, when M. Lally asked why troops were kept at Srîrangam, he was told that they were posted there as the *sibbandis* were insufficient, on which M. Lally said that that was wrong, that Srîrangam should be abandoned[2], and that after examining a map of Srîrangam which was shown to him, he ordered a letter to be written to Nandi Râjâ saying that he might take Srîrangam on his paying what he owed the French.

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[1] *11th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] Reading *Vi luthuppôdacholli* for *Pidithuppôdacholli.*

It is said that only four or five shells have been fired by our people into Fort St. David, and no guns have been fired by the fort-people, that plenty of provisions have been sent to camp and that M. Lally is conducting the attack very carefully.

Monday, May 22.[1]—When I was at home, an officer came to me at ten o'clock and said that M. Guillard and others were saying that I was to be continued in my appointment and allowed to possess the country. I replied that it was the nature of the people here to spread such false rumours.

Mêlugiri Chetti came to me at noon and said that Savarirâya Pillai had gone into the Fort with all the account rolls which he had in his house. When I was pondering why he had done so, Mêlugiri Chetti came back to me at six after making enquiries and said, 'After M. Clouët had spoken with M. Leyrit at ten o'clock, the latter sent for M. Desvaux and told him to bring the accounts. Savarirâya Pillai took them accordingly. He was asked for how much the country had been leased to you and what the balance of rent was ; he replied that he would have to examine the accounts and that he would give an extract in four or five days ; he then took the accounts home.'

[1] *12th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

I also hear that M. Clouët has been appointed in place of M. Barthélemy, who was entrusted with the duty of paying the soldiers and foot, and that M. Barthélemy has been confined to his house these two or three days.

I heard this evening that three English ships had appeared for a short time in the offing; when one of them was opposite Fort St. David, the flag was hoisted there, on which the captain of the English ship put out to sea.[1]

Since four o'clock to-day, the sound of firing has been heard at Fort St. David; there is no longer the same demand for men; and shops are being opened again; but nearly half the people of the town have gone away. This is the news.

Tuesday, May 23.[2]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Clouët had received the management of the country, that the French were close to Fort St. David, and that people coming from the country, and coolies, were being sent with the things required for the army.

Wednesday, May 24.[3]—When I was at home to-day, I heard the following news:—

[1] She was an English merchantman, and the Fort, having no boatmen to send out with a warning letter, fired shot at her. Orme, ii. 310.

[2] *13th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[3] *14th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

M. Leyrit who went to the Beach at six o'clock stayed there till nine, ordering shot and other things to be put on board a ship; he then returned to the *Gouvernement* and went to his chamber. He did not come out till evening. M. Barthélemy, the Second, has not left his house for the last three days. M. La Selle alone is going about in the Fort and the rest are much depressed. The management of the country has been given to M. Clouët who is to enter upon his duties after the end of *Âni*.[1] M. Desvaux is much dejected at being ordered to produce two years' accounts. Savarirâya Pillai, Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai, and Kandappa Mudali, after conferring have produced false accounts with the help of Nayinâthai (Kandappan's younger brother) in the hope of getting the country management for Savarirâyan through M. Clouët; Pâpayya Pillai who keeps people with M. Soupire in camp and is supplying him daily with mangoes by Appu Mudali, has been saying that he will receive presents and the management of the country on the 22nd of this month.[2] M. Dupleix' jaghir is to be resumed, so M. du Bausset and Periyanna Mudali are very anxious. Some bullocks and horses were yesterday driven out of Fort St.

[1] *i.e.*, July 12.

[2] *i.e.*, 22nd Vaigâsi or June 1.

David and when our men went to seize them, the fort opened fire killing many. This and the resistance of Fort St. David have made M. Lally very anxious. M. Aumont who marched against Devikôttai with some troopers, soldiers and foot, has plundered Âchâlpuram ; and a body of Europeans and sepoys—500 strong—from Kârikâl is now encamped before Devikôttai. 400 or 500 of Gâdai Râo's horse are encamped near them, with the hope of securing their favour and preventing them from plundering his country. A few shot have fallen in Fort St. David killing certain men. The Europeans have made much progress with their sap. No firing has been heard to-day.

Thursday, May 25.[1]—Vîramarâjâ from Srîrangam related to me in my house the following news :—M. Leyrit wrote hence recalling all the troops from Srîrangam except 200 men and Sakkarai Subban ; but when all were accordingly to depart, Sakkarai Subbayyan complained to the commandant that he could not remain alone ; the commandant therefore allowed Sakkarai Subbayyan to accompany him from Srîrangam leaving the 200 men only. When he was half-way here, he heard that the English at Trichinopoly

[1] *15th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya*

fort had marched out and seized the countries in our possession, tying *tôranams* there. The revenue from the Srîrangam country was fixed at 1,70,000 rupees for this year, and by *Âni* only 30,000 rupees will have been collected. The other countries will not produce even an ollock of paddy or other grain. In Nandi Râjâ's time, the rent of the Srîrangam country was eight lakhs: M. Flacourt then fixed it at five lakhs; Kangipâti Vîrarâghava Chetti took the lease for four lakhs; and M. Lenoir's rent is 1,70,000.

I heard that M. Leyrit was busy lading the ships with goods and despatching things to camp.

Friday, May 26.[1]—This is the news I heard to-day when I was at home:—After the French had quitted Srîrangam, the English troops at Trichinopoly fort marched out, seized Srîrangam, and carried away 125 guns, and a lakh of pagodas' worth of powder, shot, and whatever else they could find. It is now said that Europeans will be sent back there. I hear also that part of the forts of Chêtpattu, Tiruvarangam, Kallakurichi, etc. places have been demolished and that the people there have deserted the forts.

[1] *16th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

M. Boyelleau sent word to me asking me to see him at the mint in order to discuss the amount due from the Guntûr people[1], and I sent a reply saying that I would see him to-morrow.

Firing at Fort St. David has been heard ever since last night. Men, sallying out of the fort last night for water[2], attacked our entrenchments, and an artillery duel ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides: palankins are being sent from here to bring in the wounded.

Sunday, May 28.[3]—I heard to-night that council sat till one o'clock this afternoon and that M. Clouët and M. Boyelleau set out this evening to join M. Lally—why I do not know.

I also hear the M. Lally has completed our works at the camp, and that on the third day from to-morrow the place will be carried by storm.

Monday, May 29.[4]—This morning I went to the house of M. Barthélemy, the Second, who in the course of our conversation spoke to me as follows:—'A letter has been received from Europe saying that the management of the country has been given to M. Clouët, and

[1] *i.e.*, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti and his relatives.
[2] The best well in the Fort had been destroyed by a shell.
[3] *18th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*
[4] *19th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

that therefore the Governor and the councillors are not to interfere in it. M. Clouët delivered this letter to the council. After it had been read, M. Leyrit told M. Clouët that he must henceforth manage the country affairs and that the current accounts would be given to him. M. Clouët requested that two councillors might be entrusted with the management till he was more conversant with country affairs. M. Leyrit replied that M. Desvaux knew all about this part of the country, and M. Lenoir all about Srîrangam, and that therefore M. Clouët might consult them. M. Clouët added that he wanted an intelligent Tamil also. The other replied that he might have Dairiyanâthan, the Choultry dubâsh. M. Clouët agreed. Not caring to pass this by in silence and curious to see what answer would be given, I asked why you should not be summoned and questioned about the amount to be collected. No direct answer was given to my question, but M. Leyrit said that he would see about it and thus closed the conversation.'

I then asked him what should be done about my affairs in view of what had taken place. M. Barthélemy replied, 'You have the letter you wrote to the council. Bring it and deliver it at a suitable time.' I replied, 'If I do that, you must support my case, for I have none else.'—'I will speak about it,' he

replied, and asked what M. Boyelleau had been saying. I informed him of what he had done yesterday and the day before and what he intended to do. M. Barthélemy said that he was wrong, but did not say much more, looking worried, as though anxious about something, remaining silent for some time, and at last saying that he could not make up his mind. Afterwards he said, 'I hear that M. Lally wants a capable man to look after the country affairs.' We conversed till nine o'clock; afterwards I took leave and after going to the office in the flower-garden, came home at noon, drove out in the evening and returned home at eight. Considering the coolness with which M. Lally is managing affairs and the lack of funds, I do not think the Company can do anything, or that M. Lally will alter his conduct; but I do not know what will happen and the management affects me with alarm.

M. Clouët and M. Boyelleau who went to M. Lally yesterday, have not yet returned, nor have the works yet been completed.

Tuesday, May 30.[1]—I went this morning to the house of M. Barthélemy, the Second, who said that M. Clouët, who has been entrusted with the management of the country, could

[1] *20th Vaigâsi, Bahudhânya.*

not do anything for a long time, as he would be completely under their influence,[1] and depended on M. Desvaux ; that to-day council had added nothing to what it had done yesterday ; that he[2] was out of temper, and that my affairs had not been discussed. Then I went to the office in the flower-garden.

When I was talking there with Subbâ Jôsier, I heard that in consequence of English ships being seen in the offing, a council had been held the day before yesterday at the residence of M. d'Aché[3], who came in command of the ten ships which accompanied M. Lally, to decide about attacking the English ships and Madras[4] ; that afterwards M. Clouët and M. Boyelleau who were sent to M. Lally for orders, had returned yesterday after conferring with him ; that M. Lally would arrive to-day and that an English ship had been seen out at sea besides the ten off Alambarai. I came home at noon, drove out at five this evening and returned home at half-past seven.

When I was returning home after my drive yesterday, a captain who has arrived by the

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[1] *i.e.*, the influence of Desvaux and Le Noir.

[2] Probably Leyrit.

[3] Miswritten in the Madras Transcript as *Turuvêt*.

[4] A 'mixed' council met on the 28th and resolved to send a deputation to Lally asking for men to enable the squadron to encounter the English. (d'Aché's first *Mémoire*, p. 15.)

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ships gave me a letter from the captain of the soldiers imprisoned in the King's garden[1] in Europe. It says :-'I have been your friend ever since the first receipt of news here and have already supplied you with certain things. The bearer of this is a friend of mine, whom I have told of your valour in business, great qualities, and everything else. Please help him in his affairs. If you want anything to be done here with the Company's ministers or the King, please write to me. I will tell them, help you in your affairs, and send you their answers.'

Wednesday, May 31.[2]—When I was at home this morning, a chobdar came and said that M. Lally had told him a dozen times to fetch Monsieur Ranga Pillai. I set out for the Fort at once, and met Kandappa Mudali, who said, 'What sir! M. Lally says, "Call Leyrit." He calls the Second and others by their mere names and never Monsieur So and so. He held a council yesterday from four o'clock to ten at night, pacified d'Aché, the ship's commander, and ordered him to collect ships and attack the English ships.[3] When he was at table, he said, "Monsieur Ranga Pillai,

[1] *Râjâvinudaya thôttam.* I do not recognise the allusion.

[2] *21st Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[3] The resolution of this council was printed by d'Aché in his first *Mémoire*, p. 16. D'Aché agreed to put to sea as soon as his crews were made up to 3,360 men.

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Monsieur Ranga Pillai," a dozen times. Then he went to sleep. Afterwards M. Leyrit, the Governor, was busy all last night lading the ships with things, staying sleepless at the harbour all night. M. Lally after rising at four, went down to the harbour to see the ships laded and said at six, "Call Ranga Pillai," a dozen times. He kept on mentioning you, but, as you did not turn up, he got into his carriage; before he went, he mentioned you again and said that you must be told to be sure to send him your elephant.' After listening to him, I went to M. Leyrit, the Governor, at the *Gouvernement* and paid him my respects. He greeted me politely to-day and said, 'M. Lally who never speaks of anybody as Monsieur So and so called you Monsieur Ranga Pillai ten or twenty times and ordered your elephant to be sent to him. So I sent a man to you; send the big elephant without fail.' I replied, 'That is all right; the big elephant was *mast* for some time and not well afterwards; so I sent it to Villiyanallûr. But as soon as the chobdar came to me, I sent a man for it. I will send it to you at three o'clock when it is expected to arrive.'—'Very good,' he said, and went to lie down immediately, as he had had no sleep last night. I then went to the office in the flower-garden

and thence came home at noon. The elephant arrived at three o'clock, and I sent it to the Governor at four. Then I drove out and came home at seven.

JUNE 1758.

Thursday, June 1.[1]—I went to the office in the flower-garden this morning and came home at noon.

I heard afterwards that the fleet had put to sea for action and that the English were drawing near it[2] and had fired on the Alambarai fort; that a shell had struck and broken the flag-staff at Fort St. David; that two shots had struck the first story of the fort, damaging it in two places, on which the man in charge of the fort had pulled down the first story, that fire from Cuddalore had destroyed the southern wall, and that our batteries would open fire to-morrow.

Friday, June 2.[3]—A report of the capture of Fort St. David.

When I was in my office in the flower-garden this morning, I heard that a sloop had come from Mascareigne with news that eight ships had arrived from Europe and that they would be here in ten or fifteen days. I came home at noon.

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[1] *22nd Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] D'Aché says that wishing to keep Pondichery to leeward, he moved down to Fort St. David (First *Mémoire*, p. 28), *i.e.*, away from Pocock.

[3] *23rd Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

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When I awoke at four o'clock this evening, I heard the following :—One of the shots that struck Fort St. David the day before yesterday exploded the powder-magazine killing many ; there was no fresh but only brackish water in the fort, so at nine o'clock this morning, the white flag was hoisted on the fort and the keys were brought out under a white flag and delivered up with the fort ; they had 300 men in the fort. A letter has been received reporting this, and M. Saubinet also brought the same news. M. Barthélemy and M. Boyelleau are going to Fort St. David. As no firing has been heard since nine o'clock, I think the fort must have been captured.[1]

I hear that catamaran-people have brought news from Kârikâl that twelve ships flying the white flag had been sighted. I drove out and came home at seven.

Saturday, June 3.[2]—I did not go to the Fort this morning. I hear that M. Leyrit, the Governor, set out at four o'clock to meet M. Leri[3] at Fort St. David.

I then went to the office in the flower-garden and, when there, heard that M. Boyelleau and others at Fort St. David were making

[1] The articles of capitulation are printed in Cambridge, *The War in India*, p. 128.

[2] *24th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[3] Presumably M. Lally.

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lists of the goods found in the fort; that the commandant of Fort St. David had been imprisoned and the rest made to sign paroles, and that M. Aumont had gone against Devikôttai with 1,000 men and three ships. At noon I came home, ate and lay down. Afterwards I heard that M. Lally was returning with his troops. So I got up and put on my gown. Hearing that Chiranjîvi Appâvu's wife was in labour, I told Gôpâlaswâmi to remain at home, but I myself set out by the Villiyanallûr Gate to meet M. Lally. Hearing that M. Guillard was also going, I first went to his house; but he had driven out already. As it had begun to rain, I waited till the rain was over, and then went and waited with M. Guillard beyond Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry. Vinâyaka Pillai came and reported that M. Lally was not coming, so M. Guillard returned home, telling me to wait at Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry till eight o'clock. I did so and came home at nine, when Gôpâlaswâmi and Subbâ Jôsier told me that a second daughter had been born to Chiranjîvi Appâvu at ten minutes after eight to-night in *Dhanur*[1] *Lagna*. This news pleased me much.

Sunday, June 4.[2]—At Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry this morning, I watched the people

[1] Sagittarius.

[2] *25th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

coming from camp with mortars, pillows, pestles of redwood, chairs and tables.

Harkaras tell me that Savarirâya Pillai has heard from camp that 60 lakhs' worth of property has been got in Fort St. David, besides an elephant [jhul ?] set with precious stones, that two treasuries have still to be examined and that the spoil is great.[1] M. Lally is expected every minute. I listened to all this news.

After sunset a powder-box full of treasure was brought in a four-bullock cart, M. Leyrit coming behind. The bullocks drew the cart without effort, so I think the amount may be a lakh or a lakh and a half of rupees. When M. Leyrit approached the toll-gate, he heard the drums beating; but when he saw the loaded carts catching fire,[2] he ordered the torches to be put out and told the men to go gently. He then proceeded without lights. When I arrived home and enquired what treasure had been brought, the Marquis, who is one of M. Lally's councillors and is dwelling by the church opposite my house, said that the pagodas and rupees, etc., would be worth a lakh and a half of rupees, and that no

[1] Lally says 100,000 *écus* in money and as much in goods. (*Mémoire*, p. 53.)

[2] Probably what caught fire was the tilt of the cart made of palm-leaf.

inventory had yet been taken of the other things, but an account of the treasure alone had been written and signed. The European at M. Delarche's garden estimates the value at 1,25,000 rupees—a difference of 25,000 rupees.

I hear that M. Lally set out for Devikôttai with his troops yesterday afternoon after dinner.

Monday, June 5.[1]—When I was at home this morning, at eleven o'clock a chobdar came and reported that M. Leyrit, the Governor, wanted me, so I set out for the Fort, and visited M. Leyrit who said, 'The things sent to Cuddalore must be brought back. Tell the Choultry-people and the Nayinâr to collect coolies.' I said that I would order the coolies in the town to be collected, and having taken leave, came home.

Afterwards I heard that a sloop had arrived from Fort St. David with Mr. Wynch, Governor of Fort St. David, and Mr. Sloper[2] the chief at Cuddalore and other councillors and officers—about 20 in all—who went upstairs and took coffee, and after giving their signatures were sent to the lodgings arranged in the old *Gouvernement.*

I drove out in the evening, and, returning home at seven, ordered the Choultry-people and the Nayinâr to impress coolies.

[1] *26th Vaigâsi, Bahuddânya.*

[2] *Sôpar* in the transcript. He was Sea and Land Customer. There was no separate chief of Cuddalore.

Wednesday, June 7.[1]—When I was at my office in the flower-garden, I was told that the Governor had ordered that this office should be cleared for a slaughter-house for swine, and that coolies must be got. I wrote in reply saying that coolies had been collected, that orders had been given for more, and that the office in the flower-garden could not be spared but a Chetti's godown was available.

Afterwards I heard the following news :— M. Lally had sent troops against Pâlaiyamkôttai and Devikôttai, but himself had returned to Manjakuppam after accompanying them as far as Chidambaram. The Muhammadan woman at Pâlaiyamkôttai had fled to the Udaiyâr's jungles, so the white flag was hoisted there. The Englishman at Devikôttai hearing of their movement sent up the keys and fled with the other Englishmen ; so the white flag was hoisted at Devikôttai also. After the English had delivered over the fort of Devikôttai to the Tondimân and reached Trichinopoly, the Tondimân treated with the French guards there who then came out and hoisted the white flag. The English at the fort of Arcot having gone to Madras, the French at Tiruvannâmalai marched to Arcot and hoisted the white flag. Thus the people of Madras are

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

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in a great panic. The agents of the Râjâ of Tanjore and of Tondimân the Maravan are awaiting M. Lally who is expected to arrive at Pondichery this evening ; *tôranams* have been tied, plantain trees with coconut leaves erected, water sprinkled, and *kôrai* spread from the Bound-hedge to the Fort. Setting out at five o'clock, I went as far as the Bound-hedge and waited at Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry till eight, but, learning that M. Lally was not coming to-day, I came home.

Thursday, June 8.[1]—I stayed at home to-day, and, at one o'clock, Kandappa Mudali (dubâsh of M. Leyrit, the Governor) came and said that I was wanted, adding, 'M. Lally the General is to arrive at Pondichery to-morrow evening, so I have been asked to tell you to assemble the *mahânâttârs*, merchants, officials and others and tell them to be ready to-morrow evening with nazars for M. Lally as on New Year's Day.' I sent peons for them accordingly and they arrived about six. Taking the list of New Year's presents, I gave it to Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti and told him to go with Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan and tell the *mahânâttârs* and the people of the out-villages to be ready. I myself told the officials, merchants, etc., to be ready and instructed them

[1] *29th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

as well as the *mahânâttârs* to be in waiting at Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry to-morrow morning. I also told the Nayinâr to be ready, and ordered men, camels, flags, the *naubat*, standards, music, dancing-girls, songsters, high and low, rich and poor, to remain there, and warned them that whoever failed to obey the order, would be punished and imprisoned in the Choultry. M. Leyrit, the Governor, went to Ariyânkuppam at four o'clock in order to feast M. Lally on his arrival to-morrow and escort him in the evening, having arranged that I with others should receive him at the Bound-hedge and accompany him, that four councillors should receive him at the Villiyanallûr Gate and that water should be sprinkled on the roads, *tôranams* tied, plantain trees with coconut leaves erected, *kôrai* spread, all houses illuminated and decorations put up.[1]

Friday, June 9.[2]—The return of M. Lally after taking Fort St. David:—As M. Lally was returning victorious, preparations were going forward from early morning to three o'clock to-day; the officials, vakîls, merchants, *mahânâttârs* and various people from the bound-villages and Villiyanallûr were

[1] Most of these details seem to have been directed by Lally himself. See his letter to Leyrit, June 5, 1758, *ap. Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 55.

[2] *30th Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

told of his coming ; those who could not give nazars were supplied with rolls of silk, dresses of honour, pieces of cloth, pagodas and rupees ; the *naubat*, standards, music and dancing-girls, elephants and camels, flags and other marks of honour were ordered to be brought ; I set out with all marks of honour with Chiranjîvi Appâvu, Annâswâmi and Ayyâswâmi to receive M. Lally by the Bound-hedge. We saw him leaving Ariyânkuppam in a carriage at four o'clock after dining there, and a salute of 21 guns was fired. At five arrived 200 troopers marching before M. Lally with drawn swords. Soldiers and guards came beating the *tambour* and joined those that went from here. All were newly dressed and marched both before and behind him with great joy. I advanced with all marks of honour, and, descending from my palankin, approached him with Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi and Appâvu. On seeing me, M. Lally General Avargal got out of his carriage very joyfully. I garlanded him with gold and silver garlands which added to his lustre, gave him a bouquet, and presented him with a diamond ring worth 150 pagodas ; Chiranjîvi Annâswami, Ayyâswâmi and Appâvu gave 30 pagodas each—90 pagodas in all. Thus we paid our respects. He accepted the presents very joyfully and thanked me.

He then told me to get into my palankin and precede him while he mounted his horse. I, Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi and Appâvu accordingly went in advance in palankin and on horseback. In front of us went people with music and dancing-girls, flags, standards and other marks of honour. Behind us came troopers with drawn swords ; next to these came the General on horseback ; then came officers and gentlemen, and lastly the *naubat* was carried. *Tôranams* had been tied in every street ; plantain trees and coconut branches had been erected ; water sprinkled ; *kôrai* spread and other decorations made from the Bound-hedge to the town. M. Lally, as he came, observed all these decorations. When he entered the gate, a salute of 21 guns was fired, and then four councillors received him. As he passed by the mint, M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthélemy and the other councillors escorted him to the Capuchins' church, where mass was heard, a salute of 21 guns fired, followed by another when he entered the Fort. M. Lally General Avargal then went upstairs where he put off his dress and took tea. M. Leyrit, the Governor, stood on one side, and M. Soupire on the other of the entrance, and Europeans and padrés went in and communicated news to him while the European ladies and gentlemen stood outside, and the Tamils,

officials, merchants, *mahânâttârs* and others waited downstairs; but I was upstairs. M. Leyrit brought the padrés and Dairiyanâthan upstairs, but sent them away again as the time was inopportune. M. Leyrit at last said that the visitors should return to-morrow morning, so I came out and repeated the order, and came home with Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi, Ayyâswâmi and Appâvu. When I welcomed M. Lally near the Bound-hedge, the Comte de Montmorency and others of the King's people were also present. Montmorency said, 'This is Rangappan, the Company's *courtier*;' and when I offered the nazars, M. Soupire said, 'This is the practice here, so please take them. He is a great man about whom I will speak to you in detail later.' All the houses in the town were illuminated at night. M. Leyrit presented M. Lally with a fine *turra* worth about 500 pagodas. At ten o'clock at night Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib visited him with 100 gold mohurs. When they had salaamed and given their nazars, they came out, and this is all that happened. Then Pâpayya Pillai and his son were introduced to him by an Armenian and offered 21 mohurs, whereon M. Lally said that he should be set free.[1] He then presented

[1] He had remained under confinement since Godeheu's time.

M. Leyrit with five mohurs and the latter dismissed him, saying that he must behave better in future. He then gave seven mohurs to the Armenian who had arranged for the visit, and having thanked him went home.

Saturday, June 10.[1]—News of the *mahânâttârs'* and others' visits of compliment to M. Lally on his capture of Fort St. David.

I stayed in the office in the flower-garden till half-past nine to-day in order to arrange for the *mahânâttârs'* visit to M. Lally the General. I sent men to the merchants, the *mahânâttârs*, monigars and others, high and low, rich and poor, provided music and dancing-girls, gave pagodas and cloth to those who had not given the customary nazars,[2] and had not pagodas or cloth to give, and sent men to the Fort to find out what M. Lally the General was doing. They returned, saying that he was still asleep, as he had been kept up last night by the ball and other entertainments. Instructing Appâvu to remain with [the persons assembled], I went to the Fort and saw M. Leyrit, but he was too busy going to and fro even to ask if the *mahânâttârs* had come. Then padrés came with Chinna Mudali, Dairiyanâthan and other Christians whom they wished to introduce to M. Lally ; but they had

[1] *31st Vaigâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] *i.e.*, on the occasion of Lally's 'public' entry the day before.

to wait upstairs. When M. Lally awoke, he was told that the padrés were waiting with some Christians to see him, but he replied that they might come back at four o'clock, so the padrés and the others departed. Afterwards I told a man with M. Lally the General that the *mahânâttârs* had come and that it would be very difficult to assemble them again if they were sent away without seeing M. Lally then. He told M. Lally of what I had said, and obtained the necessary orders which he communicated to M. Leyrit who, in turn, communicated them to me. Immediately I sent a man to tell Chiranjîvi Appâvu to bring them. When all had come upstairs, I went in advance, gave a nazar of 200 pagodas, and then presented the officials, *mahânâttârs* and merchants one by one. I have a list of the nazars given and write the details below :—

Savarirâyan gave a nazar of 1,000 pagodas for the country management ;

100 pagodas were given for Villiyanallûr ;

100 pagodas for M. Dupleix' jaghir ;[1]

a *Muhamudi* dress of honour worth 300 rupees by Bhâji Râo's vakîl ;

42 pagodas by two of Najîb-ul-lah Khân's vakîls, 21 pagodas each ;

21 pagodas by Mahfuz Khân's vakîl ; and

[1] *i.e.*, Valudâvûr.

11 pagodas by 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's vakîl.

When these had offered their nazars and received *pân supârî* and rosewater, I asked that those who were in prison should be released to gratify the *mahânâttârs* and others. M. Desvaux said there was no need to release every one. 'Why?' I replied. 'Did not M. Dupleix release every one when Madras was captured? so now all should be released.' Thereon the General Avargal ordered the release of all at the Nayinâr's house and the Choultry except the Pariah who had been imprisoned for murdering a man at Bunder. Taking advantage of his good humour, I gave him my address of congratulation. He was highly pleased with it, thanked me thrice, and asked if I knew French. 'Yes,' I replied. 'Good,' he said, and permitted me to go home, so I came home accompanied by all with music. I then distributed *pân supârî* and dismissed them.

Afterwards I heard the following news:— Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) was taken by M. Leyrit to visit [M. Lally] at ten o'clock last night when the General Avargal was lying on his cot. When Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib stood salaaming before him, M. Leyrit rose and said that he did so to show them respect. They then gave him a pendant and

turra. Afterwards M. Lally dismissed them, still standing, with words of compliment. When they had gone, Pâpayya Pillai visited him with his son, giving him 11 mohurs as a nazar, whereon orders were given for his release. Pâpayya Pillai then gave M. Soupire, M. Leyrit and M. St. Paul five mohurs each and went home. I hear that he went out of the Fort to-day, bathed, and returned, and that Razâ Sâhib distributed sugar in the streets at noon in honour of the capture of Fort St. David.

List of the *mahânâttârs* who visited Mahârâja Râjasrî M. Lally Avargal:—

The Nayinâr	21 star pagodas
The Vellâlas	11 star pagodas
The Chettis	16 star pagodas
The Kômuttis	11 star pagodas
The painters	4 star pagodas
The Kaikkôlars	10 star pagodas
The Kaikkôlars of Muttiyâlpêttai	6 star pagodas
The washermen	50 rupees
The carpenters and blacksmiths	38 rupees
The goldsmiths	40 rupees
The Vâniyars	21 rupees
The brass-smiths...	40 rupees
The betel-leaf sellers	11 rupees
The Shânârs	15 rupees
The renters of Olukarai... ...	21 rupees
The renters of the Bound-villages.	21 star pagodas
The Ariyânkuppam renters ...	8 star pagodas
Râmânji Chetti, renter of Villiyanallûr	100 star pagodas
The Company's new merchants	100 star pagodas

The Company's old merchants ...	11 star pagodas
Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown	21 star pagodas
The Kârikâl merchants	11 star pagodas
The coral merchants	7 star pagodas
Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti ...	21 star pagodas
Sulatu Venkatâchala Chetti ...	11 star pagodas
The Agamudaiyans	11 star pagodas
The indigo-merchants	20 rupees
The pressing-people	20 rupees
The potters	20 rupees
The cloth-merchants	15 rupees
The Colombo arrack renters ...	15 star pagodas
Periyanna of M. Dupleix' jaghir.	100 star pagodas
Savarirâya Pillai and others of the country management ...	1,000 star pagodas
Periyanna Mudali and others of Chêtpattu and Tiruvannâmalai	100 star pagodas
Chinna Mudali	11 star pagodas
The liquor-godown people ...	21 star pagodas
The shroffs	11 star pagodas
The grocers	10 star pagodas
'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân's vakîl ...	11 pagodas
Mahfuz Khân's vakîl	11 pagodas
Morâri Râo's vakîl	11 rupees and 21 pagodas
Two of Najîb-ul-lâh Khân's people at 21 pagodas each ...	42 pagodas
Bhâji Râo's vakîl a *Muhamudi* dress of honour worth ...	300 rupees
Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyûr vakîl ... ...[...]	
Mysore vakîl Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan ... ...[...]	

Bâpu Râo of the mint ... ...[...]
Yâchama Nâyakkan's vakîl ...[...]

Monday, June 12.[1]—Particulars of Chandâ Sâhib's son's visit to the Governor and M. Montmorency's conversation in the great garden.

I went to the Fort this morning and thence to the office in the flower-garden and remained there. Being told that M. Leyrit wanted me, I went to the Fort. I was asked why I had not given up the office in the flower-garden as a slaughter-house for swine. I replied, 'M. Lenoir was pleased to give me the office so that I might be near at hand and attend on him often. When I have finished business with you, I go and remain there; if you do not wish me to continue to do so, I will give it up. The European who lives on the east side desires to get this office; and, when I showed him a fine place on the Beach with a grocer's shop and a house, he did not approve of it, but wanted the office instead. He thus has his eye on this office. If you agree with him, very good.' He answered, 'As you use it, you need not give it up. I will speak to M. Cornet about it.'

Afterwards Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib presented a palankin

[1] 2nd Âni, Bahudânya.

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fitted with studs, clasps, etc., of silver-gilt and worked in lace, besides a horse and three dresses of honour. The killedar of Sâtghar, Taqî Sâhib, and Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr sent each a horse and three dresses of honour. In all were given 12 dresses of honour, four horses, and a palankin. M. Lally, the Lieutenant-General, inspected the palankin and dresses of honour, and, after seeing the horses run, ordered a salute of 19 guns to be fired and *pân supârî* to be distributed. When these had been dismissed, Pâpayya Pillai who was waiting upstairs asked humbly and with compliments in the presence of Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti if he might come to my house to-morrow. I agreed, and, having dismissed them, came home at noon, ate, and at five went to the great garden. I had already sent Chiranjîvi Appâvu there at two o'clock. I received the Comte de Montmorency, the *Marèchal* de La Faire[1] and Major-General M. Fumel[2] who came at four o'clock, and after entertaining them with a nautch, and after they had eaten, I had a talk with the Comte de Montmorency who said, 'No money is to be had here; nor are there men enough, so M. Lally is going to send me back to Europe.

[1] He was not, of course, Marshal, but *Chevalier* and Colonel of Cavalry. He may have held acting rank as *Maréchal de camp*.

[2] *Mêl* in the Madras transcript. He was Lally's Quarter-master General.

I shall go in a month and return with money and men after reporting everything to the ministers.'—'That is good,' I replied, 'for money must be brought here from Europe whenever there is want of it here.'

He then said, 'As Chandâ Sâhib's son is the Nawâb of Arcot, is M. Lally right in showing him [so little] respect as he did?' I replied, 'When the Moghuls were in power they were Nawâbs, so salutes were rightly fired in their honour. Afterwards M. Dupleix beat all the Moghuls, and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân declared in writing that M. Dupleix was the Nawâb of the seven subahs.[1] Thereafter the Nawâbs of Arcot, Cuddapah, Kandanûr, etc. places gave nazars to M. Dupleix and salaamed to him at a distance of respect. But M. Godeheu neglected the honour thus secured and ordered salutes to be fired, and M. Leyrit did the same. M. Lally is not like them; he is Lieutenant-General, so they must stand at a distance with folded arms.'—'Has he much wealth?' he asked. 'Large wealth,' I replied. 'He can give 30 or 40 lakhs if asked.[2]'—'Then I must ask him,' he answered. After talking thus, they departed at ten o'clock. I too then came home.

[1] *Sc.* 'of the Deccan.'

[2] Indian Princes, even when long dispossessed of power, seem to have been generally credited with great wealth, by their fellow-countrymen as well as by Europeans.

At sunrise this morning Kanda Pillai came to my house from Mêlugiri Pandit's Choultry.

I hear that the treasure at Daulatabad has been divided equally among M. Bussy, the Company, Salabat Jang and another (whose name I do not know), that Haidar Jang who was with M. Bussy has been killed by Shâh Nawâz Khân along with his wife and children[1] on learning which M. Bussy killed Shâh Nawâz Khân, his wife and children and fearing therefore that the Muhammadans would kill him, M. Bussy has written saying that he will return here. It is also said that M. Azam[2], a Frenchman, and 50 soldiers at Ganjam have been killed by the poligar there.

Wednesday, June 14.[3]—Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan visited M. Lally the General, and Chandâ Sâhib's son gave presents to M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux, M. Delarche and others.

As I was unwell, I did not go out this morning, but stayed at home. I went out at five o'clock in the evening and returned home at seven.

Afterwards I heard that Savarirâyan, Tândavarâya Pillai and many others in the

[1] Haidar Jang was killed in Nizâm 'Ali's darbâr; Bussy resolved at once to seize and imprison Shâh Nawâz Khân; and the latter was killed in resisting. See Orme, ii, 348-349.

[2] Bussy's third *Mémoire* (p. 60) states that he had been appointed *Trésorier* at Chicacole, where he was murdered.

[3] *4th Âni, Bahudânya.*

town attended Muttu Mallâ Reddi's son's marriage. Pâpayya Pillai is said to have visited Periyanna Mudali and taken him to M. Desvaux' house ; and Paramânanda Pillai went to M. Mainville's house and told him people were saying that Pâpayya Pillai would be given the country management, but M. Mainville replied that nothing could be done here contrary to what had been ordered by the King in Europe, namely, that both old and new countries should be under 'Monsieur Rangappan,' that I was to be present in council when affairs were discussed, that a jaghir was to be given to Chandâ Sâhib's son, but that no one else was to have a hand in anything, and that Pâpayya Pillai had been released at the request of M. Dupleix at the time of his departure.

I also hear that, when our ships appeared off Negapatam, the people there fled in panic, that Sakkulu Nâyakkan[1] has removed his money, and that the people of Conjeeveram are deserting the place.

I also hear that the day before yesterday Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan presented M. Lally the General Avargal (through the Superior of the St. Paûl's church and M. Mainville) with a *kârchuby*[2] dress of honour worth

[1] A former minister of Tanjore. Cf. ix. 350 and n. *supra*.
[2] Embroidered.

600 rupees which he got from Paramânanda Pillai, but it is really worth only 400 rupees; and he also got Paramânanda Pillai three dresses of honour which he gave to M. Mainville, the St. Paul Monsieur[1], and Paramânanda Pillai himself. I hear that Appu Mudali was saying that on the occasion of this visit M. Lally the General Avargal got 1,965 pagodas.

I also hear that Chandâ Sâhib's son gave to M. Leyrit a dress of honour worth 1,000 rupees, to M. Desvaux one worked with gold worth 300 rupees, to the St. Paul Monsieur another and to M. Delarche a dress of honour and a jewel.

I heard the following news:—The night before last the Padré who came with M. Lally Avargal visited him, first alone and then with the Second of Fort St. David; but when M. Lally saw him the second time, he shouted at him angrily, and, seizing him by the neck, pushed him out up the steps, because the Governor of Fort St. David had not already sent the Second to Madras. M. Leyrit who was in his room laughed to see the Padré pushed out. When the Superior of the St. Paul's Church was talking with M. Lally yesterday evening, the latter grew angry and dismissed him with loud words, so that the former returned to St. Paul's church with dejected looks.

[1] Probably Pére Lavaur, who gave Lally such bad advice a little later.

The Europeans who came last night were saying that a great man would be imprisoned in two or three days. I do not know whom they meant.

At nine o'clock this morning, M. Lally Avargal and the councillors held a council till half-past eleven. I hear that for the last two days M. Lally has been so angry about money that no Europeans or Tamils could go upstairs. As Pâvâdai Nâyakkan of Kârikâl had murdered a Brâhman and a woman at Tiruvâlûr, the Râjâ ordered the culprit to be blown from the cannon's mouth. Negotiations are therefore going on with the Chief of Kârikâl through Sînappayyan who is at a garden there with a lakh of gold pieces. The Chief of Kârikâl has been given 2,000 mohurs, Sînappayyan 4,000 rupees and Nainiyappa Mudali and Kulandaiyappa Mudali, 2,000 rupees each. I also hear that Pâvâdai Nâyakkan is worth five or six lakhs.[1]

Thursday, June 15.[2]—M. Lally the Lieutenant [General] Avargal ordered to-day that no one on business should go upstairs until sent for. He has been impatiently consulting M. Leyrit, the Governor, and others about the provision of money, food, etc., for the attack of Madras. As the ship from Mascareigne is about

[1] For Pâvâdai's earlier career see ix. 359 *supra*

[2] *5th Âni, Bahudânya.*

to sail for Europe, he is busy writing letters and getting things ready, so I stayed at home ready to go if sent for.

I hear that Vinâyaka Pillai gave him[1] a nazar of 50 pagodas, his two sons 20 pagodas, Kuppaya Pillai his brother-in-law, Periya Parasurâma Pillai and two others (whose names I do not know) 10 pagodas each—100 pagodas in all.

Our ships chased an English ship and a sloop which had put in at Negapatam and captured the sloop which was brought here this evening laded with sugar and rice.

Friday, June 16.[2]—To-day's news is as follows :—Krishna Râo, who is on the English side, appeared with 2,000 foot at Sankarâpuram where he seized Mahâdêva Ayyan's son-in-law, killed many, and caused disturbances in Tiruvannâmalai and Chêtpattu ; 500 Europeans have marched from here, but I do not know whither they are going. M. Aumont has marched to Wandiwash with 300 Europeans and foot. A chobdar with harkaras arrived this evening from Madras with letters for M. Lally.

Saturday, June 17.[3]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that the sentinel posted at M. Barthélemy's house had been transferred to M. Clouët's house, as the latter disburses pay to

[1] M. Lally. [2] *6th Âni, Bahudânya.* [3] *7th Âni, Bahudânya.*

Europeans and others ; and that ten of the vessels sent to Fort St. David after its capture and thence to Negapatam to the southward, had reached the roads at three o'clock to-day.

At ten o'clock to-night I was astonished to learn that the European in charge of the casks[1] had gone to my office in the flower-garden with another European and ten sepoys, broken in the door, entered the house by force and posted guards there. When this house was built by M. Lenoir and M. Dumas, I owned land there on which several persons were living in huts. He[2] allowed me the use of the house and land whenever I went there; and I and several others received compensation for the site and the huts erected there. In those days, the town throve under such protection. After him, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix continued with due regard to justice ; but now men seize others' houses, and none questions them. When I spoke to M. Leyrit, the Governor, about this house a week ago, he said, 'If you will point out a different site, you need not leave this ; I will tell M. Cornet about it.' But now though I have porcelain cups[3] and other goods there worth about

[1] The phrase—*Pippâi Vellaikkâran*—is ambiguous and may give either this meaning or the 'tun-bellied European.' In the version adopted in the text, the 'casks' would, I suppose, allude to casks for pickled pork, as the place was wanted for slaughtering swine.

[2] *i.e.*, M. Lenoir.

[3] It may be remembered that Ranga Pillai had occasionally offered tea to his European visitors there.

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3,000 rupees, yet they have taken possession by force.

Sunday, June 18.[1]—When I was in my house this morning, the European, M. Clegg[2], brought a petition for me to deliver to council about the office in the flower-garden. I read and signed it and then sent it to M. Barthélemy who, when he had read it, sent for me. Just then the European in charge of the casks, who last night seized the office, sent word desiring me to cut down the tamarinds, plantains, pomegranates and other flowering trees and remove them along with whatever else I had there. I sent a reply saying that there was nothing left for me to remove since he had entered by force, cutting down and removing everything, and that he might do what he pleased.

Afterwards I heard the following news :— M. Mallet[3] has returned from Vellore to Wandiwash, M. Lakkipadi[4] has taken possession of Tiruvattiyûr and is now there, and M. Aumont is at Wandiwash. One thousand

[1] *8th Âni*, [*Bahudânya.*]

[2] I remember to have seen a reference (which I cannot verify) to a man of this name who was a watch-maker at Pondichery. He appears in 1752 as attesting a copy of the parole given by two English officers (*French Correspondence* 1752, p. 102.).

[3] A Company's servant who had been sent to Vellore to raise 400 horse. *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 97.

[4] I have not been able to identify this name. Leyrit says in the passage cited above, that Mallet occupied Tiruvattiyûr. Landivisau (who accompanied Lally as Brigadier) may perhaps be meant.

Europeans are said to be at Tindivanam, and Europeans here are going thither. Troops are being sent against Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Arcot. M. Lally is going against Madras ; and the twelve vessels that have arrived are being laden with cargo. The European blacksmith ordered by M. Lally to have 3,000 fetters ready in a week, objecting that they could not be made in that time, was told to collect persons to make them, working day and night. The smith repeating that it would be impossible to get them ready in a week, the other became so angry that he stood up and gave him seven or eight blows with the cane in his hand, knocking the smith down. Peons have been posted both upstairs and down with orders to admit no one. Europeans are to be admitted only when sent for, and any Tamils who enter are to be shot. In consequence of these orders, he is in his room alone. M. Leyrit also is in his room.

Monday, June 19.[1]—When I went to the Second's house this morning, he said, 'It is no use to petition the council about the flower-garden office ; if you do, you will only be blamed. Have not we and the Padrés given houses in this emergency ? Nothing will happen to your house, so agree.' As he

[1] *9th Âni,* [*Bahudônya*].

advised me thus, I took away my petition and came home.

M. Drouët, who took back from the Second all the receipts he had given him for the liquor godown, came to my house at eleven o'clock with a receipt for the whole sum and said, 'I have come to give you this receipt. Here it is. On the ship which brought M. Lally the Lieutenant-General was a sum of nine lakhs, and a lakh and a half was got from Fort St. David. Of this 10,50,000, nine lakhs have been sent, leaving a balance of one lakh and a half. This is all the money left.' Supposing that he expected something, I gave him two rolls of velvet and a piece of tinsel.

Afterwards I heard the following news :— Kâttigai of Tanjore has offered through the St. Paul's priests to pay 40 lakhs besides the expenses of the army, if Tanjore were captured and given to him[1]; Muttayyâr from Udaiyârpâlaiyam has offered to become a Christian, pay two lakhs, and defray the expenses of the army, if Udaiyârpâlaiyam were captured and given to him, and an offer of 1,50,000 has been made on condition that Pâpu Reddi and his people are given Ariyalûr and Turaiyûr. M. Lally has agreed to this[2],

[1] See the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 165.

[2] But on the 27th Lavaur was still asking Lally to come to a decision. See Lally's *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 62.

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and intends to proceed southwards. Muttayyan (M. Boyelleau's dubâsh) has been sent to M. Clouët, and has promised Nayinâthai, his dubâsh, gold bangles, ear-rings and a palankin.

Tuesday, June 20.[1]—When I was at home this morning, news came that Marudanâyakka Mudali had not accepted my cultivators in Tirumangalam but appointed his own men, and that the Guntûr people[2] who had been feeding my great elephant at Villiyanallûr had refused to feed it from to-day.

I heard this evening that M. Lally and M. Soupire had marched against Udaiyârpâlaiyam and Tanjore to the southward.

I drove out this evening and returned home at seven.

Wednesday, June 21.[3]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Leyrit, the Governor had remained in the *Gouvernement* till eight o'clock this morning, talking with five or six Europeans, after which he had gone to see Mr. Wynch, the former Governor of Fort St. David, and had returned after making certain enquiries. Barrels [of gunpowder] have been placed everywhere for the destruction of Fort St. David, and M. Lally has gone there to see

[1] *10th Âni, Bahudânya.*
[2] I suppose Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, etc.
[3] *11th Âni, Bahudânya.*

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the trains of powder laid, and M. Leyrit is also going thither.

As M. Lally had permitted the Chief of Tranquebar to strengthen the fortifications of Tranquebar, some people have been sent thither to assist, and I hear that walls are being raised accordingly.

Saturday, June 24.[1]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that as to-day was a festival[2], M. Leyrit, the councillors and others went to the church, and heard mass. M. Lally has marched to Devikôttai ; owing to the freshes in the Cauvery, the troops that were despatched have returned, and M. Leyrit has ordered the Nayinâr to collect camels and coolies.

Monday, June 26.[3]—I hear that M. Leyrit went out this afternoon to see M. Soupire who is at Kâttumêttu and that the latter marched by the Arcot road after the conference. M. Lally has gone to Kârikâl and his troops are on the march.

Tuesday, June 27.[4]—At seven o'clock this morning, the Comte de Montmorency came to my house. I took him into the hall and showed him a copy which I had made and

[1] *14th Âni, Bahudânya.*
[2] The Nativity of St. John the Baptist.
[3] *16th Âni, Bahudânya.*
[4] *17th Âni, Bahudânya.*

kept of the paper setting out my services to the Company, and which I had sent to Europe by M. Godeheu. After reading it, he observed that the Company would give me Chingleput as a jaghir when it had been recovered from the English. I sent him the two *Muhamudi* dresses of honour which he had asked me for. I heard that he went this evening to Pâpayya Pillai's garden, where he received a present worth 500 rupees that had been arranged four or five days ago through M. La Selle.

M. Lally, the Lieutenant-General, who has reached Kârikâl, has sent Sînappayyan to Tanjore to open negotiations ; Râya Pillai and some Christians[1] through the Padrés made an offer of going, but M. Lally refused and sent Sînappayyan instead.

I also hear that M. Soupire, the General, has encamped beyond Valudâvûr.

Wednesday, June 28.[2]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Soupire, after partaking of a feast at Perumukkal, marched and gave cowles to the farmers and merchants at Nagar[3] after he had hoisted the white flag there.

[1] Possibly Lavaur's emissaries who had been employed in Tanjore at an earlier date. Lavaur to Lally, May 13, 1758. Lally's *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 53.

[2] *18th Âni, Bahudânya.*

[3] In the Tindivanam taluk, South Arcot district.

Thursday, June 29.[1]—When I was at home, I heard that a sloop had arrived from Bengal with some Frenchmen on board to be landed here and exchanged for an equal number of those taken at Fort St. David[2]; the captain is reported to have seen a ship at a distance off Sadras on her way from Mascareigne.

I drove out this evening and returned at seven.

Friday, June 30.[3]—When I was at home to-day, I heard the following news :—M. Bussy having left Golconda with all his people, not leaving a single European behind, has reached the Kistna on his way hither.[4] The countries which were in Bussy's possession have been seized by Vijayarâma Râjâ's son and other poligars there who have joined him, and have beaten some of [our] people. M. Law's elder brother, who visited the Pâdshâh at Delhi, accompanied his army against the Pathâns and Jâts and defeated them; the Pâdshâh, overjoyed at this, has collected

[1] *19th Âni, Bahudânya.*

[2] On 10th May 1758. Pigot informed Leyrit that some French gentlemen had arrived from Bengal by the *Drake*, and would be allowed to proceed to Pondichery—presumbly on parole till exchanged; these are probably the persons intended. At a later date the prisoners on the *Restitution* reached the Coast and were exchanged.

[3] *20th Âni, [Bahudânya].*

[4] Bussy did not reach the Kistna till August. He was accompanied only by his European horse. *Lettres de.....Bussy*, etc., p. 13.

forces at the head of which he is marching to attack Bengal.

I also hear that M. Mallet promised M. Leyrit to-day to supply 5,000 sheep and 2,000 bullocks in two days.

I drove out this evening and returned home at seven.

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JULY 1758.

Saturday, July 1.[1]—I heard this evening that M. Lally was returning having settled the Tanjore affair for eight lakhs.

Monday, July 3.[2]—I heard that M. Leyrit was at the harbour superintending the lading of ships with munitions, as M. [Lally] had written that his negotiations with Tanjore had fallen through.

Tuesday, July 4.[3]—I went early this morning to M. Clouët's house and paid my respects to him. He returned his high compliments, and, in the course of our conversation, he asked if I had brought the *izarapatta*. I replied, 'The secretary has it and it may be seen among the records. But I also have a copy which you may see.' So saying I gave it him. He read it and said, 'May I keep this for about two hours? I will examine it and send it back to you sealed.'—'As you please,' I said.

He then asked about the accounts. I replied, 'They have been written and are with M. Lenoir who examined them with M. Desvaux while I explained the details.'—'Very good,' he said. 'Have you informed M. le

[1] *21st Âni*, [*Bahudânya*]. [2] *23rd Âni*, [*Bahudânya*].
[3] *24th Âni*, [*Bahudânya*].

Comte de Montmorency of this?'—'By your leave,' I said, 'I will.' He said that he must be told, as he was the Company's master. I said I would tell him. He then asked if I wished to go home, so I took leave after a few words of compliment. I then went to M. Barthélemy's house, and informed him of my visit to M. Clouët and everything else except the delivery of my letter to him. M. Barthélemy replied, 'Just listen to what M. Clouët has done.[1] At first he asked for M. Desvaux and M. Lenoir; but in council yesterday he asked for the appointment of M. Boyelleau and M. Duplant instead. M. Leyrit disliked this, so he made no answer and rose, saying that it was late. This is how M. Clouët's business stands.'

Afterwards I said I had heard that a jaghir had been given to Chandâ Sâhib's son. 'True,' he replied, 'Tiruvannâmalai, Chengama and Chêtpattu have been given to him on condition of his maintaining 200 horse, accompanying our camp with them and his foot, and defraying his own expenses.[2]

Afterwards I asked him about the rumour I had heard of M. Law's invading Bengal with

[1] He was entrusted with the management of the revenues by special order of the Company; the latter complained that such difficulties were thrown in his way that he could not take up the work for some months. Company to Pondichery, March 19, 1759. (Lally, *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 21).

[2] Cf. p. 247 *infra*.

many men with the Pâdshâh's permission. 'No such thing,' he said. 'Would not money be needed for that?'

I hear that M. Lally is staying at Kârikâl; that Sînappayyan's mission to Tanjore has failed; that Manôji is intercepting our people[1] on the roads with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot; that the poligars who have been set up are hindering men from passing, and stabbing and killing them; and that M. Lally lacks money, even for his expenses.[2]

I also hear that the following news has been written to Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan:—Dêvarâja Udaiyâr, the Mysore dalavâi, having died, Nandi Râjâ's son, whom he adopted, is acting as dalavâi and is about to celebrate his marriage.

Wednesday, July 5.[3]—I did not go out this morning, but remained at home getting all things ready for Saubhâgyavathi Ponnâchi's *Sîmantham* to-morrow.

The Comte de Montmorency came to my house to-day. I ordered a chair to be brought, and, after we had sat down, he said that he had bought some cloth at a lower price than my offer. I replied that the price depended

[1] *i.e.*, convoys.

[2] Lally's letters of this time are full of complaints of the lack of money, with its inevitable influence on the discipline of his troops.

[3] *25th Âni, [Bahudânya].*

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on the quality, as he would perceive if he examined the cloth. He replied that he could not do anything more as the cloth had been purchased.

He then said, 'M. Lally will be here in a week and you had better make ready your letters both to him and to Europe. I will give M. Lally these letters after his arrival and discuss everything with him, and I will also take the letters to Europe and discuss them there. Rely on me as your friend.'

He continued, 'Three English ships appeared off Kârikâl, their captains hoisting the white flag, to which the Kârikâl people hoisted the white flag in reply; the English then sailed on to Tranquebar where they hoisted the Dutch flag. But while they move about at their pleasure, M d'Aché, in spite of his ten ships, does nothing.'—'Is that so? I said, but did not continue the subject. He then departed.

I hear that M. Leyrit remained upstairs after superintending the work at the harbour all the morning.

Narasimha Chetti who came to the mint said that M. Desvaux and Savarirâya Pillai had been removed from the country management but he could not say who would be appointed in their place.

Friday, July 7.[1]—I hear to-day that yesterday and the day before the Council discussed the provision of money, and that M. Desvaux is getting two lakhs ready. M. Lally is at Tiruvâlûr, not having come to terms with the Tanjore people. I also hear that Pâpayya Pillai is going to M. Soupire's camp and that the Comte de Montmorency who arrived the day before yesterday is saying that M. Lally will return in a week and that he will sail for Europe two or three days after M. Lally's arrival.

Saturday, July 8.[2]—I heard the following news to-day :—The Tanjore affair has not been settled. M. Lally is oppressing the people at Tiruvâlûr, and the Râjâ of Tanjore has forbidden men to pass to and fro and [the whole country] is troubled. The Englishman at Trichinopoly[3] has obtained reinforcements, and is encamped outside the fort with Manôji's troops. Sînappayyan received presents for himself and M. Lally, but the latter has angrily returned the presents and is preparing for war. The English have captured Tiruvattûr and other places held by the French to the northward, driving them out and tying

[1] *27th Âni*, [*Bahudânya*].

[2] *28th Âni*, [*Bahudânya*].

[3] Caillaud was in command there, but had received no reinforcements except a few men from Devikôttai.

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tôranams. M. Soupire has not marched beyond Edaikkanâdu, and Pâpayya Pillai is with him.

Sunday, July 9.[1]—I heard to-day that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had been too unwell to go to church to hear mass or leave his room. Of the ten ships for Kârikâl, the three that remained have now also sailed fully laden[2], and two of those ships that had already gone have returned and are being laden again.

In the course of his conversation yesterday, Muttu Venkatarâmâ Reddi said :—'At the council that has been sitting these last two days, M. Clouët said, "The Company ordered all countries, old and new, to be in the possession of Monsieur Rangappan, who would provide me with money for the expenses. I had a box of the Company's letters about affairs here but the ship sank off Âlambarai[3]. I have copies of the letters." M. Leyrit did not relish these words and said you would only spend what you collected. M. Clouët said, "How much did he pay in the two years that the country was in his possession ? After you took away the country from him and gave it to another, how much has the latter

[1] *29th Âni*, [*Bahudânya*].

[2] With tents, powder, etc., for Lally's forces.

[3] The *Bien-Aimé* was run ashore there.

paid ?" M. Leyrit replied that all the money collected had been paid. M. Clouët continued, "When he[1] said that he would pay, you neither listened, nor enquired into his complaint, but took away the country from him without even telling him. How can you say what money has been collected ?"

I hear that when M. Lally's troops reached Ammâpêttai, about twelve miles east of Tanjore, a battle was fought, in which the Râjâ of Tanjore attacked boldly, and men were killed on both sides, including M. Aumont ; but at last they retreated in panic, and the French marched on and encamped near Mâriammankôvil[2]. M. Lally declares that he will not return until he has taken Tanjore city. I cannot say whether this news is true, but I must await further reports.

I also hear that four men-of-war have reached Madras, but must ascertain the facts.

Monday, July 10.[3]—I hear that M. Bussy has remitted 50,000 rupees through Tarwâdi for the expenses here[4] and that the amount has been sent to the mint.

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[1] *i.e.*, the Diarist.

[2] Four miles east of Tanjore.

[3] *30th Âni, (Bahudânya).*

[4] I do not recollect other references to this ; but in a letter, dated July 15, Bussy says he encloses a bill for a lakh and a half. (*Lettres de Bussy, etc.* p. 7.)

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I have also heard the following news :— A gentleman who was giving a feast to M. d'Aché, the commander of the ships, complaining of the lack of money, asked his guest how he was managing to meet his expenses. M. d'Aché, agreeing with him, replied, 'When I sailed, the King provided me with money enough for the voyage and for three years' expenses, so that I need not ask anybody, and ordered me to pay only a small sum to M. Lally. He then summoned M. Lally and told him that he would find money here, that he should capture Fort St. David within 20 days of his landing, and that a squadron would be despatched later with money for the expenses of the army, and a gentleman to superintend affairs here. I was thus sent in advance to capture Fort St. David, and a squadron is coming with money and a great man.'

Tuesday, July 11.[1]—When I was at home this morning, I received the Council's resolution, signed by all yesterday afternoon, accepting my valuation of the goods brought from Fort St. David. Having told the Company's and Kârikâl merchants to be at the Fort at seven o'clock this morning, I went there, but learnt that M. Leyrit, the Governor, was unwell,

[1] *31st Âni, Bahudânya.* The text gives the European date as the 31st.

having eaten nothing yesterday or the day before, and that to-day he was keeping his room, taking only broth, and had strictly forbidden any one to be admitted. I therefore went to the sorting-godown where in the course of conversation, M. Boyelleau said, 'As I am in great need of money, you must settle the coarse blue-cloth business and sell the cloth.' I said that I was seeking to do so.

He then asked if the Comte de Montmorency had visited me. I said he had, and added, 'Besides him, *Maréchal de* [*Camp*] M. [ ] and Major-General M. [ ][1] have visited my garden, where after the nautch I gave them fruit and two bottles of red wine, before their departure. [M. de Montmorency] sent me a list of the cloth he wanted, and, when he visited me, I gave him presents worth about 1,000 rupees. Afterwards he asked me to supply cloth on credit for about 10,000 rupees. But I told him that for the last three years the merchants' trade had not prospered and that I had no money. He therefore provided otherwise.'

He then asked if I had spoken to him about my affairs. I replied that I had, and added that, when I showed him my letter, he said that I should succeed in my affair and

[1] The names in the original are Pama and Pumêstri. They are probably intended for La Faire and Fumel. See above, p. 204.

that he would confer with M. Godeheu about it when he returned to Europe. M. Boyelleau observed, 'He is no doubt a great man, being placed at the head of the Company's affairs and belonging to the royal family; that is why I introduced you to him, but as he had no money, M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux, and M. du Bausset provided him with some and arranged to get cloth, so that he is under their influence; once in his presence, M. Leyrit spoke sarcastically to me, and I rejoined that he was doing wrong to manage the Company's business by his own dubâsh, and that if the Company's dubâsh was blameworthy, he should be summoned before the council, examined and reprimanded; otherwise he should be entrusted with the management, unless all previous Governors had been wrong to manage affairs by the Company's dubâsh.' Neither M. Leyrit nor the Comte de Montmorency made any reply. Meeting him afterwards, I asked why he, the Company's master, did not speak strictly when matters were discussed; but he could make no answer as he had taken their bait. What can a man like that do? You simply wasted what you gave him. How much did you give M. Lally?' I replied, 'M. Leyrit told me to give a ring and nazar, and I gave them accordingly; they were worth 500 pagodas.' He replied, 'You were

right to give him so much. Let M. Lally come. M. Clouët is a fool, and M. Montmorency's desires have been kindled. But I will speak to M. Lally and settle your business.'—'Very good,' I said.

He then said in the presence of merchants, 'The price of the white Salampores, Dutch sort, *Patathikâri*,[1] brought from Fort St. David, including bleaching, was fixed at 23 *per* corge for the first quality and 22 for the second; as a third is to be given to M. Lally, the Company will lose. So be careful about the price.' I repeated this to the merchants. Twenty bales of Salampores of 15 *kunjams* (or 7½ *kâls*) were offered at 20 pagodas a corge. I then came home at eleven.

Afterwards I heard the following news:—M. Lally first gave a cowle for Nagore and hoisted the white flag, but afterwards withdrew the cowle and ordered the merchants', Chettis', and others' houses to be plundered; and all the women's cloths, arecanut and other things which were found have been bought by three Europeans.[2] There has thus been

[1] Quere, *bharakdâri*, of fine quality.

[2] On the 5th Lally wrote to M. Leyrit that he had sold the Nagore plunder to Fischer (commander of the German corps) for two lakhs of rupees and a diamond worth 12,000 francs. Fischer was believed to be in partnership with the Danes in this venture (*Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 100). Lally had only 50,000 rupees in his military chest at this time.

wholesale plunder. Besides this the images at Kîvalûr and Tiruvâlûr have been carried off. Sînappayyan has been ordered to accompany the army, as, when he was asked for two lakhs, he pleaded that he had nothing. The Dutch at Negapatam have given a lakh of pagodas besides the provisions demanded.[1] The people at Tranquebar are also supplying provisions.

The Râjâ of Tanjore is said to be encamped at Mâriammankôvil and our people at Ammâpêttai ; M. Soupire has been sent for and is about to start ; Pâpayya Pillai has returned from M. Soupire without settling his business ; and the booty taken at Nagore is said to be reckoned at nine lakhs. It is not known what will happen.

Wednesday, July 12.[2]—This morning M. Boyelleau and M. Cornet went to the sorting-godown at the Fort, and ordered in the presence of the Company's and the Kârikâl merchants the price of the cloth taken at Fort St. David to be fixed and the cloth baled. Thirty-nine bales of fine Salampores, Dutch pattern, were packed to-day at 20 instead of 22 pagodas a corge, according to the rates

[1] On June 27, Lally demanded a loan of a lakh of rupees and provisions ; the Dutch Governor, Vermont, promised provisions but declined the loan. (Lally to Vermont and the latter's reply, June 27, 1758, *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, pp. 93-94.)

[2] *32nd Âni, Bahudânya.*

written yesterday; 32 bales of white long-cloth, Dutch sort, were packed, at 38 pagodas a corge instead of 45 or 43 pagodas at least. Thus 71 bales were packed to-day, and, inclusive of the bales packed yesterday, the total number of bales is 91. Each bale of the Salampores contains four corge and each bale of longcloth contains a corge and a half.[1] When the bales were being packed, the Comte de Montmorency arrived. These people at once brought and showed him inferior cloths, quoting their prices. He then departed. I think he has been shown the cloth because he is to have a part of M. Lally's share. When he had gone, the councillors told me that they had resolved that, if M. Lally questioned me about the prices quoted, I was to swear that they were fair and just. I replied to M. Boyelleau and M. Cornet, 'I cannot do that, even if he is entitled to a share by risking his life on the battlefield. What should I gain by saying so? Why make me take an oath to the price in this petty matter? I declare that I will not take a false oath.' They replied that matters would not go so far as that, and that they had simply mentioned what had been decided. I replied, 'Whether matters go so far or not, you cannot expect me to take a

[1] These were the long-established rates of packing these varieties of cloth. (*Madras Public Consultations*, November 17, 1768, p. 780.)

false oath, and you may tell that to any one.' I came home at noon.

Friday, July 14.[1]—I heard the following news to-day :—As the soldiers in camp complained to M. Lally, the General, of having been struck by M. Saubinet, M. Lally sent for him and told him sharply that the soldiers would be allowed to beat any one who beat them. It is said that M. Saubinet unable to bear such a reproof, retired to his tent and shot himself with a pistol.[2]

Tuesday, July 18.[3]—The news to-day is as follows :—2,000 horse and 10,000 foot of the Râjâ of Tanjore are encamped at Ammâpêttai, east of Tanjore; M. Lally is at Kôvilvenni about five miles east of Ammâpêttai beyond Ammaiyappan and Pâchakkadai with 1,000 soldiers and 2,000 foot. When last Friday the 2,000 horse and foot at Ammâpêttai advanced, the soldiers and sepoys at Kôvilvenni opened fire with their cannon, whereon the former fired rockets ; five or six of Lally's men were wounded and 15 of the Râjâ's horses killed, and as many wounded. After a few men had fallen, the Râjâ's troops retreated and fled, leaving two cannon and 30 matchlocks in the enemy's hands. Chokkalingam

[1] *2nd Âdi, Bahudânya.*

[2] If true, not fatally, for he served in the siege of Madras, where he was severely wounded.

[3] *6th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

with 500 of the Tanjore horse has attacked and plundered Tirumalrâyapattanam and four *mâhâns*; and Haidar Nâyak, from Mysore, has passed Karûr, Nerûr and Tottiyam with 2,000 horse on his way to join M. Lally.

It is said here that Razâ Sâhib is enlisting troopers, foot and peons and Dêsâi Sâmâ Râo, troopers, that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore has sent his horse to M. Lally's camp, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is about to enlist horse.

Sunday, July 23.[1]—Varadappa Nâyakkan who has come from Kârikâl reports that, when M. Lally the General's troops marched from Ammâpêttai and encamped at Mâri-ammankôvil, a jemadar with some troopers went to him from Tanjore to open negotiations; M. Lally detained them in his camp, and sent Sînappayyan and a Padré[2] to Tanjore, who settled the affair for 30 lakhs with 10 lakhs in ready money[3]. M. Lally however wanted in addition the Tirukkâttuppalli fort[4], and, the Râjâ refusing to give it up, M. Lally is resolved to seize it somehow. It

[1] *11th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

[2] The Jesuit, St. Esteven, who was accompanied by a military officer, Maudave.

[3] The Râjâ does not seem to have risen above five lakhs. (Orme, ii, 324).

[4] With a view to the intended attack on Trichinopoly.

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remains to be seen what will happen and I will write it later.

Tuesday, July 25.[1]—The Râjâ of Tanjore himself and Manôji Appâ have opened negotiations for peace.

I also hear that, when M. Leyrit was talking with some Europeans upstairs on their return from church after hearing mass, M. Clouët came and reported to the Governor that Viswanâtha Reddi of the Devanâmpattanam country only offered to pay 13,000 pagodas a year rent beginning from next year, but that three Christians had offered through the Superior of the St. Paul's church to pay 14,000 pagodas a year, and he added that kists should not be postponed till next year. On his telling M. Leyrit that he had brought them[2], they were called in, given two yards of broadcloth as a present, and dismissed with the lease of the country.

I hear that M. Boyelleau's swelling is increasing, he can only breathe with difficulty and is in great distress[3], taking physic as well as being bled, and his son-in-law has been informed of his condition by letter.

Wednesday, July 26.[4]—I drove out this evening and returned home at seven. Afterwards I heard that English ships had been

[1] *13th Âdi, Bahudânya.*
[2] *i.e.*, the Christians.
[3] He survived however until 1788.
[4] *14th Âdi, [Bahudânya].*

sighted in the offing, on which all the Europe ships in the harbour were sailing northwards, and the officers, soldiers, etc., who had been landed, had embarked again. Gnânaprakâsa Mudali and four other Christians are said to have obtained the Devanâmpattanam country for 13,000 pagodas, the same as Viswanâtha Reddi offered. I also hear that Savarirâyan and Dairiyanâthan have quarrelled.

Thursday, July 27.[1]—I hear that English ships appeared off the fort of Âlambarai and fired a few shot at it, seized a sloop which was bringing fuel hither, and burnt five or six *pannai*[2] laden with fuel and faggots. In consequence therefore M. Leyrit's wife and others have returned here, and M. Soupire came into the fort last night, having ordered his troops to Âlambarai. I hear that Savarirâyan, when returning in a carriage last evening from Ariyânkuppam, saw a King's officer on horseback who abused his man, and then dismounting beat both the driver and Savarirâyan; on this Savarirâyan drove home as fast as he could, and, returning with his peons, ordered them to arrest the officer, but he attacked them with a Moghul sword and made the peons fly, one falling over the other, killing four or five.

[1] *15th Âdi, Bahudânya.* [2] Coasting vessels.

I hear that M. Lally's troops are at Ânanda-valliyammankôvil and Manôji's Choultry east of Tanjore, but the Tanjore horse are preventing provisions from reaching our men, who, owing to this blockade, are entrenching themselves ; no agreement has yet been made.

I also hear that, in fear of the officer, Savarirâyan's house is being guarded by ten soldiers and foot, and that Savarirâyan and Dairiyanâthan are still unfriendly.

Friday, July 28.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I learnt that M. Leyrit had gone to the harbour about the nine English ships sighted to the north-east ; he returned to the Fort after ten, when the ships had been laden with provisions, and hastily held a council in which it was resolved to give battle. M. d'Aché, the ships' commander, was informed of this[2] and desired to put to sea ; so he went off at eleven o'clock ; a gun was fired when he embarked ; a white, a red and a black flag were hoisted ; and another gun fired when the flags were ready for hoisting. In all nine ships sailed according to the details given below :—

the *Zodiaque*, captain d'Aché with 770 men on board[3] ;

[1] *16th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

[2] See Leyrit's letter to d'Aché of this day. (*Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 129.)

[3] D'Aché (first *Mémoire*, pp. 32, etc.) says he had only 500 men on board, and the other vessels in proportion.

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the *Comte de Provence*, with 710 ;
the *Vengeur* with 670,
the *Duc d'Orléans* with 580 ;
the *Duc de Bourgogne* with 510 ;
the *Saint Louis* with 500 ;
the *Moras* with 450 ;
the *Vathuvishâm*[1] with 160 ; and
the *Condé* with 450.

Thus the nine ships set out, equipped for war with 4,800 men[2] and provisions, and sailed to the south-east. Immediately the English ships also sailed eastwards. I then came home.

Afterwards I heard that a Lorraine officer, serving under M. Soupire, had received a letter from M. Lally at camp saying that the Tanjore business had been settled, but not mentioning the amount, and adding that letters were on their way to this place. As only one man has received this news, I do not think the Tanjore affair has been settled satisfactorily. The *Sathambiyên*[3] in the roads has 40 or 50 men on board. M. Soupire set out last night for Âlambarai as the English were coming. I hear that Savarirâyan has been keeping his

[1] The *Sylphide* must be intended.

[2] He sailed with 3,200 or 3,300 men. (Leyrit to Lally July 27, 1758. *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 126.)

[3] The first part of the word possibly represents the French 'Saint,' but I cannot guess the remainder, unless perhaps she was the *Sainte Brigitte* (See Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 66).

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house unable to attend to his business from the wounds of the beating he received the day before yesterday from the officers and ships' people, and the fear of what they may do further.

Saturday, July 29.[1]—Hearing that M. Leyrit was in his room upstairs, I went to the sorting-godown; but as 50 Europeans under M. Soupire are quartered there to guard the Fort, I did not remain but went to the Second's and told him, in the course of the conversation, that I had heard that the Tanjore affair had been settled. The Second replied that no agreement had yet been made as, if one had been, a letter would have been received. I then took leave and came home.

I returned home from my drive this evening at seven.

Monday, July 31.[2]—I hear various stories about the Tanjore troops, but no reliable news has been received.

[1] *17th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

[2] *19th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

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Tues[day], *August 1.*[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) presented M. Leyrit with two dresses of honour worth five or six rupees each and a horse worth five or six rupees,[2] and took leave of him on his departure to join M. Lally's camp at Tanjore, with 200 horse, 200 or 300 foot, the *naubat*, etc. M. Leyrit ordered a salute to be fired and gave him leave.[3]

Afterwards M. Desvaux and M. [Le]noir visited M. Leyrit, so I came home.

This is the news of to-day:—Appu Mudali, Sînappayyan, the Kârikâl priest and a European gentleman wearing the King's Cross[4] entered the Tanjore fort, where they conferred and agreed with Manôji Appâ for 7½ lakhs. The latter gave them 20,000 gold pieces, besides cloth and presents for M. Lally, promising to send 500 horse and 1,000 foot with rice, etc. provisions, to attack Trichinopoly.[5] M. Lally accepted the presents and

[1] *20th Âdi*, [*Bahudânya*].

[2] In both cases 'hundred' may be understood.

[3] Razâ Sâhib hoped to receive the command of Lally's Native Cavalry. (*Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 133.)

[4] Perhaps Maudave.

[5] The actual terms were:—The Râjâ to pay five lakhs, of which one was to be paid at once, one on Lally's marching, one at Trichinopoly, and two in the following October (*Lally's Mémoire*, p. 69).

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moved his troops to Manôji Appâ's Ottai Mantapam.[1]

I also hear that the St. Paul's Padré summoned Razâ Sâhib and handed over to him Ponniyâr and Muttayyâ who have come from Udaiyârpâlaiyam ; Razâ Sâhib set out with his men this evening and is halting at Ariyânkuppam.

Wednesday, August 2.[2]—I did not go out this morning, but, when I was at home, I heard that the Tanjore affair had been settled for 7½ lakhs of rupees, that the troops were to march against Trichinopoly, and that M. Leyrit and the councillors had gone to Ariyânkuppam to despatch Chandâ Sâhib's son on his way to the camp.

Friday, August 4.[3]—When I was at home this morning, I heard that M. Soupire's troops had reached Kûnimêdu, that M. Soupire had visited M. Leyrit, the Governor, at the Fort at nine o'clock, conferring with him for a quarter of an hour, and then marched towards Kûnimêdu without even halting at my *agrahâram* ; no letters have been received from M. Lally's camp, and some say and some deny that peace has been made, and some say while

[1] Perhaps Manôji Appâ Châvadi, 9 miles north-east of Tanjore.
[2] *21st Âdi*, [*Bahudânya*].
[3] *23rd Âdi, Bahudânya.*

others deny that a pitched battle has been fought.

Since the people of the Bound-villages and Olukarai were summoned to-day, and M. Lenoir gave 6,000 rupees to M. Drouët in three bags, I think that must be on account of the 4,000 rupees promised to the Governor and 2,000 to M. Lenoir, and that something must be going on.

The nine Europe ships that were despatched to attack the English returned to the roads at six o'clock this evening; one of them had lost one of its two masts. I shall enquire about this and write.

I drove out this evening and returned home at seven.

Afterwards I heard the following news:— There was a severe fight between the English and French ships off Kârikâl. The English lost many men, their hulls and masts were damaged, and the English commander's ship was sunk. Thereon the English retreated towards Madras. One of our ships' captains was killed.[1] M. d'Aché's ship lost a mast and he himself was wounded; by the bursting of a gun the powder caught fire, killing many. A powder magazine also caught fire. Many

[1] This was de Langerie, who commanded the *St. Louis*, instead of Jonnis, who had been too unwell to sail.

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ships' officers, soldiers and sailors on the French side have been killed or wounded.[1]

I hear that M. Clouët summoned Savarirâyan, and spoke long in private with him in the presence of Dairiyanâthan; and as Dairiyanâthan and Muttu, the packer, had been present in the *kachêri*, Savarirâyan took the two men to his house where he gave them a dress of honour each and dismissed them, and afterwards he set out for Ariyânkuppam to see M. Desvaux.

Saturday, August 5.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit the Governor's palankin and other palankins in the town were employed from sunrise to sunset to-day in removing to the hospital all those who were wounded, mutilated or burnt in the face or body in the battle at sea and who were landed to-day. At the time of my arrival, M. Desvaux and Savarirâyan came to see M. Leyrit; I waited till ten and then went to Nannâchi's house to see her child, who has small-pox, and thence came home at noon.

When I went to the Fort I heard the following news about the fight:—Last Tuesday nine English ships appeared about

[1] D'Aché lost 492 killed and wounded (Waddington, *La Guerre des Sept. Ans.* iii, 393) as against Pocock's 31 killed and 116 wounded (Pocock to Clevland, August 22, 1758, P.R.O., Admiralty, 1—161).

[2] *24th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

five miles out at sea off Kârikâl, stealing eastwards from Negapatam, so at once our nine ships in the Kârikâl roads attacked them, and a battle ensued east of Kârikâl; M. Ânaluvari,[1] captain of the *Comte de Provence*, a great vessel with 84 guns,[2] advanced with great fury to attack the English; three of these approached ours and threw shells filled with sulphur, the coconut fibre with which the cannon was loaded, also being smeared with it, (although both Kings had strictly ordered that such shells should not be used)[3] with the result that our ships and powder took fire, whereby many were killed and wounded. In the thick of the battle, M. [de la Chaise][4], who had advanced with his ship, being surrounded by the enemy and attacked on all sides, made signal for the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Zodiaque* and the *Saint Louis*, to attack the English. The English could not withstand our fierce attack, and the English commander's ship was sunk,

[1] On August 14 de la Chaise commanded the *Comte de Provence*, and I think did so in the action.

[2] According to d'Aché's first Mémoire, the *Comte de Provence* was armed with only 58 guns; the English reckoned her a 74.

[3] This seems inaccurate, though it was no doubt the current gossip. The use of 'artifices' in this action was so resented that Leyrit desired two English ship-captains to dine by themselves, as the French naval officers had refused to dine with them at Leyrit's table. On August 20 the French were busy making fire-arrows, etc., for their own use.

[4] See above.

and the others fled in all directions.[1] On M. le Chevalier d'Aché the commander's ship, the *Zodiaque*, a 24-pounder, burst setting fire to the powder and killing 16, and severely wounding 60. M. d'Aché also was wounded in the face and hand; one of his elder sister's sons lost a leg and the other a hand.[2] The Coffrees fought with great courage, singing as they fought. Many on the enemy's side lost their legs and hands; about 1,000 were wounded and 600 killed.[3] Three ships were almost burnt by the shells. About 200 English sepoys who were killed have been put ashore in the Tranquebar harbour.[4]

Sunday, August 6.[5]—I heard the following news to-day:—After settling the Tanjore affair, M. Lally directed his troops to march upon Trichinopoly, himself meaning to return hither; but, he received a letter from the Padré[6] who had gone into the fort of Tanjore to make peace, saying that the Râjâ of Tanjore had proved false and warning him to be

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[1] Pocock's ship, the *Yarmouth*, was not sunk; and the French broke their line and fled, not the English.

[2] In a letter to d'Aché, dated August 4, Leyrit condoles with him on the 'malheur arrivé à M. de Senneville, votre neveu.' D'Aché's first *Mémoire Pièces*, p. 28.

[3] See above, p. 243 n. 1.

[4] 31 were killed on the English fleet.

[5] *25th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

[6] Saint Esteven.

on his guard. M. Lally therefore stood on his guard; and on a certain night, Manôji Appâ with 2,000 horse fell upon M. Lally's troops, but was severely beaten. About 150 of Manôji's horses were killed besides many horses and men wounded. When Manôji's troops had thus been put to flight, M. Lally plucked up his courage and collected his men, whom he posted in two places on the high ground west of Sivaganga[1] and opened a fierce cannonade on the fort. Some say that the fort has been captured, others deny it.

Monday, August 7.[2]—When I was at home—I did not go out this morning—I heard that, at half-past six yesterday evening, Dairiya-nâthan visited Savarirâyan's office to enquire the amounts due from the *amaldârs* in the country management.

I also heard the following news :—When Savarirâyan was coming from Ariyânkuppam, a quarrel arose between him and some ship's officers. Five or six Europeans landed to-day after the sea-fight and at six this evening passed by M. Desvaux' house with pistols loaded and swords drawn; seeing Savarirâyan's younger brother standing there with ten men, they asked him if he was Manuel. He replied

[1] This apparently refers to the Sivaganga tank north-west of the big Siva temple at Tanjore. There are still traces of fortifications.

[2] *26th Âdi*, [*Bahudânya*].

that his name was Manuel, but he was not the Manuel who had beaten them. Having thus escaped, he put out his torches and passed on. Again when Dairiyanâthan was passing with about a dozen torch-bearers, he was seized and asked if he were Manuel. But a dubâsh boy said that he was M. Clouët's dubâsh, so he also escaped. Then the dancing-girl Muttu's son was seized, but escaped when he said he was not the man. Again packer Mutta Pillai was seized but was let go like the others. On learning all this, Savarirâyan is lying concealed in Kandappa Mudali's house.

I also hear that Tândavarâyan who was in the office has gone home.

[*Tues*]*day, August 8.*[1]—I returned home after visiting the Fort this morning by way of the Second's house, and heard the following news:—When M. Leyrit complained to the commander about Savarirâyan's affair, the commander replied that he would do nothing since his men eating the King's food had been maltreated and beaten by the Tamils.

I also hear that Tiruvannâmalai, Chengama and Kalavâkkam, which were given to Chandâ Sâhib's son for enlisting men for the army,[2] have been seized by Krishna Râo for the English with the help of 100 horse, 500

[1] *27th Âdi,* [*Bahudânya*].

[2] See p. 221 *supra*.

foot and 1,000 Carnatic peons ; as *tôranams* have been tied there, [Razâ Sâhib's] people numbering about 100 have quitted Tiruvannâmalai.

Wednesday, August 9.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit the Governor had gone out, but the Second was examining the accounts, M. Boyelleau was writing and examining the Fort St. David accounts and M. Lenoir and others were sauntering about.

I heard the following news :—M. Desjardins who sailed in *Purattâsi*[2] of last year reached Mascareigne, delivered the Europe letters to the captain of the ship sailing for Europe and remained there. Afterwards six Europe ships arrived, besides three others which M. Lally on his departure had left there with 600 soldiers and stores. Those soldiers and stores were despatched by these three ships along with six others—9 ships in all—and Desjardins was ordered to go ahead with the news. When he was off Negapatam, the English hoisted the white flag and hailed him in French through a speaking-trumpet. Supposing that he was being hailed by a Frenchman, he brought his ship[3] nearer, and went aboard their ship, where the enemy detained him, and on searching his ship,

[1] *28th Âdi*, [*Bahudânya*]. [2] September–October 1757.
[3] The *Rubis*.

found bales of paper, some wheat, powder, shot, guns, etc., which they seized. A sailor on the French ship let himself silently down at night, got ashore and arrived here ; he says that nine ships which had been got ready at Mascareigne were to sail 15 days after his departure and would arrive in 15 days. Then I came home, drove out in the evening and returned home at seven.

Thursday, August 10.[1]—When I visited the Second at his house this morning, he read to me the fine letter which he had had written by his writer to M. Godeheu and the Company. I then asked him the news about M. Desjardins. He said that he had left Mascareigne 40 days ago but had been captured by the English off Negapatam. I asked if any Europe letters had been seized. He replied, none could have been, because no Europe ships had arrived, and added, 'There were only letters from Mascareigne. I hear that M. Godeheu has been removed from the Company's service, but nothing was said of it in the Europe letters of November 8 brought by the Tranquebar ships. Europeans say that M. du Bausset and M. Delarche are reporting the news about M. Godeheu, but I must wait. You never come to me or talk to me, although my wife

[1] *29th Âdi, Bahudânya.*

regards you kindly. You had better come upstairs.' So saying he took me up, and his wife receiving me very kindly and making me sit by her, said, 'See what injustice reigns in the town. Periyannan, Appu Mudali and Kandappan who used to do kitchen work and Savarirâyan who used to remove the dirty plates, are now managing country affairs or are dubâshes in the town. That is why there is injustice here.' The Second said that there was great injustice. I replied that injustice would now cease as he himself had learnt that there had been injustice. The Second's wife and daughter then set out for Cuddalore, while he himself went to attend the Council.

After I had come home, I heard that, on the Chetti merchants' complaints that Europeans were plundering houses and ravishing women in Cuddalore, the Governor had ordered them to report the matter to M. [Lally] and M. Soupire.

Friday, August 11.[1]—When I went to the Second's this morning, he was just going to the Fort to examine the white and the blue shirts, so I accompanied him. While he was busy with the work, I remained in the sorting-godown. One of the principal councillors said that he wished to talk with me at leisure,

[1] *30th Âdi,* [*Bahudânya*].

that one affair had prospered but that everything else was topsy-turvy; he then departed saying that he was going to the ship.

I heard afterwards that the council sat yesterday afternoon and last night. I think that, as the council met twice in the same day and as the councillor spoke to me thus, lack of money must have brought up my affair as well as the country management, and that M. Lally must have been doing badly in camp.

Afterwards packer Muttayyan came and said, 'M. Clouët wanted details of the lease account of the country given to you. I asked why he should want it. He replied that I was right and that he had been mistaken. So I learnt from his idle talk that he was only making enquiries about the current year's accounts as he thought he had nothing to do with the last year's. When I went to M. Boyelleau's five or six days ago, he asked me about M. Clouët and I replied that he was always visiting M. Desvaux' house. M. Boyelleau replied that M. Clouët was a tailless ass, whom M. Godeheu had sent out without writing to him[1] and that he would tell M. Lally, on his return, about his intention

[1] *i.e.*, Boyelleau.

of raising your matter in council as your agent.' Then I came home.

I hear that, as there is no money in the Fort, the goods brought from Fort St. David will be sold.

I also hear that in the hard battle between M. Lally's army and Manôji Appâ's, many were killed on both sides.

A European at the Fort gave me some good news and packer Muttayyan informed me of what M. Clouët had said when he asked him about the accounts.

Sunday, August 13.[1]—When I was at home to-day, I heard that M. Soupire and his troops had returned to the Fort, that M. Lally (son of M. Lally's elder brother) had had a two-hours' conference with M. Leyrit at the *Gouvernement* after which M. Leyrit had shown tokens of despair, wringing his hands, writhing his body, sighing, and smiting the arms of his chair.

I also hear that M. Lally who is at Kârikâl will arrive here to-morrow in time for dinner, that his troops have retreated and that Sînappayyan and Razâ Sâhib have gone to Kârikâl.

Monday, August 14.[2]—I hear that M. Lally is in camp and that M. Saubinet has reached Kârikâl with 200 soldiers.

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[1] *1st Âvani, Bahudânya.* [2] *2nd Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

I heard this evening that our army had suffered heavy loss in the attack by the Tanjore people last Wednesday[1], although many of the latter had also been killed, that our army was retreating and nothing was known about M. Lally, that two of Pâpayya Pillai's elephants and guns and matchlocks had been lost and that some of our people had reached Kârikâl in their retreat. I drove out this evening and returned home at seven.

Wednesday, August 16.[2]—This is the news of to-day :—When at about three o'clock on the morning of August 9, M. Lally's troops were about to attempt to scale the walls of the Tanjore fort with the aid of heaps of straw, the Tanjore Râjâ's troops opened the north gate and attacked M. Lally's provision camp half an hour before our troops were to move ; a severe battle followed, in which five or six Europeans were killed on the Tanjore side and 500 or 600 Europeans besides three high officers on M. Lally's.[3] In consequence M. Lally and our troops retreated to Tiruvâlûr leaving everything behind. Razâ Sâhib who has marched from Kârikâl for Tiruvâlûr

[1] *i.e.*, the sally made by the Tanjoreans on August 9, when Lally was surprised and on the point of being killed when he was saved by a Coffree.

[2] *4th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

[3] Lally stated the loss as two servants killed, and one Hussar and four soldiers killed and wounded.

and visited M. Lally at the latter place means to attack the fort again with the help of the Sêtupati and Tondimân. It is not known whether the English ships have left Kârikâl. Savarirâyan is going about, prostrating himself before the ships' captains in order to make his peace with them.

Friday, August 18.[1]—The Dutch ship, which was intercepted and brought into the roads, on examination was found to have on board gold and silver worth two lakhs of rupees. The Dutch ship's captain was therefore told that the French had no money in the Fort and that the French King had made an agreement in Europe to the effect that ships belonging to any nation might be seized and their gold and silver money taken in return for bills payable in Europe including the profit. The captain being asked what profit he would make on his silver and gold, replied that it would be 30,000 rupees and asked that an additional sum should be allowed for expenses. I hear that a bill on Europe has been given accordingly and the money taken over.[2]

[1] *6th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

[2] She was the *Haarlem* from Batavia for Negapatam, seized in reveuge for the Dutch inaction when the *Rubis* was taken in the Negapatam roads. The alleged agreement was moonshine. Leyrit wrote on August 11 about the *Haarlem's* silver that it was an item of her cargo "auquel il me semble qu'il ne nous est guère permis de toucher ; cependant c'est celui de toute la cargaison qui nous serait le plus nécessaire . . . S'il est des cas où la nécessité force la loi, nous nous y trouvons aujourdhui." *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 141.

I also hear that M. Lally is coming here by way of Kârikâl and Negapatam.

Saturday, August 19.[1]—I hear that the council which sat from eight o'clock till noon and again from four till eight at night, discussed what could be done by M. Lally who having broken his cannon and burnt his tents and guns, is returning from camp, where he has left his men, in great anger at not having been supplied with money for his camp-expenses or with provisions, powder and shot.[2] The Europeans in the town are going about the streets, stabbing people, throwing stones at them, troubling women at the town gates, showing people the Company's orders for their pay, quarrelling with them and demanding money of them for their expenses.

Monday, August 21.[3]—In the course of my conversation with the Second this morning at his house, where were also a few Europeans, he said, 'M. Lally wrote angry complaints against the councillors saying that, while he had been fighting on the battlefield, and

[1] *7th Âvani*, [*Bahudânya*].

[2] The principal subject of discussion was d'Aché's intended departure to the Islands. See Leyrit to Lally August 18, 1758 and d'Aché to the Council, of the same date (Lally's *Pièces*, pp. 81–82).

[3] *9th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

though he had come from Europe with full powers to control the conduct of all, they had been thinking that they need not supply him with anything, hoping that the troops would disband after a few days' starvation, so that he himself would grow weak and die of his troubles and they, being no longer responsible to any one, could enjoy the Company's property that they had stolen, and that on his return he meant to ascertain why the army had been thus exposed to danger. M. Lally is wrong to blame all the councillors wholesale like this, for, before his departure, when he asked me whether Tanjore could be attacked, I advised him not to go, as the rivers and canals would be full, the fields in cultivation, and the ground so deep that the troops could only march with great difficulty. In spite of this, he blames us all. He should blame only those who advised him to go.' I then came home.

Tuesday, August 22.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning where I heard that on a report that six fully equipped English men-of-war had reached Bombay, the French were preparing to send their ships away to Mascareigne in fear of what might happen when these six ships had arrived, as so much damage

[1] *10th Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

had been suffered already from the ten ships [of the enemy].[1] I also heard that the English, having been reinforced, were capturing Chingleput, Utramallûr and Wandiwash countries northwards, that Krishna Râo was capturing Tiruvarangam, Tirukkôyilûr, etc. places in the west ; and that the English were making great preparations.

Wednesday, August 23.[2]—After I had returned home from the Fort this morning, I heard that, when M. Lally reached Kârikâl, he spoke very angrily to M. Porcher, demanding why he had not sent him provisions, etc.,[3] to which M. Porcher replied that he was not to blame, for, although he had made all things ready, he could get neither coolies to carry them nor soldiers and foot to escort them for lack of money, the renters saying that they had none owing to the troubles. The renters have now been ordered to pay in money.

Thursday, August 24.[4]—After I had returned home from the Fort this morning, I heard that, when Chandâ Sâhib's son visited M. Lally at Kârikâl, the latter received him

[1] This rumour does not seem to have been urged by d'Aché. I suppose it to have been popularly invented to account for his decision to depart.

[2] *11th Âvani,* [*Bahudânya*].

[3] Lally complained bitterly of Porcher, as incapable and worn-out with age, saying that his wife would have done better.

[4] *12th Âvani,* [*Bahudânya*].

with much kindness, presenting him with a girdle, and being pleased to watch his riding a horse which he made go round and round in circles. They are expected here in four days with a few of those who accompanied them with their elephants, baggage, etc.

Friday, August 25.[1]—As to-day was the King's Birthday, I went to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning with a bouquet. The Fort seemed empty and I heard that M. Lally had gone to visit M. Soupire and M. d'Aché the naval commander. It is usual on the King's Birthday to parade the troops at six and fire three salutes of 21 guns each, thrice repeated, after the hearing of mass, at the time of sitting down to table upstairs, at the time of drinking [the King's] health and in the evening. But no salutes were fired at six. When M. Leyrit came upstairs at eight, I paid him my respects with a bouquet. For the first time lately, he took off his hat, and smilingly returned my compliments. Then the Second and others came back from visiting M. Soupire and M. d'Aché. As to-day was the Second's name-day, I paid him my respects with a bouquet, which he received joyfully, returning my compliments. Afterwards at nine o'clock M. Soupire and M. d'Aché came

[1] *13th Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

to the Fort, and all went to church to hear mass, after which the troops were drawn up and 21 guns were fired. When all had gone upstairs, I paid my respects to M. Soupire with a bouquet which he accepted, returning my compliments very joyfully. As to-day was my younger brother's anniversary [1], I then came home.

Saturday, August 26.[2]—I heard that a coach and six had been sent to meet M. Lally on his way.

Monday, August 28.[3]—At six o'clock this morning, I heard that M. Lally who reached the Fort in a coach and six at three o'clock this morning, was asleep in a room in the *Gouvernement* and that M. Leyrit and others were waiting to visit him on his awakening. As I must also visit him, I immediately went to the *Gouvernement* ; but the Europeans there came to me and said that as M. Lally was asleep, M. Leyrit had ordered no Tamils to be admitted upstairs but that I might go and see. I replied, 'As M. Lally is asleep, and M. Leyrit has not allowed any of the councillors to visit him, what is the use of my going now ?' I waited at the sorting-godown. As M. Lally

[1] He died September 8, 1754. These anniversaries are determined by the phase of the moon, and so need not fall on the same day of the solar year.

[2] *14th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

[3] *16th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

was still asleep at eleven, no one visited him, and M. Delarche and the rest went home one by one. Thinking that it was useless for me to remain, I also came home.

Afterwards the Comte de Montmorency sent word to me by his dubâsh that he would visit me at my house at ten o'clock to-night. I agreed and dismissed the dubâsh. Accordingly at ten at night, the Comte de Montmorency came to my house and said, 'I spoke to M. Lally about you and your petition and the accounts, and he promised on his return to read your petition and examine your accounts. I shall be busy to-morrow and the day after, but I will take you to him afterwards, and we will confer with him privately so that your interview may not be known. You had better tell him plainly what you have given to M. Leyrit, the councillors and commandants.' I replied, 'I have already given him accounts of all that is owing to me; but if I go to the *Gouvernement* and speak to him in his room, will not M. Leyrit who is there know of it?' He answered that he would so arrange that M. Leyrit should not know it, and then departed. This is the news.

Tuesday, August 29.[1]—Being unwell, I stayed at home this morning. M. Boyelleau

[1] *17th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

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sent word that he wished to see me this evening. When I went, he said, 'As the Comte de Montmorency told you yesterday, he came to my house at four o'clock; he said that he had spoken to M. Gôdê[1] about you and the letter, and that he would bring him to my house at eight o'clock to-morrow night, and then departed, telling me to be ready with you. So come to my house at eight o'clock to-morrow night.' I agreed and came home.

Wednesday, August 30.[2]—I, M. Lally, M. de Montmorency and M. Boyelleau conversed at M. Boyelleau's house [ ].

This morning I sent for Râmâji Pandit telling him to have all the accounts ready; I then went to the Fort and returned home at ten. Râmâji Pandit was ready with the accounts which he had got written by the European, M. Clegg. In the evening at half-past six I went to M. Boyelleau's house. He was alone having sent his wife and the rest to M. [Bourdier?]'s house. On my arrival, he told me to wait upstairs while he went out and took a walk with the other people. I waited upstairs in an unlit room where four chairs were set close together. At half-past seven, all three—M. Boyelleau, M. Lally and M. le Comte de Montmorency—entered

[1] Lally must be intended.

[2] *18th Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

under cover of the darkness. I could not clearly see M. Lally who wore a black coat and held a walking stick ; but recognized him by his bright Cross worn high on the right breast, and by his voice. I paid my respects, and he returned his compliments. I then went aside ; but M. Boyelleau called me. When I approached, M. Lally said, 'Sit down, Monsieur Ranga Pillai.' I sat down beside him. Then M. Lally said, 'M. Dupleix has lost everything. Since his return home he has borrowed 50,000 rupees, having spent all his money in pursuit of glory. M. Godeheu was wrong to persecute and imprison Pâpayya Pillai, M. Dupleix' man, as he had a release bond from M. Dupleix. M. Leyrit says that Monsieur Ranga Pillai owes him 18 lakhs of rupees.' M. Boyelleau said, 'M. Dupleix returned home with great wealth, and Pâpayya Pillai behaved with great injustice here. Monsieur Rangappan has brought his petition to you along with accounts of the money due to him from M. Leyrit and you may learn everything from them.' M. Lally replied, 'There is no need to look into them. I will settle his business ; but let me have an account of what M. Leyrit and others owe him, and I will see to the rest.' He then rose and took me aside, and, patting me on the back, said, 'Give me an account, and I will beat them like the

dogs that they are, and make them tremble at the sight of you.' He then resumed his seat. M. Boyelleau took the papers to M. Lally and asked him to read them. M. Lally replied, 'Need I read them? Let me have the account I desire and I will settle his business.' He again patted me on the back, and asked the revenue of the country in rupees. I replied, 'The revenue of the country is 19 lakhs; that of Tiruvannâmalai now acquired 3,30,000, and that of Devanâmpattanam 13,000 pagodas.'—'What is the revenue of the Devikôttai country?' he asked. 'That I do not know,' I replied. Patting me on the back, he again desired me to give him an account and went out into the darkness. I took leave of M. Boyelleau and came home.

Thursday, August 31.[1]—I went to the Second's this morning, and in the course of the conversation, he spoke indifferently about the letters to be despatched to Europe. On my asking why he did so, he replied, 'The Company will be ruined and we too.' I did not like asking him why he said this, so I took leave and returned home at ten.

Afterwards I heard that there had been a long discussion in full council[2] till noon, and

[1] *19th Âvani,* [*Bahudânya*].

[2] Lally held a Council of war which discussed d'Aché's departure.

that Râmachandra Râo, Bâpu Râo and the Tamils were to be asked to pay what they owe according to the accounts to be written up. It is said that on the news of M. Bussy and M. Moracin's return from the north with their troops to attack Madras, the English horse and foot in Karunguli, Chingleput, etc. places have been recalled to Madras.[1] The messengers from Mahé who delivered letters to the Governor this evening say they heard from a ship's captain that a Europe ship had reached Mahé and that eleven more were expected, and that the Governor had read the letters.

[1] They were only sent out to prevent reinforcements from being sent to the Southward and were recalled as soon as Lally retreated from Tanjore.

SEPTEMBER 1758.

Friday, September 1.[1]—I went to the Second's this morning, but, as he had gone out, I went to the house of M. Boyelleau who asked if I had seen the Comte de Montmorency. I said I had not, and asked him what he thought of M. Lally's words. 'I do not know what to think,' he replied. I then asked him about letters to be sent to Europe by the ships. 'I know nothing about it,' he said. Thinking that he must have been annoyed at M. Lally's taking me aside and talking to me, I took leave and came home.

After I had come home, Gôpâlakrishnayyan said he had heard from the Comte de Montmorency's dubâsh that M Lally had decided in council to give the country management to me.

Saturday, September 2.[2]—I visited the Second at his house this morning. He gave me the Europe letters that he had had written by his writer.

I then asked the news, and he said, 'M. Lally was unspeakably angry yesterday afternoon in the council, and he decided that M. Leyrit was not to sign or manage anything,

[1] *20th Âvani,* [*Bahudânya*].
[2] *21st Âvani,* [*Bahudânya*].

but that everything should be signed and managed by himself, so that now M. Leyrit is no more than I am.' I then took leave and came home.

Afterwards I sent a shield and a dagger by Gôpâlakrishnayyan to be given to the Comte de Montmorency who had asked for them, and who is about to embark. I got the letters sealed in the evening, and ordered a copy of the letter and account which I gave to M. Lally to be written and given to the Comte de Montmorency who has gone on board.

Sunday, September 3.[1]—Ten Europe ships sailed for Europe this morning. The Comte de Montmorency was on board the *Comte de Provence*. I also hear that M. Clouët has taken ship for Mascareigne.

Then I went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Lally the General who, after returning my compliments, went to church. M. Leyrit, who always used to head the procession[2], walked behind the rest looking very sour. Since yesterday all orders have been signed by M. Lally. Razâ Sâhib marched to the army yesterday. M. Soupire is not marching to-day, but it is said that he will to-morrow. I returned home at ten.

[1] *22nd Âvani*, [*Bahudânya*].

[2] Apparently this custom, which Governor Pitt had tried in vain to preserve at Madras (*Hedge's Diary* iii, 101), had survived at Pondichery.

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I heard this evening that the coin obtained from the Dutch ship, as weighed off in the mint, proved to be 2,33,000 rupees' weight of pure silver in coins from Bombay, Basra, Goa and Surat, and 23,900 pagodas' weight of gold, mostly in coins struck with human figures 9¾ fine, the total value being 3½ lakhs [of rupees] I also hear that the Europeans and others are being asked to provide money for the expenses, and that M. Bussy who sent a *hundi* for three lakhs of rupees[1], is marching on Madras. I gave presents to Kasuva Râjâ, who had sent me presents besides granting Nêsanûr, and to Annâswâmi Ayyangâr; I also gave in charity to Gôpâlayyangâr (Annâswâmi Ayyangâr's man) property in Nêsanûr yielding 12 pagodas besides broadcloth. I then dismissed them all, after giving presents to my Kanda Pillai and those who accompanied them. This is the news.

Monday, September 4.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that no one was being allowed upstairs, and that M. Lally the General and M. Leyrit were in two different rooms, so I waited at the sorting-godown till ten and then came home.

I drove out in a carriage this evening and returned home at seven. Afterwards I heard

[1] The amount was 1½ lakhs. See above p. 226 note.

[2] *23rd Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

that Chandâ Sâhib's son and 'Alî Naqî accompanying M. Saubinet's troops were marching to M. Soupire's camp westwards by Tiruvannâmalai and Chêtpattu, and that M. Soupire had marched northwards at four o'clock this evening by way of my *agrahâram*.

Tuesday, September 5.[1]—This morning I went to the Fort and waited at the sorting-godown till eleven ; but M. Lally the General did not come out of his room.

Afterwards I heard that M. Bussy and M. Moracin had reached Nellore on their way to Madras and that, on learning this, M. Lally had written to M. Soupire and Razâ Sâhib asking them to come and confer with him, before ordering them and M. Saubinet to march with their troops upon Madras.

Europeans say that Europe letters received by way of Surat report that, in a naval battle between the English and the French, five English ships were sunk and the other nine taken by the French, that eleven French ships are coming hither, and that arrangements have been made to acquire the silver, gold, copper, redwood and teak planks and beams found on the Dutch ships in the roads hereabouts. I then came home.

[1] *24th Âvani*, [*Bahuddânya*].

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I drove out in the evening and, when I was resting in my palankin in the tamarind tope outside the Fort, a soldier who was very drunk, came towards me with his sword drawn; Gôpâlakrishnayyan and others went off in terror; but I remained in my palankin and asked him to show me his sword-exercise. Although he was entirely drunk, he showed me due respect, playing with his sword for about an hour. When I returned in my palankin, he went in front of me playing with his sword, but, when we reached the gate, his sword was seized and he was beaten and imprisoned.

After I had returned home, I heard that a Dutch sloop had come in this evening and put ashore four or five Europeans. I think that she must have been sent by the Negapatam authorities about the seizure of their ships.

I examined Nâsîr Jang's rupees brought to the mint from the Negapatam ship. They bear a Persian inscription meaning 'May God preserve justice in my country,' which is called *chhâp mash*[1], just as the Pondichery rupees bear the inscription called 'Arcot.' I ordered these two coins to be kept in a box.

[1] As far as I can ascertain, the coin is unknown. Ranga Pillai is unlikely to have made a mistake in this matter; and if he may be trusted, Nâsîr Jang did not follow the usual Nizâmi policy of preserving all outward marks of dependence on Delhi.

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Wednesday, September 6.[1]—I heard this evening that it had been decided in council this afternoon that Rangô Pandit should maintain 500 troopers and 1,000 foot, with the Tiruviti Panchmahals and Sivapattanam as a jaghir.

I also heard that, as M. Desvaux had given in a letter saying that he wished to give up the country, M. La Selle had been entrusted with the management; and that Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had returned according to M. Lally's orders.

The Second said that the council met to consider Rangô Pandit's *parwâna*.

Thursday, September 7.[2]—When I went to the Second's this morning, he said, 'In the council which was held yesterday afternoon, it was decided that the Tiruviti Panchmahals and Sivapattanam should be given as a jaghir to Rangô Pandit; there was also some talk about the country management, during which your accounts were mentioned. M. Lally said that, though M. Leyrit claimed 18 lakhs as due to him from you, you claimed large sums from the Company, and he asked why your account was still unsettled. I observed that that was true, that I had lent you 20,000 rupees on the security of the country management, that I had not recovered anything,

[1] *25th Âvani, [Bahudânya].*
[2] *26th Âvani, [Bahudânya].*

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either principal or interest, and that, although you had given in your accounts a year ago, they were still unsettled. M. Lally asked why this was so ; I replied that M. Lenoir who had had them, had not settled them. He went on to say that the accounts should be settled by M. La Selle and M. Duplant. I replied that, as money was due to me, I should have a say in the matter ; then I came away. You need not therefore be anxious, but send me word of what happens when you are sent for and questioned.' M. La Selle then came, and the Second asked him about my accounts. The other replied that M. Duplant would be busy for the next four or five days, and that they would examine the accounts afterwards. The Second answered, ' You must do justice ; otherwise I shall interfere, as money is owing to me.' I then took leave and came home.

Afterwards I heard that Savarirâya Pillai had summoned the *amaldârs* telling all of them to come as he had given up the whole country, and then introduced them to M. La Selle, who told them that he had M. Lally's orders to get bullocks, sheep, and *aramâs paramâs*[1] from them until the English troubles

[1] Explained *ap.* Wilson's *Glossary* as gratuitous assistance afforded to respectable persons cultivating rent-free lands. If that explanation is correct, the phrase was evidently used in a very loose way in Southern India.

were over, and that they must pay the country revenue including the arrears and produce accounts. The *amaldârs* agreed. Savarirâyan told them that they might pay according to his account until their people appeared, and ordered them to give nazars to M. La Selle to-morrow, whereon all departed.

I also heard that M. Lally the General, who drove out in a carriage to Âlambarai, salaamed the people at my *agrahâram* on being told that it was mine; at Kâlâppattu the gardener supplied him with young coconuts, which M. Lally accepted, giving him two fanams and telling him to convey his salaams to me; he then went to Kûnimêdu, where a meal of roast beef was made ready for him, after which he went on.

I told Râmânji Pandit to have all accounts ready.

Copy of the *parwâna* granted to Rangô Pandit for Tiruviti Panchmahal, etc., by Mahârâja Râjasrî Thomas Arthur Monsieur Lally Sâhib Avargal, King's Commandeur, Grand Cross of St. Louis, and King's Councillor who has been appointed master of the King's dominions in India :—

Having learnt that Rangô Pandit is the greatest of the sardârs and has won glory, I hereby appoint him in the King's service with power to maintain 500 horse and 500 foot who

shall receive pay from the Company like the Carnatic troops. He shall abide by the terms of the deed granting him a lease of Tiruviti, etc. Dated September 6, 1758, and signed by M. Lally at Pondichery.

Friday, September 8.[1]—When I was at home, I heard that the ten Europe ships returning to Europe had appeared in the Madras roads where they fired upon the sloops there, and rained shot upon the fort and the town, after which they appeared off Âlambarai. But I think this is false news.

I hear that my man, Vêla Mutta Pillai, at Kârikâl, Muttayyan, the renter of Tirumalrâyapattanam, and Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai's son presented a petition to the Chief of Kârikâl, requesting an abatement as they had suffered losses through the plunder of the country; yesterday M. Leyrit received their petition, which the Chief of Kârikâl had sent up with a packet of letters by catamaran-people; but, as the packet of M. Lally's letters was not found, and the catamaran-people being questioned replied that they had lost it at sea, they were imprisoned.

I sent bread, butter, wine, fruit, sugar-candy, sugar, etc., to my *agrahâram* for the use

[1] 27th Âvani, [*Bahudânya*].

GSL

of M. Lally the General Avargal to-day or to-morrow on his way back from Âlambarai.

Saturday, September 9.[1]—I returned home from the Fort at ten o'clock this morning ; in the evening I heard that M. Lally the General Avargal had asked for the horse-guards and soldiers at Pondichery to be sent, and that they had set out for Âlambarai.

Sunday, September 10.[2]—When I was at the sorting-godown at the Fort this morning, I heard that M. Mainville, Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan, and Paramânanda Pillai had been sent to Mysore for horse and foot and 40 lakhs for expenses. On September 6 in the matter of country management, it was resolved that M. Desvaux should have nothing more to do with the accounts or *aramâs paramâs*, but that these should be managed by M. Duplant and M. La Selle ; but I hear that to-day the council decided that these should be managed by M. Duplant, M. La Selle and M. Barthélemy—three persons in all—jointly and not severally. Afterwards I came home.

The note received from my *agrahâram* this evening says that M. Lally has left Âlambarai for Wandiwash.

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[1] *28th Âvani, Bahudânya.* [2] *29th Âvani, Bahudânya.*

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[1] When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit was in his room upstairs. When I, M. Guillard and five or six Europeans were in the sorting-godown, M. Guillard asked why he too could not have a share in managing the country along with M. Duplant, M. La Selle and M. Barthélemy who had been appointed on the 29th.[2] 'Why not?' I replied. He continued, 'M. Lally is a very bad-tempered man who will not brook the least delay in supplying cattle and men and money from the country, and so there will be troubles. So perhaps better not.' I replied, 'Nothing worse would happen to you than to the others, so why do you hesitate? If anything happened, the country might be divided into four parts.' M. Guillard replied, 'True; but there is no council to-day; when it meets to-morrow or the day after, I shall be present.'

In the course of the conversation they said, 'The Dutch speak of a news-writer's report that the French King sent one of his cousins with 10,000 horse and 30,000 soldiers who surrounded the King of England's son and 25,000 soldiers in an English fort; they shelled it until the English could resist no longer but capitulated,[3] so that the prince with his 25,000

[1] I think a date-heading has been omitted here.

[2] 29th Âvani, *i.e.*, September 10.

[3] The capitulation of the Duke of Cumberland at Klosterseven in Hanover.

men, has been carried prisoners to Paris, the capital of France. The present English King, who has been on the throne for 50 years,[1] before his accession ruled the country and fort of Hanover, until, 50 years ago, the English King who then reigned in London (the capital of England), was murdered by the people and the present King set on the throne; but he continued to possess the country of Hanover with its fort. The French King sent the murdered English King's grandson, who was with him, with able ministers and agents, troopers, soldiers and munitions of war; and they have captured the country and fort of Hanover, and set him up as King, and he will be taken to London and made King there also when the English King has been defeated. When the 14 English men-of-war attacked the French, five of them were sunk and the remaining nine taken. Moreover Nîdadâni, etc. countries belonging to the King of Prussia, have been taken by the French with the slaughter of many of the King's people.'[2]

At eleven o'clock when I wanted to go home, a European came and asked me for some teakwood. I told him that I could spare none,

[1] A curious amalgamation of the first two Georges, like the confusion of Charles I and James II below.

[2] *Nidadini* apparently means the Netherlands, though not in Frederick's dominions.

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as I wanted it for my house. He replied, 'I have all the timber and stone at Devanâmpattanam, and I will let you have them cheap or exchange timber for timber.'—'Very well,' I replied, and then came home.

I heard to-day that Savarirâya Pillai had been ordered to get cattle, fowls and everything ready against M. Lally's arrival.

I also hear that the English abandoned Chingleput as soon as M. Soupire crossed the Pâlâr and approached, and that the French are strengthening Chingleput, Karunguli and Chêtpattu forts which they have taken, and that, when they took Tiruvannâmalai, Chengama, etc. places, they had put all the people at Tiruvannâmalai to the sword.

Friday, September 15.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that M. Leyrit, the Governor, was alone in his room, so I went to the sorting-godown where I found M. Guillard, M. La Grenée and M. Clouët. They were saying that, in the council held on the 25th of last month,[2] it was decided to give the country management to M. Lenoir; but M. Boyelleau observed, 'M. Godeheu's nominee should be continued; M. Desvaux has been managing the country for two years and has

[1] *3rd Purattâsi, Bahudânya.* [2] 25th Âvani, *i.e.*, September 6.

learnt the business, but if M. Lenoir be given the management, it will take him three months to learn the state of affairs, and consequently no cattle, rice, or provisions will come in.' This angered M. Lenoir who replied that they must consider him very ignorant or incapable; and, in consequence of their quarrel, neither M. Boyelleau nor M. Lenoir attended the council of the 10th. Before his departure, M. Lally visited M. Boyelleau and talked with him upstairs for about two hours; so at yesterday's council only M. Boyelleau was present. M. Clouët then said, 'In yesterday's council, M. Lally offered to beat and kick M. Leyrit about a hundred times, but in spite of all this, M. Leyrit does nothing. Can M. Leyrit live for a thousand years? I do not think he can be a true Frenchman, else he never could have borne it. After such insults to one who has been Governor here, he should at least have declared that he would return to Europe, or since he is a servant of the King, have faced death.' M. La Grenée said, 'The Company is gone, and Pondichery is like a bird that has lost a wing, and, being unable to fly with the other, must perish in spite of every effort. M. Lally respects nobody, but beats, abuses or otherwise disgraces them; so that sixteen officers have gone home by the ship which

sailed for Europe, and others say that they will do the same.' I came home at eleven.

Afterwards I heard the following news :— When M. Lally reached Wandiwash on his way from Utramallûr, Taqî Sâhib gave him a nazar of six rupees,[1] a dress of honour worth 500 rupees and a chain and a *turra* worth six rupees each. M. Lally was pleased at this ; they exchanged head-dresses, and declared themselves brothers.

I hear that Periyanna Mudali went to Valudâvûr on learning of his[2] approach, and that the *amaldâr* of Wandiwash gave him a nazar of 100 pagodas with which he was much pleased.

I also heard that the St. Paul's priests told the Superior[3] that he was hearkening to foolish words and devoting himself to political affairs which could only lead to the loss of the church revenues, that he was wrong to behave thus instead of preaching, that he might do as he wished, but that they would choose another Superior and thus seek the path of salvation, that his conduct had alienated M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux and others, and that the result would be evil. The Superior replied that they were right and that he would behave differently in future.

[1] Both here and below perhaps 600 should be understood.
[2] Lally's.
[3] Père Lavaur.

I also hear that Pâpayya Pillai is spreading a rumour that M. Soupire has written to him promising him the management of the new countries, and that he has sent his man Krishna Râo to M. Soupire with a palankin.

[*Saturday*], *September 16.*[1]—When I was in the sorting-godown at the Fort this morning, I heard that M. Leyrit and M. Boyelleau were talking confidentially in the innermost room.

I hear that the King's six men-of-war with 3,000 soldiers have reached Mascareigne, but that a small frigate sent back here with the ships' commissioner who is in charge of the ships' things and keeps accounts, with Europe letters and to report the news here, has been captured by the English[2]; he however threw the letters into the sea and arrived here with others to-day, after giving their parole to the ship's captain.

Sunday, September 17.[3]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard at the sorting-godown that yesterday M. Leyrit and M. Boyelleau talked confidentially till noon; that, when M. Lally the General Avargal visited Wandiwash and other places, he told several people that they need not render accounts of

[1] *4th Purattâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] This probably alludes to the capture of the *Rubis* already mentioned, p. 248 *supra*.

[3] *5th Purattâsi,* [*Bahudânya*].

the rents paid or the balance to any one but himself, that they should even give him the accounts which they had already given to others, that he would not tell anybody of this, and that they also should tell no one, and that they might raise horse and seize all the country they could, the cost of which he would pay on their rendering accounts ; it is also said that, on the complaint of Wandiwash Râmalinga Ayyan that the commandant refused to do as he was told, the latter has been removed and another appointed. Afterwards I came home.

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JANUARY 1759.

Tuesday, January 23.[1]—There is news from Madras that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's son who was in the fort has been killed by our fire and that all the Tamils and principal Europeans with their women have quitted it.[2]

Wednesday, January 24.[3]—Loads of horse-gram, etc., of which our troops are in need are being despatched to-day to Madras, so bullocks and men are being seized for this purpose. There is no other important news.

Saturday, January 27.[4]—A small French vessel which was sent up with powder and shot to Madras returned to-day with 200 wounded men and officers. One of these, an officer, was brought ashore chained hand and foot, with his face covered.[5] He was shut up in the dungeon. One of the officers' writers, who came to my house, said that he could not identify the man, or tell me his name, but that he would enquire and inform me later.

[1] *14th Tai, Bahudânya.*

[2] Lally sat down before Fort St. George on December 14. Malleson (p. 537) misdates it.

[3] *15th Tai, Bahudânya.*

[4] *18th Tai, Bahudânya.*

[5] I do not know other references to this circumstance. If Ranga Pillai was correctly informed, it may have been connected with the intrigues which Lally believed were being carried on against him. Cf. his *Mêmoire*, p. 111.

M. Saubinet is said to be dead.[1] De Tillecourt,[2] the commandant of the *Régiment de Lorraine* and a few other officers are also said to have been killed. Mr. Caillaud[3] from Madura and the Muhammadan Yusuf Khân, having visited 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân at Chandragiri, captured Tiruvallûr and other places with the help of some military and 300 horse, and then marched to Poonamallee. M. Lally sent M. Maudave[4] with 200 soldiers, M. Bussy's Kallars, the Kallars attached to the German Hussars and a few sepoys to oppose their advance. The English in the fort are determined to resist to the last, and not to surrender even though the walls are destroyed or scaled. Mr. Pigot, Mr. Lawrence and others among them met in council and signed a paper to this effect. Europeans say that part of the northern works has been brought down, fetching the curtain with it, that our people have occupied the covered way, and that, in two or three days, the French flag will be hoisted in the fort. They say too that M. Lally fell in a

[1] In December, though desperately wounded, he was expected to recover (*Journal of the Siege*, p. 148); but in January Lally was despairing of his life (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 283), and his wound proved fatal.

[2] He will be found mentioned at the references noted above.

[3] Ranga Pillai is mistaken; Achilles Preston was the officer commanding this detachment at the moment. Caillaud did not receive the command till February 7 (*Siege Diary*, p. 285).

[4] Orme, ii, 401, mentions Soupire as in command.

rage with M. Maudave for failing to scale the walls and capture Chingleput 15 days ago when it was defended by only 100 or 150 sepoys.

I heard this evening that M. Leyrit sent for M. Miran about his dispute with M. Desvaux over the total collections in the Tindivanam, etc. pargannahs, and told him angrily that Krishna Râo had seized the country because of his [Miran's] carelessness. M. Miran replied, 'It is your duty to keep troops to protect the country and mine only to manage it. The villages under Villiyanallûr and Valudâvûr taluks and even the country right up to the Pondichery gates have been seized because you paid no heed to them. In these circumstances, what wonder if the country leased to me seven or eight leagues away is lost?' This only made M. Leyrit the more angry with M. Miran.

Sunday, January 28.[1]—I hear that *talaiyâri* peons and the Company's peons are breaking into houses and shops and carrying away pestles, mortars, grind-stones and boxes of nut; and that other like mischief is being done.

Wednesday, January 31.[2]—I heard secret news this evening that the ship which sailed from here with shot, powder, provisions, etc.,

[1] *19th Tai, Bahudânya.* [2] *22nd Tai, Bahudânya.*

had returned and anchored this evening in the roads after landing 60 wounded ; the leaders who were sent here in irons with their faces covered, and who have been shut up separately in the dungeon by the West Gate because M. Lally had found proofs of their sending letters to the English, consist of M. le Chevalier de La Fare, Chambois, and a third whose name is not known. I hear that M. [ ] was previously sent here in the same way. I shall make further enquiries about it.

I also hear that this ship has brought much plunder from Madras, and that people on the roads say that many things are being brought by road by Pariahs, Europeans and others.[1]

[1] Lally makes the same statement and tells Leyrit that he should have seized it on its arrival. Leyrit replied that it consisted of articles of great bulk and little value. Lally to Leyrit, February 11, 1759, and answer of February 14 (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, pp. 290 and 293.)

FEBRUARY 1759.

Thursday, February 1.[1]—I hear that, although an English squadron of nine ships has reached Galle and Colombo, contrary winds and currents will prevent it from coming to the assistance of the English at Madras, as this is their time of misfortune; the ships can only arrive when the south winds begin about *Panguni*[2], and before then, our people will have captured Madras.

Friday, February 2.[3]—At eleven o'clock today, Guntûr Narasinga Chetti and Rangappa Chetti told Kandappa Mudali that, although Krishna Râo's people were cutting the harvest in the villages under Villiyanallûr, no sepoys had been sent to prevent them, and that they could do nothing, not having been supplied with sepoys, powder or shot and that therefore they could not pay.[4] Kandappa Mudali dismissed them saying that he was helpless as the Governor had said nothing when he was told of this. I hear that Kômuttis are very anxious and are saying that they cannot prosper in this unsettled state of things.

Saturday, February 3.[5]—I heard this afternoon that M. du Bausset and five or six Europeans had discussed matters with M. Leyrit

[1] *23rd Tai, Bahudânya.*
[2] March–April.
[3] *24th Tai, Bahudânya.*
[4] *Sc.* the rent.
[5] *25th Tai, Bahudânya.*

and then departed. There is no other important news.

Some officers said to-night that an English frigate bringing news to Madras was chased and driven out to sea by our ship which was carrying powder and shot, and a sloop which was in the roads, but that when our ships had returned, the English ship put back to the coast, and the 200 men on board her went to Mr. Pigot and reported news to him as soon as they had landed.[1]

Sunday, February 4.[2]—I sent Mêlugiri Chetti this morning to Savarirâya Pillai to find out why he had not visited me as he had promised. Mêlugiri Chetti returned with a message from Savarirâya Pillai saying that he would come presently. About half an hour after, when I was sitting on my carpet in the hall, Savarirâya Pillai came accordingly and stood before me. I asked him to sit, and, after sending away Sêshayyangâr, Mêlugiri Chetti, and five or six others who were there, I asked Savarirâya Pillai the news. After telling me in detail the atrocities committed by M. Miran in the management,[3] he added,

[1] The English vessel was the *Shaftesbury*. She brought 31 sick men of the King's troops from Bombay, and news that six companies of Draper's regiment with the squadron had been off Ceylon on January 7. *Siege Diary*, p. 73.

[2] *26th Tai, Bahudânya.*

[3] Reading *amûl* for *abêl*.

'Krishna Râo has seized the country up to the Bound-hedge, carried off the crops, and sent Mutta Pillai of the dancing-girl's caste as sardâr, with guns and an army, to drive away the Villupuram man who fled in fear to Gingee. If the times are such as to permit a dancing-girl's son to wield the power of sardâr, surely affairs will prosper! Many matters have been ruined in the like manner.' When he had thus spoken of the feeble conduct of business, I asked him the contents of the letters. He said, 'I only heard what my enemy said, and made no reply. I do not know why you ask such a question. I sent Sâmayyangâr (Sêshayyangâr's son) to you to get the letter translated into Tamil, but you returned it saying that nobody was on your side and that my uncle's son had gone to Valudâvûr. [ ].'

Tuesday, February 6.[1]—I hear that on a cowle from M. Lally at Madras, *une trouppe hussarde autrement* 2,000 Pathân horse and as many foot are coming from Cuddapah and those parts.

There are signs of the southerly wind.

Wednesday, February 7.[2]—Up to eleven o'clock [to-night] the only news is that on M. du Bausset's report to M. Leyrit of Krishna

[1] *28th Tai, Bahudânya.*

[2] *29th Tai, Bahudânya.*

Râo's people reaping the harvest in the Valudâvûr country, which is M. Dupleix' jaghir, orders were given to the Villiyanallûr commandant to drive away the people from the several places ; he accordingly rode to Nellikkuppam, etc. villages, and burnt Akkal Nâyakkan's jungles, etc. Thus our own people as well as the enemy destroy the crops, burn houses and cause other damage.

Thursday, February 8.[1]—I have been hearing for the last ten days that the wealthy people in the town, including the Christians, are sending their goods secretly to Negapatam and Tranquebar, and that for the past month people have been going away on the pretext of visiting Râmêsvaram.[2] Now I hear that people are either not allowed to go out with their goods or asked to show their passes.

Monday, February 12.[3]—At nine o'clock to-day, I heard that certain Europeans, Mattâl Reddi (the Masulipatam dubâsh) and M. Moracin were talking of the following news :—On Friday the first of *Mâsi*,[4] 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân, his *bakhshî* Muhammad Isarat Khân, Muhammad Yusuf Khân, the commandant of Madura who has come from Trichinopoly, Mr. Caillaud,

[1] *30th Tai, Bahudânya.*
[2] Cf. Leyrit to Lally, February 28, 1759 (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 313).
[3] *4th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*
[4] February 9.

the commandant of the Trichinopoly fort, and his lieutenant Mr. Samson who had gone from here—all on the side of the English—marched with 1,500 horse, 3,000 foot, 2,000 military and 100 or 150 Europeans against the French troops that have been attacking the fort in four divisions for the past month ; the latter were obliged by want of provisions to retreat and take up a position at St. Thomas' Mount ; thereon M. Lally[1] himself advanced the same day to repel them, not trusting his subordinates who were incapable and always giving trouble, with 1,500 soldiers, horse, M. St. Germain [?] and others, the German Hussars, 500 European troopers, 1,000 or 1,500 Moghul troopers, and 2,000 or 2,500 foot in four divisions ; he surrounded the enemy's troops at St. Thomas' Mount and attacked them on all sides, scattering and inflicting heavy losses on them, killing about 400 horses, 800 men and 100 or 150 European soldiers. M. Aumont having seized Mr. Caillaud, formerly commandant of Trichinopoly, demanded his ring ; but the latter, saying that he would give it him, seized his pistol ; M. Aumont, however, got the mastery and shot the other dead with the pistol, and took the ring on his hand and

[1] Not Lally himself, but his relative, Colonel Michel Lally, Orme, ii, 443.

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the mohurs, etc., in his bag. Moreover the Madura commandant Muhammad Yusuf Khân's head was cut off and shown to the troops on the end of a bayonet. 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân (Muhammad 'Alî Khân's younger brother) and Muhammad Isarat Khân his *bakhshî* were made prisoners. 200 or 250 horses and a few horse and men were also taken, besides tents, provisions, guns, etc. A few other troopers and men escaped with two guns, some of them utterly exhausted.[1] I shall learn more details and write.

Friday, February 16.[2]—At eleven o'clock to-day, I heard that M. Solminiac had carried to M. Leyrit, the Governor, at the *Gouvernement*, a letter that came by the small ship which arrived this morning from Madras with the wounded, etc., and departed after reporting the news; afterwards Vinâyaka Pillai's elder brother's son was sent for and told to supply wounded officers with what they needed.

I also heard that two sepoys bringing letters from Mahé were stopped at Âttûr on the Mysore borders on suspicion that the letters were English, and the sepoys put in irons, until one of them, on declaring that he was bringing letters to the Pondichery people and

[1] Most of this story is fictitious—particularly the alleged deaths of Caillaud and Yusuf Khân. The action was drawn—both sides having had enough and falling back. See Orme, ii, 443, etc., for a very detailed account, probably based on information from Caillaud.

[2] *8th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*

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furnishing security, came on and reported the news to M. Leyrit, the Governor, who ordered ten rupees to be given to him for his expenses, [and wrote] that the letters were intended for the Mysore vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, that the people were well-known in Pondichery, that the letters should be sent on without delay, and that orders given not to allow such a thing to be repeated in future.

I also heard that M. Duplant, M. du Bausset, M. Delarche, M. Desvaux, M. Cornet, M. Miran, M. Pichard, a few officers and a ship's padré talked with M. Leyrit who retired to his room on their departure.

Saturday, February 17.[1]—I hear that the *Haarlem*, a small Dutch ship, arrived from Madras with goods which our people had taken there. The captain was saluted by the Fort, and the ship is anchored in the roads.

Europeans told me to-night that M. Lally had written to M. Leyrit saying that, as it was rumoured at Pondichery that the attack of Madras had been abandoned, the man who started the rumour should be found out and hanged and a reply sent, and that they thought that it was better not to say anything about Madras.[2]

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[1] *9th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*

[2] Lally had actually begun his retreat from Madras when the conversation took place.

Sunday, February 18.[1]—I heard this evening that the English sepoys, etc., who retreated from St. Thomas' Mount had beset our Rangô Pandit's horsemen, sepoys, etc., at Sadras and plundered the place.

I hear that Appu Mudali and a few others, who were on their way from here to Madras, have returned as they found the road unsafe. There is no smoke without fire; but it is the way of the world to make much of a trifle.

I also heard that two of Krishna Râo's horsemen went to Karukudikuppam to enquire about Para Nalliyân's house and then returned.

I also heard that Father Lavaur was talking with M. Leyrit, the Governor, from five o'clock to seven.

[*Monday*], *February 19.*[2]—It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom in the town that the Governor in Council had ordered parchment rupees to pass current. I write below the contents of the paper as was proclaimed :—Be it known to all that Mahârâja Mânyasrî Periya Dorai Avargal hereby informs the Company's officials, sepoys and peons that henceforward they will receive parchment money bearing the French Company's seal, and that none should refuse the new money at its face-value from one rupee upwards in exchange for their

[1] *10th Mâsi, Bahudânya.* [2] *11th Mâsi,* [*Bahudânya*].

goods ; and that the parchment money will be accepted by the Company at its face-value. Dated this day Monday, 11th *Mâsi* of *Bahudânya* corresponding with February 19, 1759, under the hand of Monsieur the Governor Leyrit Avargal.[1]

At ten o'clock to-day I heard the following news :—M. Leyrit, the Governor, went to the hospital this morning and, after inspecting the sick, returned to the Fort at nine. Afterwards he received a letter from the commandant of Gingee saying that Mysore troops, consisting of 3,000 horse and 2,000 sepoys sent under a sardâr to his assistance, had passed through Sankarâpuram and Pândalam, and joined M. Mainville. M. Leyrit, the Governor, sent this news to M. Lally. M. Bussy, who had returned owing to ill-health, is staying at the Olukarai garden. This is the news reported to M. Leyrit.

I heard to-day that, on the evening of Friday the 8th,[2] six or seven vessels arrived at Madras to relieve the English besieged in the Fort. I shall write again after learning the facts.

[1] This currency consisted of 10-month bonds carrying 12 *per cent.* interest. However the Council was unable to redeem them as they matured, and they fell accordingly to a considerable discount. Some curious information about them occurs in the proceedings on a suit in the Mayor's Court in 1763 (Mayor's Court Pleadings, 1763, pp. 125, etc.).

[2] February 16.

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I hear that Lieutenant-General M. Lally with our French troops besieging the place has reached Poonamallee with his troops on his way to Arcot.

[*Tuesday, February*] *20.*[1]—At half-past seven this morning, M. Leyrit inspected the carpenters' shops, the custom-house at the Beach, and the smiths' forge, and the three ships laden with powder, shot and provisions to be despatched to M. Lally's army at Madras. He returned to the *Gouvernement* at half-past nine. M. Barthélemy and M. du Bausset then came and, after talking with [M. Leyrit], departed. There is no other important news.

In consequence of yesterday's proclamation that parchment money should circulate in order to accustom people to its use, the shroffs' and cloth merchants' shops have remained shut since yesterday. When the shroffs, bazaar-men, merchants and others complained of this to M. Barthélemy the Second, he answered that he had nothing to do with the matter and told them to go to M. Leyrit. They accordingly went to him, but Kandappa Mudali told them that it was not the proper time to see him and thus sent them away. They then returned and reported the

[1] *12th* [*Mâsi, Bahudânya*].

matter to me. I told them to tell the Governor what the Second had said and dismissed them. In this town formerly abounding in gold and silver, rich gems and diamonds, parchment money now circulates—a sure sign of the town's decay. Men are no longer honest; injustice reigns everywhere; small men receive the Governor's confidence and are entrusted with the management of affairs as dubâshes, so that the Governor is now completely changed and does all these things. What do all these forbode? The town will be wholly ruined unless a Governor like M. Lenoir arrives and re-establishes truth, justice and good government, putting down the present evils. Many say this, and add that these misfortunes will touch not only this town but the whole country.

Wednesday, February 21.[1]—At nine o'clock to-day when M. Leyrit was alone in his room, I went and paid him my respects. He asked if I had taken 'Abd-ul-rahmân's house. I replied that I had no right to take it, that, when he was occupying Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib's house, after the departure of the latter's children and others, Miyân Sâhib had brought the matter to the notice of M. Delarche and M. Barthélemy the Second, and got the house

[1] *13th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*

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back, and that was all I knew of the affair. The Governor then gave me leave, which I accepted and returned home.

Monday, February 26.[1]—I heard the following news at half-past ten to-day :— When M. Leyrit left his room and went to the central hall, he was visited by M. Solminiac the chief of the custom-house, who went away after talking with him. Then M. du Bausset visited the Governor. Afterwards M. Clouët and the head-surgeon came and talked with the Governor. M. Moracin then came and was talking with the Governor, so the ship's padré went away as the time was not suitable.

M. Lally is halting with his troops on the Arcot road at a place called Panapâkkam about ten miles from Kâvêripâkkam. Two peons who brought M. Lally's letters to M. Leyrit at ten o'clock said that they had heard that after M. Lally left Madras, he marched towards Arcot by way of Tiruvallûr and Tiruppâchûr.

I also hear that, as M. Leyrit summoned the Choultry-writers and told them that the shroffs and the bazaar-men need not be compelled to accept the parchment money, the bazaars have been opened since yesterday.

[1] *18th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*

At about seven this evening the Comte d'Estaing who was taken prisoner of war at Madras arrived here, having given an agreement according to custom that he will not take up arms again and will surrender himself whenever ordered[1]. Two officers who have stood surety for him have also arrived on horseback, but I do not know their names.

As M. Lally by misfortune attacked Madras for two months, without being able to capture it, Mr. Pigot, the Governor of the fort, has earned great glory. Formerly in the year *Vibhava*[2], Mr. Boscawen, the Unlucky Admiral, attacked Pondichery but retreated without taking it, thus bringing dishonour on himself and great glory on M. Dupleix. In the like manner now Mr. Pigot has earned glory. However no one here is M. Lally's equal in warfare. Madras was plundered, the fort was blown to pieces, the houses within it demolished by shells and levelled with the ground, the walls destroyed and beaten into the ditch, and the attack was so severe that those outside could see those inside the fort, and those within see those without, and yet, despite this fierce attack, the fort was not taken, so that

[1] His subsequent operations at Gombroon and Fort Marlborough were alleged to be violations of this parole. He replied that it was limited to India.

[2] 1748-1749.

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Mr. Pigot's glory is proportioned to the difficulty of his task. Nevertheless the wise will perceive that M. Lally is not to blame for failing to take the place, since destiny so decreed. Plainly M. Lally is not to blame. As Sîtârâma Jôsier foretold, Madras escaped this year because Fort St. David was destroyed, but I think that, before the end of *Âni*, *Pramâdhi*[1], the French flag will certainly be hoisted over the fortress of Madras, because the Kingdom, I and the French have suffered good and evil up to *Mâsi* this year according to Sîtârâma Jôsier's predictions; and henceforth I and the French will see better days. We shall see what happens. Sîtârâma Jôsier also said that the French could prosper only if I were with them. It is because they have treated me ill and made me an enemy that they have been reduced so low as to be obliged to issue parchment money. It is but just that their misfortunes should coincide with mine. Wise men know that, as soon as I receive the management and am well treated, the French will gain victories and conquer kingdoms. I say this from my past experience and from what had happened to the Governor.

Tuesday, February 27.[2]—M. Bussy visited the Governor this morning and had a long

[1] June-July 1759.

[2] *19th Mâsi, Bahudânya.*

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conversation with him. When M. Bussy had taken leave, two vakîls of Najîb-ul-lah Khân (a Muhammadan whose name I do not know, and Rangô Pandit) were sent for and imprisoned at the Choultry; but on M. Moracin's pointing out that, although the Muhammadan had first been sent as vakîl of Najîb-ul-lah Khân, he had afterwards been removed from that service, he was released. Najîb-ul-lah Khân was formerly on the side of the French, but has since joined the English and betrayed the French. The two vakîls were imprisoned because it is said that he has beheaded some Frenchmen. I hear that M. du Bausset, M. Duplant and M. [Guillard][1] talked with the Governor as usual to-day.

[*Wednesday, February*] *28.*[2]—Some of my people who have returned from Conjeeveram reported the following news to me:—From the 12th to the 14th[3] (that is, from Tuesday up to Thursday last), 4,000 Maratha horsemen who had been sent by Gôpâl Hari as desired,[4] began to plunder Conjeeveram and other places, forcing people to say where they had hidden their treasures, and cutting to pieces

[1] The text has 'Kishyâr,' but I think Guillard is intended.

[2] *20th* [*Mâsi, Bahudânya*].

[3] February 20 to 22.

[4] If we read *gada* for *kèttat*, we should get the meaning 'at the gada' or passes. This would agree with Orme, ii, 424 and 464, and is, I think, what the Diarist probably meant.

those who refused. Razâ Sâhib's men who were in the temple at Big Conjeeveram all the time, were afraid to do anything and shut themselves up in the temple. The Marathas then passed through Lâlâpêttai. M. Lally who was encamped near Tiruppâchûr, Takkôlam and Pêrambâkkam with the German and M. Aumont's troopers, on hearing that the Marathas had carried off the goods and palankin of Razâ Sâhib who had been sent in advance, immediately despatched the German and M. Aumont's troopers to fall upon the Maratha army, who retreated abandoning their booty and taking refuge in the *gada*. [They say] about 500 Maratha horses fell into our hands and 200 were slain ; but their real loss cannot be more than half as much. The English are said to have summoned the Marathas. As our people have left Madras for Arcot, the Maratha troopers have returned to the *gada*. I hear that they have plundered Sholinghur, Lâlâpêttai and other places, and even seized and ravished women.

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APRIL 1759.

This *dafter* contains the diary from first *Chittirai*, *Pramâdhi* constellation *Uttiram*, *Chaitra Suddha Trayôdasi* or 10th April 1759 to the 28th *Vaigâsi*.[1]

Details of the four ministers of the King of France :—One has control over the military, the second over marine, the third over finance and other matters and the fourth over foreign affairs. The chief minister was Cardinal Fleury, but, when his place became vacant, the King did not appoint any one else, as he intended to manage affairs himself. Afterwards the *Chancelier* and *Garde des Sceaux*, [? exercised the] *Contrôle Général*.

Wednesday, *April 11*.[2]—At night M. Moracin set sail on the *Haarlem* with two small frigates for Masulipatam. The Governor, who had ordered M. Bussy to proceed to Masulipatam, subsequently cancelled this order and sent M. Moracin. There is news from Madras that eight English vessels are to the southward off Kârikâl, Negapatam and those parts. The winds are favourable, so people say that M. Moracin will reach Masulipatam safely in

[1] It is not apparent why this passage occurs here. The diary was written in rough drafts which no doubt were tied up in the usual manner in romals. This seems to be the description on one of the labels attached to the bundles, copied into the fair volume by inadvertence.

[2] *2nd Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

three days. Even if any English vessels happen to be at Masulipatam, Moracin can attack them with the help of the troops on board his ship.

Thursday, April 12.[1]—I heard this morning that one or two English vessels were sighted last night in the roads, and one of our small ships fired a gun at twelve; they say that guns have been mounted on the sea-wall battery and loaded ready for firing, and that the sepoys were on the alert the whole night.

Saturday, April 14.[2]—I returned home this evening from Sâram after taking an oil-bath. M. Moracin with some troops was despatched by ship to Masulipatam on the night of the 11th in consequence of news that the English and Ânanda Râjâ (Vijayarâma Râjâ's son) had advanced against Masulipatam, plundered the suburbs and built batteries from which to attack the fort. I now hear that, owing to some dispute between the English and Ânanda Râjâ, the former have departed with their forces. I write this news because I think it must be true.

Being unwell, I did not go out to-day.

Wednesday, April 18.[3]—The following news was reported to me to-day:—The English army and the troops from Madura under their

[1] *3rd Chittirai, Pramâdhi.* [2] *5th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*
[3] *9th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

commander,[1] who were besieging Muzaffar Bêg[2] and some jemadars with the French troops in the Conjeeveram fort, scaled the walls, seized Muzaffar Bêg and slew his mother, wounding some of his men and capturing their guns. The wounded escaped. Râmalingam (Vinâyakan's servant) was also wounded, but escaped with a few others. Abu Muhammad, the *amaldâr*, was killed. The English troops have occupied the place.[3] M. Soupire and his forces have reached Tiruvatti and taken possession of it. M. Lally who has left Wandiwash fort is now at Tiruvattiyûr. There is much privation for want of money for the expenses. Razâ Sâhib was sought for all night long, but I hear that he went out yesterday evening and is encamped outside. M. Delarche will go to-morrow morning.

The news of Conjeeveram is as follows :— When the English attacked our troops, Râmalingam (Vinâyaka Pillai's man) was wounded but escaped with some earth-diggers. Abu Muhammad, formerly *amaldâr* of Tirukkôyilûr and then of Conjeeveram, under

[1] Brereton.

[2] A partisan who had served with Preston and then joined the French. Cambridge, *War in India*, p. 198.

[3] According to Brereton's letter dated April 16 (*Military Consultations*, April 19, 1759) the storming party was led to Caillaud and overcame an obstinate defence from 100 Indian horse and 300 sepoys.

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Râmalingam, was killed by the explosion of some gunpowder, and Venkatâchala Mudali, a poet from the south, who was wearing a fine dress and going about with Vinâyakan, and another man (whose name I do not know), both had their ears cut off. Three or four Brâhmans were severely wounded. This is the news about the English troops.

Thursday, April 19.[1]—Ayyan Sâstri who had taken leave to join Razâ Sâhib at the latter's request came to me and, after narrating Kandappa Mudali and Periyanna Mudali's complaints against him, said, 'M. Leyrit warned and advised them to be more cautious. Periyanna Mudali who intended to celebrate his son's marriage has had to put it off. Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai are all become downcast.' After reporting the Conjeeveram and Arcot news, he added, 'As Krishna Râo's troops have carried off the cows from Villupuram, Tiruviti and other places, the people in these parts are flying in panic. We must suppose that only those who do nothing will prosper.' He then went away.

Friday, April 20.[2]—At eight o'clock to-night, I heard the following news:—The officers, sergeants and corporals at the North

[1] *10th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.* [2] *11th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

Gate having closed the palmyra door let out only the women, but threatened with their drawn swords all who wore turbans, or cloths and *duppattis*, and compelled them to give from six fanams to five rupees for permission to go out. When questioned, these officers complained that they had received no pay from the Company and had nothing to live upon, and so were reduced to demanding money from people with threats. Four or five persons who passed, wearing fine gowns, were allowed through the gate on paying four or five rupees each. The others were allowed to pass for six fanams or a rupee. Those who had no money with them were accompanied by some Topass foot to their houses where they paid them. Till now I have never heard of the townspeople being molested because pay was in arrears. Other mischief has been done in the past, but never before have the four gates been closed for the plunder of the town. Men tremble, not knowing what this portends, and wondering why they have remained under the white flag for so long. This is what I hear, and I have written it.

Sunday, April 22.[1]—I left my house at seven o'clock this morning, meaning to go to the Fort. On my way I went to M. Duplant's

[1] *13th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

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house as he sent for me yesterday, but his dubâsh said that he was unwell. Leaving word that I would visit him to-morrow, I went to the Fort which was almost as empty as a gram threshing-floor.[1] After half-past eight, M. Clouët, M. du Bausset, the *greffier* M. Nouäl, four or five writers and two Company's officials came, and with them I went upstairs. M. Leyrit was just setting out for church at nine and his face was like that of a flour doll,[2] without any sign of cheerfulness. To him I paid my respects and he bowed his acknowledgment. When he was besieging Madras, M. Lally seized two foreign ships[3] in the roads laden with rice, etc., and sent them hither. On learning that they were merchantmen bound for Pondichery, M. Lally and M. Leyrit three months ago ordered that they should be released. When they were told to go to M. Leyrit,[4] the latter referred them to M. Lally who, in turn, said that the *greffier* who had been told about the matter would pay them, and thus got rid of them. On being asked, the *greffier* said that they must await

[1] Presumably the gram threshing-floor is compared with a paddy threshing-floor which would be much more crowded.

[2] I suppose we should understand this 'as pale.'

[3] See *Siege Diary*, pp. 15 and 27. They seem to have been grain-vessels, probably from Bengal.

[4] *Sc.* about payment for their cargoes.

the arrival of the squadron after which the amounts due would be paid. In spite of their importunities, they were told through me that they need not go to him. When they raised an outcry upstairs in M. Leyrit's presence, I was told to tell them that all but one might go to Madras, and that their money would be paid on the arrival of the Mascareigne ships. After this he went to church. When I informed the foreigners, they said, 'We knew M. Leyrit when he was in Bengal, so you need not tell us about him.' After describing him completely, they added that he ruined that town before he came here, and that they were sure that he would ruin this place also. I said that they should not speak like that, and then went to the sorting-godown where I met M. Guillard. After talking with him about what is going on, I came home.

At five o'clock this evening I heard that the Governor had read and shown to the councillors a letter from an European at Guntûr saying that the English and Ânanda Râjâ had seized Masulipatam.[1] I shall learn what the Europeans say and write it in detail.

Peons who have come say that they heard of M. Moracin's ships reaching Masulipatam and

[1] Stormed on the night April 7/8.

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then putting out to sea[1], and that they know nothing more.

I heard the following news to-night :—On Saturday or Sunday the 28th or 29th *Panguni* corresponding with the 7th or 8th April, the English scaled the walls of the fort of Masulipatam and captured it at dead of night. The 100 soldiers and 1,000 sepoys in the fort did not fire a single gun at the enemy. The Marquis de Conflans was outside with 300 soldiers and 2,000 foot, and when the fort had been taken, Salabat Jang's flag was hoisted thereon. He has entered into an agreement with the English and has come to Bezwada. No definite news has yet come from our people in the fort. As a Frenchman living in Guntûr, about 30 or 40 miles distant from Masulipatam, has written about the capture of the fort, the news must be true. It must also be true that a flag has been hoisted in Salabat Jang's name. The two or three officers who informed me of this, said that they knew no more details. I shall write more if I hear more.

One or two Europeans whom I met to-night informed me of the following news :— As to-morrow is M. Leyrit's name-day,

[1] After unsuccessfully engaging the Company's ship *Hardwicke*, Forde to Madras. April 17 (*Military Consultations*, April 28, 1759), and Orme, ii, 491. Moracin sailed up to Ganjam where he landed.

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the priests and the European ladies and gentlemen will visit him this evening; but he, remembering the indignities put on him by M. Lally on a former occasion, does not wish to celebrate the day. Last year he found that the respect shown to his predecessors was not to be shown to him; he did not celebrate the day, but went to M. Barthélemy's house at Perumbai; as he finds the same disrespect this year also, he has kept his room with closed doors in great dejection, having ordered his servants to inform the visitors coming to offer their congratulations that he had gone out. They say he will do the same to-morrow also.

Monday, April 23.[1]—As it was M. Leyrit's name-day to-day, I resolved to go to the Fort, so I came out at six and ordered my palankin-boys to get ready. M. Delarche who was sent to Wandiwash to meet M. Lally[2] was passing along my street towards the Fort. I sent to find out where he was going, and I learnt that he was returning home. I went to the Fort at half-past seven where I met M. Leyrit's dubâsh, son of engineer Mutta Pillai and asked why the doors upstairs were closed and no one was to be seen. He replied, 'Yesterday

[1] *14th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Lally had frequently demanded his assistance to collect revenue round Madras during the siege, but he had put off his departure on the plea of ill-health.

the Governor ordered the doors to be closed and said that visitors were to be told that he was not at home. He also forbade the usual three salutes of 21 guns be fired at five in the morning, or the flag hoisted, so no salutes have been fired nor has the flag been hoisted ; moreover he ordered the church to be closed ; so it is of no use for you to wait. You had better go.' When we were talking thus, M. Barthélemy, MM. du Bausset, Clouët and Guillard—seven or eight persons altogether —came, and M. Leyrit's dubâsh told them that M. Leyrit was not at home but had gone out. After waiting about an hour, they went home. M. Guillard said, 'As your *Shâstras* foretold, Masulipatam was taken at sunrise on Sunday April 8, and Salabat Jang's flag hoisted; your astrologer must be very clever. Tell me what else will happen.' I replied, 'By the 30th *Panguni*[1] last all evil influences had waned, and after the first *Chittirai* good days returned. Ships will arrive with a new Governor under whom Arcot or Gingee in the west will become an important place, and the country will be governed with Pondichery as its sea-port. From the 20th of this month and in the month of *Vaigâsi*, some good fortune will occur. From the month of *Âdi*, prosperity will increase and

[1] April 9.

victories will be won on all sides with kingly glory ; and besides this, troubles will beset the enemy which I will relate to you in detail on another occasion.' I then took leave of him ; and on the way I met [Râma]chandra Ayyan of the Beach and his younger brother Srînivâsan, who has come from Kârikâl. They said, 'We wanted to see you. M. Clouët and others say that they cannot explain the capture of Masulipatam with its 600 military and 3,000 or 4,000 foot, except by ill-luck ; on receipt of this news last evening, M. Leyrit wrote to M. Lally at Wandiwash sending him the letter that had been received, and that the recall of M. Bussy and M. Moracin has lost us Monsieur Salabat Jang's support so that the countries have been lost and M. Lally has ruined the French Company.' I made no answer to these speeches, and arrived home at half-past ten. Afterwards I heard that M. Leyrit had ordered his door to be opened at twelve, and had gone to dine with M. Desvaux.

Tuesday, April 24.[1]—When I was asked if the Masulipatam news was true, I did not admit it, but observed that certain reasons rendered it doubtful, and added, 'The Marquis de Conflans wrote to M. Lally twenty days ago

[1] *15th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

that, as the French had 600 military and 3,000 foot, they could face the 400 English soldiers and the troops of Ânanda Râjâ, son of Vijaya-râma Râjâ. Moreover the Bunder fort is surrounded by level ground,[1] so it is not easy to capture ; the news therefore is probably false ; or though the fort is strong, it may have been surrendered by mistake.' When I replied indefinitely, adding that all believed it to be true though no letter about it had come, [he] replied, 'There is a place called Guntûr thirty or forty miles west of Bunder where a Frenchman is stationed, and perhaps he may have written to say that Bunder has been lost. The loss of Bunder would be a serious blow to the French and I myself should lose as much as 25,000 rupees. M. Lally has only come to ruin the English and French Companies. I must attend the council to be held to-day. Owing to his fear of M. Lally, M. Delarche who had gone half the way is returning on the plea that the English are about and has written to that effect. You know the camp.' After talking thus about half an hour, and after inspecting the liquor-godown, I came home at half-past ten.

I heard the following news to-day :—When M. Lally reached Arcot, the merchants and

[1] See Orme, ii, 478.

others complained that the French commander and Razâ Sâhib had levied about 30,000 rupees on their own authority. When M. Lally enquired under whose authority they had demanded the money, they replied that they had taken the amount as they had no money to pay the *sibbandis*. M. Lally asked how they had dared to levy money without his permission and demanded an account of what had been received and expended. It was found that the commandant had appropriated a certain amount, and the elder brother's son of Devanâmpattanam Venkatâchala Nâyakkan, the commandant's dubâsh, had kept the rest. Thereon the commandant was imprisoned, his property confiscated and another commandant appointed; the dubâsh was hanged in the public street, and Razâ Sâhib's man ordered to be arrested and brought in. As he was reported to have fled to Vellore, two horse-messengers were sent to Vellore to seize and bring him. What will happen remains to be seen.

Wednesday, April 25.[1]—I heard yesterday that the gate-people at the Madras and Villiyanallûr Gates had been stopping those who passed saying that, as the Company had not issued pay, they were starving; some were

[1] *16th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

threatened with naked swords, a few were beaten and some rupees were extorted at each gate, amounting in all to 40 rupees. To-day the drinking-vessels of women going to fetch drinking-water were seized, and only returned when four or five rupees had been paid. When the Second was informed of this, he ordered it to be reported to M. Leyrit the Governor, but, when this was done, the Governor said nothing. From sunrise to sunset, a few European writers and officers—seven or eight Europeans in all—went breaking into the houses in the Dancing-girls Street, the Kaikkôlars Street, the Sêda Street and the Perumâlkôil Street, etc., beating on the doors, cutting the male members with knives, and doing other indescribable things. The three troupes of Bommalâṭṭam Pâpayyan and certain dancing-girls are secretly helping the Europeans. The state of things is growing worse. Till *Mâsi* last, the Europeans' dancing women kept within proper limits, but since *Panguni* they have broken all bounds. People say that, if the Europeans had not gone to camp, the situation would have been worse, for, had they been here, worse still would have occurred, and that therefore no one knows what yet may happen. Whether yet stranger things will come to pass, I must wait to learn.

Thursday, April 26.[1]—I heard to-day that the Europeans had forced people passing the gate with drinking-water vessels to pay them money, and that, when Nârana Ayyangâr (Wandiwash Tiruvêngada Pillai's gumastah) was passing by Muchiya Nambulu's house with seven or eight others, one of the Europeans had drawn his sword and cut him in two, on which the rest had fled, but I did not hear whether any one else was killed.

[1] *17th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

MAY 1759.

Tuesday, May 1.[1]—Europeans say that, when M. Leyrit returned from church this morning, some catamaran-people from Kârikâl delivered to him at nine o'clock a letter from M. Porcher saying that 12 English ships had been sighted yesterday off Kârikâl. The Tamils say that the catamaran-people told them that they had seen the same in the afternoon. Thereon M. Leyrit wrote to the captain of the ship with the Comte d'Estaing on board[2], which sailed last night, but had not got far as the wind was contrary, warning him to be very careful as the English ships had been sighted off Kârikâl.

Afterwards I heard that M. Soupire had returned to Pondichery to-day from the camp at Arcot.

I also heard the following news :—Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) and 'Alî Naqî having been taken to task by M. Lally, have therefore come here from Wandiwash without telling anybody. After M. Soupire had taken away Razâ Sâhib's power over Arcot, he

[1] *22nd Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

[2] D'Estaing, as we have seen, had returned to Pondichery on parole. The French offered to exchange him for Nicholas Morse and other civilians seized during the siege of Madras at the Dutch factory of Sadras. The English declined this offer, as they denied the validity of the seizure of their people in a neutral factory; so d'Estaing proceeded to the Islands.

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appointed one Râmalinga Pillai (Vinâyaka Pillai's man) to manage the affairs of that place, and imprisoned Razâ Sâhib's men at Arcot. Formerly Arcot was managed by a subahdar or by the Pâdshâh's mansabdar of 5,000 or 7,000 horse, but is now in the hands of the servant of one who supplies cattle, fowls, sheep, etc., to the troops[1]. He is besides the son of a servant-woman. Such things happen in times of misfortune. When parchment money circulates in the place of gold, silver, copper, etc., it is no wonder that M. Lally has appointed that servant fellow, Râmalingam, to manage the Arcot affairs. In times of decay, order disappears, giving place to disorder, and justice to injustice. Men no longer observe their caste rules, but transgress their bounds, so that the castes are confused and force governs. One man takes another man's wife and his property. Everyone kills or robs another. In short, there is anarchy. Who among the low is lower than a Pariah beggar? and what worse can be imagined than for such a one to rule? Unless justice returns, the country will be ruined. This is what men say, and I have written it briefly.

Wednesday, May 2.[2]—I did not go out to-day, but I heard at ten that M. Leyrit, and the

[1] These were part of Vinâyakan's functions as *Arombâtai*.

[2] *23rd Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

councillors held a council at the Fort. I do not know why it has been held, but the following occurs to me :—M. Moracin's letter from Narsâpûr received here the evening of the day before yesterday says that the English have captured Masulipatam. Moreover the news of the sighting of the English ships off Kârikâl was received from Monsieur [Porcher] yesterday. I think that the council must have been held about this and to decide about the despatch [of ships]. If I learn anything, I shall write.

I heard from some Europeans this evening that the council had decided that writers and others (including the councillors) should do sentry-duty at the Fort, that guns should be mounted and kept loaded on the Fort-walls and on the sea-wall battery, that the necessary orders had been given to the master-gunner, and that, as English ships were off Kârikâl, the council had resolved what precautionary measures should be taken in case Pondichery should be attacked. I also hear that M. Guillard has been appointed as chief captain,[1] and that he is very pleased at it.

Friday, May 4.[2]—I hear that 100 French prisoners have arrived from Trichinopoly in

[1] *Sc.* of the militia.

[2] *25th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

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exchange for the 100 English prisoners who have been released.

People wearing ear-rings have had their ears cut off in the streets of the European quarter, and people passing the gate with any money are made to give it up ; and the bazaars are being plundered.

I hear that, in addition to M. Lally's giving the Arcot subah to Râmalingam (Vinâyaka Pillai's gumastah) about which I have already written, a roundel, an elephant and a dress of honour have been given along with a *parwâna* for the Arcot subah.

Saturday, May 5.[1]—Either with or without the Second's approval, it was resolved the day before yesterday to give a bribe of 15,000 rupees through Kandappa Mudali. A cloth will be presented in any case, and he[2] may share the credit of having recommended it. The amount to be given to M. Leyrit has been decided, but I do not know what sum Kandappa Mudali is to get. I shall learn that later.

Sunday, May 6.[3]—I heard this morning that, at nine o'clock, the councillors went to church with M. Leyrit, heard mass, returned to the *Gouvernement* as usual, and then went home. As it had been arranged that the principal Europeans, public officials, councillors, writers,

[1] *26th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.* [2] The Second.
[3] *27th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

etc., should assemble at the Fort at three o'clock this afternoon on the firing of two guns and the hoisting of a red flag, all assembled at the Fort accordingly. The names of the Europeans who were to be posted at the Fort, the Sea-gate, the ramparts and the four gates surrounding the town, were written down, and their number including the Governor was upwards of 960.[1] Some were appointed captains, some majors and some commandants; his place was assigned to each ; and they were ordered to assemble at the firing of two guns and the hoisting of a red flag.

In broad daylight Europeans are seizing the ear-rings of those who pass along the European streets, cutting and otherwise molesting them. The evil influence of Saturn is seen in the streets daily. It remains to be seen what unkingly and unjust things will come to pass.

Monday, May 7.[2]—The shops in the town were closed this evening. The Europeans are chasing people in the streets and cutting off their ears and seizing their ear-rings, turbans,

[1] The number seems to be very high. When Pondichery surrendered, there were 108 Company's servants of various ranks and 238 European inhabitants (Madras *Military Consultations*, February 2, 1761). A considerable number went to the various neutral settlements, and others joined various parties of adventurers ; but I should have expected so high a proportion as two-thirds.

[2] *28th Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

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duppattis, etc., so that the towns-people have ceased to wear ear-rings. I cannot say what evil will happen. The influence of Saturn is indeed cruel and deadly.

Thursday, May 10.[1]—After eleven o'clock Imâm Sâhib's son[2] visited the Governor with five rich dresses of honour on two salvers and showed the papers relating to the dispute between him and Zuhûr Khân's son. A salute of nine guns was fired. He was told that the case would be decided justly and dismissed with *pân supârî*. The two rich *jamewars*, rich upper-cloth, rich turban, and a Guzarâti sash —five pieces in all—are worth, it is said, 200 or 250 rupees.

Friday, May 11.[3]—I hear that a letter has been received saying that, as M. Lally has taken Conjeeveram from the English, the latter have retired to Madras; Muhammad Yusuf Khân has returned to Trichinopoly; Haidar Nâyakkan who advanced from Mysore with troops, has captured the countries between the two rivers and is attacking the Trichinopoly fort; Salabat Jang has written to M. Lally requesting him to send M. Bussy, but M. Lally replied indefinitely about it, saying that he would be sent after the capture of Madras,

[1] *31st Chittirai, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Hasan 'Alî Khân, jaghirdar of Tyâgar, vol. vi, pp. 248 and 299 *supra.*

[3] *1st Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

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and that, when the soldiers in M. Lally's army threatened to lay down their arms as they had received no pay, they were given two months' pay and pacified with a promise of receiving balance of five or six months' pay. I have written what I have heard.

Saturday, May 12.[1]—I hear that two messengers have brought letters from Tranquebar, and that, as men-of-war are reported to be coming from Mascareigne, M. Leyrit has been busily collecting all that they will need.

I also heard the following news :—When M. Lally's troops attacked Conjeeveram five days ago, 130 soldiers were killed. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore is to be given the Arcot subah and the Padré who formerly went as vakîl from Kârikâl to Tanjore and was imprisoned,[2] and has now gone to Vellore to negotiate, agreed to give a sanad sealed with the King's seal for 25,000 rupees ; but Murtazâ 'Alî Khân wanted the sanad not only to bear the signature of M. Lally and his seal, but also the signatures of the councillors and the Company's seal as well. M. Lally has agreed to this and wants the amount to be paid. It is also said that the sanad is demanded in advance. This is all, and the business is still unfinished. Thus from misunderstanding the

[1] *2nd Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Père St. Esteven.

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course of events and the state of affairs in different places, M. Lally is mismanaging business, showing himself to be indiscreet and unaccustomed to positions of responsibility. People say that our period of misfortune has turned men's minds. I have written it accordingly.

Wednesday, May 16.[1]—At nine o'clock to-night one or two officers who were going to the festival in the Vishnu temple came and told me what follows :—M. Leyrit and M. du Bausset received letters from Bengal at seven o'clock to-night saying that M. Law (the elder brother's son of M. Law who is here)[2] who visited Delhi after Mr. Clive had taken by deceit the French town of Chandernagore in Bengal in *Panguni* of the year *Dhâthu*,[3] made friends with a son of the vizier and advanced with a small body of troops to the Pâdshâh's town of Fatehâbâd. The Nawâb of Bengal and his son having quarrelled, the latter said that the English should be dismissed, but the former did not agree to this. Thereon the son murdered 300 Englishmen who were there, and summoned M. Law who was at Patna. Thereon M. Law at Patna joined the Nawâb's son,

[1] *6th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] A mistake. Jean Law in Bengal was brother of Jacques Law, the officer at Pondichery, who resigned the service in 1760 and retired to a neutral settlement.

[3] March-April 1757.

slew some of Mr. Clive's Englishmen, imprisoned the rest and the Nawâb, and, having installed the Nawâb's son on the throne, seized the English town of Calcutta and the French town of Chandernagore. This is the glad news I have heard and shall write more details to-morrow.[1] I believe that from to-day the French will gain victories and that my affairs will prosper. Henceforward low people will not exercise authority.

Thursday, May 17.[2]—I stayed at home to-day, as it was the anniversary of my father who died on the sixth day in the dark half of *Vaisâka*. I performed the ceremony as usual this year also by means of Brâhmans. Besides my father's ceremony I performed 34 others. The ceremony has been performed with increasing splendour year by year, but I do not know how it will go on hereafter. According to Sîtârâma Jôsier's examination of my horoscope, and his written opinion, I do not think I shall perform the ceremony next year at Pondichery, for I shall be master of a fortified town outside and perform it there in grandeur. We shall see.

I heard to-day that, in an engagement between M. Lally, who was encamped with his

[1] This fantastic story appears like a translation into the past tense of what good Frenchmen were hoping in Bengal.

[2] *7th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

troops on the banks of the Sarvatîrtham tank at Conjeeveram, and the English who were close by, there were losses on both sides, but about 50 or 60 French troopers deserted to the English, besides a few soldiers and officers, and as the French troops are far in arrears, they have quitted Conjeeveram and marched to Tiruvattiyûr and Wandiwash, whence the whole body will march to Pondichery; M. Lally is expected to arrive here to-night. I shall enquire and write further details.

Friday, May 18.[1]—Periyanna Mudali said, 'Regarding the guns heard at eight o'clock last night, harkaras who were sent to find out the cause, have returned and say that a salute of 21 guns was fired on the killedar's giving a nazar to M. Lally on his arrival at Perumukkal, and that M. Lally will reach Valudâvûr fort this afternoon. The German soldiers and all the Hussars have returned by reason of their arrears and no longer caring to serve. Some ten or twenty empty-bellied Europeans have also returned and the wounded are also coming.' Periyanna Mudali then departed.

To-night an almirah decorated with flowers carved in ivory which stands in Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi's room, fell over, knocking down but not injuring Bebbuli Muttan

[1] *8th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

who was meddling with it, and not breaking itself. Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi escaped being hurt, because he had been waked up and gone to supper. From the 6th to 8th *Vaigâsi*[1] owing to the influence of Saturn, I incurred the displeasure of the ruler. For the last five years two persons have died every year, but it is said that these events will now cease as the influence has declined. In M. Duplant's business this morning, the profit of 1,000 rupees which I expected was lost. During the predominance of Saturn no danger threatened my life, nor was my chest broken into; thus its influence was mild. Subbâ Jôsier on being questioned, told me that he had already mentioned this and added, 'From to-night, the town and the Europeans will be seriously affected by the influence of Saturn, but you will be only slightly affected nor will your life be in danger. But though the town and the Europeans will undergo perils extending even to life, there may not be much trouble in your quarters. [You know that] west of the liquor-godown, a stream runs down into the engineer's tank, then forms the canal flowing southwards and then divides into two channels, one of which passing south of the St. Paul's Church flows westward by M. Dumas'

[1] May 16 to 18, 1759.

garden, and then turning south, broadens and empties itself into the sea, while the other running west of the mint, flows into the arm of the sea [like] the canal which runs west of the mint. Only those Tamils under the influence of Mercury who live by the canal south of the St. Paul's Church and the canal on the west, and those who live east of the canal and in the north-east, were affected by the evil influence of Saturn on Friday and Wednesday. They will not be affected in future. As to-morrow is Saturday, those under the influence of Mercury and living south of the canal, may feel something.' When I said that only those in Mîrâpalli should be affected, he said that they would be affected first and added, 'You will see some loss of life. During Saturn's influence which began to-night, you had some trouble in your own house. M. Lally arrives to-night and from to-morrow he will bring trouble to those under the influence of Venus and Mercury.' I replied that the news was that M. Lally would arrive to-night and that the result could be watched from to-morrow.

I heard at midnight that M. Lally had entered the Fort in a covered palankin at half-past eleven.

Saturday, May 19.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning I went to the Fort to see M. Lally the General, but M. Guillard who was standing by the sorting-godown came up to me, and said, 'What do your *Shâstras* say? You said that M. Lally would return and that the astrologers predicted evil to certain Europeans and Tamils at his hands. What do you say now?' I replied, 'Last night Saturn entered the Fort. Those Tamils living south of the channel which passes south of Dumas' garden will suffer, and those living in the Fort beyond the houses, and the Europeans living in the south-east. As an indication of this, there will be a fire in Mîrâpalli, and small logs of wood in the garden will be burnt, after which a new Governor will arrive in the month of *Âdi*[2], and then the town and the King's people will prosper. In the months of *Âvani* and *Purattâsi*[3], Madras will be captured; our flag will fly over Trichinopoly, and thus the King of France will exercise authority from Trichinopoly to Golconda. It is certain that Pondichery will be the port and Gingee will be the capital of the ruler. As the former predictions have been fulfilled, so this will be also.' To this M. Guillard replied that the

[1] *9th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*
[2] July-August.
[3] August-September and September-October.

crocodile' that had gripped the town had not yet let go its hold.' I replied, 'A new Governor will arrive in *Âdi* and though till then the old state of things may continue, M. Leyrit, instead of benefitting M. Desvaux and the others, will only suck their fortune and the Company's affairs will suffer. As I have said, the King's people will exercise authority ; but after *Âdi*, even this will come to an end, and a new authority will arise.' When we were talking thus, the officer of the Fort gate came and said that as M. Lally the General, had ordered the sentry not to admit M. Leyrit and the councillors without his permission, when M. Leyrit went last night to see the people, the sentry turned him back on the authority of this order, which had alarmed M. Leyrit, and he was secretly conferring with M. Desvaux, M. Delarche and others. M. Guillard said that this only conformed with what the *Shâstras* said, and that he must go and find out [what had happened]. So saying he went home without visiting M. Leyrit.

Near the hospital in Mîrâpalli is the powder factory whence the powder made day by day is put in a new vessel and sent to the washing-place. This is the practice. At eleven o'clock to-day, when powder was being

[1] Reading *muthalai* for *muthal*.

ground, a small stone got under the pestle, producing a spark that set fire to the powder. The sulphur, saltpetre, etc., also took fire producing an explosion like thunder. The neighbouring houses were burnt down and 20 or 22 coolies (boys, men and women) working in the factory were killed. When they learn t that the powder factory had blown up, all the people deserted their houses with their children and women, fearing lest their houses also should be burnt down. The Europeans seized the opportunity of entering the houses on the pretext of bringing water to put out the fire, plundering whatever was to be found in the houses, ravishing women and committing other outrages. Europeans' servants were seized to fetch water ; the sky was covered with smoke. On hearing the sound, M. Leyrit kicked and beat two or three who were with him, to drive them out to fetch news. I heard the sound too and saw the sky covered with smoke. According to Vaippûr Subbâ Jôsier's prediction, I was to see an accident by fire on Saturday south of the channel. The influence of Mercury had already been felt by people there, and that of Saturn and Mars is to be seen and afterwards that of Venus.

At seven o'clock this evening I heard that M. Lally had resolved in camp before his return, to imprison M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux,

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M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and also the Tamils under them, namely, Kandan, Periyannan, Savarirâyan, etc., seize their houses and property, look into the accounts, and confiscate their wealth to the Company, while he made himself master of the town and country and managed all affairs. When this was known in camp, European gentlemen wrote to M. Leyrit about it. On M. Lally's arrival last night at half-past eleven, he ordered the two sentries to admit no one without his orders, even M. Leyrit and the councillors. I do not know what else he ordered.

M. Leyrit summoned M. Desvaux, M. Delarche and M. du Bausset this morning and discussed matters with them, after which Savarirâya Pillai was told by M. Desvaux to leave the town. He therefore about an hour before sunset set out with his two sons, his younger brother Tândavarâya Pillai, and his sons, meaning to go and remain in Brahmadêsam, Tindivanam and those parts and not return until matters improved. As soon as I heard this, I concluded that this must be true, because, when M. Lally thrice sent to M. Leyrit from the camp to obtain a lakh of rupees for the pay of the army from Kandan, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai, they made excuses. Moreover I have heard that proof has been secured of the money which these people

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have made, and that the intention was to drain their masters of their money. I have heard European gentlemen speak of M. Lally's intending thus after his return, so I think that Savarirâya Pillai must have run away. I shall learn and write further details to-morrow. There is already the influence of Saturn and moreover the day of the week is Saturday, so the good fortune that Mercury brought to the district south of the canal in Mîrâpalli is to come to an end and the people there are destined to suffer. The *Shâstras* and my experience alike lead me to think all this must be true.

Sunday, May 20.[1]—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, M. Guillard said, 'None of us, not even M. Leyrit, was allowed to visit M. Lally yesterday. It is said that he has taken physic to-day, and that therefore he has told the sentries to admit nobody. I hear that M. Soupire alone had a talk with him yesterday evening, and then visited M. Leyrit, and I think therefore that some political affair is being discussed.[2] Everything will be known to-day.' When M. Guillard was thus speaking, M. Soupire,

[1] *10th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] According to Leyrit (*Mémoire*, p. 361), Lally's object in returning was to obtain 40,000 rupees urgently needed for the pay of the army; of this amount, Leyrit adds, Lally set Leyrit's share at 20,000.

M. Leyrit and three or four officers, M. Clouët and another councillor were coming down to go to church ; M. Soupire alone had a roundel, and, when he offered it to M. Leyrit, the latter declined it and followed M. Soupire like an ordinary man without a roundel, nor did the others use theirs. M. Leyrit looked at me as he passed. M. Guillard said that he also would go to church. After hearing mass, all returned upstairs as usual at nine o'clock. M. Guillard said, 'After our conversation yesterday the powder factory caught fire, a European was killed and Manuel (M. Desvaux' dubâsh) has gone. Thus the *Shâstras* have proved true, and other things are taking place as you said. Will the other predictions be fulfilled ?' I replied, 'Things have happened according to the *Shâstras* as I told you. The same will happen in the future. You may learn this from experience.' M. Guillard said that everything would be known in two or three days, and then took leave. I came home at ten.

Tuesday, May 22.[1]—Two or three Europeans say to-day that M. d'Andrès, Lieutenant of the *Bataillon de l'Inde*, M. St. Marceau, *Marchand de la Compagnie*, who has come from Bengal and is employed in M. La Grenée the Secretary's office, and M. Corail who is

[1] *12th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

supercargo and commander of a China ship—three people in all—wrote to their friends in camp saying that the Marquis de Conflans had been bribed to deliver Masulipatam up to the English, and making false complaints against M. Lally; but the peons carrying the letters to camp were seized by the English, and the letters delivered to Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, who, on opening them, and finding that they contained nothing about the war but accusations against the Marquis de Conflans for having been bribed to surrender Masulipatam and abuse of him and M. Lally, sent them to M. Lally with his compliments; on reading them M. Lally ordered M. d'Andrès, M. St. Marceau and M. Corail to be seized and imprisoned; and others are being sought for and their names will be known afterwards.[1]

[1] There is little improbability about this story; but I cannot confirm it. In the following year, St. Marceau was active in opposition to Lally. Lally's *Mémoire*, p. 169.

JUNE 1759.

Srî Râmajayam, Krishnasahâyam, Krishnasahâyam.[1]

This is the diary written by Wazârat Vijaya Ânanda Ranga Râyar Avargal with his own hand; whoso reads it, will become wise and learned, and will secure the eight kinds of wealth and children.[2]

Friday, June 8.[3]—The misconduct of the Europeans in the town, their plundering, ravishing women, and other misdeeds have gone beyond all limits. Men say that injustice daily increases. I cannot describe their sufferings but only mention them briefly here and there. The parchment money has already been sold at a discount of 15 to 50 *per cent*; but to-day I myself saw one or two persons selling it at a discount of 60 or 65 *per cent.* so I write it, and I have heard that ten or twenty persons have sold it at that rate. Those who have to pay the Company and the lessees gain much, and the Europeans also. The *Arumpâtai's* people have made

[1] An invocation of the blessing of Râma and Krishna on the continuation of the work.

[2] I cannot explain this and foregoing interpolations, unless they constitute the descriptive label on a new bundle of the diary. See above, p. 302.

[3] *29th Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.* The original contains a note that the "diary was commenced" on this date.

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lakhs by cheating the Company. Others have suffered much loss and are broken-hearted.

Sunday, June 10.[1]—I hear that the Council decided to-day that the decision formally given in Rangô Pandit's affair, that he should be given the Panchmahal consisting of Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Venkatâmpêttai, etc. places for the maintenance of 700 horse and 1,000 foot should be cancelled, that Rangô Pandit should have nothing to do with raising troops, and the country should be taken away from him, that M. La Selle and M. Dubois[2] should be in charge of the country and the horse and foot, and that Rangô Pandit should be imprisoned at the Choultry till the accounts had been examined. I do not know what other matters were decided. I hear that the Council broke up at noon to meet again at five, and that my affair has not been talked about.

I write in to-day's diary the contents of the letter of Mattâl Reddi Nâyakkan, dubâsh at Masulipatam written on the tenth day in the dark fortnight of *Vaisâka* and received here on the 30th about the capture of Masulipatam. The news of that place may be known clearly from this writing.[3]

[1] *31st Vaigâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] He was Intendant of the army. See p. 339 below.

[3] It does not occur. Ranga Pillai probably intended the letter to be entered when his autograph rough draft was written fair.

Tuesday, June 12.[1]—I heard the following news to-day :—The Râjâ of Tanjore has sent presents of cloths, horses and pendants to M. Lally, M. Leyrit, M. Bussy and me by Bâpu Râo (elder brother's son of my Râmâ Râo), on the recommendation of Rudrâji Pandit, the Tanjore Râjâ's vakîl. Bâpu Râo having reached Mêlugiri Pandit's *agrahâram* south of the Bound-hedge, told the St. Paul's priests who informed M. Leyrit who ordered Kandappa Mudali to go and receive the vakîl and escort him in. Accordingly at five o'clock this evening Kandappa Mudali, Nayinâr the head-peon, Kônêri Nâyakkan, Guntûr Narasinga Chetti and Venkatanarasu escorted the vakîl in and lodged him in Narêndra Chetti's house in the Kômutti Street. Afterwards the vakîl gave Kandappa Mudali a dress of honour, Venkatanarasu and the Nayinâr a small laced-uppercloth each, and Râmayyan (Gôpâlayyan's son) six rupees being the value of two yards of broadcloth, together with *pân supârî* ; after which they returned and informed M. Leyrit. When the St. Paul's priests informed M. Lally on his return to the Fort from Olukarai at six o'clock, they were told that he would give orders about the reception of the presents. Afterwards I heard

[1] 2nd Âni, *Pramâdhi*.

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that M. Lally had gone to M. Barthélemy's garden at eight o'clock.

A richly embroidered dress of honour, a pendant, a horse and a letter were given to M. Lally, and a rich dress of honour, a pendant, a horse and a letter to M. Leyrit, a rich dress of honour, a pendant and a letter to M. Bussy, and a rich dress of honour and a letter to me. Their values have to be seen.

Wednesday, June 13.[1]—As M. Dubois, *Commissaire et Intendant des armées du Roi* has been suffering from an ulcer in the neck, I visited him this morning and paid him my respects when he was talking to M. the Chevalier Kennedy[2] who still limps from the bullet-wound he received before Madras. Both of them rose and paid their respects to me and made me sit down with them. I enquired after the health of M. Dubois and his ulcer in the neck, and then said that, by God's grace, he would soon be completely cured. He thanked me saying that he should, as I wished for his recovery from the bottom of my heart.

He then said to M. Kennedy, 'You fought in many battles in Europe at the head of lakhs of soldiers but were not wounded in any, to the astonishment of the King of France;

[1] *3rd Âni, Pramâdhi.*
[2] He was Colonel in Lally's Regiment.

but I am surprised to see that you have been wounded in the skirmish at Madras.' M. Kennedy replied, 'When a river is full, a man may swim across to the opposite bank easily; but when the water is only thigh or knee deep, he may tumble in a hole and die or be lost. I have been wounded attacking a small army, though I escaped when fighting against heavy odds. So also you who managed [affairs] and earned glory in the battles at Madras and against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Nâsîr Jang, are now confined to the house.'

It was then said that ships would arrive in ten or fifteen days. I replied, 'They will arrive between the 28th and 30th *Âni* corresponding with your July 10 or 11[1]. When they arrive, you will capture Madras; there will be no difficulty for money; and all affairs will prosper.' Râya Pillai observed, 'The Tamils can foretell the future and six or seven times out of ten they are right.' After talking thus for about a quarter of an hour, I took leave and came home.

Thursday, June 14.[2]—M. Lally and M. Leyrit gave Mîr Sâhib who has come from the Nânâ their replies to the Nânâ (Bhâji Râo's son) besides two pieces of broadcloth, a few bottles of Hungary water, a pair of scissors, etc.,

[1] *Sic.* The equivalent dates were the 8th and 10th.
[2] *4th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

and daily batta up to to-day. After taking leave, he visited me to-night, and took his departure. I gave him a dress of honour worth 100 rupees together with a reply to the Nânâ.

Friday, June 15.[1]—I hear that in exchange for 200 English prisoners, 200 French soldiers imprisoned in the Trichinopoly fort have been released. The officers are trying to seize dancing-girls in the town, plundering the bazaars and beating the passers-by.

Sunday, June 17.[2]—I heard the following news this morning :—The day before yesterday, Friday, Nâgôji Nâyakkan (M. Bussy's dîwân), took leave of M. Bussy, and also went to M. Leyrit and took leave of him before departing with his goods, horses, etc., for his home at Golconda. But when he had almost reached Pâdirâppuliyûr, M. Lally's harkaras stopped him saying that their master wanted him : and then 50 soldiers and 100 foot from Pondichery overtook him with orders to imprison him in the Valudâvûr fort. He was imprisoned accordingly, and the 50 soldiers and 100 foot who were sent under an officer are guarding him in the Valudâvûr fort. When the officer asked Nâgôji Nâyakkan to show him the letters he was carrying to Salabat Jang,

[1] *5th Âni, Pramâdhi.* [2] *7th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

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the Nânâ and others, Nâgôji Nâyakkan replied that he was carrying no letters for them, but gave up to him his *qalamdân*[1] and a packet of letters, after which he and his people were put in custody in Valudâvûr fort, and the letters sent to M. Lally. M. Bussy himself at eight o'clock was put under arrest at his house.[2] M. Bussy is much annoyed and alarmed; people say that his words will no longer be regarded by Salabat Jang or the Nânâ; and that M. Leyrit and the councillors also are alarmed.

Wednesday, June 20.[3]—I did not go out today. I hear that Father Noronha, Bishop of Mylapore, having received instructions from M. Lally to summon Morâri Râo with his troops, took leave of M. Lally, agreeing to meet the expenses of the journey to and fro, and has halted beyond the Bounds. Mîr A'azam also accompanies him, in great pomp which will cost about 4,000 or 5,000 rupees. In the siege of Madras and the plunder of Mylapore, about 15,000 rupees' worth of temple property[4] was

[1] A case for pens and ink, worn at the girdle as the insignia of civil office.

[2] In the previous February Lally was already complaining that Bussy was concealing his correspondence with Salabat Jang. (Lally to Leyrit, February 22, 1759, *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 303). I suppose this alleged arrest refers to Lally's order that Bussy was no longer to visit him.

[3] *10th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

[4] Perhaps church property may be intended.

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seized, of which 4,000 or 5,000 may have been spent already ; the rest will be spent on this journey.

Thursday, June 21.[1]—At noon to-day and this evening, M. Lally was feasted at M. Guillard's house and spent the night at M. Barthélemy's garden. When I was at M. Guillard's, the Europeans said that letters had come from Mahé saying that, in *Arppisi*[2] last, four Europe men-of-war had taken and carried into Mascareigne an English ship from China which they sighted off the *Cap de Bonne Espérance*, that those four ships and those already at Mascareigne were sailing hither, that the English prize had on board gold and other goods worth 1½ lakhs of pagodas,[3] that the four Europe ships were bringing much treasure, and that all of them would arrive in five or six days. I shall write the details later.

Friday, June 22.[4]—A sloop[5] arrived this afternoon from Mauritius. She fired seven

[1] *11th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

[2] October-November.

[3] She was the *Grantham*, with Orme and Wynch as passengers, and had been despatched from Madras in the previous September. She had on board a considerable quantity of diamonds which were sent back to the Coast for sale. Orme, ii, 511 ; and *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, p. 375.

[4] *12th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

[5] *La Gracieuse. Mémoire pour Lally*, p. 127. She brought instructions from the Company to Lally to take cognizance of the financial management of the Council. See Lally's *Pièces* No. 7, Company to Lally, March 20, 1759.

guns, and seven guns were returned from the shore. Lieutenant-Colonel Fontaine[1] has arrived by her with Europe and Mascareigne letters which he has delivered to M. Lally, M. Leyrit and others. It is said that to those who asked him the news, he replied that he had been forbidden to say anything. The sloop escaped the English ships[2] which were at Siva Munai[3] near Negapatam, and arrived after putting in at Porto Novo; she is said to have made the passage in 40 days. Some Europeans say that the news is to be kept secret till our men-of-war are nearer, so that the enemy may not learn of their coming. As a mark, a light has been hung from the flag-staff for the last two or three days, but to-day two lights were shown.

I hear that M Leyrit dined at M. Lally's garden outside, and that my green howdah has been taken, as M. the Comte de la Tour du Pin wanted to ride an elephant in it.

Saturday, June 23.[4]—The Council-of-war held to-day decided that the eight French

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[1] Pôntôn.

[2] She was chased by the *Weymouth* (Pocock to Pigot, etc. June 29. *ap. Military Consultations*, July 12, 1759.)

[3] *i.e.*, Siva Point. At Point Calimere, which I take to be the place referred to, is an important Saivite temple. But it is possible that for *Seva* we should read *Kella*, as the place may have been known as Kella Point.

[4] *13th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

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soldiers who were found among the 30 English soldiers captured in the fort of Tyâgar should be hanged as deserters in arms in accordance with M. Lally's orders. As the released soldiers reported that one of the condemned men had been beaten two or three times by the English for helping the French prisoners at Trichinopoly, he was released, but the remaining seven were ordered to be hanged on four gallows to be erected opposite the old *Gouvernement* north of the Fort occupied by M. Barthélemy, two each on three of the gibbets and one on fourth. The seven soldiers were hanged this evening north of the Fort instead of south of it as usual, as a bonfire had been built there for the eve of St. John.

I returned home at half-past six this evening from the feast outside to which I was invited this afternoon by Kandappa Udaiyân.

Afterwards M. Delarche sent by his man a message from M. Lally to the following effect :—'Salabat Jang's presents, brought by Coja Zuhûr ul-lah Khân (Coja 'Abd-ul-lah Khân son) who is quartered at the Vikravândi man's house near the corner garden, should be received to-morrow. Tell the Nayinâr to be present at the Fort at eight o'clock to-morrow morning with dancing-girls, pipers and lancers. You should also come to the Fort and get his[1]

[1] *i.e.*, Lally's.

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orders.' Therefore I sent word to the Nayinâr about it, and dismissed M. Delarche's man.

Nayinâr, the head-peon, came to me and said that M. Leyrit, the Governor, had told him to inform me that, as the Râjâ of Tanjore had sent presents of cloth to M. Lally and others, I should instruct dancing-girls, pipers, etc., to be present to-morrow morning at the East Gate, and that I should see him at eight o'clock in the morning. At ten o'clock to-night, Kandan (M. Leyrit's servant) also sent word to me about it.

Monday, June 25.[1]—Although I did not go out to-day, I hear that, at eight o'clock this morning, M. Lally, who remained at M. Barthélemy's garden, sent M. Barthélemy to confer with M. Leyrit, which M. Barthélemy did accordingly, but the object of his visit is not known. When the Tanjore Râjâ's and Salabat Jang's presents were brought yesterday, [M. Lally] said that, as he was master, the presents intended for M. Leyrit should not be brought, and his name and country should not even be mentioned. Moreover he ordered that no Tamils should appear upstairs wearing boots, shoes or slippers, and that, while he sat, all should stand in his presence. Also, before he left for M. Barthélemy's garden, he was very

[1] *15th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

angry with M. Leyrit, and sent M. Barthélemy to him. All these lead me to think that he means to reign supreme in his valour, unaided by others, and that, as, according to the *Shâstras*, M. Leyrit's fortune will expire this month, M. Lally is doing what will lead to M. Leyrit's removal. I think that is why he sent him.[1] I shall see what happens.

Thursday, June 28.[2]—At half-past one this morning, my aunt (my mother's elder sister) reached the supreme feet of God at the age of 83, retaining her full vigour till the moment of her death. She has died in the 47th year after my mother's death.

[1] *i.e.*, Barthélemy.

[2] *18th Âni, Pramâdhi.*

JULY 1759.

Monday, July 16.[1]—I heard this morning that Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) would be given a dress of honour and a *parwâna* for the Arcot subah. Razâ Sâhib sent me a message with compliments saying that, as M. Lally the General would personally bestow on him a dress of honour for the subah, I should see that Murtazâ Sâhib who married Mîr Ghulâm Husain's niece offered him congratulations, forgetting all past differences[2]. I replied plainly, 'What position do I hold to deserve any attention? If I had the power to do anything, there would be reason in his[3] praising me and I should be justified in going. But, as matters stand, my going would be unwelcome nor would it be honourable.' As I was pressed in spite of what I said, I sent word that, to-morrow and the day after, the constellations being *Bharani* and *Kruttigai*, I would think over the matter and communicate my decision.

[1] *4th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Mîr Ghulâm Husain was that rather colourless person who, having been adopted by S'aadat-ul-lah, subsided into the position of nominal dîwân to Dôst 'Alî and killedar of Gingee. He is usually mentioned in the English records as 'Khân Bahâdûr.' He married a daughter of Chandâ Sâhib; hence the relationship between Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, and the former evidently wished to be recognized as head of the family. *Orme MSS. Various*, vol. 15, pp. 5–10.

[3] Razâ Sâhib's.

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I went to the Fort this morning to see the presentation of the dress of honour. I saw no Europeans there ; M. Leyrit's room was closed, and M. Lally's room open with one or two Europeans walking up and down on the eastern side. I waited till ten in the central hall upstairs. Murtazâ Sâhib then came and I asked him the news. He said that all would be made known on M. Delarche's arrival, so I waited again. M. Delarche at last came and went into M. Lally's room, and, after talking with him, came out at half-past ten with Murtazâ Sâhib. I then came home.

At seven o'clock to-night, I heard that Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî went to M. Delarche's house, and received M. Lally the General's *parwâna* for the Arcot subah, and that Periyanna Mudali, Kandappa Mudali and others who have been expecting offices, went and gave nazars, after which the *naubat* was beaten in honour of the grant.

Monday, July 23.[1]—When I asked why orders had been given about the appointment of the subahdar of Arcot, he[2] replied, 'Razâ Sâhib will be the prince like Chandâ Sâhib and other Nawâbs, and he will enjoy a jaghir ; and the revenue from the country, the poligars' and killedars' peshkash, etc.,

[1] *11th Âdi, Pramâdhi.* New Moon Day.
[2] Who this was does not appear.

will belong to Razâ Sâhib except in Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and he will pay the Company after meeting the cost of the *sibbandi*.' I replied, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Salabat Jang gave a *parwâna* for the title of *Commandeur-Général* and M. Dupleix was given the Arcot subah itself. Owing to disturbances, neither[1] could enjoy the country, and disorder prevailed. Moreover the Muhammadan management failed, and there was confusion everywhere. I have never heard of any one who was master of the country appointing another master to lord it over us.[2] No doubt these things have been done after discussion with all the councillors in Council, but none of them has paused to enquire if such a thing can be done. It is very astonishing.' He continued, 'M. Leyrit and M. Desvaux did not concur, and three would not sign, but the council's deliberation was recorded. M. Lally is *Général* and can take a decision though the council do not agree. This decision is M. Lally's.' I asked on what grounds M. Leyrit had refused to sign. He replied that M. Leyrit had observed that the present time was not suitable and that the matter should be deferred. I observed, 'M.

[1] *i.e.*, neither the French nor the Muhammadans.
[2] As by the new appointment of Razâ Sâhib.

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Leyrit should have replied differently, but he must have thought that, if he replied otherwise, M. Lally would get angry and say that his signature was unnecessary. The matter should have been stated in a proper way and then left.' He answered, 'Who cares for such things? He[1] disagrees because he has not received anything. What does he care for justice or the honour of his race?' I said that he remembered those things only when convenient. Just then, on hearing that his carriage was ready, he took leave saying that he was going to Ariyânkuppam. I came home at half-past eight.

Tuesday, July 24.[2]—I went to the Beach this morning, but, as I did not find M. le Beaume, I returned home at eight.

I heard this afternoon that harkaras with letters from Basalat Jang (Salabat Jang's younger brother) for M. Leyrit, M. Lally, M. Bussy and officers who had served under him, report that the Arcot subah and the country south of the Kistna have been given to him,[3] and that he is coming to settle affairs at Arcot with 10,000 horse and 6,000 foot, by way of Cuddapah and Nellore. What will happen remains to be seen.

[1] *i.e.*, Leyrit.
[2] *12th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*
[3] *i.e.*, to Basalat Jang apparently.

For the last two or three days I have been hearing that Râmalingan has been urging M. Bazin to speak to M. Lally and get him the *dorais'* work[1] to be done in the Arcot subah which has been given to Razâ Sâhib, offering a present of three lakhs of rupees, and that M. Lally has agreed to it, so that Râmalingan has been very joyous, giving dancing and musical entertainments at night for the last three days on which he has spent 4,000 or 5,000 rupees.

Sunday, July 29.[2]—I write below the news which has been written to me :—'Nizâm 'Alî Khân who has been living in Shâh Nawâb[3] Khân's house, went to his elder brother Salabat Jang's and said that he would not depart unless he was given the twenty lakhs of rupees' worth of property belonging to his[4] wife, and then set guards on his house, attempting to imprison Salabat Jang, seize all the property, and rule the country. But the *amîr-ul-umarâs*[5] under Nizâm 'Alî Khân, the jemadars, etc., disapproved of such treatment of Salabat Jang and told Nizâm 'Alî Khân that

[1] *i.e.*, I think, the management of the revenue, etc., on behalf of the Europeans.

[2] *13th (sic.) Âdi. Pramâdhi.* The day of the month should be the 17th.

[3] Quere, Nawâz.

[4] *i.e.*, Salabat Jang's.

[5] The principal nobles are meant.

they could not countenance such unjust behaviour as they had vowed not to raise a finger against Salabat Jang. The latter will either kill Nizâm 'Alî Khân or be killed by him. The two brothers have thus quarrelled even to the point of murder. Owing to the atrocities committed at Golconda, the merchants and inhabitants are leaving it, and people say that the town will be destroyed, anarchy will prevail, and the destruction of the Muslim power is at hand.'

M. Lally dined with M. Soupire at Olukarai.

Monday, July 30.[1]—I heard the following news :—Imâm Sâhib's son requested to be allowed to enjoy Tyâgadrug with its jaghir as his father had done,[2] for which he offered a nazar of 30,000 rupees to the Company, to be deducted from the money owing by the Company to Imâm Sâhib[3] for which he would give a receipt to say that the Company had paid back the amount in ready money. Moreover he promised 10,000 rupees to M. Lally—5,000 immediately and 5,000 in fifteen days after receiving the *parwâna*. He has also agreed to

[1] *18th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Imâm Sâhib had died in 1749, and his son Hasan Alî had succeeded to his jaghirs (see vol. vi, pp. 248, etc. and 299 *supra*). He was perhaps now securing restoration or confirmation.

[3] This was a sum deposited with the Company on condition of paying an annual allowance to his son and daughter.

give 3,000 rupees to M. Bazin and 2,000 to his dubâsh Savarirâyan, besides paying a yearly peshkash of 7,000 rupees for the jaghir. He visited M. Lally at eleven o'clock to-day with a rich dress of honour, a diamond ring purchased from Coja Johannes for 2,000 rupees, and a horse. He was asked to sit on a chair facing him, and there followed a conversation in which M. Bazin's dubâsh, Savarirâyan, acted as interpreter. M. Lally then gave Imâm Sâhib's son the *parwâna* for Tyâgadrug. As Imâm Sâhib's son sat still to receive it, M. Bazin told the chobdar to lift him by the hand and press his neck down to make him bow. But when he was about to be treated thus disrespectfully, M. Lally observed that he was only a boy who did not know the mode of salutation, and that the chobdar should instruct him. Imâm Sâhib's son, being then given leave, rose to receive the *parwâna* and retired after bowing. An old man who accompanied Imâm Sâhib's son, knowing what had happened to his master, bowed his head to the ground. After his departure, a salute of seven guns was fired. I have written this from the report I heard from people who were present on the occasion.

I hear that M. La Selle returned last night from inspecting the Panchmahal, leaving affairs there in such a state as to make

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men say that the unjust administration of the pargannahs by M. Miran was better than M. la Selle's which had made them forget the former's injustice. We shall perceive the difference ourselves.

Imâm Sâhib's son's presents to M. Lally consisted of two rich dresses of honour worth 400 rupees, a horse worth 1,000 rupees, and a diamond ring worth 2,000 rupees,—in all 3,400 rupees.

Tuesday, July 31.[1]—At eleven o'clock to-day, Chandâ Sâhib's son Razâ Sâhib, was summoned to receive his dress of honour as subahdar of Arcot according to the resolution of council on Saturday, 2nd *Âdi*[2] It was yesterday resolved when he should receive the dress of honour and the [pargannah],[3] and so M. Lally sent for M. Labat his Secretary, and told him to inform M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy, and the other councillors at their houses that, at eleven o'clock to-day, Tuesday, July 31, Razâ Sâhib would receive a dress of honour and the *parwâna*[4] for the Arcot subah, and that they should attend the ceremony. Accordingly at eleven o'clock to-day, M. Leyrit, the

[1] *19th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] July 14.

[3] I am not sure whether this is a copyist's error for 'parwâna' or whether Ranga Pillai means the jaghir which was to be given to Razâ Sâhib. See above pp. 348–349.

[4] Reading *parwâna* for *kurawâna.*

Governor, the councillors and other Company's servants, assembled in M. Lally's room. M. Bazin and M. le Maire, who went to bring Razâ Sâhib, received a rich dress of honour and a rich *Muhamudi* dress of honour, respectively; and Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib got into their palankins and accompanied them to the Fort with a very small following.[1] When Chandâ Sâhib's son went upstairs, he was kept waiting a short time, being told that it was not yet convenient for M. Lally to see him. Then M. Dupleix' wheeled-chair[2] which was brought from Europe, and which has been kept at M. du Bausset's house, was ordered to be brought. M Lally sat in it, and M. Leyrit in an ordinary chair next to M. Lally, while M. Barthélemy and the other councillors stood. Then Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib accompanied by M. Bazin and M. le Maire entered, and were offered chairs. Before Chandâ Sâhib's son took his seat, he gave M. Lally a *bâjuband* and a pendant set with precious stones as a nazar. When he had taken his seat, he was asked if he had sent his people to Arcot to which he replied that he had. Thereon the flag was ordered to be hoisted, and a salute of 21 guns fired. When a man climbed the flag-staff to hoist

[1] Literally 'with ten persons.'

[2] Does this mean a chair on castors?

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the flag, the rope broke in the middle and a new one had to be tied before the flag was hoisted. Razâ Sâhib was then presented with a dress of honour and the pargannah,[1] and 'Alî Naqî with a dress of honour. Both received them standing, salaamed and resumed their seats, on which a salute of 21 guns was fired. They then exchanged a few words of compliment and took leave, M. Bazin and M. le Maire being told to escort them home. They went accordingly. Troops were drawn up at the Fort gate, and the *tambour* beat as is done for the Second. When they reached their house, M. Bazin and M. le Maire each received a dazzling dress of honour. The former was given a diamond ring as well and the latter a sapphire ring.

I also hear that M. Lally on being requested to visit his house this evening, agreed to go.

People say that the breaking of the flag-staff rope signifies his[2] death or imprisonment within a few days.

[1] See above p. 355, n. 4.

[2] *i.e.*, Razâ Sâhib's.

AUGUST 1759.

Wednesday, August 1.[1]—After I had reached the Fort this morning, Chandâ Sâhib's son and Taqî Sâhib's son arrived in two palankins from which they descended and went upstairs. M. Delarche was in M. Leyrit's room on the west. When Taqî Sâhib's son and Chandâ Sâhib's son entered, they were invited to sit, and, after they had offered a present and a *turra* as their nazars, they were dismissed with compliments and a rich dress of honour each. No salute was fired, nor did any Europeans escort them; thus the usual ceremony was omitted. I think that, as M. Leyrit has not agreed to M. Lally's grant of the Arcot subah, yesterday M. Lally did what he wished to do, in the presence of him who refused to sign; and told the two men to visit M. Leyrit to-day. They accordingly visited him, and he was thus obliged to accept their nazars and give presents in return—otherwise M. Leyrit would not have sent for them, nor would they have visited him. Thus Razâ Sâhib paid his visit and returned, all in about ten minutes.

Letters have been brought to M. Lally by harkaras from Salabat Jang. They say:—'M. Bussy knows this place, and the nature of the

[1] *20th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

poligars, Marathas, killedars and others of this country, and can speak to each according to his deserts, collect peshkash, send troops to punish the obstinate, seize their killas and take fines from them. He dismissed the worthless and appointed others. Thus he dealt with the poligars and Marathas, held the people in subjection for seven years, and maintained order. Moreover twice he drove the Nânâ to retreat with his army, so that the Marathas fear to enter where his name is mentioned. Moreover although the Pâdshâh of Delhi wrote to M. Bussy half a dozen times asking him to come to his assistance, the Pâdshâh acquiesced when he replied that, if he visited Delhi, the Marathas would seize the Deccan countries. None but M. Bussy can keep the poligars, Marathas and killedars in order. Send him therefore, or come yourself with a small part of your army. If you will do neither of these, your troops and jemadars who enjoy countries etc., here will be dismissed, and I shall seek English help and manage affairs as I think best. I have sent Coja Zuhûr-ul-lah Khân and Salabat Jang[1] about this. Come therefore without delay.' I hear that no reply will be given until a letter is received from Nizâm 'Alî Khân, but

[1] *Sic.* The name really intended does not appear.

that he will be given help. We shall see what happens.

M. Lally with four or five officers and M. Delarche and other councillors went to Razâ Sâhib's house this evening, and conducted him to the Fort with the *naubat*, music and other marks of honour. Afterwards Razâ Sâhib gave M. Lally a *turra* and a *sarpêch* set with precious stones, a pendant and a rich dress of honour, and M. Delarche a rich dress of honour and a pendant set with precious stones. After accepting these they departed.

Friday, August 3.[1]—I heard to-day that Bishop Noronha of Mylapore, who was sent as vakîl to Morâri Râo, after conferring with him, had written the following proposals to M. Lally :—

'Morâri Râo will send 1,000 horse and musket-people, 100 soldiers, 100 Coffrees and Topasses ; before they reach Kadappanattam *gada*, M. Lally should send a lakh of rupees as a present ; four sardârs—Sivarâma Bhava, Mulhari Râo, Innis Khân and Narasinga Râo Ghorpadê—are coming ; when they visit M. Lally, two large-tusked elephants, three horses and four guns, should be given to them besides cloth. When they return to their country after having rendered service, they should be given

[1] *22nd Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

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another lakh and the above-mentioned presents. Although it was formerly arranged that each horseman should be paid one rupee a day, since arriving here, I have reduced this to three-quarters of a rupee each.'

Saturday, August 4.[1]—At sunrise this morning, 16 or 17 English vessels, that had been cruising off Negapatam, arrived off the Pondichery roads. A red *pûvâl*[2] flag was immediately hoisted on the flag-staff and two guns were fired. All the Europeans came to the Fort with their guns; shot, powder, all munitions of war, match, etc., were made ready at the Beach and the ramparts round the ditch, and all were ready to fire. Innumerable people went to the Beach to witness the sight. At noon the English vessels put out to sea and disappeared. M. Soupire was in command, and it is said that a letter has been written to M. Lally.[3] 1,200 soldiers, 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse have reached Conjeeveram from Madras on their way to attack Arcot.

Sunday, August 5.[4]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort, but did not see any one there. I then went to the Beach. English ships were cruising north and south off Vîrâmpattanam, firing single guns now and

[1] *23rd Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Can *pûvâl* be a corruption of *pavillon*? Cf. p. 68 above.

[3] Who had joined the army at Chidambaram.

[4] *24th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

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then. Our men posted on the ramparts were on the alert. There were at the Beach only half as many as were present yesterday to witness the sight, and I think there will be fewer still to-morrow. I talked about general matters with two or three officials who were there, and took leave and returned home at ten. I heard no other important news.

Monday, August 6.[1]—I heard to-night that M. le Marquis de Conflans, who surrendered Masulipatam to the English, having signed an agreement as prisoner of war according to European custom to the effect that he would not bear arms against the English, had arrived at Olukarai at two o'clock this morning with his camp equipage ; but learning that M. Lally was at Chidambaram, he set out thither.

Tuesday, August 7.[2]—I heard that Chandâ Sâhib's and Taqî Sâhib's sons who left this place for Valudâvûr at six o'clock yesterday evening with ten or fifteen troopers and 100 foot, had set out to-day. All say that, although the French were in possession of Arcot before Razâ Sâhib was appointed Nawâb, the English will certainly capture Kâvêripâkkam and other places and that Razâ Sâhib and his people will be running back to Pondichery within the month.

[1] *25th Âdi, Pramâdhi.* [2] *26th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

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Wednesday, August 8.[1]—I have heard no news because all my people are busy about the *Sîmantham Kalyânam*[2] of Muttuvalli's daughter Kulandai.

Two officers came to me to-night and said, 'The frigate [*Gracieuse*][3] which left France in *Chittirai*[4] last arrived at Mahé after a passage of three months and nine days. The Company's letter was delivered to the *Directeur* of Mahé who despatched it hither; it reached M. Leyrit this evening, having been eleven days on the way. The letter addressed by the Company to the council contained only accounts, and no details will be known until the letter has been copied. The Gazette says that the war is still raging in Europe and that the King of Denmark has declared war against the King of France. Mr. Lasuk[5] is coming to Madras with eight ships and orders from the English. The English have captured the important French town of Louisbourg in Canada. M. Montcalm, a lieutenant-general like M. Lally has defeated 4,000 soldiers who have been made prisoners and sent to France.

[1] *27th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] *Vide* vol. ix, p. 139, n. 1.

[3] Ranga Pillai calls her the 'La Gulori' probably confusing her with the *Gloire*.

[4] April-May.

[5] The name is evidently corrupt. I think Rear-Admiral Cornish is probably meant. In the previous May he was sent out to reinforce Pocock.

A Director of the Company (I do not know his name) having paid two crores and forty lakhs of rupees to the King, requested him to make ready men-of-war, whereon the King supplied him with 40 ships, and more are being built. The Company obtained from the King eight Crosses[1] of St. Louis for the eight persons—MM. Saubinet, Mainville, Dusaussaye, Baldic, and four others who are dead. These Crosses have been sent to India by the frigate. It is not known what has been written in the Company's letters to M. Leyrit, M. Lally and the councillors[2]. I have written the above, but it remains to be seen what other important news has been written. As this frigate sailed from Europe after M. Montmorency had arrived, the Company and the ministers must have received news from here. I think that, as this frigate reached India in three months and nine days, something important must have taken place. We shall learn hereafter.

Thursday, August 9.[3]—I heard the following news to-day :—When they have captured the fort of Kâvêripâkkam, the English intend to

[1] Reading *muthirai* for *kudirai*.

[2] The principal points in the orders now received were :—(1) orders to Lally to superintend the Company's finances; (2) orders recalling most of his staff and appointing Bussy second in command under Lally.

[3] *28th Âdi, Pramâdhi*

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march on Arcot and have encamped with their troops at Lâlâpêttai and Rânipêttai. Another detachment is marching to Utramallûr and other pargannahs. The French commander who is encamped near Wandiwash sent this news to M. Soupire, complaining at the same time of the want of provisions, on which M. Soupire summoned M. Miran and spoke angrily to him. He, in turn, spoke angrily to Chinnayya Pillai, the lessee of Wandiwash, and ordered him to proceed to his pargannahs and supply the army with provisions. Chinnayya Pillai is proceeding to Wandiwash accordingly.

Friday, August 10.[1]—To-night M. Boyelleau sent a letter for me from M. Godeheu at Paris despatched by the frigate the [*Gracieuse*][2], from Mahé. It says :—'I have received all your letters and accounts, and have delivered your letters to the Company. I have also delivered your letters to the minister called the Comptroller-General of Finance. At present no one has any leisure owing to the war ; but as your business has precedence over everything else, I asked the Company and the ministers to tell M. Lally[3] and the Council to settle your affair at once and report what had been done. Their letters about you with

[1] *29th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*
[2] On this occasion 'Liguvôriyôs.'
[3] 'Kônsêl M. Lally,' in the Tamil.

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favourable orders are on the way.' I was much gratified with this kind and polite letter. We shall see what happens when the other letters and the orders to the council have been received.

I hear that Razâ Sâhib who was on his way to Arcot has halted at Chêtpattu on seeing the preparations of the English, and that M. Delarche has left for Chidambaram in order to confer with M. Lally.

Saturday, August 11.[1]—I went to M. Boyelleau this morning with M. Godeheu's letter received last night in order to thank him for sending me the letter and to enquire after his health as he has been suffering from asthma. I paid him my respects in the presence of his wife, his son and his son-in-law. Having told his wife, who was sitting on his bed, to sit on a chair, he asked me to sit by him and then enquired after my health. After expressing my regret at his illness, I gave him M. Godeheu's letter to me from Europe and added, 'My affair has prospered and a favourable letter has been received by reason of your kind letter to Europe on my behalf. I thank you very much for this and for whatever may come out of it, and I will not forget your kindness so long as life remains in my body.' Thus I expressed

[1] *30th Âdi, Pramâdhi.*

my gratitude to him as usual. He read the letter once, twice and even thrice and returning it to me said, 'You are very fortunate indeed, for you wrote to a country which is 6,000 leagues away and settled your business without leaving this place. Even the Governors and the councillors here could not expect such orders, or that all the complaints of the Governor against you should end in nothing. On the contrary, he has been blamed, and a commission has been appointed. Your fortune equals that of kings.' Thus M. Boyelleau, his wife and M. Dusaussaye, his son-in-law, all congratulated me adding that M. Lally would be afraid of me after seeing the letter, and what then would the rest feel? Though M. Boyelleau's asthma was bad, yet he forgot his bodily troubles and talked to me about my letter for an hour. He said that M. Godeheu had written strongly about me and desired him not to forsake me, and even showed me his letter. I thanked him suitably and talked about other matters. On his telling me that I might go as he was tired, I took leave and came home at ten o'clock.

Tuesday, August 14.[1]—I heard the following news to-day :—The English attacking Tirupati having been beaten by the Marathas, retired

[1] *2nd Ávani, Pramádhi*

towards Arcot, intending to take Kâvêripâkkam and Timiri forts and then attack Arcot on receiving reinforcements from Madras. Being forewarned of this, the French in the fort and those on their side completely evacuated the fort so that the English should find nothing to plunder in the Chettis' and merchants' houses and no women to ravish. After their first disgraceful retreat, the English again advanced to capture the fort, but being attacked by our troops at night, they retreated to Conjeeveram. Now, hearing that the English are preparing to attack Arcot, 500 or 600 soldiers and some officers have been sent thither from here. On M. Lally's arrival to-day, M. Soupire will be sent to-morrow. Owing to want of money for the expenses, a council was held this morning by M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy and other councillors. M. Barthélemy proposed to ask the lessee of the Villiyanallûr country to give 15,000 rupees in advance, which he might deduct from this year's rent, but that, if he refused, Appu Mudali should be given the lease of the country for five years. M. Leyrit summoned the Guntûr people and told them that, if they provided money, they would be allowed to continue, but otherwise, they would be removed.

I also hear that it was decided in to-day's council that M. La Selle should settle the

dispute between Appu Mudali and other *nâttârs*, and Guntûr Narasinga Chetti, Rangappa Chetti and others, instead of M. Barthélemy who had been first appointed.

Wednesday, August 15.[1]—At two o'clock this afternoon, M. Soupire and some officers marched for Arcot with 200 soldiers.

Thursday, August 16.[2]—I heard that a council sat to-day till noon and I write below what I have seen and what I have heard from people who were present at it. As lakhs will be needed for the expenses of the army, both soldiers and *sibbandis* here, and of the men-of-war expected from Mascareigne, it has been decided that M. Leyrit, the Governor, M. Barthélemy the Second, the Councillors and the others, shall each contribute according to his riches, that the houses of those who refuse to do so will be liable to plunder by the troops, and that M. La Selle has been appointed to collect money from the Tamils in proportion to their wealth. M. Desvaux who has temporary charge of the country that was in my management, is to collect from the renters about ten lakhs of rupees which he states to be due from them. Besides this, M. La Selle has been appointed to collect all arrears due on trading debts of the last sixty

[1] *3rd Âvani, Pramâdhi.* [2] *4th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

years since the hoisting of the French flag, the peshkash due from M. Dupleix' time, and the balance due from Chandâ Sâhib. The King's minister in Europe has written to M. Lally saying that M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux, the councillors and others have ruined both the Company by stealing its money, and the towns-people who live upon its land by forcing them to give bribes, and that he must enquire into these matters, and decide them properly. M. Lally will do so accordingly. Till a new Governor arrives to replace M. Leyrit by a ship now coming, the latter and the councillors will continue nominally in office, with the honours to their position but without power[1]. I heard this from respectable Europeans when I was driving out of the Fort this evening, so I have written it.

At seven o'clock to-night I heard that M. La Selle had ordered Tiruchelvarâya Mudali the Choultry-writer and others and some peons to bring two *mahânâttârs* from each caste to-morrow, which the poligars' peons and Choultry-writers' *dâroghas* are preparing to do.

[1] The earlier part of this version is in tolerable agreement with the Company's orders (Company to Lally, March 20, 1759. Lally's *Mémoire, Pièces*, No. 7). The conclusion however is merely plausible but inaccurate conjecture.

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Friday, August 17.[1]—To-day M. La Selle assembled the *mahânâttârs* of the town and told them to give in a list of the property of the towns-people according to M. Lally the General's orders. The *mahânâttârs* saying that they knew nothing about it, M. La Selle gave Tillai Maistri two or three stripes, and shut the *mahânâttârs* up till midnight in a room in his house, without even allowing them their food. The *mahânâttârs* however raised such an outcry that they were allowed to go for their food on the security of the Nayinâr.

Saturday, [*August 18*].[2]—The *mahânâttârs* had directed the people to close the shops in the town to-day and to assemble in the Muttirai Choultry. M. La Selle having sent for the Nayinâr and the Choultry monigar, told them to bring the *mahânâttârs* assembled at the Choultry. On receiving this order, the *mahânâttârs* said, 'When we were sent for yesterday, he said that he was making a list of the property of the towns-people and asked us to sign it. When we replied that we did not know the details of each man's property, we were shut up in a house without being allowed to get food or answer the calls of nature. We are therefore afraid to appear

[1] *5th Âvani, Pramâdhi.* [2] *6th* [*Âvani, Pramâdhi*].

before him.' When this answer was reported to M. La Selle, he said, 'If they are frightened, tell them to come with Pillai Avargal. You had better go and tell Pillai Avargal to pacify the *mahânâttârs* and bring them to me at four o'clock.' I sent for and pacified the *mahânâttârs* accordingly, and took them to M. La Selle's at four o'clock. On our arrival, M. La Selle wrongfully abused them for agreeing to make out a list of property and not doing so. They replying that they had never agreed, he said that he had spoken well of them to M. Lally Sâhib and that I was to bring them back to-morrow afternoon.

Sunday, August 19.[1]—M. Lally Sâhib sent for me this morning and said, 'Why have all the shops in the town been closed? If they are opened, well and good; but otherwise I will punish the [bazaar-people] severely. All this has been done at the instigation of the Nayinâr who has been doing whatever he pleases. As you are the man with authority, you had better issue the necessary orders to the bazaar-people to have the bazaars opened.' I therefore sent for the *mahânâttârs* and the Nayinâr, and told them that they might make a representation, but that the Governor would be angry if they refused to open the shops

[1] *7th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

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at his desire. I then took them to M. La Selle, explained matters to him, and then had the shops opened.

At five o'clock this evening I went to M. Lally Sâhib with the *mahânâttârs* and discussed matters with him. He said, 'Don't be anxious because the money you have lent already has not yet been repaid. You may rest assured that whatever you lend now may be considered as money in your own hands. I will prove this to you to-morrow and you shall understand everything. Don't hesitate, then, but make up your minds and inform me to-morrow.'

Monday, August [20[1]].—Under the orders of M. Lally the General, M. Pouly, six soldiers and Nayinâr the head-peon, went to Periyanna Mudali's house and brought him to the Fort under the escort of two soldiers. They then went to Kandappa Mudali's house and sent him also to the Fort under the custody of two soldiers. Thence they went to Savarirâya Pillai's house and sent him also to the Fort escorted by two soldiers. These three have been shut up in separate cells near the West Gate (the Porte Dauphine), and six sepoys were posted to guard the houses of each. At one o'clock by M. Lally's orders, M. Guillard

[1] *8th Âvani, Pramâdhi.* The transcript gives the European day of the month as the 19th.

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and M. de Nouäl (the *greffier* and notary) searched the houses of the three persons, noted their property, and deposited the keys at the *Greffe*. At two o'clock M. Leyrit the old Governor sent for the Nayinâr and ordered him to go with his butler to M. Pouly (Provost-marshal) to explain to M. Lally and get his permission for the three persons to go home for their food, saying that he would stand surety for their not running away. He went to the General with the Nayinâr and explained matters to him. The General gave a note to the Nayinâr with instructions to him to deliver it to the people at the gate. The Nayinâr, taking the note, gladly thinking that permission had been given for the three persons to go out to take their food, delivered it to the sergeant at the West Gate, but he, after reading it, imprisoned the Nayinâr as well.

At four o'clock I went to the General with M. La Selle, the *mahânâttârs* and the Company's merchants. The General said to the *mahânâttârs*, 'Those who formerly exercised authority in the town, took bribes, behaved unjustly and maltreated people to the detriment of trade. Consequently their injustice was written to the glorious and valorous King of France who ordered me to protect the people from injustice and to promote trade. So you need not be anxious ; you may carry on

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your trade as you please, make money and pass freely in the streets. Should any, in ignorance, behave unjustly, be he prince or Pariah, let the matter be reported to me, and I will enquire into it and punish or fine the culprits. I will be impartial to all alike, whether they be poor or mahârâjâs. Don't think there is any other here who can exercise authority over you.' Holding up the *lûsu*[1] in his hand, he added that he would act impartially, saying, 'During these troublous times, it is my duty to protect people from danger. I therefore propose to build ramparts round the Fort and make other preparations; but you should join together to lend eight or ten lakhs of rupees which shall be returned to you with interest at 12 *per cent.* I will mortgage for this amount the Villiyanallûr or Valudâvûr country, or any country you choose. You may choose a few from among yourselves to be chiefs and manage the country. Should a lakh be repaid in the meantime, you must allow counter-interest on that amount; but should the amount be less, you need not allow any. Should ships arrive before your loan is entirely repaid, I will pay the balance, and you need not fear any obstructions in the mortgaged lands. Rest assured that what I write, sign

[1] Quere, the Louis, *i.e.*, his cross of St. Louis.

and seal will be as firm and lasting as a writing cut on stone, nothing less. Besides remember that such a sanad is as valuable as one from the King of France. M. Godeheu made certain arrangements, but, after his departure, the people here did not perform what he laid down, but took bribes and managed affairs as they pleased. Don't fear that I shall do like that. Whatever I do, you may take as the King's deed and no one can prevent me from doing what I like. Henceforth I shall give the orders as to what shall be done here ; and from them you will learn everything. So come to a conclusion about the money matter, and let four of your chiefs come to me with Wazârat Râyar[1] and tell me. You need not all come but four will do.' M. La Selle interposed and said, 'Should you say "To-morrow," they will delay; so tell them to come to-morrow morning.'—'No,' he replied, 'If they can't come to-morrow, let them come the day after.' Then turning to the *mahânâttârs* he said, 'Should you fail to come to me to-morrow and delay, the hungry soldiers and officers will enter your houses and carry off whatever they may find or do worse. Don't then blame me.' M. La Selle asked the General about the imprisonment of the Nayinâr. He replied, 'The Europeans are entering the Tamils'

[1] *i.e.*, the Diarist.

houses in the town and seizing and ravishing women besides entering their temples, causing damages and committing other atrocities in the town. Seeing that he is the poligar, such things should have been reported to me on the spot, so that I might have punished them on the spot. His neglect has brought about all the injustice and infamy in the town; and who will be blamed? That is why I have imprisoned him and propose to appoint M. Dupleix' poligar at Villiyanallûr, the one-eyed man who wears a badge but who is said to be clever.' The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'This Nayinâr has been poligar here by right of birth for a long time, so he cannot be removed. Please therefore consider this.' He answered, 'In that case suggest an honest and able man who will be good to all, and I will appoint him.' Thereon M. La Selle asked why they should disapprove of the Nayinâr of Villiyanallûr. The General Avargal replied, 'The man proposed must be acceptable to all.' M. La Selle pointing to Tillai Maistri then said, 'He is a proud and impertinent man. He was only a cooly working for a fanam a day, and yet he does not respect me.' The General said that it was no time for such unbecoming talk. Then he remained silent. Seeing the very considerate way in which the General spoke

to-day, I think that the Governor and the councillors here will be unable to answer him

When I had finished my meal, M. Boyelleau sent for me at two o'clock and said, [ ].

At five o'clock on the evening of Wednesday the 20th *Ádi*,[1] M. Lally visited Razâ Sâhib's house with M. Delarche, the councillors and officers. The following presents were given to them :—

To M. Lally :—

A *turra* set with precious stones ;

a *turra* and a *sarpêch* set with precious stones ;

a pendant set with precious stones ; and a rich dress of honour ;

To M. Delarche:—

A pendant set with precious stones and a rich dress of honour.

Two elephants with good tusks, three horses and four guns were given after the visit was over.

When they left after finishing their business, a lakh of rupees, two elephants, three horses and four guns were given.

[2] 'I had arranged that each trooper should be paid at the rate of one rupee; but Dilârshthu

[1] August 1

[2] This appears to be a portion of a letter from Noronha who had been sent to arrange for the supply of help by Morâri Râo. See above p. 360.

Jang [1] wrote saying that, as he had known the French for a long time, he had arranged for 12 annas, that the troopers, Europeans and Coffrees, the foot, earth-diggers, lascars, bullock-people, etc., should be paid at the rate of 12 annas a day, according to his former agreement with M. Dupleix, and desiring that I should sign and send an agreement to that effect. I have not yet replied to it.'

Morâri Râo has written to M. Lally saying that before his troops consisting of 3,000 horse, 1,000 foot, 100 Coffrees and 10 guns arrived at Kadappanattam passes, a lakh of rupees should be sent, and that the four sardârs—Sivarâma Bhava, Mulhari Râo, Innis Khân and Narasinga Râo Ghorpadê—are being sent to visit him.

Thursday, August 23.[2]—I left my house at seven o'clock this morning and went to M. Barthélemy's in order to tell him that M. La Selle was trying to get six or eight lakhs in cash from the tax, having told M. Lally the General that the *mahânâttârs* could find that sum, in which matter I also had been told to assist; but that he[3] was

[1] Unidentified. Morâri Râo is the name one would expect to find here. The only guess I can hazard is that it is a corruption of some Persian title held by Morâri Râo.

[2] *11th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

[3] *i.e.*, La Selle.

complaining that I had encouraged them, and that should such things go on, no money would come in, and people would raise an outcry. I therefore wished to desire him to explain matters to M. Lally in these troubled times. When I arrived and paid my respects, M. La Selle and M. Barthélemy were talking together. They returned my compliments. M. La Selle asked me if arrangements had been made to collect the amounts which the *mahânâttârs* had agreed to pay. I replied that I had sent word about it last night and at daybreak this morning, and that twice they[ ].

Friday, August 24.[1]—When I went to M. Barthélemy's house this morning, he was alone, and, after paying me his compliments and asking me to sit down, enquired the contents of Periyanna Mudali's letter. I replied, 'As the troops in the north were marching to Udaiyârpâlaiyam, orders were asked for the supply of powder and shot which they lacked, and for the entertainment of *sibbandi* peons, a list of whom will be sent shortly. The cultivators are being sent for and given cowles, so that they may carry on the cultivation. This is all and there has been no other important news.' He said that

[1] *12th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

this news should be reported to M. Lally the General and told me to give the letter to Louche his Topass servant. I did accordingly.

I then went to M. Lally's house where M. La Selle asked me the news. I said that everything was all right. He added, 'The *mahânâttârs* have not yet paid the amounts, so I have sent peons to them.'—'That is right,' I replied, and added, 'But they should not be hurried, for many are concerned in this affair, and some delay must be allowed. They have to collect their shares from several people and no single person is responsible for the amount, so that the sum should be collected without severity.' Thereon he told me to take the *mahânâttârs* to M. Lally the General whither he also would go. So I went to the Fort. M. Leyrit had desired M. Lally to go to church and hear mass, but he had replied that M. Leyrit might go on and that he would come shortly. M. Soupire and M. Leyrit therefore went to church first and M. Lally set out at half-past ten. The troops were drawn up and the *tambour* was beaten. He returned at eleven o'clock from church and went into his writing-room. He then sent for the *mahânâttârs*, Kanakasabhai Mudali, Tillai Maistri and the Kômuttis Krishnama Chetti and Dharmasiva Chetti. When they arrived these four, I, M. La Selle, M. Lally and

Savarimuttu, the Choultry-writer went into a room together. He asked if they had brought the bill. M. La Selle replied, 'How can you expect them to pay? They told me last night that they can find only one lakh out of the eight lakhs of rupees you want. So they cannot pay. Unless you put a few of them in custody and appoint the Choultry-writer, my man and Ranga Pillai's man to collect the tax, you will never get the money.' Thereon M. Lally turned to the *mahânâttârs* and said, 'We need two lakhs of rupees for the repairs to the walls that surround the town, and more besides is required for paying the soldiers and *sibbandis*. If you talk thus, how can affairs prosper?' M. La Selle said, 'You must insist on the eight lakhs; if you talk as you do, you will not get even one.' Then they talked in private and M. La Selle said among other things, that the [*mahânâttârs*] spoke thus on the advice of M. Leyrit, M. Desvaux, M. du Bausset, Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, and Savarirâya Pillai. M. Lally then said to me, 'I shall have to hang Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai before they realize their position. If they set to work and pay the amount in four days, well and good; otherwise they will share the same fate.' I repeated this to them and added that, if they would

pay 10,000 rupees immediately, I would arrange for their paying the balance in ten or fifteen days according to their convenience. Thereon they said that they would try to pay the amount in four days. M. La Selle observed, 'They will not pay if they can help it, and people should be appointed to collect the amount.'—'Then, what do you want me to do?' he asked. Again he and M. La Selle conversed aside and afterwards told them that they must pay the amount to-morrow, and gave them leave. They then departed. As I was taking leave, he told me to bring the accounts of the Bound-villages soon. I agreed and took leave.

When I went out at three o'clock this afternoon, I heard that Sîyâlam, the Choultry-writer, Savarimuttu and Chidambaram, the goldsmith who works under him, had been told to write an account for twice the sums shown in the lists prepared according to castes.

Sunday, August 26.[1]—The council's resolution in French to the effect that 12 *per cent.* interest should be allowed on all sums which the *mahânâttârs* and others might lend, that the houses, etc., of those who refused to lend, would be confiscated to the Company, and that the council would manage this affair, was

[1] *14th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

ordered by M. La Selle to be translated into Tamil and sealed. But when he learnt that the Brâhman who had the seal was absent, he ordered it to be sealed afterwards and brought to him.

Afterwards M. La Selle told M. Lally that I would do nothing to assist him in this difficult business; so he said sharply to me, 'When M. La Selle is working night and day, why are you so inactive? How can money be got in and affairs prosper?' I answered, 'You have given all authority to M. La Selle, who manages everything, and I can only do what he tells me.' But he would not listen to me, and ordered me angrily to help in the collection. I said I would do as he said; as I was leaving, he said that the letter must be sealed. I agreed.

M. La Selle said to M. Lally, 'I told Ranga Pillai that two of the Choultry-accountants, one of my men and one of his should be ordered to accompany the *mahânâttârs* to collect the money.' He then went to the Choultry, telling me to get it[1] sealed and sent. When this had been done, he said, 'Appoint one of your men, and yourself accompany M. La Selle day and night, and do your utmost to

[1] *i.e.*, the Tamil translation of the Council's resolution mentioned above.

get the amount.' He also spoke of secret news which will be known to-morrow morning. I took leave and went to M. La Selle's place in the Choultry.

M. La Selle summoned the Choultry-writers and the *mahânâttârs* and said, 'You have been apportioning each man's share ever since yesterday but have only done half. Try to finish the other half to-day.' I took to the Choultry the Tamil writing, which M. Lally had signed and given me after it had been sealed, and read it there. It says, 'M. La Selle has arranged for the amounts. I will mortgage country in the Gingee or Tiruviti country for the amount with 12 *per cent.* interest. If each man does not pay according to his property, he will be punished and his property confiscated to the Company. The amounts borrowed by M. Leyrit will be included in the bond, and country will be mortgaged for the principal and interest. This may be relied on, and the amount mentioned above should be paid without delay.'

About the bribes given to M. Leyrit, M. du Bausset, M. Desvaux, Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai, Zuhûr Khân's son presented a petition at eleven o'clock to-day. M. Blanc sent it to M. Lally by M. Lally's servant.

Monday, August 27.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort, paid my respects to M. Lally as he was going from his room to the bath-room[2] opposite, and reported that the Nayinâr's people had imprisoned Nayinâthai (Kandappa Mudali's younger brother) M. Lally replied that that had been done by his orders.

I was then asked when the *mahânâttârs* would pay. I said that they would visit him to-morrow. He then went to bathe and returned at nine. M. Boyelleau and the other councillors then came and I paid my respects to them. [They said] that a council would be held to-day, Monday, and went home at eleven after some conversation. M. La Selle remained behind and on his report, M. Lally told me that, although M. Leyrit only admitted having received 9,000 rupees from 40 individuals, the townspeople were prepared to prove that they had subscribed 30,000 pagodas, and that I should therefore go to their place of meeting and make them write in the proper manner, after which I might go home. I and M. La Selle then took leave of M. Lally. M. La Selle said on leaving that, although he had heard that I had said that the dancing-girls should not be taxed,

[1] *15th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Lally insisted on being provided with a bath, and would not have water merely poured over him. *Mémoire pour Leyrit*, pp. 31 and 33.

he had ordered the tax to be collected from them. I replied, 'The collection of this tax is dishonourable enough in itself, but if the dancing-girls are made to pay it, it will be yet worse. As we are well-wishers of the Company, such dishonour should not be brought on it. They only receive people for a fanam or two to obtain their daily bread. That is why I say this.' He replied, 'Let those luxurious fellows who keep them pay it.' Not caring to press the matter further, I went to the Muttirai Choultry where I summoned the *mahânâttârs* and directed them how to collect as much as possible with the least delay; and after spending about two hours there, came home at one o'clock.

I heard this afternoon that the *amaldârs* and others at the Second's house, on being asked by M. La Selle and M. Barthélemy if the accounts were ready, replied that they were not yet completed but would be finished in three days.

Tuesday, August 28.[1]—When I went to the Muttirai Choultry this morning, I summoned the several *mahânâttârs*, the Choultry-writers and my writer Mutta Pillai, and asked if the apportionment of tax had been made and the list written. They replied that the names of

[1] *16th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

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only a few had been written and that those of the rest were being written. I told them that, if they delayed, the Governor would get angry, and advised them properly that, as the Company's affairs must be carried on, they should bring the list without delay. A few complained that though they had no property, their names had been entered in the list for the levy of the tax. I replied, 'What I have told you is the Company's business; you must do as the *nâttârs* say.' After staying at the Choultry about an hour and a half, I left it and came home at ten.

M. La Selle, having written a list of persons who were in arrears to the Company, went to M. Barthélemy the Second's house, and after discussing several matters with him, went to he Muttirai Choultry at eleven o'clock with Shaikh Ḍukki, the commandant and ten or fifteen sepoys for the purpose of collecting the arrears. He asked the *mahânâttârs*, the Choultry-writers, Sîyâlam, Savarimuttu and his man Chidambaram a goldsmith, if the apportionment of the tax was complete. They replied that it had been finished except for the Christians and *Jônakans* [1]. He continued, 'You said yesterday that it would be ready to-day; and M. Lally will be angry if it is unfinished. Let it be written up quickly and

[1] Muhammadan Lubbays.

brought with the amount collected.' They mentioned that the names of some who had no property had been included to which M. La Selle replied, 'Let a list of the property of all persons be taken, levying a tax of five in twenty, but omitting the names of those who have no houses or other property or who have property worth only ten pagodas.' He then departed.

I hear that Kandappan (son of Bhûmiyappan, elder brother of Kandappa Mudali) has been shut up in the dungeon.

At half-past five this evening, I went to the Muttirai Choultry, told the *mahânâttârs* and the others to hasten the completion of the list, and then came home.

At six o'clock this evening a Dutch peon, on his way from Negapatam to Sadras and Pulicat, said, 'Of seven Europe ships which were on their way to Negapatam, one was taken by Vermont who was Governor of Negapatam and who was going to Vattala[1]; the remaining six reached Negapatam; and of these one sailed north towards Pulicat, and 400 soldiers and 700 Ispângi boys on board the remaining five ships have landed [2]. There are 19 English ships in the Negapatam roads.'

[1] Probably a copyist's error for *Vatâvi*, *i.e.*, Batavia.

[2] This was the armament prepared by the Dutch for the purpose of driving the English out of Bengal. See the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 154, etc. The peon's account is very inaccurate. The 'Ispângi' boys must be the Malay troops who took part in the expedition.

Wednesday, August 29.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning, a peon came and said that M. Lally wanted me. I went accordingly. M. Soupire, M. Élias, M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche, M. du Bausset, M. La Selle, M. Bazin, M. Abeille and a few others were with him. I paid my respects to M. Lally who returned my compliments. I then paid my respects to M. Barthélemy and others who did the same. M. La Selle then asked why I was so careless about money matters. I replied, 'Your people are writing accounts showing the apportionment of the tax and are managing the business. Moreover you give ten orders a day, and so they tear up the accounts and write them anew. At this rate it will take a month or forty days. I am not even allowed to know the amount, for I am treated like a cooly. What answer can I give? Am I to go to the Choultry and make enquiries?' 'I shall tell M. Lally,' he answered. I replied, 'If you do, I shall also tell him my story.' He then went in and spoke to M. Lally who stared at me thrice. I concluded that M. La Selle was making mention of me. He then talked about a quarter of an hour.

M. Abeille was asked why provisions had not been sent to camp and he replied to it.

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[1] *17th Ávani, Pramádhi.*

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He then had five or six Tamil letters written by the engineer and gave them to him after sealing them with his Persian seal. I think these are about the blacksmiths' and carpenters' business, but I will enquire later on what the business is.

Then the conversation turned for half an hour to the accounts which are being written of the arrears due to the Company for the last 40 years from the several merchants and others. Then M. Barthélemy, M. Delarche, M. du Bausset and M. La Selle, the councillors, took leave and departed. M. Bussy and M. Soupire were talking together. M. Lally then called me to him and said that the services of the peons at the Bound-hedge might be dispensed with from September 1. I said I would tell them so.

When I then asked if there was any business to attend to, I was told that there was nothing else and that I might go home. I took leave, went to the Choultry, called the *mahânâttârs* and having urged them to hasten the list of the tax, came home at noon.

Thursday, August 30.[1]—When I went to the Muttirai Choultry this morning, the *mahânâttârs* said, 'The amount written thus far is 75,000 or 80,000 pagodas. We have been

[1] *18th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

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ordered to increase the amount and get it copied by Europeans at his house.'—'Do so,' I replied. The *mahânâttârs*, Choultry-writers and my Mutta Pillai then went to M. La Selle's house at eleven o'clock.

I heard the following news to-day:—M. Chambois, and the Chevalier de Crillon took sloop for Europe[1] on the 21st *Âdi*,[2] but when they had been five or six days at sea, and put out to the eastwards, the sloop sprang a leak. Instead of putting in to Achin or those parts for repairs, without which the sloop would have sunk had they proceeded on their voyage, they unluckily returned, intending to touch at Âlambarai as the English squadron was at Pondichery. But when the sloop appeared off Sadras, she was captured by two English ships and her cargo consisting of goods and treasure worth five or six lakhs was landed at Madras. [The two Frenchmen] having given the usual agreement not to take up arms, reached Pondichery to-day.

I also hear that, when the St. Paul's priests requested M. Lally's leave for people to go to Ariyânkuppam for the ten days' festival[3] which began to-day, they were told that orders

[1] I suppose in consequence of the orders recalling the staff. See above, p. 364 n. 2.

[2] August 2.

[3] At the church built for the Jesuits by Kanakarâya Mudali. Cf. Gaudart, *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'Inde FranCaise*, vol. ii, p. 474.

had been given for all the chairs, tables, planks, etc., at M. Barthélemy's and other Europeans' gardens outside to be brought in, and that therefore they should defer the festival till next year; the priests replied that the festival was a Tamil one and should be celebrated; on which explanation M. Lally gave a half-assent. When the image was being carried out by the Villiyanallûr Gate this evening, five or six of M. La Selle's peons warned the Christians that they could not pass the gate. Ignoring their opposition, the people attempted to pass, whereon the peons beat them and prevented them from going, so that a disturbance arose and blows were exchanged.

Two officers who arrived at six o'clock said nine ships which sailed from England last year had reached Madras with a regiment of troops,[1] some say 1,500, others 1,200 or 2,000 soldiers of the King's army, and that more ships were coming. I also hear that the ships have brought little treasure, but some broadcloth and other things from Europe.

I heard this afternoon that to-day being Thursday, there was a council which decided that all arrears due to the Company should be got in, and that M. Barthélemy should enquire

[1] This was Coote's regiment.

about the arrears due from me, in which matter M. Delarche and M. La Selle spoke strongly against me, while the others said nothing, but M. Lally, saying that there must have been some reason for it, asked them why they had let the matter lie over without making demands on me.

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Saturday, September 1.[1]—I did not go out to-day as I was busy with the accounts.

I heard to-night that M. La Selle, having assembled all the *mahânâttârs* at his house, ordered them to sign for an extra sum making in all a lakh of pagodas, although they had already signed and given in an account for upwards of 69,000 pagodas; after Kanaka-sabhai Mudali had been struck on the chest with a shoe, and the others abused and beaten, all signed the writing and were dismissed at one o'clock this morning.

I copy below for reference the account for the lakh of pagodas which they were forced to sign.

Monday, September [3].[2]—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, and paid my respects to M. Lally on his way to attend the council. He returned my compliments and said, 'I told you to settle the accounts of the sepoys at the Bound-hedge. Why have you not done so?' I replied that I had been busy these two or three days but that I would settle the account to-morrow or the day after.

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[1] *20th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

[2] *22nd Âvani, Pramâdhi.* The Madras transcript reads the 2nd of the European month, by error.

'Very well,' he said, and went into the council-room. M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy, M. Boyelleau and others also entered with him. As he was entering the council-room, M. La Selle called me and said, 'Send a peon to fetch the *mahânâttârs* at my house, and, when the council is over, I will compliment them with *pân sûpârî* and rosewater.' So I called Sônâchalam and told him to have *pân supârî* and rosewater ready, and repeated the orders to dubâsh Râmâ Nâyakkan; afterwards I sent two peons to fetch the *mahânâttârs* from M. La Selle's house and I remained upstairs with them. When the council had broken up and M. Lally was coming out, M. La Grenée[1] said to me, 'The petition you gave in about your villages at Kârikâl has been disposed of by the council which decided that M. Porcher should examine the matter, and if he reports that the loss is real, it will be accepted. The petition has been given to M. Porcher.' M. Boyelleau said the same. I thanked M. La Grenée for his kindness in having been pleased to lay the matter before the council.

He[2] then said angrily that they need not pay anything. When all had departed, he sent a peon to take them to his house, and, telling me that he would settle their affair as they wished,

[1] The Secretary. [2] Apparently La Selle.

asked me to come too. He added that M. Lally had been angry enough to eat the town of Pondichery, but he had pacified him. He then took me to his house and when the *mahânâttârs* were summoned and questioned, they replied that the amount they agreed to was 70,000 and not a lakh. Although he tried his utmost, using both threats and promises, they persisted. He then told me to explain the matter to them ; but, in spite of all my efforts to convince them, they stubbornly said that they could agree only to 70,000. I said to M. La Selle, 'The General needs the money at once, but you are causing delay. Let the 70,000 now promised be collected and brought ; they are in our hands, and we can deal with them afterwards in the proper manner and get the amount.' M. La Selle replied, 'We should only be cheating them by saying one thing now and another afterwards.' When I had explained this to them, they replied, 'We first agreed in writing to pay 50,000 rupees, which he afterwards changed to 50,000 pagodas and then again to a lakh of pagodas. We have never come across such a man of his word !' I was then told to inform M. Lally that they had refused to agree to anything beyond 70,000 pagodas. When I went to M. Lally who was sitting on his cot after his meal, I paid my respects and he returning

my compliments, asked why I had come. I replied, 'Though the *mahânâttârs* signed for a lakh of pagodas, they now say that they cannot agree to this and that they can only pay the 70,000 which they first agreed to. M. La Selle has sent me to tell you this and say that he will do as you order.' M. Lally replied, 'They say that they cannot pay more than 70,000 pagodas; what do you think?' I answered, 'Inasmuch as the inhabitants have agreed to pay 70,000 pagodas, let them be allowed to pay it; we can collect later the balance of 30,000 pagodas. By eating a little at a time, one can consume a great deal.' He agreed, and asked when they would pay, if he allowed them to do as they desired. I replied, 'In a month, if once a week, we collect at the rate of 10,000 or 15,000.'—'Let them do so,' he said. I then took leave, but had scarcely taken four steps when he called me back and said, 'Try to get 80,000 pagodas. If they agree, well and good; if not, settle it as you think best.' I took leave, went to M. La Selle's house at a quarter past two and related to him what had passed. 'Did he say that?' he answered. 'You need not go to the *mahânâttârs* now, but go home and come back after your meal, and we can then discuss matters.' After my departure, he told them to sign an

account for upwards of 81,600 pagodas ; and when they replied that they could not agree to more than 70,000 pagodas, he imprisoned Kanakasabhai Mudali, Mutta Pillai and Tillai Maistri in the dungeon and kept the rest in custody at his own house. At five he sent men for me. On my arrival he said, 'You said that M. Lally mentioned 80,000 pagodas as what should be collected. When I wanted them to sign for this sum, they refused, so I have put three men in the dungeon.'—'Yes,' I replied. He then asked the rest to sign, but they replied that the three should first be released as they wished to consult them. M. La Selle observed, 'But the three who refused and the three who incited them not to sign shall be sent to the gallows to-morrow. I will not let them off.' But though he threatened them again and again with the gallows, they still declared that nothing could be done without the others. Till seven I was busy seeking to persuade both parties ; but both remained unmoved. M. La Selle at last said to me, 'You had better go to the Choultry and obtain from them the 81,600 and odd pagodas by means of the Choultry-writers according to the agreement.' So I went to the Choultry. told the several people to bring the money, and came home.

The Madras people[1] have ordered their shops to be closed in alarm at the imprisonment of the several *nâttârs*.

Tuesday, September 4.[2]—The Second and M. La Selle sent for me this morning. Kandappa Mudali had received from Pillantângal 15 pagodas and a cadjan letter. I had sent to the Second the sepoys at the Bounds who had been brought to me. When I went to him on his summons, he asked the contents of the cadjan letter. I replied that it related to the villages and had been sent by the amaldârs about the revenue collections. He said, 'Pay the pagodas into the Choultry and bring me the writer's acknowledgment.' I agreed to do so.

He then said, 'Muttu Venkatarâma Reddi has given in a complaint against Srînivâsa Pillai and Pâpayya Pillai; and Muttu Mallâ Reddi has also given in complaints. What are they about? But never mind, we will see about them afterwards. Kanakasabhai Mudali, Tillai Maistri and Mutta Pillai are to be hanged; and the gallows is being put up at the Choultry. I will come shortly; you had better go first and get the *mahânâttârs* ready.' I went to the Choultry and waited

[1] I suppose persons who, like the Diarist himself, had come from Madras to settle at Pondichery.

[2] *23rd Âvâni, Pramâdhi.*

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there with the *mahânâttârs*. Presently he came with 20 sepoys, who brought two of the gibbets lying opposite his house. On the way, he met crowds of people, crying some one thing, some another ; and fearing lest he should be attacked, he hurried to the Choultry. The shops in the town had not been opened since yesterday and large crowds had gathered near the Second's house, and north and east of the Fort, raising a great uproar in order to attract the attention of M. Lally, M. Leyrit and M. Soupire. When he[1] reached the Choultry with the gibbets, the whole crowd came thither. He then told his dubâsh Krishnama Nâyakkan and ten sepoys to fetch the three men shut up in the dungeon. They went accordingly and returned with the prisoners, escorted by ten sepoys from the Fort—20 sepoys in all—with bayonets fixed. Both coaxing and threats of the gallows were used to induce them to sign the writing for a lakh of pagodas ; but they replied that they would only sign for 70,000 pagodas as they had promised, and not for a lakh. This discussion went on from half-past nine to twelve. As Mannappa Mudali interrupted now and then, he was ordered to be imprisoned. He [1]

[1] *i.e.*, La Selle.

at last said, 'If they agree to this lakh of pagodas and sign, very good ; but otherwise keep them in prison till to-morrow, when I will return with M. Barthélemy.' So saying M. La Selle gave me the paper and went home at noon. But the people shouted that the gallows had been brought for him, abusing and throwing earth at him. Fearing to be beaten, he went to M. Lally with a downcast look and said, 'The Tamils have gathered in great crowds and threaten to beat me and I only escaped with great difficulty.' M. Lally, fearing that the Tamils would prove dangerous if they had any weapons, ordered their houses to be searched and all guns, swords and other weapons to be seized and brought to the Fort, except those that might be found in my house. I waited till two o'clock urging them to sign. As they refused, I ordered them to be detained at the Choultry and came home ; after eating and taking some rest, I went back to the Choultry at four o'clock and stayed there till eight at night urging them to sign for the 80,000 pagodas demanded by the General. They did not give way till two o'clock, when at last they signed in the accounts for 81,000 and odd pagodas. Thus the townspeople were treated from sunrise to two o'clock in the night.

I write below the details of the treatment meted out to Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai :—

When Kandappa Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai and Periyanna Mudali who had been shut up in the dungeon were led through the streets in which they lived by eleven soldiers at seven in the morning on their way to Villiyanallûr, their women and children shed tears at the sight. But when the three looked back, they were pushed on with the butt-ends of the muskets and made to walk faster. When, passing through Kâttumêttu and Perumbai, they fell, being unable to walk fast enough, they were dragged along by the leg, struck with muskets, and again thrust forward with the butt-ends. Between one and two thousand people, who followed as far as Villiyanallûr, which they reached at seven in the evening, witnessed all this. Butter-milk offered to quench the [prisoners'] thirst was spilt or drunk by the Europeans. Never has such atrocity and injustice been displayed in this town for these fifty or sixty years ; nor have I ever seen the like. I have heard of two or three Europeans being treated like this in Arcot, Tanjore and Trichinopóly, but I have never seen such a thing myself, and men are saying that the town can no longer prosper. A single man, Pâpayya Pillai, is at the bottom of it, and has brought

all this trouble upon Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai and other renters, by telling M. Lally through M. Bazin, M. La Selle and M. Barthélemy the Second, that he could collect 15 or 20 lakhs. Each man will suffer according to his sinful actions. Pâpayya Pillai has behaved according to the proverb, 'That Kômutti is the fittest man for the gallows.'[1] I cannot tell what troubles are in store for him. Others are saying the same and predicting evil to M. La Selle who has been the cause of all the trouble and who ordered the gallows to be set up. I also hear that Venkatanâranappa Ayyan the Mysore vakîl here is trying to rival Pâpayya Pillai by telling M. Bazin and M. La Selle that, if the townspeople were under his control, he would raise 60 or 70 lakhs. Thus these evil men in the town are adding to the sins of the people.

Wednesday, September 5.[2]—Both I and M. La Selle went to the Fort this morning, and visited M. Lally who asked me if the Tamils had agreed. I replied, 'Half have signed and I have asked them to collect the amount which

[1] 'A certain man was to be impaled for a crime, but at the last moment he pointed out that a certain fat merchant (Kômati) would be better suited for the instrument of punishment, and so escaped. The proverb is now used of a person who is forced to suffer for the faults of others.' Thurston *Castes and Tribes, s.v.* Kômati, iii. 348.

[2] *24th Âvani, Pramâdhi.* The Madras transcript has the 6th of the European month by error.

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has to be got in.'—'When will it come in?' he asked. 'In a week,' I replied. La Selle could not bear my talking with him, so, in M. Lally's presence, he gave me a paper still unsigned by a few, and told me that I should exert myself more and go to the Choultry. So I took leave, arranged for everything at the Choultry and came home.

I hear that M. Pouly who set out for Villiyanallûr last evening in order to see Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, and Savarirâya Pillai shut up in prison there, warned them quietly but severely that, if they failed to pay the amount shortly, they would be punished and perhaps hanged. He returned after beating them once or twice with a cane.

I went to the Choultry this evening also, told the several people to collect money promptly, stayed there till seven, and then came home.

I heard the following news:—M. Barthélemy, M. La Selle and Pâpayya Pillai have made Ayyan Sâstri and Pennâthûr Sâmâ Râo write the accounts of the country management at the Second's house. While the accounts were being written, M. La Selle struck Sâmâ Râo twice on the cheek, declaring that he had given large bribes to M. Leyrit,

M. Desvaux and Savarirâya Pillai in the Chidambaram affair, and not 10,000 or 18,000 as he had written, and saying that Ayyan Sâstri was to write the amount correctly. I hear therefore that accounts are being hurriedly written in the Second's house. The affairs of Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai and the renters are being thus improperly dealt with owing to the interference of Pâpayya Pillai.

Thursday, September 6.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning where the councillors had assembled to attend the council which is usually held on Mondays and Thursdays.

An English captain who brought here from Madras 150 [soldiers], went to M. Lally and after taking his leave, departed with the 150 soldiers he had got in exchange.

Father Lavaur then came and talked with the Governor for a long time. Afterwards at nine o'clock, M. Lally went into the council with the councillors and discussed matters till eleven o'clock, when all went home.

When M. La Selle came out, he turned to me and said, 'When I showed the council the paper which the *mahânâttârs* have signed for 80,000 pagodas, the councillors and M. Lally ordered the amount to be collected and paid to

[1] *25th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

the Company. You had better therefore go to the Choultry and arrange for the collection and payment.' He then departed.

M. Desvaux then came and said, 'My Manuel has been imprisoned, so need my writers also be kept in custody? What have I done to this Pâpayya Pillai?' I replied, 'You both know better than I.' He then went away.

M. Barthélemy who followed, seeing me, said that he had spoken to M. Lally about the sepoys and peons at the Bound-hedge and that I should also speak to him He then departed.

M. Lally was talking with M. Very[1] in a room till half-past twelve; as I could not see him, I came home.

At five o'clock this evening, the *mahânâttârs* and others presented a petition when Father Lavaur and M. Lally were driving out by the Villiyanallûr Gate complaining that M. La Selle had ordered gallows to be brought, imprisoned people in his house, struck them with his shoes, taken signatures by force for upwards of 81,600 pagodas which they had not agreed to, for they had signed the apportionment of tax only for 70,000 pagodas which they were willing to pay, and that because of

[1] *Sic.* Perhaps Leyrit is intended.

their poverty they could not pay more. After reading the petition he asked if he[1] had ordered the collection to be made from the poor. Father Lavaur replied that the townspeople were very poor, that they had become poorer owing to the decay of trade during the last five or six years, and that therefore their consent for 70,000 pagodas should be accepted and orders given accordingly. As the Padré spoke strongly on their behalf, [M. Lally] said that they might come to him to-morrow.

Friday, September 7.[2]—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Lally sent for M. La Selle and talked with him in a room about several matters. While returning home he[1] said to the 50 or 60 people who presented a petition yesterday evening and who were waiting, that he was going to the Choultry and that he would enquire into the affair there in their presence. He also told me to see him at his house. As these people instead of departing raised an uproar, the General ordered them to be sent away ; but as they still did not go and kept on shouting, one of them, a Kômutti, was seized and kept in custody, and immediately all the others hastened to depart.

[1] *i.e.*, La Salle.

[2] *26th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

When I went to M. La Selle's house, he read the petition to me which, he said, was a complaint against himself, and, giving it to me, added, 'Go to the Choultry and enquire who wrote the complaint. The *nâttârs*, it is said, have taxed the poor inhabitants more than the latter can pay. So enquire into it and pass the necessary orders.' He also told me what should be done. Therefore I went to the Choultry, sent for the *mahânâttârs* and inhabitants, and asked who had written the complaint. They replied, 'How can we say, when many joined to make the petition? Have we refused to pay? We have given a statement to the effect that we will pay the 70,000 pagodas we have agreed to. We hoped that the additional demand of 11,600 and odd pagodas, which was afterwards made, would be withdrawn, so we petitioned to M. Lally. If he is not pleased to excuse us, but persists in collecting the amount, what can we do? We petitioned hoping that thus our heart-burn would be cured. If it be asked who wrote the complaint, we admit that we all wrote it.'

Having made the necessary enquiries, I came home at half-past twelve. I went to the Choultry again in the evening, arranged for the collection of 81,600 and odd pagodas to-morrow as decided upon, and returned home at seven.

When I reached home, M. Bazin visited me to discuss certain matters, and, having received a dress of honour from me, then departed.

Pâpayya Pillai went to-day to Villiyanallûr in order to confer with Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai about the money affair. The European in charge of the clock-tower and the Choultry-writer with peons have been searching houses for the last two days and making out a list of the arms found therein.

Sunday, September 9.[1]—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that M. Lally had ordered the European Hussars and the Germans to seize the horses in the town. There was nothing else of importance.

I went to the Choultry at eleven o'clock. Krishnama Nâyakkan, M. La Selle's dubâsh, showed me a note for 5,000 pagodas written as due from me, one for 3,000 pagodas as due from [Pâ]payya Pillai and one for 5,000 pagodas as due from Chinna Mudali—three notes in all—and gave me my note. I replied, 'When the *mahânâttârs* wrote 2,500 pagodas, I mentioned to M. La Selle that I had nothing with which to pay, and did nothing more, as I feared that, if I objected, the *mahânâttârs* would not pay.' How can I pay 5,000 pagodas

[1] *28th Avani, Pramâdhi.*

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now? In the month of *Kârttigai*,[1] I paid 10,000 rupees by melting my wife's and children's jewels at the mint. Besides this, I am indebted to M. Barthélemy, M. Melon and M. La Tour, and I have no money. He has ordered money to be collected only from the wealthy. I lived happily here for 30 or 40 years, but, as I have had no appointment for the past three or four years, I have hardly been able to maintain my household. However, as the Company is suffering and in need of money for its expenses, I must do what I can. I own an elephant, two or three horses, a few bullocks, a house and gardens. Let these be sold for the money.' Dubâsh Krishnama Nâyakkan reported this to him accordingly, to which he replied (as the dubâsh told me at one o'clock) that he knew my straits, and that he would excuse me from paying the 5,000 pagodas if only I made the *mahânâttârs* pay speedily.

I meant to go to M. La Selle this evening to thank him, but, as it rained, I stayed at home.

The Second sent word to me about the 34,000 rupees due from Sônâchalam in dubâsh[2] Muttayyan's affair. I sent word saying that,

[1] November–December. [2] Reading *Dubâshi* for *Dubâkki*.

as it was raining, I would see him to-morrow morning.

Monday, September 10.[1]—I hear that letters arrived from Kârikâl by catamaran for M. Lally, M. Le Beaume, M. Solminiac and one or two people at the Beach[2], and many Europeans say the news is that a French squadron of 17 ships has been sighted off the Kârikâl roads. The townspeople and Europeans are rejoicing at the news of the ships' arrival; and the *mahânâttârs* hope that now the vexed collection of the tax of 80,000 pagodas will not be enforced.

M. Abeille who conferred with M. Lally through M. Miran about the affair of the imprisoned Periyanna Mudali, obtained the release of Râmi Reddi and was sent to Periyanna Mudali at Villiyanallûr to discuss matters with him. Formerly M. Barthélemy who sought to negotiate with Pâpayya Pillai through M. La Selle, failed, because he[3] said falsely that he had negotiated for 70,000 rupees. When Periyanna Mudali was formerly put in prison, M. du Bausset mentioned to M. Lally a nazar of 20,000 rupees and a loan of 30,000 rupees—50,000 rupees in all—but the latter would not agree to anything less than a lakh of rupees, and sent him to be kept in custody

[1] *29th Âvani Pramâdhi.* [2] *i.e.*, the Custom-house.
[3] Pâpayya Pillai.

at Villiyanallûr. Now Periyanna Mudali having offered 50,000 rupees, it was concluded that Pâpayya Pillai had behaved falsely in the negotiations. He therefore grew angry with him, ordered the release of Râmu (*sic*) Reddi, and is conducting the negotiations through M. Abeille and M. Miran.

Tuesday, September 11.[1]—The rain which began last night continued after day-break. M. La Selle sent for me at eight o'clock. On my arrival, he said, 'The *mahânâttârs*, Vellâlas, Idaiyans, Agamudaiyans and various other people agreed to 70,000 pagodas, but I changed the amount to 81,600 and odd pagodas. They have given the following particulars :—56 Vellâlas have agreed in writing to pay 7,550 rupees : 113 Agamudaiyans 7,800 rupees; 45 Idaiyans 900 rupees; 91 Kômuttis 6,000 rupees ; 28 Kavarais 600 rupees; 33 Shânârs 600 rupees ; 13 Elavâniyans 800 rupees ; 9 Muchiyars 400 rupees ; 169 Chettis 12,000 rupees ; 5 Kammâlas 500 rupees ; 32 Pallis 1,600 rupees ; 26 Brâhmans 8,000 rupees ; 12 individuals 2,215 rupees ; 71 Christians 7,500 rupees ; Venkatâchala Mudali 750 rupees ; Ayyamperumâl 600 rupees ; Mîr 'Alî Nâyakkan[2] 150 rupees ; and Mîr A'azam 750 rupees. Let the amounts be collected according to this list.' He then

[1] *30th Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

[2] *Quere* Mîr 'Alî Khân.

asked why the name of Pîr Muhammad (Mîr Asad's elder brother) who died 20 years ago had been included, and struck off his name. Although Mîr Ghulâm Husain's name had been at first included, afterwards it was removed because yesterday he gave a dress of honour worth 200 or 250 rupees. When I went to-day, he said, 'Mîr Ghulâm Husain's name has been mentioned, but he lent the Company a lakh of rupees of which he is expecting repayment, so his name has been omitted.' I replied, 'Did I not tell you at first that his name should not be inserted as he was still expecting payment of the amount?] Besides Mîr A'azam, who wants to get his money, is Mîr Ghulâm Husain's son-in-law, so he should be excused.'

If he also presents a dress of honour, that will be done. But the Tamils do not know this trick and so their contributions are fixed higher. He troubles the *mahânâttârs* and others, and has fixed the amount at over 70,000, hoping that, in alarm, they will give something. That is why he does not allow the amount to be collected, and gives about a dozen orders a day.

He then said, 'From the persons whose names have already been written, 81,600 pagodas will be collected. Tell the Choultryman to prepare, in addition, a list of the money

to be collected in small sums from others. We may collect it separately and remit it to the Company. Go to the Choultry, make arrangements accordingly and then you can go home.' I went to the Choultry, sent for the *mahânâttârs*, told them to give a writing to writer Sîyâlam and goldsmith Chidambaram showing particulars of the individuals mentioned already, and to have a list made of the miscellaneous people similar to that which they had made already, and then came home at one.

Afterwards he sent a note asking me to make out another list including the amounts deducted for dancing-women, washermen, barbers and Pariahs. He also wrote to me asking me to excuse certain dubâshes. Thus he varies his orders every day, making concessions to such as approach him and increasing the tax against the rest ; he has fixed the total at over 80,000 for his own purposes, expecting the contributors to approach him secretly about their high assessment, so that he will have an opportunity of making something. As a result of all this, the collection is delayed and the common people are alarmed. God's mercy remains to be seen.

Although he sent a note the day before yesterday for 5,000 pagodas, to-day he sent word by his dubâsh, Krishnama Nâyakkan,

asking me to arrange for 3,000 pagodas. I sent him back telling him, as I had told him yesterday, that my young elephant, house, garden, grocery-shop, godown, etc., might be taken. The dubâsh returned and said that I was to get the amounts ready as ordered the day before yesterday.

Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, has been saying that he would raise 70 or 75 lakhs of rupees if the affairs of the townspeople, the *Arumpâtai*, the Company's writer, Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, and Savarirâya Pillai and of the officials and respectable people, and the collection of the Company's dues in arrears were entrusted to his management. He sent men about this some days ago to negotiate with M. La Selle, with a nazar of 250 pagodas, but nothing came out of it. Afterwards he obtained the release of Kônêri Nâyakkan who was in custody, and took him to M. La Selle, before whom he told him that he had been imprisoned for refusing to state the sums given to the Europeans and to Kandappa Mudali and Periyanna Mudali among the Tamils, and that he was to write them now. He therefore wrote what had been given to the Europeans and Tamils. M. La Selle took no notice of what had been given to the Europeans but made a note of what had been given to Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna

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Mudali, and Savarirâya Pillai among the Tamils.

But as Venkatanâranappa Ayyan in spite of his offers to arrange for money here, received no encouragement, he obtained a passport, and set out for Villiyanallûr to-day.

The Brâhmans' share of the tax was written as 12,000 pagodas[1]—[Râma]chandra Râo, writer at the Beach, 6,000 rupees ; Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown, 2,000 rupees ; and other Brâhmans 4,000 rupees—but M. La Selle sent a note to the Choultry-writers, changing this rate of distribution and fixing 4,000 rupees for Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo, and 8,000 rupees for the remaining Brâhmans.

I went to the Choultry this evening, ordered money to be collected and returned home after eight.

Wednesday, September 12.[2]—I hear to-day that M. Abeille and M. du Bausset, having conferred with M. Lally about Periyanna Mudali's affair, obtained the release of Râma Reddi and sent him to Villiyanallûr where the matter was settled for a lakh of rupees, which is to be considered as a loan on the mortgage of the Valudâvûr country and that Periyanna Mudali has returned on being

[1] *Sic.* 'Rupees' is probably meant.
[2] *31st Âvani, Pramâdhi.*

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summoned after some discussion. I shall learn what happens and write.

Kônêri Nâyakkan, the Turaiyur vakîl, who was shut up in the dungeon yesterday and was released by means of M. La Selle, has returned home. I hear that he wrote a statement before M. La Selle about what was given to M. Leyrit, M. Barthélemy, M. du Bausset, M. Desvaux and M. Marion among the Europeans, and to Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna, Savarirâya Pillai and others among the Tamils; some deny that any statement has been written; but I think that it is sure to have been taken. The truth remains to be seen.

Saturday, September 15.[1]—Commander d'Aché who left this place last year and sailed with 17 of the King's ships[2], attacked the English ships out at sea off Negapatam, and, after fighting for two or three days, defeated them, and captured a Dutch ship that had been sent with powder and provisions to the English[3]; he was sighted at sun-rise, sailing south-east with the Dutch ship he had taken and his own 17 ships, and anchored in the roads at eight this morning.

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[1] *3rd Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] He had apparently only 15 ships, 11 of the line, 2 frigates and 2 store-ships.

[3] Neither Pocock's nor d'Aché's narratives mention her.

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The *mahânâttârs* and sundry people paid to-day to M. La Selle 2,157 rupees and 294 rupees, 43 pagodas and 3 fanams[1].

As M. La Selle sent for me, I went as he was coming back with a telescope from the ramparts, after watching the ships come in. He said, 'Our French ships are bringing an English ship they have taken, for the top-mast is French and the lower one English. Two or three ships have their masts injured, so they really have attacked the English ships.' After speaking cheerfully about the fleet, he added, 'You had better go and see the ships come in, and then go to the Choultry and arrange for the collection of money without delay, after which you may go home.' I said I would do so, and went to the custom-house at the Beach. M. Boyelleau and M. Duplant went off in a chelinga to the fleet, and afterwards, M. Leyrit, M. Nusi,[2] M. Soupire and M. Law. Two officers who had just come ashore said, 'Our 17 French ships encountered 11 English ships.[3] The fleets sighted one another about five miles out to sea off Nagore, Kârikâl and Tranquebar, and a short engagement followed,

[1] I think the 2,157 rupees were collected by the *mahânâttârs*, and the other sums paid in by individuals.

[2] *Sic.* Probably an error for Bussy.

[3] Pocock had nine ships in his line against the French eleven. Pocock to Clevland, October 12, 1759 (P.R.O.—Adm., 1-161).

after which both put out to sea. When our ships had a southerly wind, our fire damaged the masts and shattered the hulls of two of the English vessels, killing and wounding many. As the two captains could resist no longer, they hoisted the white flag in token of surrender[1]; but just then the captain of a frigate brought up his vessel with three more ships which pressed in behind the two disabled ships and gave battle. Then the north wind set in; the smoke from the English cannon enveloped the French ships; two or three ships were damaged, their masts injured and some men killed and wounded. As it was then dusk, our ships returned, while theirs lay where they were[2]. Their two disabled ships were burnt, and people from Kârikâl, Tranquebar, etc., said that they saw the light of the burning ships.[3] A letter also says that this news is true. One of the English ships that was captured on the voyage contained powder, shot and provisions, sent by the Dutch. An English ship which put into Negapatam having lost her sails and masts, is being repaired with stores supplied by the Dutch. Lieutenant-General M. d'Aché, the

[1] These vessels were the *Tyger* and *Newcastle*. D'Aché does not claim that they hoisted the white flag, nor does any other witness that I know of.

[2] With this may be compared Orme's narrative, ii, 512.

[3] This was untrue.

commander of the French squadron, is said to have been slightly wounded in the thigh by a grapeshot, but is recovering. It is also said that these ships have brought 63 chests of silver. Passing the *Cap de Bonne Espérance*, they captured an English ship belonging to the Government of Fort St. David but which hoisted the Tranquebar flag and had on board some treasure, diamonds, rubies and other gems. She afterwards hoisted the English flag when she thought that the French ships were out of sight, and so was captured and brought into Mauritius with a chest containing some rubies.[1] This is what the Europeans say, but I shall learn further details and write.

This evening I went to the Choultry, sent for the necessary people, told them to collect money and deliver it to M. La Selle according to the amounts fixed for each, and came home at nine o'clock.

These ships brought four letters—one from M. Godeheu, another from M. Dupleix, the third from M. Duvelaer's wife and the fourth from her younger brother—besides 1,000 soldiers, 1,000 Coffrees and 300 wounded men. First a salute of 21 guns was fired by the Fort which was returned by a like number from the commander's ship.

[1] She was the *Grantham*. See above p. 343, n. 3.

Sunday, September 16.[1]—When I went to M. La Selle this morning, he said, 'Let the various officials alone; the Chettis and Kômuttis are to pay first; then the Vellâlas and Agamudaiyans; and two castes should be made to pay at a time. As the ships have arrived, a council will be held to-day. M. Lally has sent for me, so I must go. You had better go to the Choultry, arrange as I have ordered, and then go home.' I then went to the Fort and paid my respects to M. Lally and M. Leyrit on their way back from church. They returned my compliments. Thence I went to the Beach. Powder barrels, shot, casks of wine, etc., were being landed. Twenty small chests of silver and chests of a different size—27 chests of silver in all—and a chest of gold were landed.

Later on M. La Selle said to me, 'As money is now being collected from only two castes, there is no need of 150 sepoys; 30 sepoys will do. Send the rest away.' So I went to the Choultry and, keeping 30 sepoys to collect money, sent the remainder away, ordered money to be collected from two castes, and then came home at noon. 7,800 marcs of silver landed from the ship were sent to the mint and will yield about 1,60,000 rupees. Moreover

[1] *4th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

gold weighing about 1,800 pagodas has been brought by the ship, but I do not know if the rate of exchange has risen. The mint-people said that they could not say more. As M. d'Aché the captain of the ship and M. Lally have not agreed but quarrelled, M. Leyrit and M. Bussy were summoned to attend to the business, but, as M. d'Aché would not see them, the discussions were continued by M. Soupire. However the Monsieur would not yield and said, 'What is it to you whether I go to Mauritius or some other place? I shall do as I think best, and will neither inform you nor listen to your words.' He was asked if he would go and attack the English ships at Negapatam. He replied, 'Whether I attack or not, what has that to do with you? I will do as I please, and shall sail to-night.' Nor did he allow all his people to land, but recalled those who had come ashore. To this M. Lally and the others here replied, 'If the ships remain here a month they will serve some useful purpose, for we may attack Madras or Negapatam, where English ships are lying.' Some Europeans assert that they are thus quarrelling.

According to the petition of M. du Bausset and M. Desvaux to the council, asking that their accounts might be settled by the Company in

Europe, M. Lally decided this afternoon that leave should be given to M. Desvaux. Europeans say that M. Desvaux' goods have been put on board a ship, and his wife went on board this evening.

The Europe ship which reached Mahé after a passage of three months and nine days, brought for M. d'Aché the *kâpum*[1] for the rank of Lieutenant-General and a red badge such as M. Lally wears called the *Grande-Croix* which is generally worn stitched onto the coat and sent by the King with a *parwâna*. M. Lally gave this to M. Soupire to be sent on board as the other had not landed when desired.

Tuesday, September 18.[2]—When I went to M. La Selle's house this morning, he said, 'You know that the council sat till nine o'clock last night besides sitting in the afternoon.' I asked him 'why' as if I knew nothing. He replied, 'Just as differences arose between M. Dupleix and M. de La Bourdonnais both ashore and afloat, so also M. Lally and M. d'Aché are at variance. M. d'Aché is unwilling to reveal his designs to M. Lally and says that he will do what he thinks best. He set sail last night with the ships and I think

[1] Possibly an error for *patente* or perhaps a copyist's error for *Chhâp*.

[2] *6th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

that he means to attack the enemy[1]. It took till nine o'clock last night to write letters to Europe and obtain the signatures of those concerned.' I said, 'When formerly Madras was captured, M. Dupleix did not agree with M. de La Bourdonnais and the latter was first imprisoned in Europe though afterwards released. Will this man be treated similarly ?'—'No,' he answered ; 'even if such a thing should happen, he would escape, for he is of [good] birth. Men are being tortured between sticks and made to kneel and carry stones ; women are being dragged out of their houses which are afterwards sealed up. Should complaints be made to the Governor of this, you, being master of the Tamils, will be held responsible to the Council.' I replied, 'You ordered those who did not pay to receive 100 stripes each and be put in the dungeon. I thought that you had given similar orders to the Choultry-writer, the Nayinâr and the

[1] There are several printed documents on this topic. See d'Achè to Lally, September 17, 1759 (d'Achè's Letters, p. 29) ; *Représentations faites . . . par le Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry au nom de la nation*, September 16, 1759 (d'Achè's *Pièces*, p. 72) ; opinions of the *Conseil de Marine*, same date (*op. cit.*, p. 76). D'Achè avers that he had not intended to quit the coast but to sail northward and seize Masulipatam and that he kept the project secret for fear of enemy spies. (d'Achè's first *Mémoire*, p. 54). He returned to Pondichery on receiving the National Protest.

nâttârs. Yesterday and the day before, I directed people to be urged to pay but not treated like this.'—'It must be stopped,' he said; 'you had better go now and arrange for the money to be collected by gentle methods.' I agreed, and, going to the Fort, visited M. Lally whom I informed of this.

I then summoned the *nâttârs*, the Choultry-writers, and the Nayinâr and asked them why people were being tortured between sticks and made to kneel and carry stones. They said that no money would be collected to-day. 'Never mind,' I said, 'for this is only a matter of a loan,' and told them to collect money speedily and to keep in custody those who would not pay, but not to ill-treat them. I then came home.

This evening Appâji Râo, vakîl of Gôpâl Hari who is the Nânâ's gumastah and a sardâr of Maratha troopers, visited M. Lally with an elephant, a horse and a rich laced dress of honour under a salute of 15 guns. He was afterwards given *pân supârî* and rosewater and told to go to his lodgings.

I went to the Choultry this evening, gave orders to the Choultry people to collect money without delay and deliver to M. La Selle the 285 star pagodas or 995 rupees collected to-day. I then came home.

Thursday, September 27.[1]—The Beach peon came to me at sunrise this morning when I was walking up and down at half-past five and said, 'After the battle, the English, having refitted their twelve ships at Negapatam, anchored in our roads in the second or third watch last night. When the ships lie at anchor and show no flag, it is the custom not to fight, so he[2] did nothing.' I sent two men to find out and report to me. They returned saying, 'As the English commanders want to fight, guns were fired as a signal to our marines, sailors, Coffrees, etc., who were ashore, 1,000 in all, to embark without delay. So they put off in boats and went aboard. Thirteen of our ships in semi-circular formation set sail south-east and north-east whereon the English ships disappeared to the east.' I went to the Beach to see what took place. The council did not meet to-day though it was Thursday and a council-day, because M. Lally and the coun cillors were watching the fleets, which hindered business[3]. I came home at ten o'clock.

I drove out in the afternoon and watched the ships. The English ships were far out at sea to the eastward, nor could the ships of

[1] *15th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] *i.e.*, d'Aché, who had returned to Pondichery on the 23rd in consequence of the protests sent him after his departure.

[3] No action followed. See Orme, ii, 525.

either side be seen. We shall learn what happens.

I went to the Choultry this evening, told the *nâttârs* and Choultry-writers to hasten the collection of money and returned home at nine. I directed the 210 star pagodas or 624 rupees collected to-day to be delivered to M. La Selle.

Saturday, September 29.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning. As M. d'Aché, the ship's commander who wears a red ribbon like M. Lally's, was to come ashore, M. Leyrit, M. Bussy and others waited at the Beach till he landed and conducted him up. As he had been wounded in his leg in the engagement with the English, he was carried in a palankin, and a salute of 21 guns was fired on his landing. When troops were drawn up, the *tambour* called *talupeng*[2] used for M. Lally was beaten. M. Lally received M. d'Aché at the foot of the stairs, embraced him and paid his compliments. As he had been wounded in the leg, the palankin put him down close to the door of M. Lally's room. Both then talked a little while. A cot was put in the room close to M. Lally's where porcelain-ware is arranged. The councillors, officers, Armenians, etc., paid their respects and he returned his compliments. He will stay ashore

[1] *17th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Apparently a corruption for the *appel* to which Lieutenant-Generals were entitled.

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two more days and sail the day after to-morrow. As M. Soupire and other King's officers have been recalled to Europe, they will take ship for Mauritius. I hear that M. Soupire went and inspected the accommodation on board and that all are preparing to embark to-morrow or the day after. I came home at eleven.

I went to the Choultry this evening, arranged with the several people to pay money without delay, and returned home at nine. I ordered the 124 star pagodas and 820 rupees collected to-day to be paid to M. La Selle and then came home.

Sunday, September 30.[1]—I went this morning to M. La Selle's house. He asked if to-day was not a Tamil festival. I replied, 'When our sepoys and peons are demanding money of them, and they are wailing as for deaths in their houses, what festival can there be? There is no sound of music in the town. Usually for these eight or ten days, people are joyous and there are crowds in every house; from the evening till four o'clock next morning, the crowds at the temple gate are so thick that not even a sesamum seed can fall to the ground; the streets are full of noise, and men conduct business according to their wealth; there are

[1] *18th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

crowds at each man's gate. People exchange visits, going from house to house for the festival; there are unceasing sounds of music and dancing, so that no one sleeps for these ten days; and as I am master of the Tamils, larger crowds are at my door than elsewhere. But to-day nobody came. There are only the four or five people in my house. What festival then? Besides, sepoys close the doors, drag out and beat women, beat men and threaten everyone. It is the Tamil custom to walk round a corpse weeping and beating the mouth with the hands; there is mourning like that in every house, so what festival? Moreover many have gone to Tirupati on pilgrimage; and whereas only a few Brâhmans used to go to bathe in the waters of the Cauvery, now many have gone thither. A few have gone to Wandiwash taking advantage of the troops there. So the town is in a state of affliction. Usually people would bedeck themselves and go abroad. Have you heard of anything like that to-day? Indeed not. Or you may send your men to find out the truth.

'Is there (I continued) a sowcar or merchant here worth a quarter of a lakh or even 10,000? From the time of M. Lenoir the town prospered so much that merchants traded with Madras and Arcot and mud-houses were re-built with stone. But from the time the

present troubles began, people have lost their wealth. There are houses, but without inhabitants.'—'Is that the case with your house?' he asked. 'Four times worse,' I replied and continued, 'If the ships will remain here for only fifteen days, each man will sell his cloth, his women's cloths, etc., and pay in something; but otherwise money will be very scarce.'—'If you say that,' he replied, 'I cannot expect any money. If you are not acting sincerely, I will declare before the council that you have shown no zeal in attending to this affair and tell M. Lally that I do not want this appointment.'—'Should you do that,' I replied, 'I can bring a hundred proofs about the fewness of men and of my zeal in attending to this business.' As I spoke thus, he listened to me patiently, which he had never done before, and said, 'In that case, I shall say that you advised me not to demand money these two days. But let them collect money on Tuesday and pay it in without delay.'

He then observed, 'The peons at the Bounds have not received their pay, so they say that they will not continue. Tell the Nayinâr and Râjagôpâla Nâyakkan to keep their men in good control. Three months' pay can perhaps be found, and their arrears made up when the ships arrive, but those who stay away will lose their pay. Let 100 men be

enlisted and paid for a month or two at the Company's expense, and when money comes in, they can be paid in full. Just do this.'

I took leave and went to the Fort. M. Lally and others went to church for mass, M. d'Aché being carried in a palankin. After hearing mass, all returned to the *Gouvernement*. M. Lally and M. d'Aché are like cat and rat. As M. d'Aché is a little superior in rank to M. Lally, all sorts of requests were sent to induce him to land, saying that if he did not, the Europeans here would be dissatisfied. But when he did land, he was not received properly, so he is dissatisfied. Europeans say that, as soon as he has dined, he will embark without speaking to M. Lally. To-day was the *Mahânavami* festival, so I came home.

At seven o'clock this evening, when M. Lally had gone out, he[1] went to the Beach, and, without informing any one, went on board by boat, and ordered the ship's officers to sail at noon to-morrow.[2] As M. Desvaux' wife is going to Europe, her goods have been put on board. When Madame Desvaux took leave of M. Leyrit, the latter asked M. d'Aché to take charge of her, and she also has gone on board. This is the news I have heard.

[1] *i.e.*, d'Aché. [2] Cf. the editor's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 182.

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The English troops fell upon ours at Wandiwash last Saturday night and there was a hard fight in which about 300 or 400 of our troops were killed and M. Debovâ[1] fell into the enemy's hands. Râya Pillai and Râmalinga Pillai escaped; the English lost 700 or 800 men and their commander was captured, besides a few soldiers. Their troops having been beaten, retreated to Tiruvattûr. On receipt of a letter containing this news, M. Lally ordered some 200 guns to be fired from the walls round the Fort at seven to-morrow morning.[2]

M. d'Aché landed about 800 European sailors with their captains and 400 Coffrees—1,200 men in all—as M. Lally wanted them.

I went this evening to the Choultry and came home after having ordered the 79 rupees that had been collected to be delivered to M. La Selle.

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[1] This is Ranga Pillai's ordinary transliteration of Dubois. But the only prisoner made by the English on this occasion was a captain of the Lorraine Regiment (Orme ii, 516) whose name seems to have been Brucamp (List of prisoners at Madras, February 5, 1760).

[2] This incident was Brereton's rash attempt to seize Wandiwash. The English losses, killed, wounded and missing, were 12 officers and 195 rank and file (Orme, ii, 523). The English losses would have been far heavier had the French horse taken advantage of their opportunity.

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Monday, October 1.[1]—On account of the news received from the troops at Wandiwash, 200 guns were fired from the walls in salvoes of fives.

I went to M. La Selle's house at seven this morning and offered him my congratulations on the birth of his son at midnight. I then went to the Fort and offered my congratulations on the success gained by our army at Wandiwash. Europeans did the same and held a feast to-day. At noon M. d'Aché's 13 ships set sail with the Europe letters.

Wednesday, October 3.[2]—Two peons came at seven o'clock this morning and told me that M. Lally wanted me, so I went to the Fort. M. Bazin came to the head of the stairs to meet me, and said, 'M. Lally wants four good horses for four officers going to Wandiwash and he will pay for them.'—'Very well,' I said, and sent word to the Nayinâr about it, besides sending my own men. They brought five horses. M. Bazin also sent word to M. La Selle who in turn sent word to the Choultry-writers and the Nayinâr that eight horses were wanted. They are therefore busy about this affair.

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[1] *19th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi. Vijayadasami* [10th day of *Dasara*].
[2] *21st Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

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As the Company's letters have been received from Europe ordering that M. Bussy should take command of the troops if M. Lally left India for Europe by M. d'Aché's vessels,[1] though M. Lally did not sail for Europe, M. Soupire his second did so. M. Bussy has been appointed the second and ordered to take command at Wandiwash with the 800 Europeans and 500 Coffrees, guns, arms, munitions, powder, shot, foot, troopers, bearers, etc.

Thursday, October 4.[2]—M. La Selle sent for me this morning, but I sent word that I had a cold, and could not go out.

A council was held to-day and sat till noon. When the councillors were going home, they were talking about some secret matters and smiling together as they went down the steps. Even M. Barthélemy the Second who is usually severe in expression, and M. Boyelleau, smiled as they came out whispering to each other. I shall learn later on what has been discussed at the council to-day.

I heard this afternoon that M. Barthélemy had been ordered to look after the *sâlai*[3]

[1] Bussy was appointed second-in-command under Lally, and would have succeeded to the command in the event of Lally's death or absence; but it was not expected in Europe that Lally would come home.

[2] *22nd Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

[3] What this was does not appear; perhaps we should read *tankâ-sâlai*, mint.

business which is M. du Bausset's but which M. La Selle had been asked to attend to, that M. Desvaux had been ordered to take charge of the Arcot country, etc., in place of M. Bussy and that M. Desvaux is therefore setting out with *amaldârs*.

In the letters received from Europe there is a packet not to be opened till October 15, and its contents will only then be learnt. There is also another packet to be opened on the 2nd or 3rd January 1760, and its contents still remain to be seen. Europeans say that the packet to be opened in January will contain more important matter than that to be opened in October. I think that they must contain orders to inquire into the roguery and corruption of the Europeans.[1]

Friday, October 5.[2]—M. Lally asked the people with him if there was no respectable and willing person among the Tamils to look after business ; on being told that there were such persons but that he got angry with them when they went to him, he said that he would not get angry hereafter. 'Then such men may be found,' they replied. I hear that Vîrarâghu Ayyan who serves under M. Lally, and his writer Kumâraswâmi Pillai, have been relating this news.

[1] I do not know of other allusions to these alleged secret orders.
[2] *23rd Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.*

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Saturday, October 6.[1]—I heard to-day that Father Noronha, Bishop of Mylapore, who went to Morâri Râo and is returning with 100 men and the present of an elephant and a dress of honour had reached Vellore, whence he promised to send the amount which has not as yet been sent. The news already received that their troops[2] have captured Conjeeveram, etc., is false.

Wednesday, October 17.[3]—Lally's soldiers called the *Régiment de Lally* who were at Wandiwash, the soldiers of the *Régiment de Lorraine* and all the soldiers who have come from Europe were about to desert because they had not received their pay, but perceiving this, the King's officers and the Company's soldiers and officers sought to prevent them ; whereon they turned with the guns they were dragging with them and prepared to resist. The King's officers, etc., retired thinking that it was not proper to attack them. The deserters, who had gone about ten miles declared that they would not return unless they received their pay, otherwise they would desert to the English. On receipt of this news which was written from Wandiwash, M. Lally thought over the matter and sent about a lakh or a

[1] *24th Purattâsi, Pramâdhi.* [2] Morâri Râo's troops.
[3] *4th Arppisi, Pramâdhi.*

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lakh and twenty-thousand rupees which was then ready[1]. At first the councillors were excused and only the Tamils were made to pay; but now the former were summoned and told that the council had decided that collections should be made according to the plan formerly agreed upon. I hear therefore that their property will be melted at the mint to-day.

Saturday, October 20.[2]—I hear to-day that the soldiers of the *Régiment de Lally* and of the *Régiment de Lorraine* who were at Wandiwash and who had deserted as their pay was in arrears, attacked Wandiwash and plundered the camp and the country, ravishing women and inflicting other losses on which Taqî Sâhib of Wandiwash fort closed the gates and remained within the fort together with M. Miran, M. Dubois and other sardârs while the amaldârs and others fled.

I also hear that the Europeans have sent their plate to the mint—M. Leyrit the former Governor sending articles weighing 31 marcs of silver or 600 rupees. M. La Selle is said to have had Tillai Maistri tied up and beaten, but M. Guillard the Second grew angry with him and asked him if he had authority thus to usurp his powers[3].

[1] For this mutiny see Orme, ii, 528, etc. [2] *7th Arppisi, Pramádhi.*

[3] *i.e* as judge of the Choultry Court usually annexed to the office of Second.

NOVEMBER 1759.

Thursday, November 1.[1]—I went this morning to M. Barthélemy and paid my respects to him when he was talking with M. Lhostis who has lost one of his hands. They rose and returned my compliments and offering me a chair, asked me the town news. I replied that he must know everything. 'True,' he replied. 'I hear that many of the townspeople have fled and that therefore the town will be nothing but mud-walls.' I replied that, as he knew everything, there was no need for him to ask me. He continued, 'The town which sprang up in M. Lenoir's time has declined in M. Lally's. According to Europeans, the one had the glory of making the town and the other that of ruining it.'—'Need you ask me when you know everything?' I asked, and after talking a little while, I took leave and came home.

Friday, November 9.[2]—The 200 Frenchmen who were captured by the English at Bunder and have been released, arrived at Âlambarai to-day, so 200 English soldiers who were in prison here have been sent to Madras. There are now no more English prisoners here.

[1] *19th Arppisi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] *27th Arppisi, Pramâdhi.*

Sunday, November 11.[1]—M. Lally, seeing a Tamil letter on his table this morning, gave it to M. La Selle and asked him if he knew Tamil, and how it came on his table, and then told him to read it. M. La Selle read it and the contents were as follows :—'Why are the poor in the town troubled? The town is in a panic and the people are in great distress. What affair can prosper with money got by thus torturing people[2]? Let not the poor be troubled in future, and let men act as in the sight of God. As for the money that may be needed for the army, there are three men about you who may be asked, instead of your worrying the poor. If these three are summoned and asked, they can find lakhs for the camp and *sibbandi* expenses. Should you do thus, you will acquire virtue and glory, but should you trouble the poor, you will be committing a great sin.' Thus M. La Selle read the contents.

Lavaur, the St. Paul's priest, then came, and he also read the letter, and they discussed it together. M. La Selle was then told to get the letter translated into French. I hear that M. La Selle took it home, translated it into French, and gave it to M. Lally. The names

[1] *29th Arppisi, Pramâdhi.*

[2] Or 'Will the money got by thus torturing people be enough to serve a great purpose?'

of the three men are Bâpu Râo of the mint, his younger brother Râmachandra Râo of the Beach, and his youngest brother Srînivâsa Râo who is at Kârikâl. Although they are one, yet their names are separately written as their professions are different. The name of Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown was also written.

I went to the Choultry this evening and, having ordered the delivery to M. La Selle of the 125 pagodas and 88 rupees that had been collected, I came home at nine.

Thursday, November 15.[1]—M. Boyelleau asked this morning if half the towns-people had gone out. I replied, 'Not half, but three-quarters.' He said, 'Should M. Lally continue to govern the town like this for another two months, not a single Tamil will remain. I also shall leave and M. Lally will be left alone with the soldiers, and perhaps even they will not stay with him.' Afterwards I came home at eleven o'clock.

Sunday, November 18.[2]—I heard to-day that M. Fumel, Major-General, with the troops that marched from here had retreated to Samayavaram.

Sunday, November 25.[3]—I heard this morning that a letter had been received saying that, when our troops approached Samayavaram,

[1] *3rd Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.* [2] *6th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*
[3] *13th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

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the English troops attacked them, and that therefore our troops had retreated to Ûtatûr, having no money for their expenses.[1]

Monday, November 26.[2]—I heard this morning that the council had ordered M. La Selle to collect the property of the rich Tamils and Europeans in the town, because the Company is at the point of sinking and has no money to pay the *sibbandi*.

Tuesday, November 27.[3]—This is the news of to-day:—Our troops which marched to Srîrangam, advanced from Ûtatûr under the command of Major-General M. Fumel[4] and attacked the English troops near Samayavaram, killing 600 and taking 200 prisoners and two guns,[5] on which their troops retreated. Our troops then seized Srîrangam and plundered two streets; but the Brâhmans, Bairâgis and Dâsaris[6] in the temple closed the gates and refused to open them, declaring that they would rather cast themselves down from the walls and perish than open them. Two streets

[1] This report was inaccurate. Fumel had been recalled by Lally, after which Smith sent a detachment out of Trichinopoly in order to seize the country the French had occupied. Cf. Orme, ii, 535.

[2] *14th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[3] *15th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[4] This is a mistake. The French were now commanded by Crillon.

[5] Smith had posted in Srîrangam three companies of sepoys and a number of irregular troops. On this occasion, no quarter was given. Cf. Orme, ii, 541 and Smith's report, November 22, 1759, *ap. Military Consultations*, December 3, 1759.

[6] See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, *s. vv.*

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were plundered and women were ravished. M. Lally ordered a present of ten rupees to be given to the harkara who brought the letter saying that troops had reached Srîrangam. But since the English loss was so heavy, I think our losses will be heavy too.[1]

I went to the Choultry this evening and told the *mahânâttârs* to collect and pay in money without delay. I also ordered the 140 pagodas and 10 rupees that had been collected, to be delivered to M. La Selle. Then I came home at eight. M. Brenier has been sent as commandant to Srîrangam.

Wednesday, November 28.[2]—I heard to-day that, as the French had captured Srîrangam, the English at Conjeeveram and Chingleput, thinking that, if they threatened Wandiwash, our troops at Srîrangam would be recalled thither, had surrounded Wandiwash, plundering a street and setting fire to a few houses. On receipt of a letter to this effect, a detachment of our troops before Srîrangam is said to have been recalled.[3]

[1] This is not alleged, even by English writers. The remark suggests the depression of mind prevalent at this time in Pondichery.

[2] *16th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[3] On December 9 Smith reported the march from Srîrangam of a party of the French (*Military Consultations*, December 24, 1759).

DECEMBER 1759.

Saturday, December 1.[1]—As M. Lally heard yesterday that rice could not be had in the town at one measure and a half a fanam, and that therefore many were starving, he had a cowle written to-day and, having signed it, gave it to M. La Selle with instructions to have it published by beat of tom-tom. It says that the merchants in the town can bring paddy and other grain from outside and sell it here, that neither their bullocks nor their men shall be seized, and that if any are seized, he will deal severely with the culprits as soon as complaint is made to him, and that therefore the merchants need not fear [to bring grain in].

At eleven o'clock this morning Europe letters were received from Mahé, having been nine days on the way. I hear that 25 ships have touched at Mahé and are on their way here.[2] The several Europe letters to private gentlemen have been distributed to them. I shall learn more about the letters and will write in detail.

When M. Lenoir asked M. Lally for money to meet the pay, the latter replied angrily that he had none, that the renters of the

[1] *19th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.* [2] A false rumour.

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Bound-villages might be asked and the expenses met out of their collections, and that M. Lenoir was incapable of managing business. As M. Lally spoke thus, M. Lenoir summoned the Bound-renters and kept them in custody till the evening to make them pay their arrears. He only released them after they agreed to pay 2,000 rupees in a week. M. La Selle told the Choultry monigars to write a list showing the arrears due from the Muttirai Choultry, and directed the *mahânâttârs* to collect money speedily.

Those who set out for Tiruvannâmalai did not reach that place, as a battle was threatening with the English there, and many returned after going half-way. At four o'clock this evening, I heard that M. Lally had received news of the English having captured the fort of Wandiwash.[1]

Sunday, December 2.[2]—It was cloudy to-day. People say that, as provisions are scarce in the town, neither bullocks nor men were impressed yesterday; but they are being collected to-day by beat of tom tom. As the Chettis who had gone out were summoned and given

[1] Coote, who now commanded the English, took Wandiwash on November 30. It only contained 50 French troops with a number of sick. Pigot's Intelligence *ap. Military Consultations*, November 19, 1759; and Coote's Journal, *Orme MSS. India*, viii, p. 1903, etc.

[2] *20th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

cowle, they had paid money according to the cowle. It is said that M. La Selle yesterday again ordered money to be demanded of them, and the Choultry-writers summoned the several people and made demands on them, not caring whether they could or could not pay over again. They replied that they had already paid according to the cowle and that they could not pay again. The Choultry-writers therefore attempted to take them before M. La Selle yesterday; but they could not do so as he had gone to Olukarai. They were sent to him at seven o'clock to-night. I went to the Muttirai Choultry and thence came home.

Monday, December 3.[1]—As the English have captured the fort of Wandiwash, powder and shot with some soldiers and Coffrees were despatched from here to-day in order to strengthen Gingee and other places. There is famine in the town as there was no rain in the month of *Kârttigai*.[2] No rice can be had in the town at a measure and a half the fanam and people are therefore in great straits. When at Madras and thereabouts rice could not be had at a seer the fanam, and consequently there was famine, two or three ships brought rice from Bengal to Madras, until rice

[1] *21st Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[2] November–December.

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sold there at one and a half or two measures a fanam and people could live at ease. I hear that there is famine from Cuddapah to the northward as far as the banks of the Kistna and Nellore. Taxes are imposed not only here but also in Cuddapah, Kandanûr and the countries on the banks of the Kistna to the northward. Moreover in the Muhammadan *pâlaiyams* as far as Sêtu[1] to the southward, the poligars levy taxes proportionate to the wealth of the inhabitants. When the whole country is thus under the fatal influence of Saturn, no wonder that the people here are forced to pay dear.

Tuesday, December 4.[2]—The weather was cloudy, but it did not rain heavily, only a drizzle. I did not go out.

M. Manilla La Tour[3] who visited the Mission church opposite to my house, called me and said, 'I have no money for my expenses. Kindly let me have 100 pagodas. I am not justified in asking you now, but I ask you

[1] *i.e.*, Râmêsvaram.

[2] *22nd Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[3] The French papers use with a fine indiscrimination the names of La Tour and La Touche; and as there were more than one of each at Pondichery, it is often difficult to assign the references to a definite person. But I believe the person here referred to is the son of a doctor mentioned in the Pondichery despatch to the Company of December 31, 1741, as having been of great service to French captains and supercargoes at Manilla. This son was appointed to the Company's service, and in 1750 had gone to Manilla to secure his deceased father's estate. See above vol. iv, p. 155, n.

because I am in need. Please therefore manage to oblige me.' Thinking that I could not refuse his request, I said that I would manage to pay him by December 30. He replied that that would not do, and that, as his servants had no money for the expenses of the festival,[1] I should manage to pay him by the 20th. I agreed. Then M. La Tour, Father Mathon and two or three Fathers talked together to the following effect:—

'The officers and soldiers of the army have written to M. Lally saying that they have no money for their camp expenses, that, if money will be sent, they will continue to serve, but otherwise, they must plunder the country and depart. As this letter was addressed to M. Lally who is entrusted with the control, he went immediately in great anxiety with M. Bazin, disregarding even the heavy rain, to the St. Paul's church in order to get a loan. M. Lally has no money for the expenses, so he thinks he cannot prosper in anything. He is so alarmed that he has been passing blood at the stools.' I was present at this conversation. M. La Tour then said to padré Mathon in allusion to me, 'When the patent was received from Europe appointing M. Lally Governor, the King also sent an order under

[1] Presumably Christmas.

his seal giving Ranga Pillai all powers. This order will be read before the council in the month of *Tai*.[1]' Padré Mathon replied, 'Formerly in the time of M. Dupleix, an order under the minister's signature was received conferring all powers on him. I have read the order.' I observed that it was true, and that I had the order with me. M. La Tour said, 'Gentlemen say that an order has been received under the King's seal conferring greater power.' I then took leave and came home.

M. La Selle sent a message to me this evening by his dubâsh Krishnama Nâyakkan as follows:—'You did not come when I sent for you to discuss matters. I am going to Srîrangam, and Pâpayya Pillai says that you have some tent-poles in your house. Send them.' I sent the following reply :—'Every year, in the month of *Kârttigai*,[2] I suffer from piles. I am suffering this year in the same way, and I cannot therefore go out. I will see you in two or three days when I am better.' I gave the poles with this message.

I heard to-day that the English troops had appeared before Cheyyûr, Chûnâmpattu, Alambarai and those parts, tying *tôraṇams* there, seizing the cattle of the cultivators who

[1] January-February.

[2] November-December.

had fled, and posting their own men there, after which they departed.

At one o'clock this morning the report of four guns was heard.

It was decided at yesterday's council that no more money need be levied from the *mahânâttârs*.

Friday, December 7.[1]—I heard to-day that M. La Selle had sent for the several *mahânâttârs* and told them in the presence of M. La Grenée to examine the accounts and find out how much tax had been paid, and that M. La Grenée would give them the council's receipts for the amounts. The *mahânâttârs* said, 'You say you will give the council's receipt for the amounts we have paid. There is another matter, and if you will do as we desire, you will gain much glory. Grain cannot be had in the town, so if you will please cause it to be announced by beat of tom-tom that no duty will be levied in future, grain will be brought in and sold here for the benefit of the people, whereby you will win glory.' M. La Selle replied, 'True; you have almost paid your money; but the Brâhmans and Christians still owe large sums, so it is not advisable to proclaim by beat of tom-tom that the duties have been removed. I have

[1] *25th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

told M. La Grenée to collect the money from those two classes. I cannot therefore do anything now, but I will tell M. La Grenée to explain to M. Lally and have the matter notified by beat of tom-tom.' The *mahânâttârs* came and reported this to me.

I hear that the ships have brought the news of the death of the Kings of Spain and Portugal,[1] that as the King of Spain is the uncle of the King of France, and as two of the three sons of the King of Spain have married into the French King's family, the latter is trying to secure the throne of Spain for one of these two sons. Thus there are troubles there.

Sunday, December 9.[2]—Europeans have been saying these two or three days that, at the council held on Thursday, M. Leyrit told M. Lally that the soldiers, officers and sepoys had complained to him of their pay being ten or eleven months in arrears, and declared that though he[3] had been managing all affairs and receiving money from the Tamils and cultivators, and from the country and other sources, he could not explain what had become of all this money, and why the

[1] Ferdinand VI of Spain died in August 1759, and was succeeded by Charles III who had married the daughter of the Saxon King of Poland The King of Portugal, Joseph I, did not die until 1777.

[2] *27th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.* [3] *i.e.*, Lally.

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sibbandis complained so much, and said that it would be but proper to give accounts of this money. M. Lally replied that it was not M. Leyrit's place to question him and that he would have him beaten like a dog and sent in chains to Europe. M. Leyrit, who had been quiet thus far, replied that the other had not the power to do it, on which M. Lally rose, but after this exchange of words those present pacified the pair. Such were the proceedings of the council that day.

I hear that M. Leyrit is arranging to remove to the house in which M. Desvaux lived.

All this time the *Arumpâtai* has been charging the Company with the cost of M. Lally's and M. Leyrit's food, but I hear that since Thursday M. Lally has ordered that they should both bear the cost themselves.

Monday, December 10.[1]—The council did not meet to-day. At five o'clock this evening I heard that M. Lally and M. Leyrit had driven out in a coach and six to inspect the work going on round the Fort.

I also hear that the French have beaten and driven off the English troops who attacked Karunguli[2]. I have heard no other important news.

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[1] *28th Kârttigai, Pramâdhi.*

[2] A mistake. See Orme ii. 544–546. However Coote observed in his letter of December 8 (*Military Consultations*, December 10, 1759) that O'Kennely was defending the breach like a soldier.

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I hear that M. Lally has received a letter from Wandiwash, saying that the English who captured the fort reached Madras last Friday with Taqî Sâhib and his property in the fort worth four lakhs of rupees, including 122 small chests containing jewels and other things and 43 carpets. On receipt of this letter M. Lally sent for M. Delarche and said, 'The Muhammadans are not to be trusted, for when we asked them for money for our expenditure, he[1] said he had not a single cash, though he was on our side; but now the English have carried off four lakhs of rupees as they were destined to[2]. The Muhammadans are not to be trusted.' Thirty palankin-bearers were sent with Murtazâ Sâhib, vakîl of Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) who is starting immediately to-night for Sâtghar.

Wednesday, December 12.[3]—M. Moracin who went to Ganjam fell out with Kalingattu

[1] *i.e.*, Taqî Sâhib.

[2] All this rumour was the exact reverse of fact. Wandiwash was entered, owing to the surrender of the French party there, while Coote was waiting to see whether Taqî Sâhib would carry out the terms which Coote had offered. (Coote's Journal, November 30, 1759 *ap. Orme MSS, India*, viii, p 1903, etc.). The troops claimed the place and all it contained as prize, and their expectations ran so high that Coote had to issue a special order, declaring that he had entered into no private bargain with the killedar. (Order of December 3 and Coote's letter of December 5, *ap. Military Consultations*, December 10, 1759). Taqî Sâhib seems to have sent off all his valuables before the siege was formed; and he was handed over finally to the custody of Muhammad 'Alî.

[3] *1st Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

Nârâyana Des, so he took boat and reached Pulicat with three Europeans. The chief at Pulicat gave him passports, palankins and other things, and M. Moracin arrived here at seven o'clock this morning.[1]

A few guns and bags of wheat were taken to-day out of the *Diligent*[2] which ran ashore yesterday.

M. Bussy arrived from Arcot at eight o'clock this morning to get money for the troops he had brought, and to discuss the future course of action.

The diamonds, which were found on the English ship taken some time ago,[3] and which were kept in the Fort, were sold to-day to Nîlakanta Tawker, a Madras merchant[4] for

[1] This contradicts Orme who says (ii. 558) that Moracin sailed from Cocanada on the 19th and reached Pondichery a few days after. The fullest account of this unlucky expedition is to be found in Barbé's *René Madec*, pp. 17, etc.

[2] *Dalinâransum*. Perhaps the name should be *Délivrance*.

[3] The *Grantham*, see above p. 343 n. 3 and p. 421 n. 1.

[4] Probably acting on behalf of the English owners. The Tawkers, to whom Nîlakanta belonged, are a subdivision of the Bâj Khedaval subcaste of Gujarâti Brâhmans Enthoven, *Castes and Tribes of Bombay*, i. 232) From documents and information communicated by the courtesy of Mr Nanabhoy Davay and Mr. Mallikârjuna Dugget, the second of whom is himself descended from a brother of the Nîlakanta Tawker in question, it appears that Nîlakanta and two brothers traded jointly in precious stones at Madras, Poona and Munimadugu. They opened a joint house at Madras in 1761, though from the reference above they must have traded to Madras earlier; Nîlakanta survived both the other brothers and died in 1779. In the following generation the family died out in the male line; and the widows of two of Nîlakanta's nephews founded in 1807 a temple and charity at the village of Inâvaram *alias* Viswanâthapuram near Madras. This charity still exists, and is under the management of Mr. Mallikârjuna Dugget. Besides maintaining the temple-worship and feeding Brâhmans, the charity is also intended to feed and lodge Gujarâti travellers.

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54,000 pagodas payable in 40 days. These diamonds were formerly valued at 90,000 pagodas, and 77,000 pagodas were offered in cash first, then 70,000 pagodas, and lastly 60,000 pagodas. But after all they have now been sold for 54,000 pagodas payable in 40 days.

Thursday, December 13.[1]—I heard that Brigadier M. O'Kennely, who was in the fort of Karunguli attacked the English in spite of the bullet-wound he received at the siege of Madras, but at last delivered the fort to them, and has reached Alambarai fort with his soldiers.

I heard at eight o'clock to-night that M. Lally, M. Leyrit and M. Bussy[2] discussed affairs from eight o'clock this morning, and after dining together again discussed matters till eight o'clock to-night without allowing any one else to be present at the discussion.[3]

Tuesday, December 18.[4]—I heard to-day that the Dutch were scornfully saying in public that whereas they had supposed this town to belong to the French, they now perceived that it was not so but that it belonged to the people, since they all had been forced

[1] *2nd Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

[2] The text reads *Musesi*. A syllable has, I think, dropped out by a copyist's error.

[3] At this point is repeated the substance of the paragraph about O'Kennely with which the day's entry begins.

[4] *7th Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

by the Government to pour *conjee*,[1] and that the letters written by people there had been read before the council.

I also hear that Europe letters which reached Goa and arrived here last night by way of Mahé were read at the council to-day. Their contents are said to be as follows :— M. Lally and the King's people are to return to Europe, leaving M. Bussy to command in place of M. Lally ; M. Leyrit is to remain here until a new Governor arrives from Europe when he is to return to Europe after handing over charge of Government ; the Europe merchants have lent the Company forty-thousand millions of silver ; 30 or 40 ships are coming with goods and treasure from Europe with a Governor and councillors to do justice[2]; the Dutch, who first helped the English with 300 ships and money, are now quarrelling with them and have written to the King of England saying that they will not help the English any longer with either ships or money and that, if for this reason the English should attack them, they will join the French in attacking the English ; the French are said to be powerful in Europe ; after the death of the King of Spain, his eldest son ascended the throne, and both

[1] *i.e.*, I suppose, to provide the army with rice-water.
[2] This news was merely bazaar rumber.

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the Spanish and French armies are besieging Gibraltar ; as the English have lost the Dutch help, they have been considerably weakened ; moreover the King of Prussia, who joined the English and fought with his army against their foes, has suffered great losses of men and territory, and is consequently much weakened[1]; it is therefore said that the French King's affairs are prospering in Europe. The Company has raised great sums of money, and is sending 30 or 40 ships to India with plenty of goods and treasure. Such is the happy news I have heard.

I also hear that 1,500 of Morâri Râo's horse have reached Arcot, and that Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) and the Padré of Mylapore[2] have reached Vellore on their way.

Thursday, December 20.[3]—As Nîlakanta Tawker, the Madras merchant, purchased the diamonds in the Fort through Guntûr Bâli Chetti for 54,000 pagodas, promising him brokerage of 2 *per cent.* and M. Duplant who negotiated the business 1,000 pagodas with 300 pagodas for his wife, 15,000 pagodas were paid to M. Lally to-day besides the 1,000 and

[1] Alluding to Frederick's defeat at Kunersdorf in the previous August, and the invasion of the Russians.

[2] Padré Noronha.

[3] *9th Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

the 300 pagodas promised to M. Duplant and his wife. I have already written that Morâri Râo's horse have reached Arcot ; I now hear that 1,000 of them, after plundering Conjeeveram and those parts, have retired to Dâmal and thereabouts.

Friday, December 28.[1]—I hear that our Europeans at Srîrangam have reached Ûtatûr where M. La Selle and others have been halting and that the English are in force.[2]

Monday, December 31.[3]—At nine o'clock tonight, Sîyâla Pillai, the Choultry monigar, reported to me that, when the *mahânâttârs* were taken to M. La Grenée, the latter said that, if they would pay 1,000 star pagodas in eight days towards the balance of their tax, they would be given a bond signed by the council for this sum and for what they had already paid, and that, if the twenty castes managed to find this 1,000 pagodas, they would not be asked to pay any more of the tax. The *mahânâttârs* agreed in writing to pay 1,000 pagodas accordingly in eight days, and this writing was signed by Kanakasabhai Mudali, Kullai Maistri,[4] Mutta Pillai, Krishnama Chetti,

[1] *17th Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

[2] On the 9th Smith reported that Crillon had marched from Srîrangam leaving behind only 250 Europeans and 100 Coffress. (Letter *ap. Military Consultations*, December 24, 1759.)

[3] *20th Mârgali, Pramâdhi.*

[4] Probably we should read Tillai Maistri.

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the head of the Kômuttis, and the heads of the Chettis. Thus the heads of 20 castes signed a writing agreeing to pay 1,000 pagodas on condition that no more tax should be demanded of them. M. La Grenée confirmed his promise by striking hands and assured them that they might depend upon his word. The *mahânâttârs* having given this agreement, went home much pleased. The evil from which the town has been suffering, is declining and will disappear this month.

APPENDIX

(See above, page 85.)

LETTER FROM ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI TO THE CHEVALIER DE SOUPIRE, NOVEMBER 17, 1757. (GALLOIS-MONTBRUN COLLECTION, PONDICHERY. COPY.)

À MR. LE CHEVALIER DE SOUPIRE, GÉNÉRAL DE LA NATION FRANCAISE AUX INDES ORIENTALES.

Si je ne me suis pas présenté jusqu'à présent devant vous ce n'a été que par la crainte de faire quelque démarche dont Mr. de Leyrit peut faire un crime et m'attirer de sa part quelques nouvelles disgraces ; accoutumé depuis l'enfance à la plus aveugle obéissance envers Mrs. les Gouverneurs, n'etait-ce pas à Mr. de Leyrit à me [prescrire ?] mon devoir à votre egarde ? Ce sont les raisons de mon retardement, dans lesquelles j'espère que vous voudres bien entrer, Monseigneur, par indulgence pour la faiblesse et timidité naturellement attaché à ma nation : mais la violence qu'on me fait aujourdhui me force à passer par-dessus toute considération humaine pour reclamer votre autorité et vous demander justice.

Je suis Courtier de la Compagnie depuis près de 13 ans ; je pense que vous n'ignorez pas, Monseigneur, quelles sont les fonctions de cet employ.

En Janvier, 1755, Mr. Godeheu, qui était venu Commissaire pour le Roi et qui était chargé de s'informer des malversations qui s'étaient commises dans la régie des domaines de la Compagnie, ayant reconnu qu'elles ne tendaient qu'au detriment total de ses interêts, a jugé convenable qu'étant par ma charge l'homme de confiance de la Compagnie, ils ne pouvaient être mieux confiés qu'entre mes mains, et en

consequence par déliberation du Conseil me les a affermé pour 5 ans et m'en a fait passer le bail devant notaire à mon corps deffendant, parceque je lui représentai alors toute la difficulté qu'il y avait dans cette régie, et les inconvenients qui proviendraient chaque jour par le mauvais état où étaient les terres, dont la grande partie était en friche, et qu'en donnant les 150 mil roupies d'augmentation qu'il voulait que je donnasse de plus, il ne me serait guère possible de me retirer par les frais considerables et par les avances que je serais aussi obligé de faire pour faire revenir les habitants qui s'étaient retirés par les guerres continuelles qui avaient règné dans le pays et pour les mettre en état d'exploiter les terres qui leurs seraient concedées avec avantage pour eux et pour la Compagnie. Mr. Godeheu, n'ayant pas voulu gouter mes représentations, quoique je lui eusse représenté qu'il y avait dans la Colonie gens aussi capables que moy, employa toutes les bonnes manières pour me charger de cette adjudication, en me promettant et m'assurant que par les soins que je prendrai et les ordres qu'il avait donné relativement, j'aurais lieu d'être content. Pour prouver le zèle que j'ai toujours eu de la [1] servir, je me suis rendu aux instances qu'il m'a fait et à ses solicitations réiterées, sur la permission et la liberté qu'il m'avait laissé de régir et de gouverner les provinces de la même façon que les Maures avaient gouverné. Par les précautions que j'avais pris de faire revenir les habitants en leur faisant des avances tant en argent qu'en bestiaux, toutes choses se sont passées en règle dans le commencement. J'ai souffermé chaque province à différents fermiers qui m'ont donné pour caution plusieurs messieurs de cette colonie, auxquels je connaissais un capital considerable. J'ai pensé que les interêts de la Compagnie ne pouvaient pas confiés en meilleurs mains, mais mes espérances ont été infructueuses ; une fois qu'ils ont été

[1] *i.e.*, the Company.

muni du bail que je leur ai passé, ils se sont rendus en chaque province . . . [Troubles with the securities and commandants, etc.; and fruitless complaints to Leyrit; cf. Appendix to vol. x] . . . ce qui m'a mis dans le cas d'emprunter dans divers bourses pour faire des remises à la Compagnie, voyant que les fonds ne rentraient pas.

Je recidivay mes plaintes à Mr. de Leyrit et lui remis les comptes de chaque fermier qui me devaient chacun des sommes considérables. Il me promit et se chargea d'en faire le recouvrement; sans avoir fait aucune diligence, ensuite il prit le parti d'envoyer trois messieurs du Conseil en tournée en chaque departement pour constater les comptes; je lui representai alors que l'année était prête d'être revolue, que c'était le temps de finir le compte des habitants, de les contraindre à payer, et de prendre des arrangements avec eux pour l'année suivante; d'ailleurs c'était le temps d'ensemencer les terres, que l'on commençait à la [*illegible*], mais que pourveu que ces messieurs tardassent deux mois à faire cette démarche, les comptes se rendraient au vray et les fonds rentreraient, au lieu que l'arrivée de ces messieurs dans un temps aussi précieux suspendrait toutes mes operations et apporterait un préjudice considérable aux interêts de la Compagnie. A ces representations Mr. de Leyrit répondit qu'il les considérait, et sans me faire part de ses intentions fit partir ces messieurs pour les départements qu'il leur avait assigné, et il a été vérifié que je n'avais rien avancé que de vray, tant à l'égard de Mrs. les Cautions que de Mrs. les Commandants. Mr. Desvaux à son retour rendit compte à Mr. de Leyrit de l'état de la province, lui rapporta que les terres étaient mises dans toute leur valeur, et que par l'estime qu'il avait fait l'on pourrait retirer 27 lacs, ce qui l'engagea à lui remettre la Direction Générale des fermes des domaines de la Compagnie. Une personne du Conseil ayant représenté à Mr. de Leyrit qu'il y avait de l'injustice de me retirer la ferme puisque le bail m'en était passé

pour cinque ans par délibération du Conseil, il répondait qu'il retirerait 25 lacs ; il s'en faut de beaucoup qu'il les ait retiré, comme il est aisé de vous en informer, Monseigneur, et de voir dans quel état sont les aldées dont se sont retirés aujourdhui beaucoup d'habitants par les vexations que l'on commet envers eux.

Je ne sçais pour quel raison Mr. de Leyrit me demande aujourdhui 200 mil roupies sur cette ferme et m'a dit que si sous 8 jours je ne les payais pas il me ferait arrêter et emprisonner. Suivant le compte que j'ai fourni, ce qui est conforme à celui de Mrs. les Commissaires du Conseil et qui a été examiné par Mrs. Desvaux et Le Noir, je redois environ 4 lacs et il m'est deu par les fermiers 13 lacs et davantage dont l'état détaillé est annexé au compte : par conséquent il m'est deu 9 lacs pour le recouvrement desquels je comptais que Mr. de Leyrit m'aurait prêté la main et m'avait donné l'autorité necessaire pour contraindre mes débiteurs à payer ce qu'ils me doivent ; ce qui peut vous prouver, Monseigneur, qu'il pense bien que les sommes dont je lui ay remis l'état me sont dues legitimement, c'est qu'il y a un an passé qu'il ne m'a faite aucune demande. Permettez-moy de vous rapporter deux seuls traits de la conduite qu'on a tenu à mon egard pour cette ferme, et vous déciderez vous-même, Monseigneur, si je ne me suis pas détenu de tous mes engagements envers la Compagnie, mais même si cette conduite ne me met pas en quelque façon de repeter des dommages et interêts.

(1) Dés le mois de Fevrier, 1756, je n'étais chargé de cette ferme que depuis un an ; me trouvant alors en deffaut de payement envers la Compagnie par rapport au deffaut de payement de mes fermiers et autres, car quel est l'homme dans cette colonie ny dans aucun des établissments de la Compagnie qui puisse de son propre fond ou capital faire face à de pareilles affaires ? Je ne me suis jamais donné pour tel à Mr. Godeheu et lui-même ne m'a jamais pris ny

regardé pour comme tel ; bien au contraire il connu toute ma détresse et mon peu de fortune, et j'ose dire qu'il n'y a eu que la bonne foy et la confiance qui nous a fait agir l'un et l'autre dans cette occasion, lui pour me remettre cette ferme et moi pour m'en charger, dans l'espérance l'un et l'autre que j'en retirerais le montant par la voye de la souferme et que mes soufermiers me payeraient exactement. Je ne dirai rien de toutes les conversations particulières (quoique j'en pourrais produire les témoins les plus irréprochables) que j'ai eu avec Mr. de Leyrit, des tous les commencements au sujet de tous mes créanciers et soufermiers qui ne me payaient pas. D'en le mois de Février 1756, je lui présentai et remis un état de tous les soufermiers qui me devaient, me flattant qu'il me prêterait et employerait son autorité pour les faire payer. Ne m'était [elle] pas bien due, cette autorité, si ce n'était pas pour moy, du moins pour la Compagnie affin de lui procurer la rentrée de ses deniers ? Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que je n'ay été appuyé et favorisé en rien vis à vis et à l'égard de ceux qui me devaient ; aucun n'a été pressé et poursuis comme il l'aurait dû etre ; enfin aucun ne m'a payé et tous me doivent encore.

(2) Depuis plus de 16 mois l'on ne m'a laissé que le vain et titre inutile de fermier ; on m'a oté toute administration et jusqu'à la plus petite inspection et la plus indirecte de ma ferme sur mes soufermiers, regisseurs, et autres ; je ne veux rien dire ny repeter des avantages que naturellement j'ai pu et de droit dû espérer en me chargeant d'une pareille entreprise.

Mais après cela parait-il juste, Monseigneur, de me rendre responsable de l'évènement ? Ne m'a-t-on pas au contraire délié de tous mes engagements anciens, dettes etc. ? Ne m'a-t-on pas refusé et oté tous les moyens d'y satisfaire ? Mon bail avait encore trois ans à courir lorsqu'on m'a oté l'administration de ma ferme ; je ne l'ai eu que 18 mois en maniement

Qui que se soit se charge-t-il de pareilles entreprises pour un si court espace de temps ? Les baux se font en ce pays-cy pour 5 ans dans l'espérance pour celuy qui s'en charge qu'une ou deux bonnes années le dédommageront des 3 ou même les 4 mauvaises ; et je peux dire n'avoir eu le maniement, gestion, et administration, de ma ferme que dans le mauvais temps ou la plus mauvaise année ; qu'à peine les laboureurs, habitants et autres que les troubles de la guerre avaient éloignés, commençaient à se raprocher et à reprendre quelque confiance.

Au surplus, Monseigneur, je craindrais de vous ennuyer si je vous faisais ici un plus long détail sur cette affaire ; mais si vous vouliez me faire venir devant vous et en particulier, je pourrais vous en plus dire et mieux vous instruire que je ne peux faire par écrit ; d'ailleurs tous le moyens me manquant pour le pouvoir faire, l'ignorance où je suis de la langue française, des usages de la procédure, et même l'impossibilité de pouvoir trouver dans ce pays-cy quelqu'un capable de le faire et entreprendre ma deffence par écrit, car ce n'est qu'en cachette et avec le plus grand secret que j'ai pu obtenir la présente. Si vous voulez même Monseigneur, consulter plusieurs personnes des Messieurs du Conseil, et entre autres Mr. Boyelleau, sur cette affaire, j'espère que leur témoignage ne me sera pas désavantageux.

Je ne crois pas manquer au respect, Monseigneur ; au contraire je crois devoir vous déclarer ici que telle chose, tel traitement que l'on me fasse, il n'est pas en moy de fournir les 200 mil roupies que me demande Mr. de Leyrit ; si je les avais, si je les eusse eu, je n'eusse pas attendu à l'extrémité où je suis reduit pour les donner et avancer à la Compagnie independamment des sommes qui me sont dues par les soufermiers ; quoique de la part et confiance que je devais avoir dans les affaires de mon poste de Courtier, je sens et gémis des besoins de la Compagnie et de l'extrémité où vous vous trouvez reduit. Je voudrais pouvoir être en

état d'y remédier par moi-même de mon propre fond ; je sçais que je le dois par bien des endroits, comme sujet du Roy, mais plus encore par mon titre et ma qualité de Courtier, dont ce sont les principales fonctions ; mais le discredit et le mépris général dans lequel Mr de Leyrit depuis son arrivée m'a fait tomber, même par rapport aux fonctions de Courtier qu'il a fait exercé par son dobachy, me met dans l'impuissance d'avoir et de pouvoir employer aucune ressource à cet égard, dont je suis véritablement et sensiblement pénétré, et de ne pouvoir dans pareille occasion donner des preuves du zèle et de l'attachement dont j'ai été et suis toujours animé pour la Compagnie et la patrie.

J'ose me flatter, Monseigneur, que vous voudrez bien avoir égard aux représentations que j'ai l'honneur de vous faire dans le présent exposé, et me rendre la justice qui m'est due, en vous faisant informé des faits cy-dessus allegués ; si vous ne voulez pas en connaitre avant l'arrivée de Mr. de L'Ailly que vous attendez, je vous supplie de m'accorder la permission de passer en France par la première occassion plûtôt que de rester ici plus longtemps, où faute de protecteur et d'avocat pour mettre mes droits au jour, et de tribunal pour les faire entendre, je ne puis espérer aucune justice ; il y a trop longtemps que je souffre de mil façons (par rapport à l'entreprise qui m'a été confié de l'agrément du Conseil) sans je l'ose dire, l'avoir mérité par aucun endroit et par aucun reproche prouvé contre moy et ma conduite, pour ne pas chercher les moyens de discuter auprès de la Compagnie les points ou chefs d'intérêts d'elle à moy et d'en obtenir ainsi que de l'indulgence de Sa Majesté le Roy mon Maître, des dédommagements et réparations proportionnées aux torts et dommages qui m'ont été faits, aux mortifications et affronts que j'ai essuyé en tout genre ; j'ai d'autant plus lieu de l'espérer que Tervangadonpoullé mon père, que je pourrais dire être en partie fondateur de cette colonie par la quantité des marchands de dehors qu'il y a rassemblé,

et Naniapoullé mon oncle, ayant eu des sujets de se plaindre de la conduite qu'avait tenu envers eux Mr le Général Hébert, Gourapoullé son fils alla en France se jetter aux pieds de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans Regent de Royaume, qui ayant écouté dans le conseil royal les raisons qu'il y exposa, condanna Mr Hébert à une forte peine, et fit l'honneur à Gourapoullé et le décora du Cordon de St Michel ; toute la France et toute l'Inde ont connaissance de cet example de justice qui a été rendu à un Indien. Si vous souhaitez vous en mieux éclaircir, Monseigneur, les mémoire et factum ont été déposé icy au Secretariat. ...

17 Novembre. 1757.

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