

CONTENTS

| 1755 | PAGE | 1755 | PAGE |
|-------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| March | 16 197 | July | 13 326 |
| " | 19 205 | " | 14 326 |
| " | 21 206 | " | 17 327 |
| " | 24 208 | " | 19 329 |
| " | 25 211 | " | 24 330 |
| " | 26 213 | " | 25 333 |
| " | 27 217 | " | 26 333 |
| " | 29 220 | " | 27 335 |
| April | 2 223 | August | 4 337 |
| " | 3 228 | " | 5 338 |
| " | 4 232 | " | 8 340 |
| " | 6 235 | " | 10 344 |
| " | 7 238 | " | 11 345 |
| " | 8 244 | " | 14 348 |
| " | 9 247 | " | 15 353 |
| " | 10 250 | " | 18 353 |
| " | 11 255 | " | 20 356 |
| " | 12 260 | " | 23 356 |
| " | 13 261 | September | 9 361 |
| " | 14 271 | " | 11 364 |
| " | 15 272 | " | 13 365 |
| " | 16 278 | " | 16 366 |
| " | 17 279 | " | 30 367 |
| " | 19 280 | October | 3 369 |
| " | 21 282 | " | 7 369 |
| " | 22 283 | " | 9 372 |
| " | 23 285 | " | 24 372 |
| " | 24 285 | " | 30 382 |
| " | 25 289 | " | 31 383 |
| " | 26 293 | November | 1 385 |
| May | 3 297 | " | 12 386 |
| " | 8 299 | " | 13 387 |
| " | 11 300 | " | 16 392 |
| " | 13 301 | " | 19 394 |
| June | 4 304 | " | 20 394 |
| " | 5 306 | " | 30 395 |
| " | 7 307 | December | 1 396 |
| " | 8 311 | " | 3 399 |
| " | 12 312 | " | 6 399 |
| " | 13 313 | " | 9 403 |
| " | 15 314 | " | 12 404 |
| " | 16 315 | " | 14 406 |
| " | 17 317 | " | 17 407 |
| " | 19 318 | " | 18 408 |
| " | 29 319 | " | 19 410 |
| " | 30 321 | " | 27 412 |
| July | 4 323 | " | 28 416 |
| " | 5 323 | " | 29 418 |
| " | 7 324 | " | 30 419 |
| " | 8 325 | Appendix | 420 |

INTRODUCTION.

I

The present volume covers a period of sixteen months, with some material gaps, although none is so extensive or regrettable as that from December 8, 1753, to September 8, 1754, which separates the last volume from this, due, I presume, to the disappearance of one entire volume of the original diary. In that interval much had occurred. At Trichinopoly, which continued to be the main theatre of the Anglo-French struggle, the French had come within an ace of success by a boldly planned escalade, when the commandant, Killpatrick, lay sick, and the command had devolved on Lieutenant Harrison, who one night was suddenly alarmed by hearing the Grenadiers' march being beaten within his garrison and sustained musketry-fire along the walls. The French had succeeded in penetrating the enceinte, but by mischance their scaling-ladders were broken and a large number were penned up in a narrow space between the first and second walls, where they were obliged to surrender.

This failure was the last attempt to take Trichinopoly by assault, although the blockade, by joint French and Mysorean forces,

continued until a truce was concluded in October, and in the course of February, 1754, an important English convoy was surprised and destroyed. The other incident of moment in the Carnatic was the conference of French and English deputies at Sadras in January. At this meeting Dupleix put forward his claims to the government of India south of the Kistna, while the English asserted their right to a position of equality with the French. Neither would give way and the conference separated, as Dupleix had foreseen, and as he actually desired. His object indeed was not to make peace, but to put the English in the wrong.

Meanwhile in the Deccan, Bussy had continued to direct the forces of Salabat Jang. He had secured more than one of those singular victories which had resulted in the surrender of territory by the conqueror to the conquered; and had obtained as a material guarantee for the payment of his troops grants of the Circars lying north of Masulipatam, already a French possession. During most of the year 1754, the French were principally engaged in expelling the Marathas from their new territories and in effecting a settlement of the revenues. Bussy is stated to have settled with the renters and zamindars for a total sum of 18½ lakhs of rupees.

But these were trifles compared with the revolution which burst on Pondichery on August 2, when Godeheu landed with orders recalling Dupleix and authorising his arrest if he hesitated to obey. The new Governor was accompanied by 2,000 new troops, to enforce his will if need were; but he was also directed to bring the struggle with the English to a close and to free the French Company's trade from the encumbrances of war.

These orders were the outcome, partly of Dupleix' failure to redeem his promises of peace and prosperity, partly of the great Frenchman's astonishing neglect to explain what his policy really was, and partly of the remonstrances of the English. In 1752 Dupleix had written to Saunders a letter of prodigious length emphasising and defending his claims. He had also sent copies home to Paris, with a suggestion that one might be sent on to the English directors. This was done, but never were expectations more disappointed. The directors addressed the ministry; the English ambassador was desired to seek explanations; he obtained a disavowal of Dupleix' conduct; and three months later the French ambassador at the Court of St. James's was directed to give Newcastle private assurances that Dupleix would be recalled. The story was long believed that when the French minister

agreed to this, he made it a condition that Thomas Saunders, the English Governor of Madras, should also be summoned home—a condition which the English were alleged to have left unfulfilled. M. Cultru disposed of this story so far as Saunders was concerned, but believed that the English did not apply for the recall of Dupleix. As is seen from the foregoing they did so apply, but unofficially, so that nothing remained on the French record. Ranga Pillai's references to Saunders' continuance on the coast in the present volume support the view that the story of his supposed recall was not current at the time in Pondichery. It probably originated in Parisian gossip to which the various defences of Dupleix gave currency.

The present volume thus opens with a new Governor, Godeheu, at that great *Gouvernement* which Dupleix had built for his own magnificence, but had scarcely occupied two years; and a Governor who was charged with the duty of reversing the policy of Dupleix, which for all its possibilities had obtained little beyond private fortunes coupled with public disasters. The subject-matter of the Diary, from September, 1754, to December, 1755, falls therefore under three well-defined heads:—the winding-up of the policy of adventure; the inauguration of a new policy by Godeheu; and its

effects under Leyrit who succeeded Godeheu as Governor in the month of March. To these we may add the effects of such variations of persons and measures upon the personal fortunes and position of the diarist.

II

The leading event, in the first of these groups, was of course the assumption of office by Godeheu, on August 3, and the announcement of the recall of Dupleix, at that famous meeting of the Council at which the fallen Governor greeted the reading of Godeheu's Commission with the cry of *Vive le roi*. But this patriotic exclamation was not incompatible with the keenest displeasure at an event for which Dupleix had little time to prepare. The crucial matter was finance. The great Governor had made small difference between the public and private purse. Had he obtained the success he hoped for, there would have been enough to repay himself and still leave a respectable balance for the Company. But the disasters he had encountered, and the consequent occupation of great tracts of the Carnatic by the English in the name of Muhammad 'Alí, had fatally deranged his balances. Pâpayya Pillai, to whom the land revenue had been rented, was in arrears. Nandi Râjâ had not fulfilled his promised payments. Morâri

Rão was clamouring for the unpaid balance of his subsidies; the treasury at Pondichery was empty. On Godeheu's arrival Dupleix made an attempt to secure for himself the outstanding balances owed by Pâpayya, by claiming the Carnatic revenues as a private affair between himself and Salabat Jang, and impudently asserting that Pâpayya was the latter's Receiver General. It is hard to imagine a more convincing proof of the demoralisation into which the French Company's service had fallen. Godeheu rightly refused to admit the possibility of such a thing as the private holding of great public revenues; he imprisoned Pâpayya in the hopes of extracting money from him; and ignored Dupleix' allegations.

But though he laid Pâpayya by the heels, he failed to extract money from him. Perhaps Pâpayya had none—he had served an exacting master with a wife who spoke Tamil as well as she spoke French. But all Pondichery, and Ranga Pillai with it, believed that the late renter had sent to Madras and elsewhere great sums which by a wisely severe treatment he might have been made to disgorge. In this matter the diarist is a very hostile witness, and the story which he told Leyrit at a later time—that Pâpayya had four or five lakhs of rupees—rests probably on no better evidence than hearsay. But his criticism of Godeheu's

conduct—that the renter's employees were released before they had been obliged to produce accounts—stands on a different footing, and goes far to explain why the enquiry was never brought to a definite conclusion.

While this great matter was still pending, and while Dupleix himself must have been making hurried preparations for departure, other unsettled accounts stood little chance of being adjusted. Among these were the accounts apparently showing a balance due from Ranga Pillai. Although on September 13 the late Governor asked him why he had not brought them, yet he had not settled them when he unexpectedly went on board before dawn on October 15. This was specially annoying to the *Courtier*, because he had long owed the Company certain sums on account of transactions in coral and broad cloth, and had been promised a remission of the debt.

Annoyance at not obtaining Dupleix' acknowledgment of this probably added a touch of bitterness to the moralising with which of course the diarist relates this noteworthy departure. He had already recorded the belief that Dupleix was carrying off with him the jewels found in Nâsir Jang's treasury and images from the temples. Now he dwells on the sudden downfall of his late master, and the indignity of his sailing without that

square flag at the mast-head which the Governor of Pondichery was entitled to fly. He recalls how Dupleix had been wont to say that he would like to lay his bones in the city which he had raised to so proud though brief an eminence. These are the fruits of women's advice, of froward councils, of not fearing God. Ranga Pillai had indeed little cause to praise Dupleix' conduct. It had long excluded him from a share in those political transactions in which it had ever been the custom to consult the *Courtier*, thus flattering his pride and possibly filling his pocket. Yet when, a few months later, Dupleix' name-day came round, Ranga Pillai remembered the feasts, the salutes, illuminations with which it would have been celebrated. The magnificence of the town had vanished with the great Marquis, and its short-lived greatness was to crumble like the belfry which Dupleix had built and which almost crushed his successor in its fall.

Thus ended that remarkable attempt to establish French rule over the whole of Southern India, serving at once as a model and a warning to the more fortunate English. Its radical weakness lay in the fact that the French could not command the long sea-route to India, so that at the first touch of actual war all the French schemes, intrigues, and

alliances collapsed like a house of cards. This was attested by the war destined to open within less than two years after the *Duc d'Orléans* had borne Dupleix away from Pondichery. It was attested by the war which followed, though English sea-power was then strained almost to the breaking-point, for even then the French failed to land their forces in India till the war was almost over. It was attested in the most striking form by the great war against Revolutionary France and Napoleon. Dupleix had indeed only secured such measure of success as he obtained under conditions which prevented British men-of-war from blockading Pondichery and cutting off his supplies and reinforcements.

The second main defect of the policy of Dupleix has usually been considered to lie in the corruption of his rule, the bribes which he and Bussy and their subordinates accepted, the speculation which reigned in their revenue-administration. This was necessarily a source of great weakness. A purer administration would undoubtedly have permitted more regularly paid troops; more regularly paid troops would have been better disciplined, would have fought more bravely, would have been more victorious. But corruption, though a source of weakness, was not necessarily a cause of collapse. The

English administration of Bengal from the battle of Plassey to the arrival of Cornwallis cannot be called pure; the English administration of Madras from the fall of Pondichery to the assumption of the Carnatic was little better than the administration of Dupleix. The administration of the Dutch in Java, of the Portuguese in Mozambique, of every colonising power in the West Indies—the administration, in short, of every tropical dependency in the 18th century was seamed with corruption. It was not then a fatal obstacle to the maintenance of power. I would suggest that the second main defect in the position of the French was less their corruption than the mutual jealousy which divided their councils and obstructed their success. As M. Martineau has well and truly said, “L'esprit de discipline et de méthode qui, dans la paix, prépare la force des nations, fut tout à fait étranger à la plupart des conseils qui administrèrent nos dépendances.” In the age of Dupleix and long after they were almost incapable of good teamwork.

An allusion in the present volume points to a startling example of this fatal defect. Madame Dupleix apparently told Godeheu that she had often concocted letters from the country powers and cautioned him against others who might use the same device.

Madanânda Pandit, the Persian munshi, admitted that he had in Madame's time been concerned in such tricks—that “he had done as he was told.” We do not learn whether these forgeries were designed to deceive Dupleix or the authorities in France; but whoever it was, we are necessarily left wondering how a policy liable to such influences could possibly succeed.

III

Godeheu remained at Pondichery just over six months in all—from the beginning of August 1754 to the middle of February 1755. This necessarily implied that in all matters of detail the new policy which he was sent out to inaugurate would be hastily adopted and might need subsequent alteration, as he had had no time to learn the interplay of the circumstances or the real value of the characters by which he was surrounded. Thus Ranga Pillai accuses him of having attached undue value to the opinions of the only Frenchman in Pondichery who understood Persian. This was Henri Delarche, whose name constantly occurs in Ranga Pillai's diary. He was the son of a captain in the French garrison and a Pondichery lady of mixed blood; and at this time was 35 years old. He had been brought up in India, and was probably conversant with

Tamil as well as Persian, which latter tongue he had acquired when serving at the French Basra factory. He had married an Armenian lady, and so was in close touch with what went on in the Indian world. His knowledge of languages and his supposed honesty had recommended him to Dupleix; but he was more useful as an agent than as an adviser. Ranga Pillai did not like him, and his estimate of Delarche must be considered with caution; but the diarist's criticisms of his advice to Godeheu, tinged as they are with jealousy at the intrusion of a European into his special domain, afford a curious proof of the extent to which the ideas of Dupleix had penetrated Pondichery. Chandâ Sâhib's family, now headed by the late Nawâb's son Razâ Sâhib, had continued to live among the French, even after Dupleix had made Murtazâ 'Alî of Vellore nawâb in succession to Chandâ Sâhib; but their dignity and state had fallen; they were above all anxious to recover their former consideration. There is no reason to doubt Ranga Pillai's hints that they bribed Delarche in order that he might persuade the new Governor to accord them the honours which they had formerly enjoyed. The intrigue succeeded. Razâ Sâhib was received with 21 guns, and treated as though he was master of the Carnatic. Thus did Godeheu—

in the *Courtier's* eyes—cast away half the glory which the French had acquired; the new Governor did not understand that he must jealously maintain his state.

Ranga Pillai, however, hardly grasped the revolution in policy which had taken place. To Godeheu and to the French Company who had sent him out, the pomp and dignity which Dupleix had assumed in his character of Naib of the countries south of the Kistna, were misplaced. The late Governor's object had been to impress Indian minds; but he had neglected the fact that, at the same time, he was provoking the English to hostility. Godeheu's scheme was to renounce all these external and provocative marks of honour, and to treat the French Nawâb as if he were a real power, while, at the same time, he held firmly to all those material gains which had survived the disasters of his predecessor—the territory still held round Pondichery and the Northern Circars. This was the policy which underlay the negotiations with the English—the truce concluded in October and the provisional Treaty signed in the following December. These relieved the French of that incessant warfare in which Dupleix had involved them, while they preserved the gains which he had acquired. What Godeheu hoped to secure was peace with the English as well as retention of

the French grants. As I have shown elsewhere, it was a skilful though uncandid policy.

The individual ally on whom the burden fell was not the Subahdar of the Deccan, as has usually been said, but the unfortunate Nandi Râjâ at Trichinopoly. Godeheu's policy made no difference to Salabat Jang at Hyderabad. Bussy and his contingent of French troops remained as before to support the ruler whom they had established. Nor did Godeheu's policy in the Carnatic affect the northern ruler. It is true that Ranga Pillai tells us of demands put forward by Salabat Jang to receive an account of the Carnatic revenues. But this was, I think, a mere device brought about by Dupleix to lend colour to that theory of the French financial arrangements which he had hurriedly invented on Godeheu's arrival. However much Dupleix and Godeheu might differ in general policy, neither had the least intention of administering the Carnatic for the benefit of its nominal overlord. Godeheu's negotiations made no difference to Salabat Jang.

But they made much to Nandi Râjâ. For nearly three years a large Mysorean army had lain before Trichinopoly, relying on the promises first of Muhammad 'Alî to deliver over the city when the French had been repelled,

and later of the French to help them in driving out the English. But neither Muhammad 'Alî nor the French had kept their word. The first had refused to hand over the place when Chandâ Sâhib had been caught and killed; the second had failed to make any impression on the English defence and were now retiring from the contest. Worse than that, the terms which Godeheu had made with the English prevented Nandi Râjâ from attempting to continue his efforts to acquire the southern provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly. He had spent great sums and obtained nothing by his French alliance.

The grievances however were not all on the one side. The diplomatic dexterity of Dupleix had obtained an agreement from Nandi Râjâ, when the hopes of getting Trichinopoly were still bright and fresh, that he would pay the expenses of the French troops before Trichinopoly and provide the Company with 3 lakhs of rupees a year besides. These payments had at first been made regularly. But presently it became clear that Nandi Râjâ had gone to war without counting the cost. His treasury sank; his payments to the French became irregular; in the last volume we saw his agents offering a sealed parcel of jewels for a loan. In short his allies were expensive and war could not be conducted round Trichinopoly at a profit. In

Godeheu's eyes the Mysorean also figured as an ally who had broken his word. He angrily asked the vakîl, who abounded in promises of regular payments, what he had given but words; and declined to continue the siege of Trichinopoly for the benefit of an ally who would not pay for it. Here also we find his plans inspired by the material interests of the moment.

Of the man himself we see or hear little; but what Ranga Pillai does record is, time and place duly considered, to the credit of this astute and unimagative personage. We find him refusing twice the public offer of a diamond ring, made first by the diarist himself and afterwards by the Company's merchants, on the well-understood convention that it would be privately redeemed later for a sum of money; and when he enquires of the *Courtier* what opportunities of gain may occur, he is careful to explain that he wishes only to make money respectably, as had been done by Lenoir and Dumas, instead of imitating the ways of Dupleix and Madame.

IV

Godeheu's departure, in the middle of February 1755, was followed by an interregnum of five weeks, during which the Governor's powers were entrusted, not to an individual,

but to a commission of three councillors, headed by Barthélemy and known as the Secret Committee, though Ranga Pillai does not refer to it by that name. The interval was more interesting in private than in public events, as we shall see in the following section; and at last on March 25, after one false alarm, a vessel flying the square flag of the Governor of the French in India dropped anchor in the Pondichery roads; and Duval de Leyrit came ashore, and was conducted over the sands along a path, made of cut grass with longcloth laid above it, to the *Gouvernement* in Fort Louis.

The new Governor was younger brother of Duval d'Espréménil, the brother-in-law of Dupleix and for a brief while commandant of Madras when that place was in French hands. The two had come out with the fairest prospects—their father was in the directorate of the Company; but the elder had soon tired of India and gone home suddenly in 1747. The younger, after being for a while the chief of Mahé, became *Directeur* of Bengal in the year his brother went home, and now succeeded Godeheu in the command of the French settlements.

He is best known to history as the antagonist in India and the persecutor in France of the unfortunate Lally. But no one hitherto seems to have troubled to form an exact

judgment of his character. In this connection some passages in the present volume deserve attention. Miran, for instance, gives Ranga Pillai a lively description of de Leyrit. If he just listens, and bites his handkerchief without saying anything, he dislikes the proposal. At other times the watchful *Courtier* notices how the Governor keeps councillors waiting, how he merely listens to them without revealing his opinions, or how he wanders round gazing at the decorations of the *Gouvernement* scarcely deigning to speak to anyone. These incidental references, noted down on the spur of the moment, aptly illustrate the demeanour of this cold, silent, haughty man, whose solemnity covered little but dullness, self-seeking and irresolution. Those who wounded his feelings or his pocket, found him implacable in his resentment; but those who knew how to manage him found him plastic as clay. To the conduct of a man weak, ungracious and short-sighted, family interest had entrusted French affairs in India. It was a great triumph, and a great misfortune.

The nine months which followed de Leyrit's accession to power were not marked by any outstanding political events. The country remained as peaceful as could reasonably be expected. The disputes with the English regarding the administration (and revenue) of certain villages claimed by both sides when

the truce came into operation, dragged along without approaching an issue either by settlement or by an open breach. Another subject of difference cropped up—the English despatched an expedition under Colonel Heron to enforce Muhammad 'Ali's claims in Madura and Tinnevely. The French declared this to be a violation of the truce, while the English regarded it as legitimate conduct in country in which the French had had no footing all through the war. The discussion left the two parties suspicious but still at peace. De Leyrit was not the man for a policy of adventure.

In this respect no doubt he resembled his predecessor; but he did not follow the same example in the matter of private gains. He was curious to know who had money at Pondichery, and how they had got it. He learnt—from Ranga Pillai—that no rich Indians were left, for they had all been sucked dry by Dupleix. Diamond rings nowadays ran no risk of refusal. Ranga Pillai was expected to sell at a good price a parcel of olibanum which the new Governor had brought with him; and had been pointed out as the person who could if he would make de Leyrit's fortune. So long as that impression lasted, the *Courtier* on the whole enjoyed the Governor's favour, though not to the degree that he considered his due.

V

These changes in men and measures had profoundly affected, not only the course of French policy, but also the personal position of the *Courtier* at Pondichery. During the sixteen months covered by the present volume he enjoyed a second period of official favour, comparable to that which he had enjoyed until Madame Dupleix discovered there was money in politics. But this second summer of prosperity was grievously chequered by untoward events which must often have filled him with foreboding.

At first the change seemed wholly for the better. The removal of Dupleix and his wife removed the main obstacle to Ranga Pillai's recovery of political influence; and although in the first few weeks of Godeheu's government the *Courtier* held aloof, as uncertain of the reception his advice would meet, from about the middle of September he was taken into full favour, and enjoyed that power and dignity which he valued above money. No other Indian was allowed to wear his shoes in the Governor's presence. The Persian munshi, who presumed to claim a similar privilege, was threatened with a beating should he presume again. Ranga Pillai was consulted once more about the views and disposition of the country princes. He was entrusted with the

general management of Indian affairs within the city. He began to consider how he might recover the long-lost jaghir and killa at Chingleput granted him by Muzaffar Jang. Above all to him was confided the farm of the land revenues of the territories still dependent on Pondichery. He was thus the first Hindu, —his comments on the honours Godeheu accorded to Razâ Sâhib suggest that in his opinion he ought to have been the first Indian —in Pondichery. He seemed to have within his grasp the certainty both of honours and of wealth.

These hopes were strengthened before Godeheu's departure. On the second day of the New Year, when Ranga Pillai conducted the Company's principal Indian servants to present their annual offerings to the Governor, Godeheu publicly ordered them to make their reports to and take their orders from the *Courtier*, who at the same time received gifts of jewels, broad-cloth and cloth-of-gold while a salute of 15 guns was fired in his honour. A little later, when Godeheu was on the point of sailing for France, his promises were repeated and amplified. He would procure from the King presents and titles of honour for the faithful Ranga Pillai; the office of *Courtier* should be made hereditary in his family; special orders should be left, signed by Godeheu himself and all the Council,

restraining Barthélemy (the Second and interim chief) from acting to the *Courtier's* prejudice and enjoining de Leyrit to continue the management of affairs in the *Courtier's* hands. And all the bright hopes thus engendered were made the brighter by the receipt of letters from Duvelaer, one of the most influential directors in France. With his and Godeheu's support at home, and with the favour of the new Governor de Leyrit, Ranga Pillai must have felt well able to defy his enemies and believed his astrologer's predictions well on the way to fulfilment.

However before de Leyrit's arrival a circumstance, apparently quite trivial in itself, gave Ranga Pillai enormous annoyance. Among the Company's Indian servants was one designated the *Arumpâtai*, whose duties seem to have combined those of a minor accountant in Pondichery itself along with the very profitable employment of victualling troops in the field. The present occupant of the office—which like most others at this time was quasi-hereditary—was Vinâyaka Pillai. The diarist declared to de Leyrit that he had made four or five lakhs out of his employment, and that Vinâyakan had complained to Godeheu of his having had to give Dupleix two of them. During the interregnum between Godeheu's departure and de Leyrit's arrival Barthélemy invested this worthy with the privilege of

having a roundel carried over him in public in return (as the diarist avers) for a present of 10,000 rupees.

It is unlikely that the offence resided merely in this very usual transaction. The dignity conferred was certainly reckoned great; but so was the responsibility of the office. The real crime (in Ranga Pillai's eyes) was that he as *Courtier* had not been consulted in the matter, although the *Arumpâtai* was under his orders; and, what was worse, he feared that Vinâyakan was intriguing to become *Courtier*. Tale-bearers informed him that a fortnight after de Leyrit's arrival, Vinâyakan had held a *cacheri* and announced his coming appointment. The tale exaggerated the fact; but Vinâyakan was actually presented to the Governor by Barthélemy, and allowed to offer a *nazar* and receive a dress of honour, apparently provided at the recipient's own expense.

The severity of this blow was however softened by the magnificence with which Ranga Pillai celebrated the marriages of his daughters and other relatives. An elaborate, highly decorated *pandal* was erected. On the set day the diarist's two sons were sent each on an elephant, with rich howdahs, to bid the Governor and his Councillors to the wedding. They came in state, and remained from six till midnight, when they departed with costly

gifts—the Governor with an English cut diamond ring worth 500 pagodas, and Ranga Pillai's great enemy Barthélemy with one worth 100. Yet this splendid festivity was said to be not a hundredth part as fine as that which attended the marriage of our diarist's eldest daughter.

An attempt is said to have been made to turn this to his undoing. One of the many who grudged Ranga Pillai his restored influence and the revenue farm is related to have pointed out to de Leyrit that on the former occasion Duplèix had received a present of 40,000 rupees, although at that time the Company held no territory beyond the few villages dependent on Pondichery, so that the only persons to bestow gifts on Ranga Pillai himself had been the Company's merchants and the towns-people; now that he must have laid all the revenue amaldârs and others under contribution, he must have received much more, and could easily have given the Governor a lakh, had he maintained the proportion of the former ceremony. If this story was really told to de Leyrit—and it is likely enough—it must have lingered in his mind, even though it had no immediate effect.

At the moment Ranga Pillai's position in the Governor's favour was secured by the promises he had made. On de Leyrit's arrival he had held himself in the back-ground, waiting

to see what attitude the Governor would assume towards him, and no doubt reckoning that his services would be more highly valued if de Leyrit were left to seek them instead of finding them pressed upon him. De Leyrit had moreover heard of the *Courtier*. On the voyage down from Bengal a member of the Council, Lenoir by name, had apparently sung Ranga Pillai's praises, as the person most capable of looking after the Governor's interests. On his arrival other councillors, notably Boyelleau, had confirmed the speeches of Lenoir. On the other hand Barthélemy had pressed Vinâyakan on his attention and had probably depreciated Ranga Pillai's capacity for service. But Barthélemy's reputation did not stand high. A black mark had been set on him by Godeheu's refusal to leave him in independent charge of the settlement until de Leyrit's arrival. On the whole then the new Governor was probably prepossessed in the *Courtier's* favour; and this feeling may well have been strengthened by Ranga Pillai's attitude. On April 2, the affair of Vinâyakan broke down the *Courtier's* reserve. In a curious interview he reproached the Governor for the undeserved favours he had shown to Barthélemy's protégé, and declared himself anxious to promote the Governor's profit "if you also will listen to no advice but mine." This de Leyrit was quite prepared to do—on condition that it was

materially beneficial—and he proceeded formally to recognise the diarist as *Courtier*. Ranga Pillai failed to secure all the honours he desired. He had hoped to be received with military honours in passing the Town and Fort Gates. His friends in Council did not venture to recommend such a deviation from custom; but he was received with the same honours which had been accorded him by Godeheu.

So far matters seemed shaping tolerably well. But Ranga Pillai was soon to find that he had strong enemies. Delarche, for example, succeeded in interfering in the management of affairs with Razâ Sâhib; thus trenching again on what had been—in the old days before the French had become a political power—the *Courtier's* special field of business. More threatening still was the matter of the revenues. On de Leyrit's arrival, when he assured Ranga Pillai that he should be continued in his farm, he had spoken warningly about the need of regular payments. Then, when two old amaldârs under Pâpayya Pillai refused to give in their accounts, Ranga Pillai beat one and confined him. Barthélemy intervened and got him released. Then came up the matter of the European sureties, which requires more explanation than is to be found in the diary.

Very little is known about the brief history of French land revenue administration in the

Carnatic. Some documents of a later date are to be found in the *mémoires* issued on behalf of Lally and de Leyrit; but these relate to a subsequent and even more disordered period than the present. There are a few references to Ranga Pillai's management in the extracts printed by Duplex in his *Réponse à la lettre du sieur Godeheu*. But the chief source of information is provided by letters written in 1756 and 1757 by Ranga Pillai himself, copies of which I found among the Gallois-Montbrun papers at Pondichery, and was permitted to transcribe by the courtesy of their owner. I hope to print these as appendices to the later volumes of the Diary to which they more properly relate.

It appears that when the land revenues were taken from the charge of Pâpayya Pillai, they were separated into a number of leases, given each to a single person for whom inhabitants of Pondichery, approved by Godeheu, stood surety. But in January, when an 18 months' truce with the English was proclaimed, it was thought that a larger amount could be secured. Ranga Pillai offered—or was, as he himself says, over-persuaded to offer—a lakh and a half of rupees more than the total of the existing leases. What this total was I have not found stated; but the leases were cancelled, and the whole revenue management transferred to the *Courtier* for five years. He

proceeded to sub-let the revenues to various farmers ; and it is stated in the diary that the great cause of Barthélemy's enmity against him was his refusal to grant him Gingeé at less than the regular rent. However in several cases he accepted Europeans as sureties for sub-farmers whom they recommended to him. They were for the most part the military commandants of the districts concerned. On the strength of their leases from Ranga Pillai they interfered in the administration of the *amaldárs*, made collections, vexed and ill-treated the inhabitants, but made no remittances to Pondichery, so that Ranga Pillai could only meet his obligations to the Company by borrowing on his private credit. Meanwhile in November he was reduced to complain to the Governor that the persons who had stood sureties for the old renters would not pay what was due under the leases that had been cancelled. On the 13th of November some were called before de Leyrit and ordered to pay ; and on the 16th others appeared. But although the *Courtier* had thus far the support of the Governor's authority, the situation was evidently threatening, and the year closed with a great uncertainty whether he would be able to continue the payments on account of his lease.

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

SEPTEMBER 1754.

*Sunday, September 8.*¹—When the Governor² returned from church this morning, M. Delarche was talking with him. I went when he sent for me and he asked why Taqî Sâhib had not given him a dress of honour. I said, 'He has been trying to see you for the last four days, but you were busy writing letters with closed doors, so he did not bring it.'—'Tell him to bring it at half-past four this evening,' he said. I said I would do so, and told him that the master-gunner should be ordered to fire a salute of five guns. He told me to send a peon for the master-gunner. When he came, I gave him the proper orders and sent him away.

M. Delarche then said that we ought to have men at Madras and Cuddalore to report the arrival and departure of ships. I said I would see to it. He continued, 'It does not matter even if it cost 100 rupees a month to get the news. I will also write to my Armenian friend at Madras to get news.'³

¹ 27th *Avani*, *Bhava*.

² That is, Godeheu who arrived at Pondichery on August 2.

³ It was usual for the rival settlements to maintain a close watch upon each other's trade, which was a subject of regular report to the Companies at home.