

repaid in nine or ten days. He went accordingly and I went to the nut-godown.

*Monday, May 18.*¹—The Governor sent for me this morning [and said] :—‘The army that lay encamped at Wandiwash has moved and is halting on the banks of the Cheyyâr near Tiruvattiyûr. Nâsîr Jang’s tent is a mile from Wandiwash. Taqî Sâhib was asked to visit [Nâsîr Jang] and not only pay 10 lakhs of rupees, but also deliver up Chandâ Sâhib’s wife and children, his brother, Muhammad ‘Alî Khân of Pôlûr, and others. As it was not expected that these demands would be complied with, he [Nâsîr Jang] declared he would attack them, and made preparations. 4,000 Maratha horse have plundered Sadras, Covelong, places round Madras, the Poonamallee, Manimangalam, Utramallûr, Sâlavâkkam, Chingleput and Conjeeveram, etc., countries, ravished the women and ruined the districts.’ I replied that they had done the same as they had done here.

He sent for me at eleven o’clock, and said, ‘The Company have sent two medals for ‘Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan with commissions for them as captains. These must be presented with a gold chain and a dress of honour each, the chains to weigh

¹ *8th Vatgâsi, Pramôdâta.*

150 pagodas each, and the dresses of honour to cost 300 rupees.¹ To-morrow I shall assume the red ribbon and the Cross of St. Louis, so have ready at six o’clock to-morrow morning the naubat and other musical instruments, dancing girls, etc.’ I agreed and sent word to the several people to be ready with everything.

The Governor went to M. Carvalho’s² house as he was to be entertained there this afternoon and evening. I came home for my food.

I went this evening to M. Carvalho’s garden where the Governor was. He asked if there was any news. I replied that the army was at Wandiwash. He asked me if that was all. I said, ‘Yes.’

When I was going away, Vâsudêva Pandit’s son came and said to the Governor, ‘A

¹ Cf. Vol. VI, p. 22, n., *supra*.

² Francisco Carvalho was a Portuguese merchant of Madras, who was concerned in many of Dupleix’ mercantile ventures. He was born about 1700 (*Mayor’s Court Pleadings*, 1743, f. 57) and married Marie St. Hilaire, possibly daughter of the surgeon of that name who was early in the century employed on missions to Arcot. Carvalho resided at Madras till its capture in 1746, and then went to Pondichery, whence he returned to Madras in 1761. He had five daughters. Marie married Jacques Law on February 22, 1751; Jeanne married Dupleix’ nephew, Kerjean, on November 27, 1753; Françoise married a French Company’s servant, Denis; the other two married English Company’s servants—Charles Floyer, the younger and Charles Smith. Jeanne seems to have been Kerjean’s second wife. It may be noted in Law’s *Plainte*, p. 75, he says, that Kerjean married his sister; he should have said, sister-in-law.

peon who went to bathe in the tank in Ranga Pillai's Choultry near the Murungam-pâkkam river, saw a small mortar and a barrel containing 23 shots, brought them and showed them to me.' So saying he showed the mortar to the Governor. He examined it and showed it to M. Law. The Governor said, 'When the English attacked Ariyânkuppam and besieged Pondichery, they may have dropped it in the tank in their retreat. You may have it.' I told Vâsudêva Pandit's son to take it away. He salaamed, took the small mortar, and went home. I then went out [in my palankin].

*Tuesday, May 19.*¹—This morning shroff Muttukumarappa Chetti and the Vaduga goldsmith Ayyanan brought two gold chains and weighed and delivered them. They cost 1,000 rupees including the expense of making; the dresses of honour cost 300 rupees. Taking these and a basket of Achin oranges to be offered to the Governor with my congratulations I waited for a suitable time, and went in as soon as he came out to the central hall after dressing. I said, 'God has blessed you with the Cross of St. Louis and the red ribbon. For slaying Anwar-ud-dîn, establishing Chandâ Sâhib in Arcot and defeating Nâsir Jang with

¹ 9th Vaigâsi, Pramôdita.

his lakh of horsemen, you will receive the grand cordon of the Order of the Holy Ghost."¹ Thus I paid my congratulations and offered him the oranges. Then M. Bury arrived at seven o'clock. The Governor put on the Cross of St. Louis, which hung from a red ribbon six fingers broad worn round the neck as men wear an upper-cloth. Immediately the sepoy and horsemen who were drawn up from the Fort gate to the Governor's gate, and the Europeans who were drawn up in the Fort, fired a volley and the ships fired four or five salutes of 21 guns. All the Europeans then came and embraced the Governor. Those entitled to kiss him paid their respects thus, and the others offered their compliments. I also paid my respects. He looked as glad and proud as a king, and I believe he will win great glory and fortune. Thus amidst general rejoicings, and the clash of the naubat and other music, the Governor passed through the assembled troops to the church in the Fort to hear mass, followed by Muzaffar Jang's 32 elephants with howdahs, etc. Three salutes and three volleys were fired during mass. Ships also fired salutes; the naubat, etc.,

¹ The Order of the Holy Ghost was founded by Henri III, when the Order of St. Michel had begun to decline in dignity, and was originally limited to 36 members. It was never in fact bestowed on Dupleix.

played and the captains, lieutenants and other officers presented arms to the Governor as he went both to and from the church.

This morning when the soldiers and sepoys were drawn up from the Villiyanallûr gate to the Governor's house, the Governor went at half-past seven to the tent pitched by the Villiyanallûr gate with all the councillors and other European gentlemen, to the sound of the naubat, etc., and halted there. Then he ordered me, the Second, M. Guillard, and one or two officers to march with music, etc., to the Bound-hedge, receive Chandâ Sâhib and bring him in. We set out accordingly. M. d'Auteuil, M. Bussy, and others who had formerly gone to Arcot with the army, were awaiting his arrival at Mortândi Choultry to meet him at the Bound-hedge.

When he had returned home the Company's merchants, Lakshmana Nâyakkan (son of Antannan, the Company's dubâsh at Yânâm), Sêshâchala Chetti and others offered congratulations and paid their respects. Then Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, his son, Razâ Sâhib, and others came also to offer congratulations. They talked to the Governor about Nâsîr Jang's army camping near Wandiwash and the tricks attempted by Mîr Asad and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Then they departed.

Muzaffar Jang's son, Hàji Fâzil Khân, and others also came to congratulate him and departed. The grant of the Cross of St. Louis and the red ribbon to the Governor by the King of France for his having defeated the English made the townspeople as joyous as though they had found a hidden treasure. Their joy is indescribable. I pray God not only to bless the Governor with success and authority for a hundred years but also to bestow on him a son to enjoy his lofty position and remain here for ever. Surely it must come to pass.

I will now write about the medals and the commissions sent from Europe to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and the dresses of honour that were given.

When I showed the chains to the Governor this morning, he examined them and gave me the two medals telling me to have them tied to the chains with bright-coloured ribbons and to lay them out with the dresses of honour, each set separately. At once, I called Appu and Tyâgu and ordered them to bring ribbon and tie the medals to the chains, and place them with the dresses of honour on the table in the Governor's writing-room. When I reported this, he said, 'Send for 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan. I will present them with the medals and the dresses

of honour as soon as I return from the church.' So I sent a peon for them and they came. The Governor returned from the church, wearing his Cross, and, having taken his coffee, drank to the King's health amidst shouts of *Vive le roi*. A salute of 21 guns was fired at the Fort and from the ships and salutes were also fired at the Villiyannallûr camp. When the Governor entered the central hall, he ordered 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Shaikh Hasan, and the councillors to be summoned; and having put the chain with the medal round Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's neck, he ordered me to invest him with the dress of honour. When this had been done, the same was done for Shaikh Hasan. When he put the chains round their necks, he touched their cummerbands, according to the Muhammadan custom.¹ Then they salaamed and the Governor complimented them on medals and commissions being sent them by the Company as a reward of their services and valour in time of need; and ordered the commissions to be brought. When he was told they were not on the table, he went angrily to fetch them himself. He gave them to M. Boyelleau to be read and delivered to them when they had

¹ I am informed that this is customary as a sign of approval, when a superior bestows presents on an inferior.

been entered in the Council's register.¹ The Governor then turned to them and said, 'M. Boyelleau will enter your commissions in the register and give them to you. Now you may mount your steeds and go in procession round the streets.' Accordingly they paid their respects, took leave, mounted their elephants, and went home by the European street followed by their horsemen. They asked me to go with them, but as the Governor had not told me to do so, I said that I would follow them shortly. 'Abd-ul-rahmân did not show the least joy on receiving his presents but looked downcast. Shaikh Hasan did the same, but not so much as 'Abd-ul-rahmân. As Tiruvalluvar says in his *Kural*, 'A mirror reflects what appears before it, so the face betrays what is in the mind.' Never do the words of the wise prove false, for they have drawn them from their own knowledge. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan first served as sepoy in the Malayâla country, where they lived in poverty. When they could get no service, they borrowed money or way-laid travellers in the jungles, or even begged. So they lived, lacking money to buy them gowns. When war was threatened between

¹ Copies of these commissions, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's as 'Commandant de cipayes' and Shaikh Hasan's as 'Commandant de cipaye cavallerie,' both dated July 8, 1749, may still be read in *P.R. No. 28, ff. 534-535.*

the English and French Kings,¹ Mahârâja Râja Srî Monsieur Dupleix Bahâdûr Jang entertained in his service Shaikh Hasan, 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and others who had formerly served in the troubles at Mahé on the coast of Malabar. After those troubles were over, Shaikh Hasan, Bikkan Khân, etc., came here with 200 sepoy. A year later Bikkan Khân, and 100 sepoy were sent back, and Shaikh Hasan with his 100 sepoy invited to stay. He did not receive enough even to buy conjee and so lived by borrowing; but, as he was destined to enjoy good fortune, news came of war being declared in Europe between England and France.² Thereon Shaikh Hasan was summoned and directed to invite his elder brother (who was out of service in Malabar) with 500 or 600 sepoy. 'Abd-ul-rahmân came accordingly.³ When, by good fortune, Mahârâja

¹ *i.e.*, in 1740, when it seemed likely that France would help Spain against us. It was not Dupleix however who enlisted them. See below.

² This was in September 1744.

³ The foregoing is a generally accurate account of the origin of sepoy in the French service. They were first employed at Mahé in the war with Boyanore, 1739-40, when Dupleix was still at Chandernagore. Early in 1742 Dumas ordered three companies of them over to the Coromandel Coast to assist in defending Kârikâl against the Tanjoreans. Two companies were sent back in 1743, and broke; but others again were obtained in 1746 at the request of La Bourdonnais, who had seen them in action at Mahé in 1741. It is interesting to note that, whereas the English soon appointed European drill-sergeants and a European adjutant to their Sepoy corps, Dupleix left the command and discipline entirely in Indian hands except when sepoy were co-operating with European troops.

Râja Srî General Dupleix Bahâdûr captured Madras which had been in the hands of the English for 121 years and contained the nine gems in abundance, 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his brother seized palankins, elephants, horses, etc., such as they had never seen before, and the Governor permitted all to keep their booty. Thus 'Abd-ul-rahmân got all the plunder of the thousand sepoy under him, and became rich. When the English were attacked at Fort St. David and they attacked the French at Pondichery, he brought some men under pretence of enlisting them as sepoy, plundered the neighbouring villages, beat and plundered the poor, and thus became yet richer. He made more money on the expedition against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân by telling Chandâ Sâhib that he had raised 2,000 horsemen and sepoy. When Tanjore was plundered, and negotiations were entered into with the Râjâ, he made five or six lakhs more. Thus he has acquired ten or fifteen lakhs. Then, knowing that the Navâits are the children of mad widows, he thought he could make himself strong and seize the country. As Nâsîr Jang did nothing when Chandâ Sâhib seized the country, as the Pâdshâh's power was small, and no one cared who held the country,—for these reasons he resolved to seize it for himself, or at least obtain a mansab of 5,000 horse for his

assistance of the subahdar, being led to this by the wealth he had acquired.¹ So he cares little for his commission as captain from Europe or his present and medals. Moreover he does not expect to hold his present place long, so the presents are unwelcome, for his projects must fail if he remains much longer here and the acceptance of the presents is a check upon his departure. So displeasure was reflected in his face. I write according to my belief. Seeing that he is unwilling to receive presents from him through whose influence he has risen so high, I am sure he will follow once more that great Goddess² with whom he kept company when he came from Mahé, for he is destined to become poor or suffer some bodily infirmity. As God has caused so much to come to pass in accordance with my wishes, I believe He will do so now. I write according to my opinion.

When the Governor was taking his dinner, all drank to the King's health, and seven or eight salutes of 21 guns were fired from the Fort and from the ships, and the army at Villiyanallâr fired five or six salutes of 21 guns at the same time.

The Governor sent for me this evening and asked if there was any news about Nâsir Jang

¹ *Kaikkullai irukkira valavalappaihottu*; literally, 'by the grease in his hand.'

² *i.e.*, the Goddess of misfortune.

at Wandiwash. I replied that no special news had been received.

He then asked if I had congratulated Muzaffar Khân. 'Can I go,' I asked, 'without your orders?' He replied, 'It is but proper that you should congratulate him on the presents the Company has given him. I forgot to tell you. You had better go to-morrow.' I said I would do so and went to the nut-godown.

To-night there was both dancing and singing, and all day they amused themselves with cards and singing. I think the sound of our guns will alarm Nâsir Jang and his army as if it had been thunder. The wise will think the same.

*Wednesday, May 20.*¹—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked if Nâsir Jang's camp were still near Wandiwash or had moved further. I replied, 'He is still there. The wife of Husain 'Alî Khân, Safdar 'Alî Khân's younger brother,² was not well treated either by Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife, or even by Dôst 'Alî Khân's wife, her mother-in-law. Consequently, what could she expect from such people as Taqî Sâhib, Muhammad

¹ *10th Vaigâsi, Pramôdâta.*

² He was killed at the battle of the Dâmalcheruvu Pass (*Calendar of the Madras Records*, 1740-44, p. 30). One of Orme's correspondents (*Orme MSS.*, *Various*, 15, f. 5, etc.) describes him as an 'impertinent youth' though a soldier of courage. Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 33.