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VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS



Emery Walker P. Sc.

• Thomas Pitt
after Sir Godfrey Kneller



CSL

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

FOR CONSULTATION ONLY

VESTIGES
OF OLD MADRAS

1640—1800 65

TRACED FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S
RECORDS PRESERVED AT FORT ST.
GEORGE AND THE INDIA OFFICE,
AND FROM OTHER SOURCES

BY

HENRY DAVISON LOVE

LATE LIEUT.-COLONEL, ROYAL ENGINEERS, AND BT.-COLONEL
HON. FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

VOL. II.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

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'I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff.'

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

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VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

CHAPTER I

1698—1709

GOVERNOR THOMAS PITT—OLD AND NEW EAST INDIA
COMPANIES—FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN—DĀ,ŪD
KHĀN AND THE BLOCKADE

GOVERNOR THOMAS PITT.

THOMAS PITT, second son of the Rev. John Pitt, rector of Blandford, Dorset, was born in 1653. He engaged early in the East India trade as an 'interloper,' and some details of his adventures have been mentioned in an earlier page. His headquarters from 1674 to 1682 were at Balasore, whence he traded to Persia. He returned to England in 1683, when he became involved in litigation with the East India Company. Settling in Dorset, he was elected member of Parliament for New Sarum (Salisbury) in 1689. After making a final voyage to Balasore in 1693 he came to terms with the Company, who found him employment. Two years later he became member for Old Sarum, and in 1698 he was commissioned Governor of Fort St. George for a term of five years. On the union of the Old and New East India Companies he continued to serve as President at Madras, and his period of office was extended. Altogether his governorship covered the unprecedented term of eleven years, a period which proved to be the golden age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increase of wealth. The public records are not the only source of available information regarding it. Pitt's own letters from India, which are preserved in the British Museum, unfortunately afford few particulars of the social life of Madras;

but the invaluable map of the city which was prepared by the Governor's orders throws a flood of light on the topography of the place. At no time was local literary talent more conspicuous. That observant and prolific author, Thomas Salmon, was a resident; Manucci was inditing the story of his experiences; the amusing, if sometimes inaccurate, Alexander Hamilton was making occasional visits to the place; and Charles Lockyer interspersed observations on local institutions among his remarks on the trade of Madras. All these sources of information are utilized in the account to be here set forth.

The principal features of Pitt's term of office were the creation of the New East India Company and its subsequent amalgamation with the older association; the permanent fortification of Black Town; the blockade of Madras and other British settlements by Nawab Dā'ūd Khān; the acquisition by the English of additional suburban villages; and a serious dispute between the Right and Left hand castes. These subjects are dealt with in the following pages. The caste disturbances led to a difference between Pitt and William Fraser, one of the members of his Council. The matter was referred home, and the Company superseded Pitt, whose intended return to England was thus antedated by a few months. He handed over charge on the 18th September, 1709, sailed in the *Heathcote* in the following month, transhipped at the Cape to a Danish vessel, and landed at Bergen, where he stayed nearly a year before setting foot in his native land.

Always on the watch for fine diamonds, Pitt had in 1701 purchased a stone of 400 carats from a native merchant for 48,000 pagodas. The gem had been originally secreted by a slave at the Golconda mines, then appropriated by a sea captain, and by him sold to the merchant. Pitt sent the diamond home in 1702 by his son Robert, who was a free merchant at Fort St. George. It was a source of great anxiety to the Governor, whose private correspondence teems with instructions regarding its safety. Cutting reduced the stone to 137 carats, and Pitt ultimately disposed of it to the Regent of France for £135,000.

After his return to England Pitt purchased large properties in Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, and Cornwall. He was repeatedly elected member for Old Sarum, and in 1716 he accepted,



but shortly afterwards resigned, the governorship of Jamaica. He died at Swallowfield, in Berkshire, on the 28th April, 1726, at the age of seventy-three, and was buried at Blandford St. Mary's. A tablet erected to his memory disappeared during a church restoration.

Pitt married Jane Innes at Hugli in 1680, and she bore him three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Robert, was father of William, Earl of Chatham; the second, Thomas, was created Lord Londonderry; and the third, John, was a soldier of some distinction. The younger daughter became the wife of James, afterwards Earl Stanhope. The portrait of Pitt here given is reproduced from the painting by Kneller at Chevening.¹ There is another portrait, also by Kneller, at Boconnoc, Cornwall.

Thomas Pitt possessed great force of character, and decision in dealing with difficult situations. After his return to England he was known as 'the great President.' At the present day his fine qualities as an administrator have been almost forgotten, and his fame rests mainly on the chance acquisition of a rare crystal.

OLD AND NEW EAST INDIA COMPANIES.

The unsuccessful issue of the war with the Mogul aroused strong feeling in England against the East India Company, and a petition was presented to Parliament in 1692 praying for the establishment of a new Company. The old Company was successful in obtaining two new charters in the following year; but in 1695 a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inspect the books of the Company. Large sums of secret service money were found to have been disbursed. The Governor, Sir Thomas Cooke, was committed to the Tower, and a protracted enquiry ensued. The Home Government was in urgent need of funds, and the question of retaining the old or creating a new Company ultimately became a pecuniary one. The opponents of the old Company offered the best terms, in the shape of a loan of two millions at eight per cent. The offer was accepted, and the Charter of William III. of 5th September, 1698, was accordingly

¹ The reproduction is made through the courtesy of Earl Stanhope, to whom the original painting belongs, and of Lady Russell, for whom the negative now utilized was made. The Regent diamond appears in Pitt's hat. The size of the heel of the left shoe is due to a cavity made for concealing the gem.



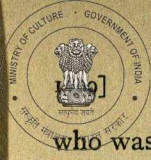
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granted to the 'English Company trading to the East Indies.' The charter gave the new Company the sole right of commerce, subject to the proviso that the old or 'London' Company might continue to trade at the same time until the 29th September, 1701. The new Company was to be governed by twenty-four Directors,¹ any thirteen or more of whom would form a Court of Directors. A meeting of members to elect Directors, frame by-laws, etc., would constitute a General Court of the Company. The Company might appoint Governors for their forts and factories, and the Governors had power to raise military forces. Courts of Judicature might be established, each to consist of one person learned in the civil laws and two merchants.

The interest on the loan to Government proved a very inadequate capital for the English Company. The London Company possessed the advantage of an established position and trade, and it acquired a share in the new Company by the purchase of stock. Overtures for amalgamation were made by the English Company, and union was ultimately effected on the 22nd July, 1702, in terms of two indentures, one for the equalization of subscribed capital, and the other for that of the value of the dead stock—i.e., forts, factories, and other buildings. On the latter the new Company was required to pay £130,000 to the old to secure equality. The indentures were tripartite and quinquepartite respectively.

Indenture Tripartite between Her Majesty Queen Anne and the two East India Companies for uniting the said Companies.—The old Company having become the proprietor of about £300,000 of the new stock while the new Company held about £1,700,000, it was agreed that the former should purchase from the latter so much as would make their shares equal; that the two Companies should have equal powers of trade for the next seven years and should trade for their common benefit, and that thereafter they should be united. During this period of seven years, the joint trade was to be superintended by twenty-four Managers, twelve of whom were to be taken from the governing body of each Company.

The *Indenture Quinquepartite* provided for the conveyance to trustees of the dead stock of the two Companies. The parties to this indenture were (1) the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, (2) the English Company, (3) Sir Jeremy Sambrooke,

¹ Among the first Directors was Streynsham Master.



who was interested in the warehouses at Great St. Helen's, (4) Sir Thomas Davall and others who were concerned in premises used by the old Company, and (5) Sir James Bateman and others, the Trustees.

To accelerate the settlement of matters in dispute between the two Companies an Act was passed in 1708 appointing the Earl of Godolphin arbitrator, and directing that the English Company should, after his award, be known as the *United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies*. The award provided that the old Company should surrender all its charters and cease to be a corporate body on or before the 25th March, 1709. The surrender was accepted by the Queen on the 7th May.

The Charter of 1698 for the new Company was communicated to Madras in due course. It was followed up by the arrival in the roads in July, 1699, of Mr. John Pitt, formerly of Madras, who had been nominated President for the affairs of the new Company on the Coast, with headquarters at Masulipatam. John Pitt wrote ashore to the Governor, announcing that he bore the King's commission as 'Consul for the English nation in Generall on the whole Coast of Choromandell, including all your Settlements,' and suggesting the propriety of his being saluted by the Fort.

Thomas Pitt replied that the charter confirmed to the old Company all its privileges until 1701, and that his cousin could consequently have no power in any of the existing settlements. 'I am not unacquainted with what respect is due to the Kings Consul (whether you are one I know not), but you cannot, or ever have heard that an Ancient Fortification wearing the Kings Flagg, should lower it and salute a real Consul; but I take it to be your Obligation to have saluted the Flagg a shoare at your coming to an anchor, which wee should have answer'd according to Custome and good manners. . . .'¹

In the following September Madras saw ships of the Royal Navy for the first time. Commodore Thomas Warren arrived in the *Harwich*, with the *Anglesea*, *Hastings*, and *Lizard*. He brought out Sir William Norris, the King's ambassador to the Mogul in the interest of the new Company: 'This Morning [16th September, 1699], Captain Warren came ashoare. Also the Embassadors

¹ P.C., vol. xxviii., 28th July, 1699.



brother, Secretary and Treasurer; the three latter after some discourse with the Governour, wherein they acquainted him with the purport of the Embassy, and that the old Company must pay their Debts. To which a short answer was return'd, vizt., that the Embassadour knew his businesse, and wee knew ours.¹ The squadron pursued its way to Masulipatam, which was almost deserted, there being only two Factors, Messrs. Lovell and Woolston, in charge of that station and Madapollam. Sir William Norris issued a proclamation forbidding Lovell to hold communication with any of the Mogul's officers without his permission as ambassador. Pitt's Council made a vigorous but temperate rejoinder, showing from the charter that Sir William could not claim to interfere in any way with the old Company.² Lovell and Woolston, however, were suspected of having 'betrayed the Interest and honour of our Masters in truckling and submitting to the Insults of Sir William Norris and Mr. John Pitt, the new Company's Ambassador and Consull,' and it was resolved to resettle the northern factories. Eight civil servants were sent up, and a detachment of troops. Mr. John Foquet was appointed Chief of Masulipatam, and Mr. Stephen Frewen Chief of Madapollam.³

News of the union between the two Companies reached Fort St. George by the ship *Howland* on the 6th May, 1703. The *Howland* was bound to Bombay, but put into Madras through stress of weather. Captain Hayes, her commander, announced that the Company's despatches were in a box addressed to the General⁴ and Council at Bombay. Pitt, however, ordered the box to be sent ashore. He found within it 'a Packet for this Place q'ta Letter from the Rt. Honble Company dated 4th August [1702], and another from the Twenty-four Managers dated 29th July,'

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 16th Sept., 1699.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 16th Jan., 1700.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 12th July, 1700.

⁴ *The General*; Sir John Gayer, who succeeded Goldsborough. Gayer's title, according to *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. viii., 5th July, 1698, was 'Captain Generall and Directore in Cheif for all affaires and Forces of the Rt. Honble English East India Company in India,' and his headquarters were at Bombay. In 1701 he and Lady Gayer were surprised by the Moslems at Swally, and carried prisoners to Surat (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 12th May, 1701). In October Sir John wrote to Fort St. George that, 'by means of Sir William Norris, the new Companys Ambassador, and his Accomplices, Sundry are Stirred up to accuse them (at the Kings Court) of Piracie, for which reason their Guards are yet round the ffactory' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 17th Oct., 1701). In May, 1702, Gayer was still a prisoner.

with printed papers relating to the union.¹ The following letter was then despatched to Masulipatam :—

Fort St. George to the President of the new Company.

‘To John Pitt, Esq^r., President for Affaires of the New East India Company, &c. Council at Metchlepatam.

‘The Ship Howland, in our Masters Service, bound from England to Bombay, put in here the 5th Instant, . . . and not in the least doubting but that there must be Letters of importance for this Place, in regard to the Warr and the Union, we open’d the Box, wherein, as expected, we found a Pacquet in which was a Letter from the Twenty-four Mannagers for the United Trade, Copy of which comes inclosed ; and our Company writes us that your President and Council is ordered to repair hither to assist in taking an Inventory of the Dead Stock in our settlements, after which, on their returne, we are to send some Persons to take an Inventory of yours at Metchlepatam and Maddapollam.’ (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th May, 1703.)

A week later intelligence reached Madras of Mr. John Pitt’s death. The management of her late husband’s affairs devolved on Mrs. Sarah Pitt, and protracted litigation ensued between her and Mr. Abendana, a diamond merchant of Madras.²

In 1706 the Court of Managers appointed a Secret Committee of four to regulate the voyages of the Company’s ships. The first Committee consisted of Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir Jonathan Andrews, and Mr. Gough. Orders reaching Madras from the Secret Committee were designed for the information of the Governor alone.³

FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN.

During Pitt’s administration little was done to the defences of the White Town, but the permanent fortification of Black Town was taken in hand in 1700 and completed in seven years. The work consisted of a rampart 17 feet thick, faced on both sides with brick, and paved at the top to carry guns. It was some 1500 yards in aggregate length, and possessed flanking works at intervals. It extended along the north and west sides of the town, like

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 6th May, 1703.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 26th March, 1706. In 1709 Abendana died, after appointing Thomas Pitt trustee for his estate. The Governor, who was about to leave India, declined the trust, and, as Mrs. Abendana was illiterate, four persons were nominated, two by her and two by the Council, to go through the deceased merchant’s papers. (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 26th May, 1709.)

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xiii., 13th Feb., 1705 [1706].



the old earthen wall, and on so much of the south side as was necessary to connect the line with the defences of the White Town.

Uncertainty as to the intentions of Nawab Dā'ūd Khān in 1699 induced the Governor to call on the military officers for a report on the state of the Black Town defences. Their opinion was as follows:—

Report of the Military Officers.

'Wee the Subscribers, considering the weaknesse of the Black Town by reason of its lying open in a manner both to the sea and Land, do desire, if your Honour, &c., thinke fitt, That the mudd point,¹ the halfe moon,² and the Point at the North end of the Ditch³ which runs from the Queens Point, may be immediately repaired; and that, if time will permit, they may be cased with brick, have their Parapets raised; also that they may be paved and made capable of bearing Cannon; that a Guard house may be built upon the mudd Point for security of the whole work.

'That, if 'tis possible, the Curtain may be cased with brick from the mudd point to the aforesaid Point at the North end of the Ditch. That the Curtain from that point to the Bridge Gate be repaired for the present, and that the Curtain from the Bridge Gate to the Queens point, which now lies flatt to the ground, may be raised. FRANCIS SEATON, HARRY SINCLARE, ROBERT ATKINSON.'⁴ (P.C., vol. xxviii., 27th April, 1699.)

The inhabitants were called on to provide funds for the work: 'This morning [10th May, 1699] the Chiefs of the severall Casts mett at the Fort, and were discoursed by the Governour and Councill about raising a tax for the building a Brickwall round the blacke town, but came to no resolution.'⁵ By June, 1700, however, a first instalment had been paid in, when a special account was opened under the head of 'The Black Town Wall and Works,' and the Paymaster was put in charge of construction under the supervision of the Governor and Council:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour and Councill having Surveigh'd and view'd Attapollam gate⁶ belonging to the black town, think it necessary to make a small work

¹ A bastion in the middle of the north face.

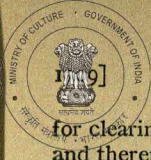
² Probably a bastion near the Bridge Gate in the west face.

³ The bastion at the north-west angle.

⁴ Seaton was Commandant, Sinclair a company commander, and Atkinson was the Gunner. Henry Sinclair (or Sinkler), who appears to have arrived with Charnock from the Bay, married Sarah Mattarum in 1689. Robert Atkinson became Gunner of the Inner Fort in 1695. He married (1) Elizabeth Holt in 1693, and (2) Elizabeth Goodman in 1706.

⁵ P.C., vol. xxviii., 10th May, 1699.

⁶ Attapollam gate, otherwise called Mud Point Gate, a large gate-house in the north rampart.



for clearing the courtains on both Sides, as also for the defence of the Gate ; and therefore Order that the Paymaster forthwith gets all Materialls together to do it as the Governour shall Direct ; and likewise to carry on the wall on both sides of the aforesaid Gate, keeping an Account apart of the charge thereof, to the end it may be Defray'd out of the money already collected and to be Levied for that purpose.' (P.C., vol. xxix., 4th Dec., 1700.)

The need for a clear field of fire was duly recognized :—' Wee finding that Gardens within a mile [of] the Works of the black Town to bee very incon[venient], they giving very great Advantage to an Enemy for Lodgements and erecting Battarys against [us]; for which reason 'tis order'd that Mess^{rs}. Empson and Marshall¹ do take a View of what Gardens have been planted these last five yeares, and report to the Governour and Councill the dis[tance] they are from the works, and whether any way incommodious.'² The inhabitants displayed little alacrity in meeting the cost of the new fortifications :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

' This day wee had the heads of all the Casts before us, to whom was read and delivered in the Jentue Language a Paper, Translate of which is Entered after this Consultation, for the raising money for the black Town Wall. THOMAS PITT, FFRANCIS ELLIS,³ THOMAS WRIGHT, MATTHEW EMPSON, THOMAS MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.⁴

' [*Translate*] The Governour and Council having, at the frequent requests of the Cheifs of the Jentue Casts, disburst money out of the Companys Cash towards the Fortifying the black Town, which was solemnly promis'd by them should be repaid by a Generall tax on themselves, about which there has been Severall meetings, but nothing effected ; and whereas the fortyfications of the black Town are in good part finish'd, which tends much to the security and advantage of the Inhabitants thereof, more especially the richer sort who cannot but bee sensible of the same ; so doubt not they will chearfully contribute to the charge thereof. In order to which wee have directed this Paper to be deliver'd to the Cheif of each Cast, who are forewith order'd to summon their Cast, when this Paper is to bee read to them, and every man permitted to Subscribe what he will give voluntary towards the aforementioned Fortifications, and such sums to bee paid, at his Subscription, to the head of the Cast

¹ *Matthew Empson* was the Sea Customer, and *Thomas Marshall* the Paymaster and Judge Advocate. Marshall married Dorothy Ward in 1698.

² P.C., vol. xxxi., 21st May, 1702.

³ *Francis Ellis* came to India in 1672, and served at Fort St. George in Langhorn's time. He proceeded in 1678 to Bengal, and rose to be Agent in succession to Charnock. On supersession in 1694, Ellis was transferred to Madras, where he died in 1704. His tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

⁴ *John Meverell*, appointed in 1687, married (1) in 1698 Catherine Nicks, daughter of John Nicks, and (2) in 1703 Elizabeth Stilgo, *née* Stubbs, widow of Zachariah Stilgo, a 'seafaring man' of Madras.



FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN

[1698]

And such others that refuse to subscribe, their names are to be taken in a List a part, and given to the Governour, that so a speedy course may be taken with them. . . . (P.C., vol. xxxi., 3rd Aug., 1702.)

The record of 1703, 1704 and 1705, is simply one of advances to the Paymaster, contributions by the inhabitants, and futile meetings at the Pagoda of the heads of castes to discuss ways of raising more money. Details of the nature of the work done and its cost are not given. In July, 1706, when the fortifications were nearing completion, the Governor and Council assumed responsibility for assessing the castes. The guiding factors were wealth and numerical strength :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. xxxvi., 6th July, 1706.)

‘ This day the Casts were summoned to know what they had done towards the raising of the money to reimburse the Company for building the Black Town Wall and Works, about which they had been consulting about Nine and 10 months ; but gave no other answer than formerly, pleading poverty and such like excuses. So the Governour produced a Paper wherein he had Assesst the Casts upwards of Eight Thousand Pagodas, being in proportion to what was done formerly for the raising money to build the Town Hall, which Paper was Agreed to (and is as Entered after this Consultation). And that the Braminy should give the heads of every Cast what they were assest, and to consider of it till Thursday next, when all to appear before the Governour and Council, and then declare whether they had any exceptions thereto.’

‘ Assessment.

‘ An Assessment proposed by the Governour and Council to be raised to pay for the Building of the Black Town Wall and works.

	Pag ^s .
Portuguez - - - - -	3,300 ¹
Armenians - - - - -	600
Chittee Cast - - - - -	2,000
Moormen - - - - -	300
Quomittee Cast - - - - -	800
Vellom Warr Cast - - - - -	200
Bellejee Warr Cast - - - - -	350
Ganlewar Cast, alias Oylemen - - - - -	400
Gellawaunee Warr Cast, alias Shopkeepers of Sugar and Limes - - - - -	100
Aggamoodde Cast, alias Brickmakers, &c. - - - - -	400
Comsala Warr Cast, alias Goldsmiths - - - - -	500
Guzaratts - - - - -	500
Kiculla Warr Cast, alias Weavers - - - - -	20

¹ If this item be reduced to Pags. 300, the total of Pags. 8,053 will be correct.

	Pag ^s .
Charnom Warr Cast, alias Conicoplyes	300
Polliwarr Cast, alias Docter Lewis Cast	18
Salliwarr, Weavers	100
Zoningewarr, alias Chuliars	150
Sanalawarr, alias Washermen	100
Gullawarr Cast, alias Shepheards	70
Chombodduwarr Cast, alias Fishermen	10
Kyawarr Cast, alias Bamboe Cooleys	10
Mongelewarr Cast, alias Barbars	20
Vellambilla, alias Tonnappas Cast	50
Connadu, alias Grass Cutters	25
Gandru, alias Toddy people	180
Wandewarr Cast, alias Sampsons Cast	100
Sattigurru, alias Andee Chittee	200
Comra Warr, alias Pottmakers	10
Correalawarr, alias Muckquas	100
Braminys	100
Pottanapawarr, alias Cattamaran men	40

Pag^s. 8,053¹

The figures were afterwards readjusted in a few instances.² Making every allowance for comparative wealth, it is evident that the Chettis formed a considerable section of the population, while the Muhammadans and Brahmans must have been remarkably few. The assessment found no favour with the natives, who adopted an attitude of passive resistance:—‘This day [25th July, 1706] the Heads of the Cast[s] were before us, who were asked whether they had convened their severall Casts, and assest the

¹ The following note is based on information supplied by Rao Sahib K. Rangachariyar, of the Madras Secretariat:—

The castes bear Telugu names for the most part.

Vellom Warr, Velamavāru, a caste of traders and agriculturists analogous to the Reddis.

Ganlewar, Gāndla vāru, oil-pressers.

Gellawaunee Warr, perhaps *Chillara vāne vāru*, petty bazar merchants.

Polliwarr, alias *Docter Lewis Cast*; *Palli vāru*, boatmen who, as Christians, probably received the ministrations of the Rev. George Lewis.

Zoningewarr, Jōnagar vāru, Mussalman traders of mixed descent; from Tam. *Sōnagam*, Arabia.

Sanalawarr, perhaps a copyist's error for *Saccalawarr*, *Sākala vāru*, washermen.

Vellambilla, alias *Tonnappas Cast*. *Vellambulu* are a branch of the Janappas, or gunny bag factors; from Tel. *janapa*, fibre.

Wandewarr Cast, alias *Sampsons Cast*, perhaps *Vanta vāru*, or cooks. The alternative is obscure, but ‘Samson's Garden’ is shown on Thomas Pitt's map.

Sattigurru, alias *Andee Chittee*; *Siddha guru* and *Andis* are subdivisions of a Tamil beggar class. The affix *Chittee*, meaning trader, was often loosely adopted.

² P.C., vol. xxxvi., 28th Nov., 1706.

money ordered to be pay'd them for the Town Wall ; who, upon examination, were found to have done nothing in it. 'Tis therefore resolved that the [Heads] of the Casts be all confined to the Pagoda till they have effectually raised the money.'¹

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Heads of the Casts having been confined some time in order to compell them to asses and raise the money for the Town Wall, according to the List delivered them in Consultation, who now deliver in a Petition (as Entered after this Consultation), the purport being to have a Paper under the Governour and Councils hands that they shall ever be free from Taxes hereafter. To which they were answered that when they had cleared the whole Amount of the Town Wall they should have a kind of a discharge, and that they should pay no more on that account. THO. PITT. . . '

'The Petition of the Heads of the Severall Casts.

'Humbly Sheweth That whereas lately your Honour, &c., was pleased to assess your Petitioners Pag^e. 6,353 Account the Town Wall, but they have twice before contributed thereto ; besides now Trade dayly decaying, by which they expect Impoverishment ; Therefore humbly request your Honour, &c., to make some abatement of the said sum, and Grant them a Cowle to free them from any future Taxes of a like nature.' (P.C., vol. xxxvi., 12th Sept., 1706.)

Contributions continued to come in during 1707, and the work must have been practically completed in that year. In 1711 it was decided that the cost of 'Fleet Point, that was built before the agreement for the black town wall,' should be charged to the head of Fort St. George.² This bastion, which was situated at the eastern extremity of the north rampart of Black Town, was probably constructed about the year 1700.

Besides Black Town wall the only defence works undertaken by Pitt were the reconstruction of the low level gun-platform before the Sea Gate³ to replace an earlier battery which had been washed away, and the commencement of the small fort that was afterwards developed into Egmore Redoubt, the remains of which may still be seen. This work was converted from a native choultry, and it was successively employed as a barrack, a detached fort, a powder mill, and a residence for the girls of the Civil Orphan Asylum :—

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvi., 25th July, 1706.

³ P.C., vol. xxxii., 4th Jan., 1708.

² P.C., vol. xlii., 7th Nov., 1714.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Governour received advices this day from the Nabobs Camp that there was Orders given out to the Phousdar¹ of Trepossore to raise fforces to come and seize our Townes, which we are resolved to defend. And in order thereto 'Tis agreed that the Paymaster forthwith run up a brick Wall round the Choultry att Egmore, in such manner as the Governour shall direct, to Lodge such Forces as we shall send on all occasions to defend the Place ; and when the Wall is done, to pull down the present Choultry which is thatch'd and ready to tumble, and to build a commodious one for that purpose.' (P.C., vol. xxxii., 2nd Nov., 1703.)

DĀ,ŪD KHĀN AND THE BLOCKADE.

In April, 1699, Nawab Zu,lfikār Khān wrote that his deputy, Dā,ūd Khān,² proposed visiting Madras to view the sea. Pitt was mistrustful of the intention of the visit, and while placing Mr. Styleman's garden-house, which appears to have been situated in Triplicane, at the Khān's disposal, gave orders that the town should be put in a state of defence.³ Dā,ūd Khān arrived on the 28th April, and stayed two days at the house provided, where he was visited by Messrs. Styleman and Fraser, representing the Governor. He then spent a week at San Thomé.

In the following year the Emperor appointed Dā,ūd Khān 'Nabob of the Cornatta and Chingee Country's,' Zu,lfikār becoming Subahdar of the Deccan. The new Nawab came down to Arcot at the beginning of 1701, and sent to Fort St. George for 'sundry sorts of Liquors.' The Council considered the occasion favourable for obtaining a confirmation of privileges, and selected 'Senhor Nichola Manuch, a Venitian and an Inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man ; besides, he has liv'd at the Kings Court upwards of thirty years, and was a Servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellent well,' to accompany the Chief Dubash Rāmappa in charge of presents, consisting of '2 brass guns and carriages, 1 pr. Looking Glasses, English velvet, Blunderbusses, Fowling pieces fine, Pistolls, Sword blades, Prospective Glass, Concave Glasses, Broad Cloth, 37½ gallons of Cordials, 50 bottles French

¹ *Phousdar*, a magistrate, native governor ; from Pers. *faujdar*, a military commander. The term seems also to have been applied to a renter.

² Dā,ūd Khān was a brother of Sulaimān Khān, who attacked Cuddalore in 1698.

³ P.C., vol. xxviii., 27th April, 1699.



Brandy, &c.’¹ The Nawab’s reception of the embassy was discouraging. He affected to regard the present as inadequate, and sent Manucci back with threats of appointing a governor for Black Town, and developing San Thomé at the expense of Madras.²

In July Dā,ūd Khān appeared at San Thomé with 10,000 troops, horse and foot. Messrs. Ellis and Davenport were sent to wait on him with a further present, which was rejected.³ Pitt regarded the Nawab’s attitude as tantamount to a declaration of hostilities, and took immediate steps to resist attack, landing sailors from three ships in the roads to form a company of Marines, summoning the Train Bands, with Captain George Heron⁴ as Captain and Mr. John Berlu⁵ Lieutenant, raising a Portuguese company under Captain Emmanuel de Silva, and engaging a hundred additional Peons as scouts and outposts.⁶ He wrote as follows to the Nawab:—

Governor Pitt to Nawab Dā,ūd Khān.

‘I received Letters from the great Assed Cawn and Cawn Baudre,⁷ and one for Your Excellency which I here send.

‘I wrote Your Excellency yesterday morning that some of your forces had plundr’d our Towns, notwithstanding yourself appointed people to preserve them. This has been twice done, much to our prejudice, so that wee must now resolve to provide for our security, finding that wee are neither to share in Your Excellencys favour nor Justice, which is our great misfortune. THOMAS PITT.’ (P.C., vol. xxx., 5th July, 1701.)

Seeing that Pitt was prepared to fight, the Nawab changed his attitude. On the 8th he consented to receive the present which he had previously refused, and on the 11th announced that he would next day honour the Governor with his company at dinner:—

¹ P.C., vol. xxx., 17th Jan., 1701.

² P.C., vol. xxx., 3rd Feb., 1701; *Storia do Mogor*, iii. 384-393.

³ P.C., vol. xxx., 1st to 3rd July, 1701.

⁴ *Captain George Heron*, a master mariner and pilot. Appointed pilot apprentice in 1668, he navigated the Hugli for many years, and prepared a chart of the river. He ‘married a Georgian’ (Circassian), and became a resident of Madras, where he died in 1727, at the age of eighty-one. He was interred in the Powney vault, one of the two surviving monuments in the old burial-ground.

⁵ *John Berlu* was Land Customer at Fort St. David in 1697.

⁶ P.C., vol. xxx., 4th July, 1701.

⁷ *Cawn Baudre*, Khān Bahādur—i.e., Zu,lfikār Khān.

*Fort St. George Diary.*

About 12 this noon the Nabob, the Kings Duan and Buxie¹ was conducted into Town by Mess^{rs} Marshall and Meverell, the Streets² being loin'd with Soldiers from St. Thoma Gate up to the Fort, and the works that way man'd with the Marrein Company handsomely clothed with red coats and caps, and the curtains of the inner Fort with our Train bands, all which made a very handsome appearance. The Governour, attended with the Councill, the Mayor, the Comānders of the Europe Ships, and some of the principal freemen, received him a little way out of the Gate of the Fort,³ and after embracing each other, the Governor presented him with a small ball of amber Greece cas'd with Gold, and a Gold chain to it, and then conducted him into the Fort and carried him up to his Lodgeings; when, after sitting some time, the Nabob was pleas'd to pass very great complements upon Us, commending the place as to what hee had seen of it, and gave us all assurance of his friendship. After which the Governour sett by him two Cases of rich cordiall waters, and call'd for wine, biding him wellcome by fireing 21 peices Ordnance. . . . Soon after, the Dinner being ready (which was Dres'd and Managed by a Persian Inhabitant), the Governour conducted the Nabob, &c., into the Consultation room which was very handsomely sett out in all respects, the Dinner consisting of about Six hundred Dishes small and great, of which the Nabob, Duan, and Buxie, and all that came with him eat very heartily, and very much commended their entertainment. After Dinner they were diverted with the Dancing wenches. . . . About 6 in the evening they return'd to St. Thoma. . . . (P.C., vol. xxx., 12th to 15th July, 1701.)

The Nawab next expressed a wish to inspect one of the ships in the roads, and arrangements were made for an embarkation from Triplicane; 'but he, having been very Drunk over night, was not in a condition to go, and deferr'd it till Tomorrow Morning. The Brakefast wee intended aboard Ship for the Nabob was sent to St. Thoma, which he accepted very kindly.'⁴ He finally gave up the marine expedition, but 'desired to see the Companys Garden, which wee us'd all means to divert him from' by reason in going to it he must have had a View of all the weakest part of the Town.'⁵ Nārāyan, the political agent, was sent to dissuade him, but without avail :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'So Narrain, about 12 at Noon, sent to the Governour to acquaint that the Nabob was comeing with a great detachment of horse and foot with all his Elephants, and what he meant by it he could not imagine; so the Governour

¹ *Buxie*, from Hind. *bakhshi*, the military Paymaster-General.

² The route was by St. Thomas Street to the west gate of the Inner Fort.

³ The meeting took place on the Parade.

⁴ P.C., vol. xxx., 13th July, 1701.

⁵ *The weakest part of the Town*, the west front.



order'd immediately to beat up for the Train bands and the Marrein Company, and drew out a Detachment of One hundred men under the Command of Capt. Seaton to attend him and those Gentlemen of the Council, &c. who went to the Garden to receive the Nabob. But Narrain, seeing the Nabob coming in such a manner, told him 'twould create a jealousy in the Governour, and doubted whether hee would have such a reception as he expected, and desired him to halt some where till he sent the Governour word and receive his answer. Upon which the Governour sent Narrain word hee was ready to receive the Nabob at the Garden ; but before the Answer came to him, the Nabob was got into a Portuguez Chappell very Drunk, and fell a Sleep ; and so soon as waked (which was about 4 a clock in the afternoon), hee Order'd his Camp to March towards the little Mount where he pitch'd his Tents, and sent to the Governour to excuse his not coming to the Garden, and desired him to send a Dozen bottles of Cordiall waters ; which were sent him.' (P.C., vol. xxx., 15th July, 1701.)

On the 17th the Nawab marched his army to Poonamallee, and the trying visit was at an end. On the 24th a messenger brought in 'Perwannas for our Affairs to go on according to Salabad.'

Six months later Dā,ūd Khān again appeared at San Thomé with his army. Pitt caused the Train bands and Portuguese militia to be embodied and posted, and engaged two hundred Rajputs. A native representative, 'our Braminy Paupa,' was sent out to San Thomé. He reported that the Nawab expected a visit from Englishmen and a present. The Council refused to accede to either demand.¹ On the 6th February, 1702, a strict blockade was established. The Nawab stopped all provisions destined for Madras, and all goods passing in or out. In support of his action, he forwarded an imperial order dated the 16th November, 1701, interdicting trade with Europeans on the ground that they had failed to prevent piracies committed on ships sailing under the Moslem flag. Pitt sent a spirited reply, which concluded with the words: 'Your Hosbulhookum says wee are not to be close confin'd, and your Excellency said to the Mulla² that you care not to fight Us, but are resolv'd if possible to Starve Us by Stopping all Provisions. Wee can put no other construction on this than declareing a Warr with all Europe Nations, and accordingly wee shall Act.'³ The next day there was some plundering in Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane, and several thousand of the inhabitants fled through fear. On the 12th the Nawab

¹ P.C., vol. xxxi., 28th Jan. to 4th Feb., 1702.

² Mulla, a Moslem agent ; from Hind. *mullā*, a learned man.

³ P.C., vol. xxxi., 6th Feb., 1702.

demanding possession of Black Town and of the Mint, but Pitt vouchsafed no response. The English applied to the Dutch and Danes for assistance. The former excused themselves, but the latter sent a vessel from Tranquebar with provisions.¹ The blockade was not confined to Madras, but extended to Fort St. David, Masulipatam, the Bay, and Surat. About the middle of March Dā,ūd Khān intimated that matters might be arranged by a payment of 30,000 rupees. Negotiations ensued, and it was ultimately agreed that the English should pay 25,000 rupees, the Nawab returning plundered property and making good all damage. The blockade was raised on the 5th May, 1702, and the terms of the agreement were subsequently carried out.²

It is clear that the convivial Nawab was not primarily responsible for the blockade of Madras, though he possessed large discretionary power in its application and removal.

Dā,ūd Khān's next visit was made in November, 1706. As he was accompanied from Arcot by a force of only 600 men, hostile measures were not anticipated, but Pitt made military preparations nevertheless. A 'Garden house a little to the Southward of this Town,' probably the same that the Nawab occupied in 1699, was placed at his disposal, and the Mullah and Braminy were sent to compliment him at San Thomé. They reported that he 'shewed an Earnest inclination to come and dine with the Governour, and spoake many kind things of the English, which they usually doe of all People when they are carrying on the worst Designs against them.'³ Messrs. Raworth,⁴ Frederick⁵ and Davenport⁶ then paid a complimentary visit. They were well received, charged with a jewel for the Governor, and presented with an 'Emrold Ring' apiece. Mr. Coningsby⁷ and Dr.

¹ P.C., vol. xxxi., 2nd March, 1703.

² Additional extracts relating to the blockade are given in Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, and further particulars in Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, ed. by William Irvine, late B.C.S.

³ P.C., vol. xxxvi., 2nd Nov., 1706.

⁴ Robert Raworth was 5th of Council and Paymaster. He afterwards became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and headed a rebellion there.

⁵ Thomas Frederick was 6th of Council and Land Customer. He married in 1704 Mary, daughter of Thomas Mackrith (or Mackreeth).

⁶ Henry Davenport arrived in 1696, and was employed as Steward in 1700. He married in 1707 Mary, daughter of Daniel Chardin.

⁷ Ferdinand Coningsby arrived in 1703. Six years later he was a Junior Merchant employed 'at the Sea Gate.'



Bulkley, who accompanied them, received each a ring of less value. Ultimately an invitation to dinner was reluctantly issued by the Governor, with the request that the Nawab would limit the number of his guard to twenty men. Dā,ūd Khān, however, set forth from San Thomé with an escort of two hundred. A halt was made at the garden house allotted to him, and Nārāyan was sent on to acquaint the Governor that if the Nawab 'could not be received with all his Company, it should be the same thing to him if we sent the Dinner to him where he was at the Garden. . . . The Governour possitively refused to receive him with more than twenty men ; so ordered the dinner immediately to be carried to him to the Garden.' Messrs. Raworth, Frederick, and Davenport accompanied it, carrying a present :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'About five this evening Mess^{rs} Raworth, &c. returned from the Garden, and gave the Governour the following Accompt.

'That the Nabob at first seemed out of humour at the answere that was sent him, when it was believed he would not dine there ; but, after some paucing, he dissembled his resentment and sett down to Dinner, and Eat heartily, and tasted the Liquors sent him, which he liked very well. After Dinner the Present was sett before him, which at first he seemingly refused, but afterwards accepted of it ; and soon after he rose up and returned to St. Thoma, and took Narrain with him, by whom he sent a Horse, value about One hundred Pagodas.' (P.C., vol. xxxvi., 4th Nov., 1706.)

In January, 1708, Dā,ūd Khān was once more at San Thomé, this time at the head of 2,500 troops. 'The Nabob this morning [4th February] went from St. Thoma towards his Camp at Arcot ; who during his stay here has drank very hard, and selldome in humour, grumbling very much at the small Amount of our Present.'¹ In August he joined the Emperor at Golconda, but his passage through San Thomé was marked by nothing but friendliness. That his final letter to Pitt related to strong waters will occasion no surprise. In a consultation of February, 1709, we find : 'Nabob Dowed Cawn having wrott a Letter to the Governour from the Kings Court desireing one thousand Bottles of Liquor ; agreed that we now send him 250. And the Governour sends him two large Mastys² that he got out of the Europe Ships.'³

¹ P.C., vol. xxxix., 4th Feb., 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.

² *Mastys* : A subsequent acknowledgment of 'Doggs' by the Nawab shows that mastiffs are meant.

³ P.C., vol. xl., 10th Feb., 170 $\frac{8}{9}$.

CHAPTER II

1698—1709

GRANT OF ADDITIONAL VILLAGES—CASTE DISPUTES—LAW AND JUSTICE

GRANT OF ADDITIONAL VILLAGES.

IN March, 1703, subsequent to the blockade of Madras, an attempt was made by the native government to resume possession of the suburban villages. Peons who were found tying leaves in the hamlets produced an order from Zu,lfikār Khān to the governor of Poonamallee directing him to seize the villages.¹ Later in the year a formal demand was made by the Faujdar of Tripassore. Pitt represented that the lands were originally granted by the Vizier Asad Khān for services rendered, and announced that any attempt on the part of the Faujdar to execute his unjust orders would be resisted.² The Governor's firm attitude nipped impending trouble in the bud.

The villages of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett had been farmed out to Serappa, the Company's Chief Merchant. On the expiration, in 1704, of his three years' lease, they were transferred to Nārāyan :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

' Kittee Narrain has been often before us about Renting the Three New Townes, Vizt. Yegmore, Persiawalke and Tandore ; and this day came to an Agreement with him to Lett him a Lease for seven yeares at Thirteen Hundred Pagodas per Annum, the Company to stand to all Dammages that may accrue from the Government by Armyes or otherwayes, and likewise to allow a consideration when it shall happen to be such dry weather when little or no grain can grow. . . . ' (P.C., vol. xxxiii., 8th Aug., 1704.)

¹ P.C., vol. xxxii., 12th and 16th March, 1703.

² P.C., vol. xxxii., 15th Nov., 1703.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Cawn Goyse¹ annuall Duty being demanded, which is thirty five Pagodas per annum for the Companys new Towns here, and those at Fort St. David, which was formerly paid by those that Rented them here ; but Narrain, who Farmes them now, urging that we had scrueed him up to a much greater Rent than his Predicessours ; in consideration of which, that he has taken a Long Lease, and that he is a good and sure Tenant, and will occasion no clamours from the Inhabitants, Tis agreed the Company pays the Cawn Goyse duty during his Lease.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 8th Nov., 1705.)

Nārāyan relinquished the lease as from the 30th June, 1708, when the villages were farmed to 'Collaway Chetty' (Kālavāy Chetṭi) and Venkata Chetty for twelve years at Pags. 1,750 per annum, the lessees paying the 'Cawn Goyhee Duty.'²

At the end of 1703 there came a reminder of the Fort's earliest days:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being lately come to the Town one Venketashala putte Naigue,³ Grandson of him that granted the first Cowle to the Company for this Place, who designs to make the Governour a vissett ; and being advised by those who have been old servants of the Company that, whereas the Father of this man had been here in former Governours times, who alwayes paid him a great deal of respect, and made considerable Presents ; tis thought necessary and agreed that the following Present be made him, Vizt. 5 Yards Scarlet, 2 Swordes, Gold Chain's Pags. 110, 1 Prospective Glass.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Dec., 1703.)

A little later the Company, writing of revenue, gave their views of the origin of the name Chinapatam. They said, 'We rely on your understandings, Zeal, and fidelity to us, and leave it to you to do what you find best and most subservient to our generall Interest, not at all questioning but as the place has been raised from a small place, being formerly called Chinapatam or little town, So it is capable of yet further emprovement.'⁴

On the death of the aged Emperor Aurangzīb, in 1707, his son Shāh 'Ālam, otherwise known as Bahādur Shāh, was proclaimed his successor. The other two sons, A'zam and Kām Baksh, disputed the throne. The former was defeated and slain. In

¹ *Cawn Goyse*, Canoungo's ; the duty payable to the Kānūngo, or Accountant-General.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 12th March, 1707.

³ His son 'Vencatty Putty Naigue' visited Governor Elwick in 1724. (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd March, 1724.)

⁴ *Let. Bk.*, vol. xii., 18th Jan., 1705 [1706].

expectation of aid in securing Kām Baksh, who ultimately met the same fate as his elder brother, the new Emperor made overtures to the English, and invited an application for confirmation of privileges. Shāh 'Ālam's attitude was due to the good offices of the Steward of the Household, Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān, who was known to Pitt, and whose wife was living at San Thomé. A letter was accordingly despatched to the great man containing the following :—

Governor Pitt to Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān.

'Your Excellency will see that we desire a Phirmaund to confirme our Priviledges according to Sallabad in all his Dominions, unless his Majesty shall, out of his Royall bounty, bestow some new Favours on us. Your Excellency cannot but know that Miliapore is a troublesome neighbourhood to us, creating always disputes and quarrells, little advantage to the King, nor will it ever be more ; which could we obtain, and the Town of Trivetore on the other side of us, it would make us easy, and increase the Riches of the Kings Country.' (P.C., vol. xxxix., 31st July, 1708.)

The suggestion regarding Mylapore was disregarded, but a grant was received in September through Nawāb Dā'ūd Khān, who was then at San Thomé, for the five villages, Trivatore, Nungumbaukum, Vasalavāda, Catawauk, and Sātangādu.¹

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Raworth and Davenport returning from the Nabob the same day, . . . he returned by them Two Perwannas for Five Towns adjoining to ours, Valued in the Perwannas at Fifteen hundred Pagodas per Annum, the Translate of the Perwannas as Entered after this Consultation. Since which, some of the King's Officers have been clamouring against the Nabob for giving away the Kings Towns, and told him that whereas he had mentioned the Value of them fifteen hundred Pagodas, that it was above Three thousand ; which our Mulla came from St. Thoma to acquaint us. Upon which the Nabob ordered the Kings Bookes to be surched, and the real Value to be lay'd before him, saying that he had granted the Amount of Fifteen hundred Pagodas, and no more could we expect. Soe 'tis agreed that our Mulla and Braminy returne againe to St. Thoma with about Two hundred Pagodas, which is ordered to be distributed amongst the Kings officers who keep the Records, in order to settle this matter.' (P.C., vol. xxxix., 28th Sept., 1708.)

¹ Trivatore is a small town, five miles north of Madras ; Nungumbaukum, a village south-west of Egmore, and now one of the best of the residential districts of Madras ; Vasalāvada, north-west of the city, and adjacent to Perambore ; Catawauk, ten miles north of Madras, near Ennore ; and Sātangādu, west of Trivatore.



This bribery was not quite as bad as it looked, for the actual rental of the villages at the time was under Pags. 1,500. The translation of the *parwāna*, which is much damaged, bears date the 25th September, 1708, and grants the following villages as a free gift with effect from the 5th October :—

‘Trivetore Town it self
Vasalawada under Perumbore
Sautungauda under Trivetore
Lungumbaca under Egmore
Cutteewauca under Trivetore.’

They were henceforward known as the ‘five new villages,’ while Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were called the ‘three old towns,’ or, including Triplicane, the ‘four old towns.’ The new villages were promptly leased to Collaway Chetty and Venkata Chetty for twelve years at Pags. 1,200 per annum.¹

In December, 1708, arrived a *hasbulhukm*, the purport of which was that a *farmān* might be expected, and that in the meantime Pitt was to capture or kill Kām Baksh if the Prince endeavoured to escape by sea. The communication was accompanied by a *parwāna* from the Vizier Zu,lfākār Khān, which revealed the real reason for the delay in the despatch of the *farmān* :—

‘From Cawn Bahawder to the Governour of Chinapatam.

‘To the Chosen of his Cast, the Head of his Nation, the Exemplar of his people, The Cheif of his Tribe, The great among those that are in favour, and the Sincere of Freinds, Thomas Pitt of Chinapatam, Englishman. Be it known That the writing that he sent with a Petition to the Throne of Greatness and Power did arrive. And the Petition was presented before the bright and resplendent Eyes of his Majesty. In regard that Chosen of his Cast hath not as yet sent a Present to his Majesty upon his accession to (sitting upon) the sacred Throne resembling the Throne of Heaven, The Royall Phirmaund in the name of that Exemplar of his people is not come forth. It must be that he send a Present that is suitable ; that at the coming forth of a Royall Phirmaund and the Graces of the Imperiall Throne (whose Dignity is eternall) he may rejoice, hold up his head. More than this what is left to write?’ (P.C., vol. xxxix., 13th Dec., 1708.)

A letter from Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān, the Steward of the Household, which was received at the same time, gives a list of the

¹ P.C., vol. xxxix., 16th Oct., 1708.

articles which would constitute an acceptable present. Among them are :—

‘Birds of the Sorts of Manila Parrots, Newries,¹ Cocatores,² &c., or of any sort or kind that can speak, of a good colour and shape. Birds with Coppel crowns,³ and of other fashions. . . .

‘Lacker’d Vessels and Porcelane, Scrutores, Targetts and calamdanes,⁴ &c., you may send; also Lackerd Scrutores sett with Mother of Pearle.

‘China Ware, what ever is Rare and Fine of any kind or sort, the older the better. The Dishes called Ghoorees, which break when Poyson is put into them, will be very acceptable. You must by all means send some of them.

‘Boxes with clock work, China Skreens with clock work, both Painted and with images. Images and Juncks that goe with clock work, &c. Rarities of this kind and fashion will doe.

‘Gold and Silver plate, Manilha work (Philigreen) ; Vessells of Silver, Gold plate enamell’d, Europe work, if to be had, will do.

‘Europe fuses; one or two small feild pieces, &c. Gunns will not be amiss. . . .

‘A Good Elephant, a Good Horse ; Atcheen Horses, the best of the best, and Bengall Horses will also doe.

‘Good peices of Ambergrease will do extreemly well, and is the best of all things.

‘Clocks and watches that stricke or have Chimes you must by all means send.

‘Black lead and Red lead pencills of Europe. . . .’ (P.C., vol. xxxix., 13th Dec., 1708.)

Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān also wrote a private letter advising Pitt not to limit his application for territory to Mylapore and Trivatore, but to ask boldly for something substantial, say, Pulicat or Pondicherry. The Steward of the Household seems to have been a disinterested friend, for he sought nothing for himself. The following is an extract from Pitt’s official reply :—

‘To Zoode Cawn, Lord High Steward of King Shaw Allums Household, from the Governour of Chinapatam.

‘. . . With the Royall Husbulhookum and Vest I receiv’d the Honour of the great Cawn Bauhadar[s] Perwanna and your Excellency’s, for which we returne you our most humble thanks, but want words to express ’em suitable to our obligations for that you have given instances to our Nation and me your Servant of your inestimable freindship ; for we are very sencible that none but such a Freind as you could have procured us such Honour from the great and mighty King Shaw Allum, whose favour and protection we shall endeavour to preserve by all means in our power, and make good the Character you have Honoured us with to his Majesty. . . .’ (P.C., vol. xl., 4th Jan., 1709.)

¹ Newry, lory, from Malay *nūri*, a parrot of the Moluccas.

² Cocatore, cockatoo.

³ Coppel crown, crest.

⁴ Calamdanes, writing-cases ; from Hind. *ḥalam-dān*, pen-case.



The Governor enclosed a private letter couched in fulsome language. Pitt explained that owing to Ziyā-ud-dīn's injunction of secrecy, he had to enlist the services of the Rev. George Lewis in translating the numerous documents which came from Court. As to territory, he did not aspire to the 'Fort of Pollicatt,' but would find the 'Island of Diu¹ near Metchlepatam' acceptable.

Thomas Pitt to Ziyā-ud-dīn Khān.

'... And for what you say of St. Thoma, I understand 'tis let at this time for Six thousand Pagodas per annum, including all the Villages belonging thereto, at which rate we shall be willing to take it for a long terme of years, and for noe other end but to procure our quiet. And for Trivitore, 'tis one of the five Towns that Nabob Dowed Cawn gave us his Perwanna for on his departure, and hope we shall have the great Cawn Bawdars to confirme it, hearing it is in his Jaggeer. . . .' (P.C., vol. xl., 5th Jan., 1708.)

Pitt went on to request that the forthcoming *farmān* might authorize a mint at Calcutta and other privileges in Bengal, and remit the Madras town rent of 1,200 pagodas.

The gift for Shāh 'Ālam was got ready for despatch by the smack *Rising Sun* to Masulipatam, and thence by land to the Emperor at Golconda. Full details of the present are not available, but if it included all the articles enumerated by Ziyā-ud-dīn, Madras must have been a city of large resources.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'... And whereas Mr. Lewis² is a very Worthy, sober, Ingenuous man, and understands the Persian Language very well, as also the Customs of the Country, Tis agreed that the Governour perswades him in behalfe of the Company to undertake the management of this affair with the King, now near Gulcondah. And Mr. Berlu, who is generally well respected by the Natives, and understands Moors and Gentue Languages, as alsoe their Customs, 'tis agreed that he accompanys Mr. Lewis, and in concert negotiate this affair, and that in order thereto he be forthwith sent for from Fort St. David.' (P.C., vol. xl., 15th Jan., 1708.)

Pitt intended to sail for England in January, 1709, but, at the earnest request of the inhabitants that he would remain until the negotiations for the *farmān* were complete, he consented to stay until September at latest.

On the 18th January news was received that the Emperor had

¹ *Diu*: Divi Island.

² *Mr. Lewis*: The Rev. George Lewis was chaplain at Madras from 1692 to 1714, when he returned to England. He married Lucy (or Louise) Poirier in 1702.



obtained a victory over Prince Kām Baksh, who had died of wounds received in action.

The duty of collecting the items of the present, which included six elephants, was entrusted to Mr. Robert Raworth, the Warehousekeeper. The embassy was to consist of the Rev. George Lewis, Mr. Berlu, Chief Merchant Serappa, and several other native functionaries, and was to be accompanied by 50 peons, 70 artificers and servants, and 600 coolies. Two ships were chartered for Masulipatam, but the majority of the coolies were to travel overland. Everything was ready by the middle of February, but despatch was delayed through uncertainty as to the Emperor's location. In May Shāh 'Ālam was reported to be at Aurangābād, and in September near Delhi; but as the roads were infested with Marāthas, it was considered unsafe to send off the present. So matters remained until Pitt's departure.

CASTE DISPUTES.

Since the era of President Baker, disputes between the Right and Left hand Castes had occurred from time to time, but in 1707 a quarrel of unusual violence broke out, which lasted in an acute form upwards of six months, and was not finally settled for a full year.¹ The origin of the difference was an infringement by one caste of the alleged exclusive right of the other to the use of certain streets in Peddanaikpetta. The troops having been ordered out to quell rioting, the Governor appointed Mr. Raworth, who was then Paymaster, and the Gunner to survey the petta, and endeavour to adjust the difference in consultation with Serappa and Nārāyan for the Right hand Caste, and Kālavāy Cheṭṭi and Venkaṭa Cheṭṭi representing the Left.²

In July Mr. Raworth and the Gunner produced 'a Draught³ of all the Streets and Buildings in the Patta.' This western petta was occupied almost entirely by the Right hand caste, but two streets, viz., Bridge Gate Street and Peddanaik Street, were inhabited mainly by the Left hand. The Government decided that 'those Two streets are peculiarly appropriated for the left hand Cast to

¹ The account here given is a brief one, as numerous extracts from the records on the subject are furnished by Wheeler. (*Madras in the Olden Time*, ii. 50-89.)

² P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 26th June, 1707.

³ A Draught, probably utilized for Thomas Pitt's map of Madras.

pass in at their making their weddings and feastifalls,' and directed that the few Right hand proprietors should sell their houses and transfer themselves to the eastern petta. The Paymaster was instructed to set up four boundary stones to mark the limits of the portion thus assigned to the Left.¹

In August the Governor announced that seditious papers written in Tamil, contemning the Government and inciting the Right hand to revolt, had been found on the boundary stones.² The Right then attempted to celebrate a wedding in the forbidden streets. The troops arrested a number of the participators and lodged them in the Choultry prison. The Right submitted a petition setting forth that, 'upon the first settlement of the English in this place, the liberty was granted to your Petitioners Casts to have their streets and habitations from Tom Clarkes Gate and the Bridge Gate both within and without, [and to the Left] hand Cast was Granted from Mudd Point Gate both within and without' the Black Town. When the French took San Thomé there was a great influx of natives to Madras, who built houses where they could, and thus caused an intermingling of the castes in the pettas. Disputes arising, Langhorn ordered the original separation to be enforced. The Right obeyed, but the Left found pretexts for non-compliance. Hence the Right now [1707] hold that the two streets in which the boundary stones are set up were theirs at the beginning, and those streets still contain a hundred of their houses. So far the petition.³

By the 22nd August many of the Right had fled to San Thomé, and the remainder shut themselves up in their houses. Pitt summoned the Council, and charged Fraser, who was suspected of siding with the malcontents, with revealing the Council's proceedings. Fraser invited proof of the charge, and denied 'with strange asseverations and execrations' having had anything to do with the papers found on the boundary stones. 'The Governour, to prevent his doing farther mischeif, prest the necessity of his being suspended, . . . alledging that no inconveniency could accrue from it, for that his abilitys were so inconsiderable that all of us know in our conciencys that he never meritted Rice and Water from

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 17th July, 1707.

² P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 14th Aug., 1707.

³ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 19th Aug., 1707.



the Company, but yet with his malice, Pride and Envy he has often made strange progress in mischief, and wholly incapable of doing good.' The Council, after some demur, agreed to Fraser's suspension.

On the 25th August Pitt summoned the heads of the two Castes, and shut them up in a room to adjust their differences. The agreement they came to was that Peddanaikpetta should be appropriated exclusively to the Right, and Muthialpetta to the Left, except that the boatmen, lascars and fishermen, who lived by the seaside, should remain where they were. Otherwise all necessary transfers of residence were to be effected by the 1st June, 1708. This arrangement was sanctioned by the Council. It failed to satisfy the deserters, who refused to return.

The Council then summoned 'Surapau, Naira Verona, Sunca Rama and Andee Chittee for the Right hand Cast, Collaway Chittee, Vinketee Chittee, Petombee Chittee and Cornapau Chittee of the left hand Cast,' who swore to be true to the Company and stand by the agreement made on the 25th. A pardon was offered to all deserters who returned by the 10th September.¹ On that date, however, the obnoxious stones were surreptitiously removed, and the strikers wrote from San Thomé 'a most saucy and impudent Letter,' in which the Council were advised to examine the records for the earliest allotment of streets.

On the 14th September the Armenians, Persians, and Pathans resident in Madras offered their services as mediators. Nārāyan, the Mulla, and 'Paupa Braminy' accompanied them to San Thomé. They were stopped at the gate of the town, the mob crying out for the 'Chinna Captain,' as they called Fraser, and saying that nothing could be done without him. A representative of the Nawab, who had just arrived at Mylapore to instal a new governor, visited Pitt, and gave information which confirmed the view that Fraser was implicated in the strike. The Council thereupon caused Fraser to be arrested and given into the charge of the Captain of the Guard.²

On the 23rd September the Armenian and Persian mediators, accompanied by 'Dr.' Lewis and Padre Michel Ange, were the bearers of an unconditional pardon to the Right hand caste. The

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 29th Aug., 1707.

² P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 16th Sept., 1707.

malcontents set forth in procession towards Madras, but on nearing the Fort 'they took disgust at something or other, the certainty unknown to us, and returned again to St. Thoma.'

The Council then determined to use force. 'The Governor proposed the Attacking of St. Thoma the 26th at break of day (where they are harboured), and put as many of them as possible to the sword, but no Inhabitant of any Cast else, which was unanimously agreed to in Council.' To give effect to this amazing decision, orders were issued for the march of a force of 250 soldiers, 200 Talliars, 200 of the Company's Peons, and 1,800 Peons who had been engaged by the Left hand caste for their protection. At the instance of the Peddanaik and the inhabitants, the attack was deferred to give the new governor of San Thomé an opportunity of influencing the deserters. This official, who happened to be a Hindu and a Right hand caste man, induced the strikers to return to Madras with the assurance that the stones should not be set up, and that 'all shall be settled and goe according to Sallabad.'¹

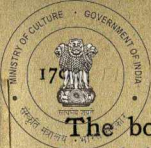
Before the end of October seditious papers, the contents of which were calculated to bring the Government into contempt, were found affixed to the bastions of the Inner Fort. The Council, obtaining from the Left party a copy of President Baker's settlement of the caste quarrel of 1652, which has been quoted on an earlier page, resolved to be guided by it.²

Early in November a petition was received from the Left hand caste setting forth the origin and progress of the quarrel from their point of view. They asserted that they contributed one-half of the assessment levied for Black Town Wall, the remaining half being made up chiefly by Armenians, Moslems, Brahmans, and Gujaratis, and that they had lately outbid the Right hand for the Company's merchandise. They mentioned that five or six caste disputes had occurred within the last sixty years, but that they themselves had enjoyed lately a quiet life under the 'umbrage and Protection' of Government. They therefore prayed that effect might be given to the resolution allotting Muthialpetta to themselves and Peddanaikpetta to the Right hand caste.³

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd and 4th Oct., 1707.

² P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 21st, 22nd, and 30th Oct., 1707.

³ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 6th Nov., 1707.



The boatmen discovered that they had joined the conspiracy through inadvertence :—

Declaration by the Boatmen.

'Whereas we, Pasquall and Joan, Heads of the Mucquaws or Boatmen belonging to Maddrass, did, by the instigation and ill advice of some designing people, desert our habitations and employs upon the late difference between the Right and Left hand Cast, but since returning to our duty we are well informed that, whereas we are Christians, we belong to neither ; and now that the Governour and Council promising that we shall have their protection and all priviledges as Christians, we solemnly promise that we will never hereafter adhere to any Casts of the Gentues, or desert our Employ upon any Account whatsoever.' (P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.)

The weavers and oilmongers were uncertain as to their caste :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Both Casts complain against the Kicullawarr weavers and the Oyle men that they were very fickle in their Cast, that they were sometimes of one Cast and sometimes of another, which gave trouble to both Casts. So desired the heads may be sent for, which accordingly was done, when the Weavers declared for the Left hand, and the Oyle men for the Right hand, which they were ordered to keep too, or be severely punished.' (P.C., vol. xxxix., 15th Jan., 1708.)

By the middle of January, 1708, the castes came to an agreement which involved the interchange of upwards of five hundred houses. The settlement, however, was not ratified until the following June, when stones were set up in the Petta to mark the caste boundaries.¹

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This day the Heads of the Casts were again before us, when was produced four Papers signed by them, the purport thereof being the settlement of their Streets in the Peddeneagues Patta, which was now likewise signed by the Governour and Council, and the Companys Seal affixed thereto ; one of the Papers delivered to each Cast, one to remain in the Pagoda, and the other in the Secretarys office, Translate of which is as Entered after this Consultation. So 'tis hoped that troublesome business is now over, and in such a manner fixed as to prevent the like villainy for the future.' (P.C., vol. xxxix., 21st June, 1708.)

The agreement provides that certain streets in Peddanaikpetta shall be used by the Left hand caste. The streets seem to have been those enclosed in a square, the angles of which were marked

¹ P.C., vol. xxxix., 27th May and 10th June, 1708.

by 'Ecaumbree Surras Pagoda,'¹ 'Vincatty Narrannapas Stone Choultry,' 'Gulla Annitches House,' and 'Mr. Empsons Garden.'² The area is believed to embrace that part of the petta which lies south of the existing Chennai Kesava Perumāl and Chennai Mallikeswarar Temples, and east of Mint Street. The routes to be followed by wedding and burial processions are defined, but it is difficult to identify them. Either caste breaking the agreement was to pay Pags. 12,000 to the Company, and be punished at the discretion of Government.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

At the time of Mr. Dolben's dismissal in 1694, arrangements were made for the assumption by a Member of the Council of the duties of Judge of the Court of Admiralty. Early in 1699 it was discovered that the Company had made the provision only 'in case of the death of Mr. Dolben.' It was accordingly deemed necessary to tender him the office afresh. Dolben said that 'at present he is so far Engaged in a voyage to China that he cannot, without hazard of ruining himselfe, break it of.'³ Mr. Styleman, in consequence, continued to act until he resigned the service. All the Members of the Council then declined the office in succession, and it was ultimately conferred on Mr. Thomas Marshall, the Registrar of the Court. He was elevated to the Council 'for supporting the Credit of the Court.'⁴ On Marshall's return to England in 1704 it was decided that the office of Judge should remain vacant.⁵ Appeals from decisions in the Admiralty Court, as well as in the Mayor's Court, were heard by the President in Council.

In 1702 some friction occurred between the Government and the Mayor's Court. Mr. John Berlu, the Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, having been transferred in another capacity to Fort St. David,⁶ the Council appointed Mr. William Warre,⁷ and

¹ The present Ekambareswarar temple in Mint Street, believed to have been built by Allingall Pillai.

² Empson's garden is shown on Thomas Pitt's map.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 13th Jan., 1698. Dolben seems to have finally left India in 1705.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 5th, 7th, and 10th July, 1699.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 26th June, 1704.

⁶ He filled the office of 'Scavenger and Cornmeeter at Tevnapatam.'

⁷ *William Warre* was a civil servant of a year's standing. In 1709 he was 9th of Council and Secretary. He married (1) in 1704 Anne, daughter of John Nicks, and



recommended him to the Corporation as Registrar of the Mayor's Court also.¹ The Corporation, however, would have none of Mr. Warre, and nominated a Mr. Alleyn.² The Government thereupon asserted their authority :—

Fort St. George to the Mayor and Aldermen.

' . . . Now Whereas the Company did wisely forsee and provide against such irregular proceedings as might be occasioned through ignorance, malice or contempt of their highest Authority in this Place, they have in their Charter to the Corporation reserved a power to themselves, Generall and Council of India, President and Council of this City of Madrass, to displace Mayor, Aldermen, Justices or Inferiour Officers belonging to the Court, and to put others in their room. By Virtue of which power, and our highly resenting their Proceedings in Electing a Register contrary to our Intimation, we here declare the Electing Charles Alleyn Register of their Court to be Null and Void, and do positively appoint and constitute the aforesaid William Warr Register to your Court, and do require and Command you, the Mayor and Aldermen, to accept him as such, and wee declare him such to all intents and Purposes.' (P.C., vol. xxxi., 9th July, 1702.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

' The Secretary reports that, according to the Order of the Governour and Council, he had attended the Mayor and Aldermen with the Paper for dismissing Mr. Alleyn from being Register and establishing Mr. Warr in that Employ, which was accordingly done by them ; but before the Secretary had read to them the Paper, the Mayor was very desirous to see it, saying he did not know but it might Contain that which was not fitt to be read, or him to hear ; which expression wee can't but condemn to be impudent and Saucy.' (P.C., vol. xxxi., 17th July, 1702.)

In November, 1702, two men named Edward Bawgus³ and Joseph le Baume were charged with piracy on the high seas in stealing 3,000 pagodas from a sloop during passage to Cuddalore. They were tried by Commissioners for Piracy, the Judge Advocate sitting as President, and though the only evidence against Bawgus seems to have been that of the other prisoner, both men were condemned to death. The ministers of religion then attended the gaol to prepare them for their end. Padre

(2) in 1715 Florentia Cradock, née Charleton, widow of Captain Christopher Cradock, of the marine service. Warre died in 1715, when 3rd of Council. His tombstone is preserved at St. Mary's Church.

¹ P.C., vol. xxxi., 25th June, 1702.

² Charles Alleyn is named in the list of freemen of 1700.

³ Edward Bawgus, Translator at Fort St. George in 1695, was Steward at Fort St. David in 1697.



Michel Ange received from Le Baume a confession clearing Bawgus, and communicated it to the Governor. Pitt suspected an artifice to save Bawgus, and advised the Council to reprieve Le Baume at the last moment after obtaining his final statement from the scaffold. Le Baume was led out to execution. When he had mounted the ladder, his previous confession was read to him in French by Mr. Poirier. Le Baume declared on the word of a dying man that his statement was true, whereupon Captain Seaton produced the reprieve, and the prisoner was carried back to gaol.¹ The suspicions of the Padre's good faith were thus dispelled.

About the same time the curious case of Dr. Davis came under notice. One day in December the sloop *Expedition* arrived in the roads, and Mr. John Davis, lately Surgeon of Bencoolen, came ashore. He sought out the Governor, and handed him a written statement that himself and a man named Gordon had run away with the vessel. Both men were committed to prison, but their trial was deferred until the facts could be ascertained from York Fort. The following brief extract from the doctor's statement seems to show that Davis was treated with scant consideration in Sumatra :—

Dr. Davis's Statement.

‘Having served the Rt. Honble Company att Bencoolen with generall satisfaction to all (that were not prejudiced against me) for two years, during which time I seldome injoy'd my health or any of those priviledges the Honble Company allows their Servants, but on the contrary was ungratefully treated and insulted over ; I often solicited my discharge, particularly when the John and Mary arrived, who had two Surgeons on board, and a Ship from Battavia who had a Surgeon Passenger, who all seeming willing to supply my Place. They discharged me the Companys Service, but denyed me leave to come to Fort St. George, or to go to Bengall in the Battavia Ship. I Petitioned and was rejected, remonstrated the injustice they did me in detaining me and [was] laught att. They told me they would hamper me, send me to Europe when they thought fitt, or make me stay as long as the Governour stayed. After the Ships was sailed I received severall Affronts which threw me into a deep mallancholly, increased my illness, and hurried me on to attempt any means to gain my health and freedome from them, or loose my life.

‘The sloop lying in the road . . . , I resolved to make my escape hither in her, which I [should] have done in a short time, had she not pr[oved] extremely leaky, having above three foot Water, her Pumps bad, and choaked up with Pepper, being forced to bail in hard gales ; h[er] Masts so defective that a Knife might be thrust into the body of it ; our water was so scan't that

¹ P.C., vol. xxxi., 27th Nov., 1702.

we could not have more than a Pint a man for twenty four hours. These considerations, with the variableness of the wind att the Suns crossing the Equator, forced us to put for Atcheen, which with much difficulty we fetched. . . .’ (P.C., vol. xxxi., 21st December, 1702.)

On account of his bad health the doctor was granted bail, but the records are silent as to the final disposal of his case.

Some variety seems to have been introduced in the methods of punishment in vogue. Two coolies who were found to be in possession of false coin were sentenced by the Council to be ‘Whipt at a Cart three severall dayes round the Black Town, and turned out of our bounds, and to loose their ears if ever returne.’¹ Two peons guilty of misappropriation were ordered ‘to be whip’d round [the Town], and to-morrow morning to be put in the Pillory with their Ears nail’d thereto, and at twelve a Clock at noone to be cut off.’² Some boatmen who were detected in opening bales of calico during shipment were dealt with as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘This day were brought before us the Four Head Men of the Boatmen, one of which, for his discovering this [Vil]lainy to the Peddenaigue, ordered him to be sett at li[berty], and for the future to be the Cheif Boatman of this Place; and the other Three to be whipt round the Town, Stand Three severall days in the Pillory from 10 to 12, and the last day to have their ears cutt off, and kept prisoners till the Ship goes to the West Coast,³ and then sent thither.’ (P.C., vol. xxxix., — Jan., 1704.)

The first part of the sentence was duly carried out, and the men were sent back to prison, where they lay for seven months. They then offered to pay a fine of 500 pagodas in substitution for being ‘Pillared and loose their Ears,’ and the proposition was accepted.⁴

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.

² P.C., vol. xxxix., 21st Jan., 1704.

³ *The West Coast of Sumatra.*

⁴ P.C., vol. xxxix., 19th Aug., 1708.



CHAPTER III

1698—1709

THE GARRISON—COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES—THE
CAPUCHINS—NATIVE FUNCTIONARIES

THE GARRISON.

THE old question as to the authority by which commissions should be issued to officers of the garrison was settled by Pitt's Council in the following diplomatic fashion:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is unanimously agreed and resolved that the Governour alone do sign the Commissions, it being absolutely necessary that a sufficient power be lodg'd in one person, whereby he may be enabled to act for the defence of the place upon Emergent occasions. But that no person have a Commission given him but by joint consent of Councill, which commissions are understood to be revokeable at any time (when reason shall appear for it) by Majority of Councill.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 2nd Jan., 1698.)

The defence measures taken by the Governor whenever Nawab Dā,ūd Khān appeared at San Thomé, and especially when he blockaded Madras, have been already alluded to. The Portuguese Militia were so long under arms that they were granted pay;¹ and when the blockade was over, they, the two companies of regulars, and the gunroom crew, were sumptuously entertained at dinner on four successive days in a large marquee pitched in the Inner Fort. The officers were presented with 'Scarlet Coats and Beavour Hatts.'²

The body of volunteer cavalry, which seems to have died a natural death, was resuscitated:—

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 6th March, 1704.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 18th and 22nd May, 1702.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Wee have resolved to give encouragement as formerly to all the Company's Servants to keep [horses], and allow them Fifty fanams per mensem towards the charge thereof, to commence from the primo February next, in consideration of which all such Horses and their Accutriments shall be for the Service of the Garrison, and [shall] be sent upon any expedition as the Governour or the Governour and Council shall think fitt. But if such horses shall be kild or Spoild in the Service of the Garrison, they are to be Paid for by the Honble Company. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., — Jan., 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

The Company's Peons were reduced to 300 in 1698, but on the outbreak of the trouble with Dā,ūd Khān, the Peddanaigue's Talliards were utilized, as well as a force of peons raised and paid by the native population.¹

The actions, good and bad, of Captain Seaton are frequently referred to in the records. This officer, after some years service in Bengal, accompanied Charnock to Madras in 1689. He remained at Fort St. George, and became commanding officer in 1692. Six years later Seaton was guilty of striking a junior officer, Lieutenant Sinclair, while the latter was on guard. For this offence he was dismissed, but an expression of regret procured his reinstatement within a week.² In June, 1702, the commandant headed a detachment of peons in pursuit of three deserters from the gunroom. The Moslem governor of San Thomé, annoyed at Seaton's passing through that place, posted a hundred horse at the bridge on the north side of the town³ to intercept him on his return. Pitt sent word that, if the governor attempted to seize Seaton, he himself would rescue his officer by force. He at once despatched a hundred men under the command of his son, Robert,⁴ with the following instructions:—

The Governor to Mr. Robert Pitt.

'To Mr. Robert Pitt, Capt. of a Detachment of Foot for the present Expedition.

'You are order'd upon receipt of this to March with a Hundred men to the

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 16th Feb., 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 1st and 6th Oct., 1698.

³ This bridge carried the Triplicane-San Thomé high-road across a drainage channel, which expanded near the sea into a small lake. At the present day the bridge, under the name of Barber's Bridge, spans the Buckingham Canal, which for a short distance occupies the bed of the old channel.

⁴ As Robert Pitt was a free merchant, the force consisted presumably of militia.



releife of Capt. Seaton, who, we hear, the Governour of St. Thoma design's to seize, [and] in order thereto has posted one Hundred Horse upon the Bridge coming out of that Town. You are to march directly hence for Triblecane, and there, according to the intelligence you have, you are to proceed or returne, taking the Advice of your Officers therein; and if you are . . . advised that Capt. Seaton is seiz'd or detain'd, you are to march directly to the Governours House and demand him; and if not deliverd, you are to use the utmost Force of your Armes to effect the same, or seize the Governour and his Sons, and bring them Prisoners hither; and this is your Commission for your so doing. THOMAS PITT, Governour.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 15th June, 1702.)

Robert Pitt heard nothing of Seaton, who did not reappear till midnight on the 16th. He had passed through San Thomé without hindrance after recovering the deserters twenty miles away, near Covelong.

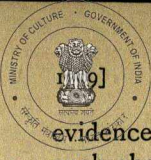
In the following year Seaton was in trouble 'for going out to the Companys old Garden to fight a Duell':—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Capt. Seaton and Mr. Stratford were brought before us for duelling, who we sentence, Vizt. That Capt. Seaton, in regard the Governour reposes more than an ordinary trust in him, and particularly enjoynes him to be very diligent and watchfull, to suppress all caballs, commotions, insurrections and disorders in this Garrison; and he himself being now guilty of a Crime that tends thereunto, being, as farr as we can perceive, the sole occasion thereof: 'Tis resolved that he payes into the Rt. Honble Companys Cash Two Hundred Pagodas, and give Five Hundred Pagodas security for his good behaviour for the future, and to remain confined till he complyes with the same. Mr. Stratford to pay fifty Pagodas and give security as aforesaid.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 2nd Sept., 1703.)

Three weeks later the Captain expressed regret, and begged remission of the fine 'in consideration of his great charge of Children.' His prayer was granted. Seaton's next offence consisted in marching his men over a quantity of the Company's calico which lay bleaching. The deed was done in the presence of the Governor, who suspended him for insolence. Seaton remained under suspension for eight months, when he was cashiered by the Council.¹ In the following year he filled up the measure of his iniquity by charging the Governor with the acceptance of a bribe from Paupa Braminy, now Chief Dubash, and with 'buying a great Diamond to the Company's prejudice.' He repeated these statements before the Council, but failed to produce

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 27th Feb., 1704, and vol. xxxix., 10th July, 1708.



evidence in support of them. A week later he denied having made such charges :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘ . . . But we being all well acquainted with his Vile Principles, and that there is no ill action can be named but what we believe he has been guilty of as well as what now charged with, and that he has been for many Years the Plague, Pest and Disturber of the peace of the place ; and now, to compleat his Villainy, aims at nothing [less] than the betraying of the Governour and Trade of the place . . . , ’Tis unanimously agreed that he be confin’d till the first Ship goes to England, and on her to be sent home a Prisoner to the Company.’ (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 3rd Aug., 1709.)

The first ship was the *Heathcote*, which carried Pitt himself. The refractory ex-captain, however, refused to quit his residence.¹ Ensign Patrick Dixon then forcibly conveyed him to the ship ; but without tackle the prisoner could not be put on board, and Capt. Joseph Tolson, the commander, declined to render any help. Seaton was accordingly taken back to the Fort, where he remained a prisoner in his own house.² In 1710 he was residing in Madras as a freeman with two unmarried daughters, Mary and Hannah.³ In the following year he was under the positive orders of the Company to return home, but he was nevertheless allowed to visit Bengal under a bond of Pags. 2,000 to proceed thence to England the same season. In January, 1714, the Company authorized his passage from England as a free merchant to Calcutta, where his family then resided. He arrived at Madras sick, and obtained leave to remain on shore for the recovery of his health. Presumably he went on to Bengal, as his name does not appear in the Fort St. George lists ; but in 1720 he was in Madras again, and, as usual, in trouble :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘ It is of great Concern We hear the Itch of Gaming hath spread it self over Madrass, That even the Gentlewomen play for great Summes, and that Capt. Seaton makes a Trade of it to the stripping severall of the Young Men there. We earnestly recommend to you to check, as far as you can, that mischeivous evill. Let Capt. Seaton know, if he continues that vicious practice, he shall not stay, but be remov’d, and do you take care he be sent off the shore. Discountenance

¹ After Pitt’s supersession, Seaton had been enlarged on bail.

² *P.C.*, vol. xl., 25th and 27th Oct., 1709.

³ His first wife, Anne, died in 1691, and the second, Hannah, in 1710. The tombstones of both are by St. Mary’s Church.



it in all Our Covenant Servants and other Dependants, and civilly acquaint the Gentlewomen We desire they will put a stop to all high Gaming, because first or last it will be prejudicial and ruinous to them or theirs. We dont intend thereby to hinder their diversion, but the Excess, and to prevent the ill consequences of it.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.)

The last we hear of Francis Seaton is in 1722, the year of his death, when he purchased the discharge from the garrison of a young relative named James Lauder,¹ lately arrived from England.

The names of Hugonin and Roach, which will recur in the sequel, are first met with about this period. Lieutenant James Hugonin arrived in 1696 in charge of a few soldiers, among whom probably was his younger brother, Sergeant Francis Hugonin. In a letter to England, the Council say: 'Lieut. Hugonin the Swisse, who came over by the King William, hath behaved himselfe very well: the few men that hee brought over with him remained under him in this Garrison.' He was later sent to Fort St. David.²

In 1704 Sergeants Patrick Dixon and Francis Hugonin were sent down with a party of soldiers to render assistance to a vessel which had been wrecked near Cape Comorin. To enhance their authority they were temporarily promoted to Ensign, and the promotion was confirmed in the following year.³ Two years later Ensign Hugonin was despatched in the *Rising Eagle* with fifty men to engage an armed French 'Sampan,'⁴ which was suspected of designs on the Company's outward-bound ships.⁵ At the end of 1706 he was appointed Chief Gunner at Fort St. David.⁶

John Roach became an Ensign of the garrison in 1706,⁷ and subsequently rose to be Major and commanding officer. He had seen some previous service:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. John Roach presents the Governour a Petition to be Employed in the Military here sutable to the Post he lay'd down at Bombay, which was a

¹ *P.C.*, vol. liii., 15th Aug., 1722. James Lauder became a free merchant. John Lauder, a contemporary Writer, was probably his brother.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696. Captain James Hugonin died at Fort St. David in 1718, aged sixty-two years, and was buried in the Vannārpāliam cemetery, where his tomb may be seen.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 27th Nov., 1704, and vol. xxxiv., 12th May, 1705.

⁴ *Sampan*, a small vessel, a galley. At the present day the word, which is of Malay origin, is applied to a skiff.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 13th July, 1706.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 9th Dec., 1706.

⁷ John Roach married Adeodata Wheatly in 1717. She died two years later, and was buried at St. Thomas's Mount at the foot of Usca's steps.



Lieutenant. . . . It appears to us he has been bred a Souldier in the French Service, but came out as a Midshipman upon the Mountegue to China, recommended to that Employ by some of the Mañagers in England ; so that on the arrivall of the aforesaid Ship att Bombay, they wanting an officer for that Post aforementioned, he was Entertained by the Generall and Council, and discharged by the Commander. And from the good Character that is given from all that are acquainted with him, and the experience he has in military affairs, as likewise the want we have of good officers, 'Tis agreed by the Majority that he be Entertained as first Ensign in this Garrison. . . . (P.C., vol. xxxvi., 9th Oct., 1706.)

Fourteen months later Roach was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant. Mr. Thomas Frederick, one of the Council, and a connexion of Captain Seaton,¹ disapproved of the promotion on the ground that 'Roach came out of France without leave.' Pitt asserted that Frederick, in charging Roach with a capital offence, reflected on the Company, who had sent him out, and on the Government of Bombay, who had employed him; and added, 'Tis notoriously known by all in the place that profound ignorance and Pride are his [Frederick's] only qualifications.'² Frederick's authority proved to be Ensign Dixon, who 'averred that he had say'd nothing of him [Roach] more than that he knew him in Allsash³ in the year 1700, from which time he never had heard from or saw him till he met him at Metchlepatam.'⁴

The Company encouraged care for their recruits on the unhealthy passage to India by the following ordinance :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'What Soldiers we Send on these Ships you will have the Account of in a List apart or in the Packet, and considering the little care that has been usually taken of them in the Voyage, wee have resolved to alter our old method of allowing the Surgeons of the Ships who carry them Five Shillings per Head here, and instead thereof have told them wee will allow them Ten Shillings per Head at the respective places whereto they are Consigned, for Somany as are alive and deliver'd ashore. . . . (P. from Eng., vol. xiv., 4th Feb., 1708 [1709].)

A curious instance is recorded of the enlistment of a female soldier:—'Mr. Adrion Plymour payes into the Rt. Honble Companys Cash Fifty six Pagodas, being on Account of a Souldier, Listed by the Company in England, proved to be a

¹ Frederick and Seaton married the sisters Mackrith.

² P.C., vol. xxxix., 25th March, 1708.

³ Allsash, Alsace.

⁴ P.C., vol. xl., 7th Feb., 1708.

female, which he cohabited with on board, and married here; so, to disburse the Company for her Passage, etc., he payes the aforesaid sume.¹ The entry in the register of marriages at St. Mary's Church runs:—'Adrian Playmer and Anne Daccur, Married by George Lewis, June 5th, 1703.'²

Tilman Holt, the aged Provost Marshal, whose name has been more than once mentioned, resigned at this period:—'Tilman Holt having served many yeares Martiall of this Garrison, and discharged his duty very faithfully, but being now very ancient, he has often importuned us to discharge him, which is now agreed to; and that Wheatly Garthorn serve in his room in that Employ.'³ Garthorn died in 1707, and was succeeded by Ephraim Goss.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES.

Some idea of the volume of country trade at Madras at the end of the seventeenth century may be gleaned from the following list of vessels entering the roads between the 10th and 31st March, 1700, at a season when no ships of the home line visited the Coast⁴:—

- 'Ship *Santa Maria*, Coja Saffer, Noqueda,⁵ from Pegu.
- „ *Mahomadee* from Porto Novo.
- „ *Surat Salamat*, Sommoo Siddee, Noqueda, from Viza-gapatam.
- „ *Messatria*, Thomas Plumb,⁶ Master, from Pegu.
- Parr⁷ *Recovery*, Lockyer Watts, Master, from Pegu.
- Ship *Jerusalem*, Coja Abraham, Noqueda, from Pegu.
- Sloop *Christian Quintus*, Andrew Sombar, Master, from Tringombar.
- Ship *Madapollam*, Coja Issa Cooley, Noqueda, from Pegu.
- „ *Sedgwick*, John Mabb, Master, from Acheen.
- „ *Bonne Voyage* from Pegu.

¹ P.C., vol. xxxii., 10th June, 1703.

² Extracted from the register by the Rev. Canon C. H. Malden.

³ P.C., vol. xxxii., 29th July, 1703.

⁴ P.C., vol. xxix., 10th March, etc., 1700.

⁵ *Noqueda, nacoda*, Master of a native vessel; from Pers. *nā-khudā*.

⁶ *Thomas Plumb* owned a house in Gloucester Street, White Town. He married in 1697 *Violante*, widow of Edward Tuttee, and died in 1711. The tombstone erected to him and his widow, who survived him two years, is by St. Mary's.

⁷ *Parr*, perhaps from Malay *prāhu*, a large boat or small vessel.

Sloop *Allee Madut*, Mahomadoo Issee, Noqueda, from Acheen.

Ship *Mahomadee*, Mahomadoo Hussen, Noqueda, from Quedda with fourteen elephants.

„ *Loyal Captain*, Armiger Gostlin,¹ Commander, and Mr. Edward Fleetwood, Supercargo, from Canton.

Sloop *Mahomadee*, Fakery Mahomadoo, Noqueda, from Malacca.

Ketch *Chintadry*, Mussa Nina, Noqueda, from Quedda with six elephants.

Ship *Johanna*, Richard Rawlings, Commander, and Mr. John Dolben,² Supercargo, from Amoy.

„ *Friendship*, William Morrice, Commander, from Pegu and Fort St. David.

„ *Conjeveron*, John Caroon,³ Pilot, from Manila.

„ *Prospect*, Francisco Nunis, Master, from Bengal.’

The ravages made by scurvy during voyages from and to England are illustrated by the following letter from Capt. Harry Gough, Commander of the Company’s ship *Stretham*, who was under orders for home :—

Captain Gough to Fort St. George.

‘I saild from England the 26th May, and from the Cape the 8th September, and in persuance of the Honble Companys orders I made the best of my way for Bengall, where I arrived not till the 15th January ; and on the 17th Ditto, on the returne of my Boat from Ballasore, I received an Order from the Honble the Council of Fort William at Callicutta, dated 2^d November, requiring me to proceed directly hither. Now I had buryed fourteen of my men of the Scurvey before I arrived here,⁴ and brought in forty more laid up in their hammocks, and 4 Dyed after I got there.⁵ I buryed some of them notwithstanding the refreshment I had got, soe that unto the 26th January I durst not sail thence

¹ *Armiger Gostlin*, who commanded the Company’s ship *James* in 1667, was an old resident of Madras. He married, in 1688, Elizabeth, sister of John Styleman, who was in Council from 1694. She died in 1691, and her tombstone may be seen by St. Mary’s Church. The widower married Lucy Marrow in the following year. In 1702 Capt. Gostlin obtained permission to remove with his family to Masulipatam. His son Styleman Gostlin, entertained as a Writer, joined Raworth’s rebellion at Fort St. David in 1713.

² *John Dolben*, formerly Judge-Advocate.

³ *John Caroon*, who succeeded Thomas Clarke, served as Portuguese and Dutch Translator when not engaged in voyages to Manila.

⁴ *Here—i.e.*, at Fort St. George, on the outward voyage.

⁵ *There—i.e.*, in Bengal.



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without manifest hazard of burying so many more as would have altogether rendered the Ship disabled and defenceless, which I had the more regard to because of the notice we had of the French Ship St. Louis ; and having been 16 days on my passage hither, my men are in so weak a condition that there remains an absolute necessity of putting them ashore to recover them. So that if it were possible for me to Load and unload in the time you require, yet I pray your Honours to consider in how weak a condition I shall be to beat for the Cape ; and in case I should not be able to get about, in how defenceless a condition I must bear up for Maurotious, which Island the Dutch have lately quitted, and when I have so great apprehensions of meeting the French, it being confidently reported that the King of France has given the India Trade to the Merchants of Lyons and St. Malloes, where we may expect Privateers peeping into all these Ports. . . .’ (P.C., vol. xl., 14th Feb., 1708.)

The preparation and sale of arrack, betel, tobacco, and ganja was a source of considerable revenue to the Company. The licence for making arrack was farmed to Peter des Pommare¹ towards the end of the seventeenth century for Pags. 3,400. In 1709 it was granted to Guruvappa and others ‘who were the originall Distillers of Arrack.’² The cultivation and manufacture of betel, tobacco, and ganja remained in the hands of the Company until 1700, when the sole right was leased to a syndicate of natives for Pags. 8,000 per annum.³

In 1703 an effort was made to introduce the manufacture of silk, and a structure for the reception of silk-worms was duly provided. The attempt failed, and was relinquished after eighteen months’ trial :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘We expecting from Bengall some silk winders, so that hope to make a considerable progress in augmenting that manufactory ; but as yet not having any convenient buildings for the same, and whereas the President and Paymaster having view’d severall Places for that purpose, and find none so proper as a peice of Ground near the Washers, It is ordered that the Paymaster builds such convenient Houses for the Silk wormes⁴ as those who look after them shall advise.’ (P.C., vol. xxxii., 14th Jan., 1708.)

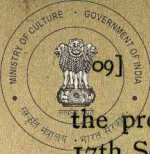
An unsuccessful attempt was made to secure an official assay of gold and silver ornaments, in view to checking the debasement of

¹ Peter des Pommare married (1), in 1693, Ursula Voter née Vera, a ‘Musteez,’ and (2), in 1715, Sarah Turville, née Clark. The latter became the wife of John De Morgan in 1717.

² P.C., vol. xl., 4th March, 1708.

³ P.C., vol. xxix., 12th Dec., 1700.

⁴ The silkworm houses at the north end of Peddanaikpetta were demolished in 1718, and the materials and ground utilized for five ‘Choultries,’ in which the Washers might store their cloth. (P.C., vol. xlix., 14th July, 1718.)



the precious metals by the smiths. At the Consultation of the 17th September, 1700, it was ordered that all wrought gold should be of pagoda fineness, and all silver of English standard. Every manufactured article was to be brought to the Assay Master of the Mint to be tested and stamped with a hall-mark of 'a Lyons head and Letter A, the Letter to be alter'd yearly according to the Alphabet.' Two months later the order was rescinded owing to the practical difficulty experienced in conforming to it. Provision was made, however, for the punishment of offending artificers.

The question having arisen of reducing the rate of daily wage of labourers in consequence of 'Rice and Provisions being tollerable cheap to what they have been of late Yeares,' the Government consulted the oldest inhabitants on prices. Those authorities reported that the rate for paddy had, within their knowledge, been from 70 to 100 mercalls¹ for a pagoda. It had now risen to 38 to 40 mercalls. The Council decided against any reduction of the wage rate, though it was half as much again as before the scarcity caused by Dā,ūd Khān's blockade.²

The old Madras industry of 'painting calicoes' or manufacturing chintz was decaying through want of a market :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Painting of Calicoes having been brought to great perfection in this Place, but from the discouragement those Goods meet with in England, being prohibited to be imported, that Art has much dwindled away here, and many of that Trade left us for want of an Employ : but the Company by their last Letter seeming desirous that it should be preserved and encouraged, and in order thereto have directed to have some of those Goods sent them ; and the Warehousekeeper acquainting us there is Three Hundred Peices of Fine Moorees fitt for that purpose, Tis agreed they be putt to Painting to the best workmen in that Science.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 2nd Jan., 1705.)

An attempt was made locally at gun-founding, but it proved unsuccessful :—'Here being [Leopold Furstemburgh] a German by Nation, who perfectly well understands casting of Mortars and Guns of any Size, as also how to play 'em, who will be very serviceable in this Garrison, 'tis agree'd that he be entertain'd in the Gunner's Crew at Eight Pagodas per mensem.'³ Two years

¹ The *mercalt* of the time seems to have been of 12 seers, probably from 24 to 30 lb.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 5th and 12th Aug., 1703.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xl., 18th Aug., 1709.

and a half later we find :—‘ Leopold Furstemburgh, formerly entertain’d as a founder for brass guns, etc., at eight pagodas per month, appearing to be a person of no great judgement, by the splitting of two brass guns made by him when they came to the proof, and not finding any employment for him that can deserve so large a Sallary, Order’d that the paymaster do discharge him unless he will be content with Gunners Mates pay.’¹ Furstemburgh subsequently deserted to the Mogul, and died in his service.

THE CAPUCHINS.

The influx of Portuguese into Madras, which began during Greenhill’s second administration, was largely augmented by the fall of San Thomé to Golconda in 1662. The influence of the Capuchin Fathers, Ephraim and Zenon, increased with the number of their flock, and some twelve years later they were able to replace the original Church of St. Andrew within the Garrison Town by a much larger edifice on the same site. No direct record of the reconstruction has been traced, but the following allusion, in a consultation of 1680, shows that the work must have been completed in 1675 :—‘ It is observable that at the Dedication of a new Church by the ffrench Padrys and Portuguez in the year 1675, Sir William Langhorne, the Agent here, fired []² Gunns from the ffort and 3 Volys of small shott in honour thereof, and yet at this time neither Padry nor Portuguez appeared at the Dedication of our Church, nor soe much as gave the Governour a visit afterward to give him Joy of it.’³

Major Puckle referred in 1676 to ‘ two churches nigh unto the Fort ’ as in use by the Portuguese. One of these was no doubt the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew. Since there was certainly only one Roman Catholic place of worship within the walls of the Christian Town, the other church must have been situated in or near the Black Town. In a letter to the Company of the 31st January, 1676, the Rev. Patrick Warner alluded disapprovingly to Langhorn’s action in firing salutes ‘ at the consecration of a popish church within the walls.’ These words obviously relate to the rebuilding of St. Andrew’s. The original structure was

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 10th Jan., 171½.

³ *P.C.*, vol. iv., 28th Oct., 1680.

² Blank in original.

erected under Cogan's orders of the 8th June, 1642. If Fryer's plan of 1673 can be relied on, the first church or chapel was a small plain building with pent roof. The edifice of 1675 was erected on a larger scale, and possessed claims to architectural beauty. Its interior was probably adorned with those ornaments of the San Thomé churches which De la Haye delivered over when the French evacuated that town in 1674. In 1721 St. Andrew's, having become 'old and Crazy,' was again rebuilt.¹ In Kirkall's mezzotint view of Fort St. George, which has been reproduced for this work, the latest Roman church is conspicuous from its size and its lofty campanile.

The next extract is considered to relate to the chapel in the native quarter, which appears to have been reconstructed in 1692. The land for this edifice is stated to have been assigned by Greenhill. The grant was probably made on account of the influx of Portuguese which, as we learn from Roger Myddelton, took place about 1658 when San Thomé was beleaguered by the forces of Golconda. The building erected on this ground is described by Yale as being in 1692 an 'open pandall Chappel.' Such words could not apply to St. Andrew's, which had been entirely rebuilt in 1675 on the original site granted by Cogan, Thomas Winter, and Greenhill in 1642. When Yale's words are read in conjunction with Puckle's allusion to two Roman churches, the existence of a chapel outside the White Town is considered to be proved. Father Norbert makes no mention of it in his description of Madras in 1715, and Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710 shows no such building,² though it marks the situation of a 'Portuguez Burying Place' in Muthialpetta, within 1,200 yards of the Inner Fort. As that distance was within cannon range, it conforms to Yale's allusion to the position of the chapel. In the absence of specific record of a grant, it seems reasonable to assume that the land given by Greenhill constituted the site of this cemetery, on which the present Armenian Street Cathedral was afterwards built.

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

² The Armenian Church is marked on Pitt's map, but it could scarcely have been one of the two mentioned by Puckle, since the grant of privileges to Armenians settling in Madras was not made until 1688.



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*President Yale to the reverend Padres Ephraim de Nevers and Michael de Anjou.*¹

'In answer to your request for liberty to repaire your open pandall Chappel, it being much decayed and in danger of falling, which to prevent and the danger it may do, I do hereby permit the same upon the following conditions :—

'First that you do not inroach upon the Companys ground, nor anyways to enlarge that formerly given you by Agent Greenhill, nor must you rebuild higher or stronger than formerly, nor than the neighbouring houses, it being so near the Fort as may be prejudicial to our Guns. . . .' (P.C., vol. xviii., May, 1692.)

The following extract is deemed to relate to the same building :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that Mr. Symon Holcombe and Mr. Thomas Wright take a full and satisfactory view of the Portuguese Church and the Buildings thereto belonging about it both within the Church and without in the Yard ; and truly examine what enlargement hath been lately made, either in Length, Breadth or Height ; And what Lights more than formerly was, and make Report thereof to us. . . . JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, JOHN DOLBEN, WILLIAM HATSELL, JAMES WHEELER.' (P.C., vol. xix., 5th Jan., 1693.)

Father Zeno did not survive to witness this development of the chapel. The Fort St. George Diary records, under date the 11th May, 1687, that 'this evening died Padre Zenone, one of the old French Padres, aged 85 years, entered in their Church.'² Zeno was succeeded by Michel Ange de Bourges, who acted as coadjutor to the venerable Father Ephraim. In process of time the zeal of Michel Ange outran discretion :—'It is observed that the French Padre Miguell hath been buisey in this town and St. Thoma to gett subscriptions to Papers that doe no waies concerne him or relate to his duty to meddle in. Therefore he is Order'd not to goe forth of the Compound³ of their Church, under the pain of Close Imprisonment, without especiall licence from the Governour.'⁴

Padre Ephraim being disabled by age, permission was given for another Capuchin priest, who had formerly laboured at Pondicherry, to assist Michel Ange in the Church, 'whereunto there are belonging about Eight thousand Christians, as they call them,

¹ *Michael de Anjou*, an error for Michel Ange.

² P.C., vol. xii., 11th May, 1687.

³ *Compound*, an enclosure: from Malay *kampung*.

⁴ P.C., vol. xix., 13th March, 1693.



within the bounds of this City.¹ In 1694 the establishment seems to have been increased to four priests, two of whom were Portuguese. Three years later all four were French.²

In 1694 died Father Ephraim after no less than fifty-two years of arduous and self-sacrificing service in Madras. He came to the infant settlement almost at its birth, and he saw it develop into a great and populous city. Would that he had recorded his impressions for the benefit of later generations!

In 1700 the Council dealt with a petition received from 'Padres Michael Anjo, Jaques, Espirito and Renato' regarding the recent discontinuance of certain small doles from Government which had for many years been issued:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Purport of the Petition is relating to Charitys given them by the Rt. Honble Company from the first Settlement of this place, and continued till within 5 or 6 years last past; but not finding any Orders from the Court to withdraw the same, or any reason upon the Books of the late Governour and Council for retaining it, wee think it for the Honble Companys service that it be continued to 'em till their pleasure be signified to us; and therefore the Warehousekeeper is Order'd yearly to deliver 'em on the first day September next One Garse of Paddy and two pieces Long Cloth, when the Paymaster is also to deliver four Habits. . . . ' (P.C., vol. xxix., *cir.* Sept., 1700.)

In the following year Don Gaspar Alfonso, Bishop of Mylapore,³ sent a notification to Michel Ange relating to the delivery of papers in a cause pending in the Court of Admiralty, and required him to publish it. Pitt would have none of such interference:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. xxx., 8th May, 1701.)

'The Secretary is Order'd to deliver Padre fryer Michael Anjous⁴ the paper translated in Portuguez (as Enter'd next after this Consultation) and to be present at the reading of the same in their Church on Sunday next.'

NOTIFICATION.

'Whereas Wee, the Governour and Council of this place, have been credibly inform'd that, on or about the 12th March last, the Right Reverend ffather Don Gaspar Alfonso, Bishop of St. Thoma (as he stiles himself), did send a

¹ P.C., vol. xx., 25th Sept., 1693.

² P.C., vol. xxi., 1st Nov., 1694, and vol. xxvi., 11th Nov., 1697.

³ Fourth Bishop, from 1693 till his death in 1708; buried in San Thomé Cathedral.

⁴ The Padre's correct name was Michael Angelus.



paper to the Padrees of Madrass belonging to the Church for the exercising the Roman Catholick Religion, commanding and requiring them to Publish the same . . . , and upon their non compliance with the same they were to undergo the greatest Excommunication.

'In order to publish these our highest resentments against the right Reverend Don Gasper Alfonso's proceedings and the Reverent Padre fryer Michael Anjous compliance with the same, Wee hereby declare that no Bishop whatsoever of the Roman Catholick Religion have any power or Jurisdiction over the Clergy or Laymen of that persuasion resideing under this our Government.

'And to prevent the like irregularitys for the future, Wee strictly command and enjoin You, Padre fryer Michael Anjous, or whoever shall succeed you as Chief Padre in this Church, not to Publish, read, or permit to be read any paper directed to you from any Bishop or Ecclesiasticall function[ary] whatever without first acquainting the Governour of this place, and obtaining his leave for the same, as you'll Answer the contrary at your peril. And we further require you to Publish this our Order in your Church in a full Congregation on Sunday next.'

Towards the end of the year a Patriarch from Rome arrived at Pondicherry. By the hand of an emissary¹ he sent 'a small Present of Jocolet, Oyle and Wine' to the Governor of Madras, and subsequently required Padre Michael to present himself at Pondicherry. Pitt accepted the chocolate, but declined to let Michael go.² An interdict was the result:—'The Capuchins here of the Portuguese Church being under interdictions from the Patriarch and Bishop of St. Thoma, who design to put upon us what Padres they please, which may be of the worst consequences: To prevent which it is agreed, for the satisfaction of many of our Inhabitants of that Perswation, that Padre Laurenso, a Capuchin, be admitted into Town to exercise his Function in their Church.'

The following proceedings are of interest as illustrating certain special powers exercised by the Capuchin Fathers:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. xxxiii., 2nd Aug., 1704.)

'This day the Portuguese Inhabitants Deliver [in] a Petition as Entered after this Consultation, the [pur]port being concerning the Probate of Wills, which [we] lately tooke out of their Padres Hands of this Place, to preserve their Effects falling into the hands of the Patriarch. The farther consideration of which Petition is deferred to another opportunity.'

¹ The Patriarch was Cardinal de Tournon. The emissary was probably the Abbé François de St. George. (*Storia do Mogor*, iv. 5.)

² P.C., vol. xxxii., 22nd Nov., 1703, and vol. xxxiii., 24th Jan., 1704. The correspondence between Padre Michael and the Government was conducted in Latin.

*Petition from the Portuguese Inhabitants.*

'The Humble Petition of the Portuguese Nation and other Roman Catholicks, Inhabitants of this City of Madrass, to whose notice it came that your Honour and Council had determin'd that all Wills and Testaments should be approved at the Court of the Honourable Company, which is a thing has not been used for the space of sixty-two Yeares,¹ but have alwayes been done before the Capuchine Padres which have been in this Church, as First by the Rev^d Padre Ephraim de Nevers, and (after his death) by the Rev^d Padre Miguel Anjo to this very day, with the Consents of all the Governours that have Govern'd this Fort of St. George.

'And seeing that the Rt. Honble Company has consented that the Inhabitants shall be Judged according to the Customs of the Lawes of each respective Nation, and that the Poverty of your Petitioners is such that the Charges of their Wills and Testaments being made or proved in the Rt. Honble Companys Court should be a great charge to your Petitioners by the dilations made in the Court by the multiplicity of Affairs done in it ;

'Therefore your Humble Petitioners beg of your Honour and Council to have regard to their humble Petition, and grant them that their Wills and Testaments may be done before the Reverend Padre, as was usuall to this very day.'

Padre Michael Angelus died about the beginning of 1708, and Padre Renatus was permitted by Government to succeed him. The Patriarch continued to give trouble :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour this day produced a Letter he had received from St. Thoma from a Dominnican Fryer there, with copy of a Letter from the Capuchins of this Church to the said Padre, the purport being about an order he had lately received from the Patriock in China, who formerly gave the Capuchins trouble here, which he had now revived by renewing his Excommunication, and forbids absolution without the Severe Penance of carrying a Cross from this Church to St. Thoma's Mount, &c ; and this is inflicted on them for following the orders of the Government. Upon which the Governour issued out orders to search all Padres that should come within our Limits, and to refuse them admittance ; and prohibited the Padres of this Church to Publish any Paper in their Church from the Patriock, upon penalty of being expelled this City.' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 11th June, 1709.)

The feeling between the Jesuits and the Capuchins, the depth of which may be estimated by perusal of Norbert's works, gradually became accentuated, and in 1715 the Government of Fort St. George took note of the calumnies which were being circulated in France regarding the Madras missionaries. Governor Harrison and Council supplied the padres with an ample certifi-

¹ *Sixty-two Yeares*—i.e., since 1642.



cate of conduct,¹ exonerating 'the Capucin Fathers that have dwelt and Officiated in this City of Madrass from the first Settlement to this time, Vizt, Ephraim de Nevers, Zenon de Baugé, Cosmé de Gien, Jacques de Bourges, Esprit de Tours, Laurent d'Engoulême, Michael Ange de Bourges, René d'Engouleme and Thomas de Poitiers' from all charges made against them, and especially that of trading.

NATIVE FUNCTIONARIES.

It may be remembered that a protracted dispute occurred in Higginson's time between Timmappa and Angārappa as to which had the better right to the office of Peddanaigue. The question was settled by Government in 1699 in favour of the latter, and a cowle was granted him as 'Chief Talliar or watchman of this Place.' Care was taken to specify that 'he derives his right immediately from the Company, and [it] is revokeable when the President and Councill shall see cause.' Arrears of dues amounting to nearly Pags. 3,000 were handed over to him.² On Angārappa Nāyak's death in 1701, the Council granted a cowle to his infant son, and appointed the latter's uncle, Tiyāgappa Nāyak, to officiate during his minority.

Peddanaigue's Cowle.

'A Cowle given by the Honble Thomas Pitt, Esqr., President and Governour of Fort St. George, &c. Councill to Koonugoree Pedde Naigue, Son to Angerapa Naigue lately Deceased. . . .

'That whereas formerly you kept but fifty Peons, now you must keep One hundred good peons to watch this City and the liberties thereof, for prevention of robberies and other disorders. And for their Maintenance wee allow you the following Duties :—

'That you shall have 18 Paddy feilds given you rent free.

* * * * *

'That all the Inhabitants of the Town, excepting Christians and the old Servants belonging to the Company, shall pay You per Annum three fanams for every great house, Two fanams for a smaller, and One fanam for the smallest of all.

'The Hundred Peons aforementioned shall be employed for the Security and peace of this City as the Governour or Governour and Councill shall think fitting. If the Governour shall go abroad, You shall procure 100 Peons

¹ P.C., vol. xlv., 11th Nov., 1715, quoted by Wheeler.

² P.C., vol. xxviii., 14th April and 20th May, 1699.

³ Here follow the various small duties payable in kind and money.



to accompany him. Also, if occasion requires, you shall provide 200 Peons to go upon such Employment as wee shall send them, and you are to allow them four days Batty;¹ but in case wee shall employ them longer than four days, we are to give them Batty.

'If any Goods belonging to the Rt. H. Company shall be taken from the Washers, or if any Inhabitants house or Godown of whom you receive your Duties shall be robb'd, then you shall make satisfaction for what is lost, or produce the person or persons that committed the robbery. And if any person deliver'd by Us into your custody shall make his escape, then you shall pay the Debt.

'Timapa Naigue, having Murdered severall of our Inhabitants, has forfeited his right to those allowances formerly given him by your Grand-father, but you are to give the same allowances to his Son that your Grand-father gave to Timapa.

'And as an Acknowledgement that You hold your place from and under the Rt. Honble Company, You shall bring Us in every Year Twelve head of Dear in their Season, and twelve Wild-hogs in their Season. According to this Agreement wee give you this Cowle, if you shall faithfully Discharge the Duty of your place, for so long as the Sun and Moon endure. THOMAS PITT, FRANCIS ELLIS, THO. WRIGHT, MATT. EMPSON, THOMAS MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.' (P.C., vol. xxx., 24th Dec., 1701.)

Writing to England in 1696, the Council promise that the Town Conicoply's duty shall be handed over, as ordered, to the Corporation. They remark that a cowle was given to the father of the last incumbent in virtue of 'his service in procuring Priviledges for the Company from the King of Golconda,' and continued to his son, Wottalinga [Ottai Lingam], until the profits were, in Gyfford's time, sequestered, and paid to the Venkaṭadri family in satisfaction of a debt due by the father. In 1692 the case came before the Courts, and a decision was given that the dues were at the disposal of the Company. From that time they were paid into the Company's account. The Council add that 'the office of Town Conicoply runs thrō all the Cornatta Countrey, that there is not one Towne in all the Countrey without one, and hath been continued by succession from father to son from the time of the Gentue Kings, thrō the Government of the King of Golconda, the Moratta's and Mogull, that whoever is Master or Governour of the countrey makes no alteration.'² On the death of Ottai Lingam in 1702, an allowance of Pags. 100 per annum was made to his son, Manan-gappa, 'it being agreeable to the custom of the Country.'³

The name of Paupa Braminy (Pāpaiya Brahman) frequently

¹ Batta, extra pay, field allowance; from Hind. *bhātā* or *bhata*.

² P. to Eng., vol. i., 31st Jan., 1698.

³ P.C., vol. xxxi., 17th March, 1702.



occurs in the records. He assumed the office of 'Linguist' on the resignation of Rāmappa about 1699. His duty, for which he received five pagodas, and afterwards eight, per month, embraced the translation of documents from and into Persian, Telugu, etc.¹ In 1709 he succeeded Rāmappa as Chief Dubash.²

In 1701 a new contract was made with Serappa and the Joint Stock Merchants. Hitherto each merchant had affixed to his signature in the Consultation Book his own private seal, but from this year a common seal is employed bearing three concentric circles. In the outer annulus are the words *Compa. Marchants. Madras* in English, and in the inner the words *Chennapatnam Company's Merchants* in Telugu characters.³ A former Chief Merchant, Beri Timmappa,⁴ son of Pedda Venkaṭadri, petitioned for a refund of Pags. 10,000, which had been in the Company's hands ever since Streynsham Master's time. An investigation of the books was ordered in consequence:—

'The Humble Petition of Bera Timappau.'

'Most Humbly Sheweth That in the Year 1681 when Streynsham Masters was Agent, he imprison'd your Petitioners Father, Pedda Vincatadry, on a dispute between him and the Merchants; and having seiz'd his Jewells and Goods, sold them to the Amount of Pag^s. 49,000, which was paid to the said Merchants. Not long after which your Petitioners Father made his complaint to President Gifford on his accession to this Government; who sent for the Merchants, and upon examination they declared that they did not take the money, but confessed that Agent Masters paid them 39,000 Pagodas, and kept the remainder, 10,000 Pagodas, in his own hands. And as for what they had, they were ready to pay it, and requested that Agent Masters might give an Account of what became of the rest. Who being sent for, said it was true that he did receive Ten thousand Pagodas, which the Merchants paid the Company; and he then brought it to be paid into the Companys Cash, and accordingly delivered said money to President Gifford in the Consultation Roome. . . . ' (*P.C.*, vol., xxxii., 22nd April, 1703.)

In consequence of indebtedness to the Company, Serappa and the Joint Stock Merchants were 'confined to Brown Godown, and

¹ The 'Translator,' John Caroon, who succeeded Thomas Clarke, dealt with documents in the Portuguese and Dutch languages.

² *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 21st July, 1699; vol. xxxiii., 23rd May, 1704; and vol. xl., 7th July, 1709.

³ A good impression of the seal is preserved in *P.C.*, vol. xxx., p. 230, 11th Nov., 1701.

⁴ Beri Timmappa had, of course, no connexion with Timmappa, the late Peddannaigue. Both of them, however, chanced to be in trouble with the Government about the same time.

there to remain till they have paid the Companys debt, or given satisfaction for the same.'¹ The incarceration of some of them lasted four months :—' The Governour acquaints the Council that last [night] one of the six Chittees in the Godown dyed, who was co[nfined] there for Debt to the Company; and that he had hitherto denied his Freinds the liberty of burning him till he [got] security for the Debt, they only offering that his brother should lye in Prison for the same in his roome. Tis [agreed] that the Governour insist on the former, which if [they] don't comply with, to accept of the latter.'² This trouble broke up the Joint Stock. Thereafter the Government made separate contracts with individuals. The leading merchants in 1705 were 'Collaway Chittee, Vinkettee Chittee, Kittee Narrain, Sunca Rama and Balla Chittee.'³

In 1707 the Town brokerage question was considered at the instance of one Ankaṇṇa, who was appointed Chief Broker as far back as Agent Chamber's time. Ankaṇṇa's representation begins :—' The Humble Petition of Broker Ancana Most Humbly Sheweth; In Agent Chambers time he granted Brokerage to me, and ordered me Chief Broker to the Honble Company, half brokerage to the Honble Company and half to my self. And at that time the Agent and Council gave me an order signed by them that the Choultry Conicoplys should keep the Accounts, and that I should pay half to the Conicoply and half myself . . . In his Honour Higginsons time there were severall brokers, at which we made our Complaints to him. . . .'⁴ Ankaṇṇa goes on to represent that the system of joint responsibility is unprofitable to the Company. The Council admitted that it had worked badly, and resolved that Ankaṇṇa and other persons should be severally and independently appointed Town Brokers. Each was 'to ware a silver meddall with the [Companys] Armes,' and furnish accounts monthly to the Choultry, paying in half the receipts.

¹ P.C., vol. xxxii., 16th Aug., 1703.

² P.C., vol. xxxii., 14th Dec., 1703.

³ Kālavāy Cheṭṭi, Venkaṭa Cheṭṭi, Kiṭṭe Nārāyan, Sunku Rāma, and Bāla Cheṭṭi.

⁴ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 1707.

CHAPTER IV

1698—1709

BUILDINGS AND LAND—MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS—PERSONAL NOTES

BUILDINGS AND LAND.

NUMEROUS acquisitions and alterations of buildings for public purposes were made during Pitt's long term of office, and allusions in the records enable us to fix the situations of some of them. In 1699 that ancient residence in Charles Street, on the river front, known as Jearsey House, was purchased for the Company's use as a Calico 'Beating Godown' and Granary.¹ The building, which stood at or near the site of the present Office of the Accountant General, was originally the property of Henry Greenhill.² It was occupied and enlarged by William Jearsey, and eventually passed into the joint ownership of Elihu Yale and others, from whom it was acquired by Government for Pags. 1,400. Eighteen years later the edifice was handed over to the Trustees of the Charity School.³ The Company's warehouses seem to have been situated for the most part in the southern half of the White Town. The 'Cloth Godowns' were certainly on the river front near Jearsey House; and they were probably indetical with the 'Embaling Godowns,' the repair of which was undertaken in 1700 because 'the white Aunts have of late often begun to eat severall of the Bales.'⁴

The records of Pitt's time show that Greenhill must have possessed, besides the residence in Charles Street, another house

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 14th Feb., 1698.

² *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 10th June, 1672.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th Nov., 1717.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 21st Oct., 1700.



situated in the northern part of White Town.¹ At the end of the seventeenth century it was occupied by Mr. Jeremiah (or Jeremy) Peachey, a Bengal civil servant, who was suspended in 1693, sent to Fort St. George, and dismissed. He became a free merchant at Madras, where he had differences with the Justiciary. It was recorded in 1696 that 'Mr. Peachey hath lain in Prison allmost ever since hee came from Bengall, upon an Execution on the suit of Mr. Alvaro de fonseca, hee refusing to pay what awarded by the Judgement of the Court.'² Shortly after Peachey's death in 1702, the residence he had occupied was condemned as unsafe:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a House in the Body of the Town, commonly called Mr. Greenhills house, wherein Mr. Jeremiah Peachie, lately deceased, lived, very crasy and dangereous to all the Inhabitants that pass the street, in so much that, few dayes past, part of it fell down with a great shower of Raine ; wherefore tis order'd that the Paymaster takes six Inhabitants, with the Carpenter and Bricklayer, to surveigh the remaining part of the House and report in what condition they find it with all expedition, that so a speedy care may be taken about the same. THOMAS PITT, FFRANCIS ELLIS, THOMAS WRIGHT, MATTHEW EMPSON, THOMAS MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.' (P.C., vol. xxxi., 2nd Nov., 1702.)

Marshall, the Paymaster, selected George Heron, free merchant, formerly a pilot and ship captain ; William How, free merchant ; Charles and Edward Fleetwood, Supercargoes ; Richard Phrip, master-mariner, and Robert Atkinson, Gunner of Fort St. George, to inspect the building. On their report it was demolished, and the materials sold by auction.³ Two years later the ground on which the house had stood, measuring 106 feet by 90 feet, was purchased by Government for Pags. 318 and added to the 'Carpenters and Smiths yard.'⁴ Pitt's map shows that this yard lay on the west side of Choultry Gate Street ; and we are thus able to say that the site of Greenhill's house is occupied at the present day by part of the King's Barracks.

In 1716 Governor Harrison produced 'a power from the Right

¹ This was probably the 'very faire house with orchard and garden' described by Andrew Trumball in 1644. The residence in Charles Street, which became known as Jearsey House, appears to have been built by Greenhill shortly before Aaron Baker's arrival.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th May, 1703.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 30th April, 1705.



Heir of Agent Greenhill, with a demand for a house and ground of the Agent that was pull'd down and converted to the Honble Company's use.¹ Accounts were then made up, and the estate was credited with the value of the land and the materials of the house, and debited with the repair of a section of the Town Wall. It was also credited with Pags. 210, the value of the remainder of Greenhill's ground which had been taken up for the new Hospital then lately built.² This land 'contained in length 100 foot, in breadth 63 foot, which makes Six thousand three hundred square English foot, and Reduc'd into Jentu by 1 foot broad, 60 Long, is 105 foot, and valued at 2 pags. per Gentu ffoot, as the former was, comes to pags. 210.'³ Hence the Gentu foot of surface, the recognized unit of land area, which will be frequently mentioned in the sequel, was equivalent to 60 square feet English.

The 'College,' it will be remembered, was originally a hospital built by public subscription, which was acquired by Government in 1688 as quarters for the junior members of the establishment. It was a large square edifice standing 'near the Rt. Honble Companys Sorting Godown and the Church,'⁴ and its site is believed to have been in Church Street⁵ close to St. Mary's. Adjoining the College was 'the Church house,' the property of the Vestry, which formed the subject of correspondence in 1701:—

'The Humble Petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Maries in Fort St. George.'

'Sheweth that the Church house, both in the first building and in some additions made to it since, hath stood the Church in a considerable sum of money; but is still hardly Tenantable for want of Yard room for a Kitchen, Godowns and other Outhouses necessary to render it a convenient Dwelling.

'And it further Sheweth that there is a piece of ground of the Rt. Honble Companys adjoining to the said house, which might serve for the conveniencys aforementioned, and is of little use to the Company, and Stands Seperated from all other grounds and Buildings of theirs by a very high wall with Battlements.

'Wee therefore make it our humble request to your Honour, &c., that you will be pleased to sell the said piece of ground to the Church, for which we are

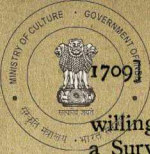
¹ P.C., vol. xlvii., 19th April, 1716.

² The new Hospital was built partly on the site of the old one at the north end of the barracks, and partly on Greenhill's ground.

³ P.C., vol. xlvii., 26th April, 1716.

⁴ P.C., vol. xiv., 22nd March, 1688.

⁵ Church Street, afterwards called James Street.



willing to pay such a sum of Money as the cheif Builders in this Place (upon a Surveigh taken of it) shall judge it to be worth. . . . ' (P.C., vol. xxx., 6th Oct., 1701.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Wright and Marshall having view'd the ground and Buildings adjoining to the Colledge, which the Ministers and Church wardens Petition'd us to be sold 'em, in order to make a house belonging to the Church Tenantable, they report the value seventy-five Pagodas, which is Agreed to be sold 'em, and the Attorney Generall order'd to draw a conveyance accordingly.' (P.C., vol. xxx., 11th Oct., 1701.)

A condition was inserted that the ground should be repurchasable by Government if required, and it was in fact resumed in 1717.¹ At that date the Vestry owned other house property in the White Town.

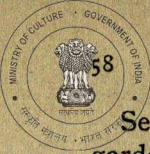
There exists a curious confusion between the names *Church Street* and *James Street*. In the 'Rent Rowle of Houses and Godowns within the Garrison or Christian Towne' of 1688,² the streets in the northern section of the town are enumerated before those of the southern, and both *James Street* and *Church Street* occur in the latter category. *James Street* is deemed to have been the north and south thoroughfare intermediate between Charles Street and St. Thomas Street; and *Church Street*, which contained only five houses, to have been the transverse passage on the south side of St. Mary's. In Thomas Pitt's map, however, the centre thoroughfare of the southern section of White Town has become *Church Street* while the name *James Street* is applied to the street next east of Middle Gate Street in the northern section. In George Morton Pitt's map of 1733, *Church Street* retains the same position, but *James Street* is not named. Later in the eighteenth century what is believed to have been the original nomenclature was resumed. The following extract suggests that in 1699 *Church Street* led westward towards the river:—'The Inhabitants of Church Street having complained of the nastinesse of that Street, and of an unwholesome smell occasioned by severall sinks having their passage that way into the River; It is resolved that the Mayor be ordered to make a common shore³ in that Street from the southernmost end of the Companys Sorting Godown to the Curtain, where there is a passage.'⁴

¹ P.C., vol. xlviii., 11th Nov., 1717.

² P.C., vol. xiv., 2nd Aug., 1688.

³ Shore, sewer, drain.

⁴ P.C., vol. xxviii., 24th April, 1699.



Several references are made at this period to the house and garden of Niccolão Manucci, which he had inherited through his wife who was the widow of Thomas Clarke. Manucci appears to have acquired also other ground adjoining the original property. His garden house is shown on Pitt's map :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. xxxii., 4th Jan., etc., 1703.)

'Senhor Nichola Manuch having severall times within these three yeares requested us to grant him a new Lease for his House and Garden standing near Tom Clarks Gate; which is referred to further consideration, he being now gone to Pollicherry.'

'22 March 1703. Mr. Nichola Manuch his Lease being expired for a House and Garden he has made in the Suburbs of the black Town,¹ which was built and planted by him, 'Tis ordered that the Lease for the same be renewed for twenty one Yeares to come, he paying for the same Sixty Pagodas.

'It being the generall opinion of all that the aforesaid Mr. Nichola Manuch is very poor, and in consideration of his readiness to serve the Company on all occasions, 'tis Agreed that upon his Payment of the sixty Pagodas before mentioned, it be returned him as a gratuity for his good Services.'

The renewal of the lease was, however, deferred in consequence of unfavourable reports from a Padre at Negapatam regarding the Venetian doctor. These were proved to be without foundation, and the lease was eventually drawn in December, 1704, to run for twenty-one years from the 25th March, 1703, at a nominal rent of one pagoda per annum :—

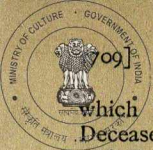
Fort St. George Consultation.

'Senhor Manuch's Lease for his House and Garden was read and signed as agreed upon in Consultation 18th December, which Lease is ordered to be Entered after this Consultation.'

Lease.

'This Indenture, made the Twentieth day of December One Thousand seven hundred and Four Between the President and Council of Fort St. George for and in behalf of the Rt. Honble United English East India Company of the one Part, and Nichola Manuch, Italian Inhabitant of said Place on the other Part, Witnesseth That whereas in the year One Thousand six hundred seventy one The Worshipfull Agent and Council of this Place for Affaires of the Rt. Honble Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies did Demise, Grant, and to Farme Lett to Thomas Clarke, Gentleman, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns, a Garden or parcell of Ground without this Town for the terme of Thirty one yeares ;

¹ The house and garden lay on the east side of the present Popham's Broadway, where that street debouches on China Bazar.



which being expired, Nichola Manuch, Heir of the said Thomas Clarke, Deceased, having Petitioned us to renew the said Lease, We the said President and Council . . . Hath demised and Granted . . . unto the said Nichola Manuch all that Garden and Garden ground scituated North and South Six hundred and fifty seven feet, North Joines to a Garden of Toree Moortepau,¹ South parrallel with the black Town wall ; East and west on the North side Three hundred fifty three feet, on the South Four hundred eighty two feet, Eastward joines to Malangawars Garden, and part to some Parriar Houses, Westward joines to the Highway from Tom Clarke's Gate to the Companys old Garden ; together with all the Buildings within the said Garden, and all the Hedges, Fences, and inclosures thereof. . . ' (P.C., vol. xxxiv., 15th Jan., 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

In 1706 a survey was ordered of the 'Elephant Garden' and other ground on the north side of Manucci's house, which had been leased by the Company in 1675. The road running west from this garden through Peddanaikpetta was called *Elephant Street*, a name which is still preserved towards its western end as *Elephant Gate Road*. Mr. Empson the Sea Customer, Mr. Martin the Paymaster, and Gunner Atkinson reported that the garden was about 150 yards square, and that 'the other ground begins at the North end of Manuches Wall, and so goes along nearest a Parallel to the High road that leads to Tandore.' This piece of land, which measured upwards of a mile in length from north to south, was being prepared for paddy cultivation.² The lessee of the garden applied for an extension of the lease:—'Ordered that the Secretary acquaints the Widdow Dupo[is]³ that she may Rent the Garden she now possesses at Thirty Pagodas per annum for five years, during which time she must Plant what Trees are yearly requisite ; and for the Paddy Ground,⁴ she may hold it according to the Custom of the Country, paying the Company half the produce, but be obliged to keep the high ways in repair adjoining.'⁵

A Mrs. Dixon, who was probably connected with the former Gunners, Hugh and William Dixon,⁶ owned a house in Choultry

¹ *Garden of Toree Moortepau* (Dorai Murtiyappa), commonly known as Maria Pois's Garden, or the Elephant Garden.

² P.C., vol. xxxvi., 18th April and 14th May, 1706.

³ Perhaps the widow of John Pois.

⁴ Apparently a small field. The extensive strip, mentioned above, seems to have been in other hands.

⁵ P.C., vol. xxxvi., 23rd May, 1706.

⁶ *William Dixon* married Frances Ratcliff in 1685, and died in 1701, but a Jane Dixon, probably widow of Christopher Dixon, is named in the list of widows of 1704.



Alley,¹ originally the property of 'Capt Medcalfe'² in the north west angle of the White Town, and desired to acquire a small piece of ground by the adjacent postern :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a small piece of Ground belonging to the Company, lying between Caldera Point and Mrs. Dixon's House, in which there is a Sally Port which Mrs. Dixon has often importuned us to spare Her ; So considering 'tis no inconveniency to the Company, 'Tis Agreed that the same be sold her, after the rate we lately bought Ground³ to enlarge the Carpenters Yard . . . And that in the Bill of Sale that is to be given her for it, there be reserved a liberty of free egress and regress to the Sally Port, and that a Key to the outward dore be always lodged with the Gunner.' (P.C., vol. xxxiv., 16th Aug., 1705.)

Governor Pitt, who was interested in gardening and land improvement,⁴ took steps to embank, drain and plant the hitherto marshy Island:—'The President proposes the Hedging and Ditching of the Island round in order to the Improving of it for Pasture for Cattle, which may be of great use to this Garrison at all times, and more especially in times of trouble from the Countrey. Agreed the same be done as the President shall Direct.'⁵ Pitt's map indicates that not only was this improvement carried out, but that a fine double avenue known as 'The Great Walk' was made across the Island so as to form a vista from the Company's Garden house on the north bank of the Elambore River. The ornamental groves of trees in the neighbourhood of the Walk were probably planted at the same time. A timber-yard, hog-yard and slaughter-house were also provided

¹ *Choultry Alley*, a lane running west out of Choultry Gate Street. Mrs. Dixon's house afterwards became part of the Silver Mint.

² *Charles Metcalfe*, a free merchant between 1681 and 1697, is shown in the rent-roll of 1688 as the owner of a house in Choultry Alley. He was Ensign of the Trainbands in 1696.

³ Greenhill's ground, which was bought at Pags. 2 per 'Gentue Foot' of 60 square feet.

⁴ Writing privately to Samuel Ongle of London on the 23rd Jan., 170 $\frac{3}{4}$, Pitt says: 'My leisure time I generally Spend in Gardening and planting, and making such improvements which will, I hope, send much to the Company's advantage and the good of the whole place; for that in a little time I hope the place will be able to Subsist of it Selfe without much dependance from the Countrey, for that in the late Seige wee were not a little pinch'd for provisions.' (*Letter Book of Thomas Pitt*, vol. vi., Brit. Mus. Addl. MS., No. 22,847.)

⁵ P.C., vol. xxxiv., 30th July, 1705.



on the Island.¹ Pitt devoted attention to the cultivation and ornamentation of the Company's New Garden, and appears to have laid out a bowling-green there.² The Old Garden in Muthialpetta continued to be leased out at Pags. 120 per annum.³ Orders were given for the rebuilding on another site of the Company's house at the Mount, which was used as a sanatorium :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Mount House being for severall years past very crazy and irreparable, insomuch that it is now upon dropping down, Tis therefore ordered that the Paymaster sends People to pull it down and take care of the materialls. And in regard that we have in a manner daily experience of the great necessity of a dwelling House there for sick Persons to repair to for the recovery of their healths, Tis agreed that another House be built there in the most commodious Place the Governour shall think fit, and direct the same.' (P.C., vol. xxxiv., 1st Nov., 1705.)

Captain George Heron, master-mariner, was permitted to build a private house at the Mount, to be used as an occasional residence for the sake of his health,⁴ and his example seems to have been followed by other Madras people.⁵

In 1707 the Madras weavers, who, in the exercise of their industry, had purchased Mrs. Heathfield's⁶ garden at the junction of Washing Street (the present Mint Street) with Elephant Street, petitioned for certain concessions :—'Here being some Beteelae⁷ Weavers who have Petitioned for leave to build Houses and conveniencys in order to carry on their Trade . . ., but desire to be exempted from all manner of Taxes for three years; which is agreed to be Granted them. And whereas they have bought Mrs. Heathfields Garden for that purpose, 'Tis ordered that the Gunner lays out the ground, and sees that they build regularly; and that the Secretary accordingly draw them out a Cowle.'⁸

¹ P.C., vol. xxxii., 12th Aug., 1703; vol. xxxvi., 19th Dec., 1706; and vol. xl., 21st April, 1709.

² P.C., vol. xxxi., 17th Sept., 1702. The bowling-green is also mentioned by Lockyer.

³ P.C., vol. xxxiv., 1st Nov., 1705.

⁴ P.C., vol. xxxix., 4th March, 1707.

⁵ Vide Alexander Hamilton's description of the Mount, to be quoted later.

⁶ Margery Heathfield, widow of Robert Fleetwood, Chief of Madapollam, and afterwards of Dr. John Heathfield, who died in 1688. She survived until 1723.

⁷ Beteelae, muslin, nun's-veiling; from Port., *beata*, a nun, whence *beatilha*, a veil.

⁸ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 1707.



MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

The origin of the 'Orphans' Stock' is described in the extracts from Salmon and Lockyer to be presently quoted. The Ministers and Churchwardens who managed the fund having represented in 1695 that they could obtain 9 per cent. by private investment, while the Government gave only 6 per cent., the Council referred the matter home.¹ The Company replied as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee observe what you write touching the improvement of the Orphan Stock, and thô wee are Satisfied that what we formerly ordered concerning [it] is a better advantage to them than 8 or 9 p.c. paid by others, considering the casualties that often befall private persons, for which reason it was that wee first directed its being put into our Cash; yet if the Church Wardens and Overseers had rather Lend it out to other persons at a higher Interest, Wee shall not interpose therein, being willing to encourage that Charity; and shall say no more but only to recommend it to your and their prudence to take all possible care for its best Security." (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697.)

About this time a desirable development of temperance was observed in the drinking habits of the population :—'The Arrac Licence was farmed in October 1695 to Mrs. Monke² and the distillers of Arrac for Pags. 2,000 for one year, and the Wine Licence in December to Mr. Hiller³ for Pags. 300. The former complains of no proffit and the latter of Losse, which wee beleive probable, and can give no other reason then that the Inhabitants doe not frequent Publick houses as formerly.'⁴ Excess broke out, however, in other directions, and in 1700 the attention of the Council was attracted to the prevalence of cockfighting and gaming among the merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen of Madras, by which much of their time was absorbed to the detriment of themselves and the manufactures of the place. Gambling by such persons was accordingly prohibited, and made punishable by a fine of Pags. 25 for each offence proved before the Justices of the Choultry.⁵

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 31st Jan., 1698.

² *Mrs. Monke* appears to have been the widow of Richard Monke, who was a resident of Madras in 1676. In 1688 he owned a house in Middle Street, White Town.

³ Joseph Hiller, formerly a civil servant, but now a free merchant.

⁴ *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 4th Dec., 1700.



The price of slaves per head was about Pags. 25, as appears from several entries, of which the following is an example:—‘There offering another lusty Coffree¹ to Sale for Twenty five Pagodas, the Paymaster is Order’d to Buy him for the Service of the West Coast.’²

In March, 1702, the Company intimated the death of King William III. and the accession of Queen Anne, and ordered that her Majesty be proclaimed at Fort St. George and the subordinate factories.³ Their despatch reached Madras in the following September, and at 8 a.m. on the 17th the Fort flag was lowered to half-mast, and a hundred half-minute guns were fired:—

Fort St. George Diary.

‘Then the Flagg was again ho[isted] up, when the Mayor and all the Aldermen in their Gowns, on Horseback, with twenty Hallberters and a Company of Granad[eers] marching before them, Proclaimed our [Gra]cious Queen Anne at the Fort Gate, Town Hall, sea Gate, and Choultry Gate, with many hossawrs and great demonstrations of Joy. . . . And in the evening the Governour, attended by all the Gentlemen of the Council, with the Mayor and Aldermen, and severall other Gentlemen (in Pal[lan]keens and Horseback) [went] to the Companys bowling Garden⁴ where there was a handsome Treat provided, all Europ[eans] of fashing in the Citty being invited to [the] same, when they drank the Queen’s Health and Prosperity to old England with many [hossawrs].’ (P.C., vol. xxxi., 17th Sept., 1702.)

The next occasion of rejoicing was the 30th June, 1703, when the Governor gave the inhabitants another ‘treat’ at the Garden to celebrate the victory of the fleet under Sir George Rooke at Vigo.⁵

The accounts of Salmon and Lockyer show that the Governor went abroad in great state. The Government had such a superfluity of palanquins that in 1705 one made of ivory, that had been brought from Masulipatam, was disposed of. A year later Pitt sold the Company some horse trappings consisting of ‘a very

¹ *Coffree*, a negro of Madagascar or South Africa. The word is derived from Ar. *kāfir*, an infidel.

² P.C., vol. xxx., 6th Sept., 1701. The *West Coast* implied Sumatra.

³ P. from Eng., vol. xii., March, 170½. The despatch is signed by Sir William Langhorne amongst others.

⁴ It is inferred from a preliminary order of the 14th September that the bowling-green was at the Company’s New Garden.

⁵ P.C., vol. xxxii., 28th and 30th June, 1703.



Rich Furniture, red Velvett embroider'd with Gold Fring, and a furniture now in use with Gold Lace with a Caparison Embroider'd.'

PERSONAL NOTES.

To indicate the extent to which Madras had developed by the end of the seventeenth century, a list is here quoted of the Civil Servants, Freemen, Seafaring men, Widows, and Maidens as given in the consultations for the year 1700. The names of the officers and men of the Garrison are not recorded:—

'List of Persons in the Service of the Rt. Honble English East India Company in Fort St. George.'

	Present Degree.	Salary.
		£
1. Thomas Pitt, his wife in England	Governour	{ 200 100
2. Francis Ellis, Accomptant	2 ^d Councill	100
3. Thomas Wright, Warehousekeeper, Married E.W. ¹	3 Councill	70
4. Matthew Empson, Sea Customer, Married Castez	4 Councill	50
5. Thomas Marshall, Paymaster and Judge Advocate, Married E.W.	5 Councill	40
	As Judge	100
6. John Meverell, Land Customer	6 Councill	40
7. Francis Bett, Provisional Storekeeper and Rentall Generall	Senior Merchant	40
8. Vicessimus Griffith, Searcher at Sea Gate, Married Castez	Ditto	40
9. Richard Hunt, under the Accomptant	Ditto	40
10. Matt. Mead, Attorney Generall and Sorter. Enter-tain'd here. Married E.W.	Ditto	40
	As Attor. Gen.	40
11. Thomas Wigmore, Receiver of the Sea Customs. Married E.W.	Senior Merchant	40
12. John Penford, Assistant to the Land Customer ...	Ditto	40
13. Thomas Lovell	Merchant	30
14. Gulston Addison, ² Under Searcher at the Sea Gate	Merchant	30
15. Charles Bugden, Secretary. Married Castez ...	{ Ditto Gratuity	{ 30 10
16. Thomas Harris, Translator of Jentu and Look after the new Towns. Married Castez ...	Merchant	30
17. Henry Dobyns, Register. Married E.W. ...	Factor	15
18. Thomas Matthews, at the Sea Gate	Factor	15
19. William Bull	Ditto	15

¹ E.W., Englishwoman.

² *Gulston Addison*, brother of Joseph Addison the essayist, became Governor of Madras. He married Mary Brook in 1701.



	Present Degree.	Salary.
20. Henry Davenport, Steward	Writer	£ 5
21. William Jennings, under the Warehousekeeper ...	Ditto	5
22. William Dean, under the Secretary	Ditto	5
23. George Lewis } Ministers.		
24. James Wendey }		
25. Edward Bulkley, Surgeon.		
26. Francis Cook } Essaymasters.		
27. John Cook }		

'List of Freemen Inhabitants.

1. Daniel Chardin, Married French-woman.	17. George Turvil, married Musteez.
2. John Affleck, Married Castez.	18. Charles Alleyn. ¹
3. George Heron, Married Georgeon.	19. William Mayhew, married Musteez.
4. James Sowdon.	20. Christopher Allen, married Musteez.
5. Jeremiah Peachie.	21. Peter Grossin, Married Castez.
6. Charles Fleetwood.	22. William Griffin.
7. William Brooke, Married E.W.	23. Charles Chardin.
8. Roger Braddyl.	24. Thomas Nicholas.
9. William How.	25. Thomas Bowyear.
10. Samuel Glover.	26. John Cornelious.
11. John Powell.	27. Joseph Newman.
12. John Barker, Married Musteez.	28. Samuel Berthon.
13. Joshua Page, his wife in England.	29. Peter des Pommare, Married Musteez.
14. Simon Kilpatrick.	
15. Charles Bromsted.	
16. Henry Whistler.	

'List of Sea-fareing men not constant Inhabitants.

1. Robert Pitt. ²	11. Christopher Dixon, married Castez.
2. Edward Fleetwood. ³ Married E.W.	12. Henry Harnett, married E.W.
3. Charles Fleetwood. ⁴ Married E.W.	13. William Morrice.
4. Maxamilion Fleetwood.	14. John Tyler, married E.W.
5. Armiger Gostlin. Married E.W.	15. George Weoley. ⁷
6. Joseph Lister. ⁵	16. William Handcock.
7. Richard Phrip. ⁶	17. John Cockroft, married Musteez.
8. Samuel Hart, married Castez.	18. William Leggat, married Castez.
9. John Wheeler, married E.W.	19. Zachariah Stilgo, married E.W.
10. Henry Griffith, married Castez.	

¹ Charles Alleyn married Mary Clark, a widow, in 1701.

² Son of Governor Thomas Pitt.

³ Edward Fleetwood married in 1694 Mary Caryl, and died in 1712. His tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

⁴ Charles Fleetwood, sometime Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, died in 1707 or 1708.

⁵ Joseph Lister married in 1704 Jane, daughter of Daniel Chardin, and died in 1707.

⁶ Richard Phrip married (1) in 1694 Dorothy Lee, and (2) in 1702 Elizabeth Thompson.

⁷ George Weoley married Deodata Middleton in 1701.

20. Owen Channell, married E.W.
21. Thomas Plumb, married Castez.
22. Edward Bell, married Musteez.
23. William Cawley, his wife in England.
24. William Rogers.
25. Richard Rawlings.
26. Samuel Heaton, married E.W.
27. Peter Eyes.
28. Charles Hopkins.
29. John Ferguson.
30. Roger Newberry.
31. Lockyre Watts.
32. Thomas Edwards, married Castez.
33. John Wesendonck, married E.W.
34. William Soame.
35. Peter Wallis.
36. Peter Griffith.
37. John S[].
38. Edmund Ford, married Castez.
39. Gersham Goldsmith.

'Widows.'

1. Elizabeth Trenchfeild.
2. Margery Heathfield.
3. Elizabeth Carrell.
4. Ursula Oneal.
5. Mary Lacy.
6. Sarah How.
7. Mary Ivory.
8. Susanna Harbin.
9. Mary Gyfford.
10. Elizabeth Parham.
11. Elizabeth Goodman.

'Young Women unmarried.'

1. Lucy Poirier.
2. Ann Masters.
3. Isabella Budd.
4. Mary Man.
5. Ann Wright.
6. Judith Paine.
7. — Middleton.
8. Theopalah Heathfeild.'

At the outstations were—

Fort St. David	...	William Fraser and ten others.
Masulipatam	...	John Foquet and three others.
Vizagapatam	...	Simon Holcombe and two others.
Madapollam	...	Stephen Frewen and two others.

When Pitt assumed charge in 1698, his Council consisted of Nathaniel Higginson, the late Governor, John Styleman,¹ Francis Ellis, Thomas Wright,² Edward Tredcroft, and Mathew Empson. William Fraser and Roger Braddyl, who had also been nominated, were under suspension, but they were reinstated by Pitt after a short interval. Fraser's return to duty was signalized by several changes. Higginson and Styleman refused to sit with

¹ John Styleman appears to have been a free merchant in Madras from 1684 or earlier. In 1694 Higginson, who then had no one but Fraser in Council, appointed Styleman and several juniors. Styleman returned to England in 1699.

² Thomas Wright, a civil servant of 1684, was brought into Council with Styleman ten years later. He returned to England in 1706. His first wife Frances, whose tomb is by St. Mary's, died in 1704, and he married secondly Mary Beard, daughter of Edward Fowle, the Engineer, and widow of John Beard, junior. Beard visited Madras for his health, and died there in 1705.



him. The former resigned the service immediately and became a freeman until he sailed for England early in 1700. The latter retired in 1699. The resignation of William Hatsell, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, enabled Pitt to appoint Fraser to that office. His administration proved unsatisfactory, and he gave place in 1702 to Gabriel Roberts. Fraser returned to the Madras Council to become a thorn in Pitt's side.

John Nicks,¹ though still heavily in debt, was permitted to go to England by the first ship of 1699. He sailed with Elihu Yale, but ultimately returned to Madras, where he died in 1711.

At the end of Pitt's long administration the Council consisted of William Martin, who had come from China in 1706, Robert Raworth,² Thomas Frederick, Gulston Addison,³ Richard Hunt, and Henry Davenport.⁴

The civil service was now being sought after by young men of family. Among the Writers on £5 per annum we find sons of Lord Coningsby, Sir Francis Molyneux, and Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. The Diet money allowed to married servants was increased to Pags. 10 per mensem for Members of Council, Pags. 8 for the Ministers, and Pags. 6 for all others.⁵ The intermediate rate was afterwards extended to the Surgeons.

John Barker, the schoolmaster, died in harness in 1707. His tombstone in St. Mary's pavement records the death of nine of his children and two grandchildren, all of whom appear to have predeceased him. His age is not mentioned, but it must have been advanced. He had already served for several years as Steward when, in 1678, he became Clerk of the Market. He succeeded Ralph Ord as schoolmaster in 1682, and was himself followed in that capacity by John Knapton.⁶

The family of Powney, which was represented by many Madras residents throughout the eighteenth century, is referred to in

¹ *John Nicks* arrived in Madras as an Apprentice in 1668. He afterwards became Secretary to Government, and in 1685 was fourth of Council. As Chief of Conimere, he fell into disgrace and was dismissed. His wife Catherine predeceased him by two years.

² *Robert Raworth*, when Deputy Governor of Fort St. David in a later year, headed a rebellion against the Government of Madras.

³ *Gulston Addison* entered the service in 1694, and was advanced to Council in 1709.

⁴ *Henry Davenport*, formerly Steward, became Secretary in 1702.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 14th Aug., 1702.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., Feb., 1708.

1703. The first men of the name were mariners. Henry Powney was discharged from the Fort St. George garrison in that year to enable him to rejoin his ship, the *Colchester*; while John Powney was purser of the frigate *Pembroke*, which was taken by pirates in 1702. When commander of the *Britannia*, in 1718, Capt. John Powney appealed to Government in a dispute with Alexander Hamilton. The Powney vault, one of the two remaining monuments in the old Burial-ground by the present High Court, was constructed at his charge, and he was buried there himself in 1740. He married Mary, daughter of Captain George Heron, marine surveyor and master-mariner. The Herons were a long-lived family. Capt. Heron, who was born in 1646, survived until 1727, and found a resting-place in the Powney vault. His daughter, Mary Powney, died a centenarian in 1780.¹

In 1697 the Company authorized the appointment of a Coroner:—

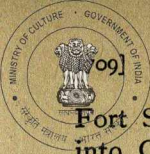
The Company to Fort St. George.

‘When wee understood Mr. Heathfield was dead, and that you had entertained Mr. Hart as a temporary Surgeon in his Stead, We resolved to Supply you as soon and as well as we could, and accordingly sent you, five or six years since, Mr. Buckley, one who was every way very fitly qualified to serve us by his large experience of India as well as here, and as fit for prescribing Phisick as manuall operation; and we suffered him to carry out an apprentice that so he might not Complaine of want of help. And therefore him and him only wee resolve shall receive any Sallery and allowances. . . . And in respect to him Wee are willing to allow the Office of Coroner, and such perquisites therewith for sitting on the bodys of any persons that shall come to any untimely end by casuality or otherwise, as you shall think fitting, to be paid by the relations of the deceased, considering the poverty of the Generality of your Inhabitants. The usuall fee here is 6s. 8d., but Wee think two Rupees is sufficient where the persons are of Ability. And as for Mr. Browne, if it please God our Surgeon at the ffort, or in the Bay, or elsewhere should die, or be moved, Wee are willing Mr. Browne should have the first preference to such a vacancy. . . .’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697.)

When a vacancy occurred at Fort St. David, in 1705, Dr. Samuel Browne was no more, and the place was filled by Dr. Anthony Supplie,² a freeman of Fort St. George, who had previously been employed by the New Company as Surgeon at Masulipatam. Dr. Bulkley resigned the medical charge of

¹ *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*.

² His name is variously rendered ‘Monsr. Sup Plie,’ ‘Antony Suply,’ and ‘Mr. Supplee.’



Fort St. George in 1709 on account of ill-health, and was taken into Council. He was succeeded provisionally by Dr. Thomas Robson, of the ship *Mountague*.

William Fraser's behaviour in relation to the Caste dispute resulted in his suspension in August, 1707, pending the disposal by the home authorities of the charges made against him. He was accused of being 'the promoter, ffontenter and Abettor of the late Rebellion,' of betraying proceedings in Council to the natives, of inspiring the Right hand caste petition, of being 'a person of a factious and turbulent temper, and tho weak in contriving yet industrious in promoting mischeif and confusion,' and of bringing Fort St. David to distraction during his administration of that settlement.¹

The Company found that the charges were not proved, and being convinced that no Englishman and public servant could conceivably be guilty of the offences imputed to Fraser, resolved to reinstate him. They hinted that Pitt might have shown better management in the initial stages of the Caste dispute, and concluded as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

(*P. from Eng.*, vol. xiv., 4th Feb., 1708 [1709].)

'Wee come now to acquaint you That Mr. Pitt having for some time past intimated to us in his Letters that his mind was for returning to England, Wee have granted his Request, and have now form'd our Councill at Fort St. George, which are to be in the Severall Stations following, Vizt.

Mr. Gulston Addison to be President and Governour of Fort St. George.

Mr. William Fraser to be Second of the Councill there.

Mr. Edmond Mountague to be Third of said Councill.

Mr. William Martin to be Fourth.

Mr. Robert Raworth to be Fifth.

Mr. Thomas Frederick to be Sixth.

Mr. Richard Hunt to be Seaventh.

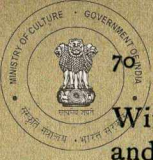
Mr. Edward Bulkeley² to be Eighth.

Mr. William Jennings to be Ninth and last of the said Councill, who takes Passage on one of the outward bound Ships.'

This letter reached Madras by the *Heathcote* on the night of the 17th September, 1709, and was read in Council the next morning.

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.

² *Edward Bulkley*, late Surgeon, duly entered Council, and was appointed Store-keeper and one of the Justices of the Choultry. (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 22nd Sept. and 10th Oct., 1709.)



With characteristic despatch Pitt 'immediately read the Cash and tender'd the Ballance thereof, . . . so rose out of the Chair and placed the New Governour in it.'¹ Addison was at the time indisposed. On the 19th he informed the Council that he 'Labour'd under most severe pains which almost render'd his Limbs in a manner useless to him.' On the 17th of the following month he expired. The Council forthwith met at Jearsey House, and appointed Mountague provisional Governor pending Fraser's return from Fort St. David. Fraser arrived in due course, and assumed charge of the Government on the 3rd November. Pitt was by this time at sea, and was consequently spared the mortification of seeing himself supplanted by his enemy.

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xl., 18th Sept., 1709.



CHAPTER V

1699—1704

SALMON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—LOCKYER'S ACCOUNT

SALMON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

THE rapid development of Madras during Pitt's administration prompted several persons who were familiar with the place to record their impressions. Thomas Salmon's description, contained in a now almost forgotten work entitled *Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations*, is particularly valuable, and some extracts from it are given below. Thomas Salmon came of a family which had literary leanings. His father, the Rev. Thomas Salmon, rector of Mepsall, Bedfordshire, was a writer on the theory of music, and the divine's eldest son, Nathanael, was the author of historical works.¹ Thomas Salmon, junior, followed in their wake. His account of Madras displays intimate knowledge of the place, and the East India Company's records reveal the fact that the writer was an Ensign of the Garrison in 1699:— 'This morning [6th October, 1699] Ensign Thomas Salmon and eleven men more run away off theyr guard with theyr Arms. Upon notice whereof the Governour sent out 200 peons after them, and wrote letters to the Dutth Chiefs of Pollicatt and Sadrassapatam, and to severall of the Countrey Governours desiring them to Stop them.'² The deserters were apprehended by a Poligar some sixty miles away in the interior, and were sent back by him to the Fort a month later under promise of pardon.³ The promise notwithstanding, Salmon was committed to prison, where he lay until he was deported to England by the ship *How-*

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*² *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. x., 6th Oct., 1699.³ *Ibid.*, vol. x., 2nd Nov., 1699.



land in October, 1700.¹ The incident, while not creditable to Salmon, gives special point to his views regarding the Fort prison and the treatment meted out to military offenders. Far from cherishing animosity, however, against Governor Pitt, by whose orders he was interned, Salmon continued to hold him in the highest esteem.

Of Salmon's movements after he left India we have little knowledge, but he told his friends in after years that he had been much at sea, had travelled in Europe, and had visited both the Indies. As he was only twenty years of age in 1699, some of these journeyings must have been made after the Madras escape. His *Modern History* was first published in 1724. It was re-issued in 1739, embellished with maps by Herman Moll. The book was translated into more than one language. In 1739 and 1740 Salmon accompanied Anson on his voyage round the world. Between 1722 and 1759 he produced some twenty historical and geographical works. Most of them were written at Cambridge, where he kept a coffee-house. He died in 1767.²

The preface to the first edition contains an appreciation of Thomas Pitt. Speaking of men who have been an honour to their nation, the author says :—

'Such was a late Governor of Fort St. George, who, having spent great part of his life in distant voyages and the improvement of foreign trade, accepted that important government, and brought the trade of that place, and of the several towns and factories under his command on the coast of Choromandel and the island of Sumatra into such a flourishing condition as amazed all other European Nations. He so enlarged and strengthened the fortifications of the several towns under his government that the English company then made a noble figure in India ; particularly he built a wall of brick seventeen foot thick, and near two miles in circumference about the town of Madras,³ regularly fortified with bastions and outworks, and mounted with a numerous artillery : and notwithstanding so vast an expence, the East-India company received greater returns during his administration than ever they experienced before or since. . . .

'Nor was the concern of this generous English Governor confined to his own nation only, but extended to every people who stood in need of his assistance, of which the Danes are a single instance ; for when the King of

¹ P.C., vol. xxix., 7th Oct., 1700. In March, 1704, the Madras Government ordered 'that Thomas Sammon be Entertained as Cooke of the Fort at five Pagodas per mensem,' but this person can scarcely have been identical with the ex-Ensign.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ The perimeter of Black Town was about 3,000 yards, but the length of the wall did not exceed a mile.

Tanjore, at the instigation of the Dutch, as was generally understood, had laid siege to Trincombar . . . , then did the Governor of Fort St. George send a seasonable detachment to their assistance. . . .¹

'I still see the Governor, methinks, coming upon the parade and haranguing these troops in their respective languages before they embarked, in such terms as induced the soldiers to express the utmost contempt of the danger they are entering upon, and seemed to foretel the success they afterwards obtained.

'Give me leave to add that the whole nation was so sensible of the merit and services of this great man, that after his return to England, the government of Jamaica, the best in the disposal of the Crown, except Ireland, was conferred upon him, tho' his advanced age prevented his taking that distant command upon him. . . .'

Salmon's description of Madras is applicable to the years 1699 and 1700, though it is perhaps supplemented by further information reaching down to 1739.²

'*Fort St. George or Madrass.* Madrass, or fort St. George, as it is generally called from the English fort there, stands about four miles to the northward of St. Thomas, in 13 degrees, some odd minutes latitude, and 80 degrees of longitude. . . .

'The fort³ is a regular square, about a hundred yards on each side, with four bastions, built with what they call iron stone,⁴ being of the colour of unwrought iron and very rough on the outside like honeycomb. There is no ditch about the fort, and the walls are arched and hollow within, so that I question if they are cannon proof. It has two gates, one to the east and the other to the west. The western gate which looks toward the land is pretty large; and here the main guard is kept, the soldiers of the guard lying on the right and left of it under the wall which, being hollow, serves them instead of a guard house. The east gate towards the sea is but small, and guarded only with a file of musqueteers. In the middle of the fort stands the Governor's house, in which also are apartments for the company's servants; it is a handsome, lofty, square stone building; the first rooms are ascended by ten or twelve steps, and from thence another pair of stairs leads to the council chamber and the Governor's lodgings.

'*White Town.* The fort stands pretty near the middle of the White Town where the Europeans inhabit. This is an oblong square about a quarter of a mile in length, but not half so much in breadth. To the northward of the fort are three strait handsome streets, and as many to the south. The buildings are of brick, several of the houses two stories high, by which I mean they have one floor above the ground floor. Their roofs are flat and covered with a plaister made of sea shells, which no rain can penetrate; and, being secured with battlements, they take the fresh air upon them morning and evening. The walls of these houses are very thick, and the rooms lofty; but what seems peculiar to this country is, the upper floors are laid with bricks instead of boards; but there are not many of these lofty houses, and I question whether there be

¹ In March, 1699, when some stiff fighting took place.

² Thomas Pitt's map should be consulted during the perusal of Salmon's account.

³ *The fort—i.e., the Inner Fort.*

⁴ *Ironstone, laterite, a ferruginous clay-stone.*



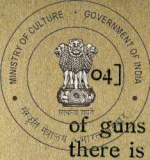
more than a hundred and twenty houses in the whole White Town. By the dimensions I have given of this place, it may be very well concluded there are no gardens or very large court yards before their houses; and indeed they stand pretty close to the street; but the Governor and people of condition have gardens at a little distance from the town. Over against the west gate of the fort is a barrack, or rather one long room where all the company's soldiers are obliged to lodge when they are off guard; and adjoining to it on the north is a very commodious hospital where they are taken care of when they are sick. At the other end of the soldiers' barrack is a mint where the company coin gold and silver.

'The English Church. On the north side of the fort stands the Portuguese church, and to the southward the English church, a pretty elegant building and moderately large: it has a handsome altar-piece,¹ a gallery of fine carved wood resembling cedar, and an organ with which, as one observes, they salute God and the Governor; for when the Governor comes into church the organ always plays, which is a piece of complaisance we are strangers to in this part of the world. The church, as I remember, is floored with black and white marble, the seats regular and convenient, and all together it is the most airy lightsome temple that is to be found any where, for the windows are large and unglazed to admit the cooling breezes, and if it were otherwise the people must sweat intolerably at their devotions; for though in their own houses they are as thinly clothed as possible, yet when they come to church it is always in the European dress; and when I was there, full wigs happening to be in the fashion, every time a man visited the church he lost some ounces by perspiration: but to avoid these inconveniences as much as possible, prayers are appointed at seven in the morning, and in the evening they are usually comforted with a sea breeze. There are no other public buildings in the White Town but the town house;² and a court of justice is held for civil causes.

'Strength of the White Town. On the west part of the town runs a river close to the buildings; but on this side there is no wall, only one large battery

¹ As Salmon's description is judged to have been given from memory, it is probable that St. Mary's possessed an Altar Piece at the end of the seventeenth century. The work was certainly in existence before 1739, when the second edition of Salmon's book (which has been consulted) was published. The question arises whether this Altar Piece can have been the painting of the Last Supper which now hangs in the church. The Vestry records mention the picture for the first time in 1782, but give no account of its acquisition. If it existed in 1746, it would have been carried to Pondicherry by the French, but would have been recovered on the capture of that place in 1761. It is not included, however, in the list of Pondicherry spoil, though other pictures find a place. A list of Church property, which was entered in the Vestry minutes in 1756 (*The Church in Madras*, p. 316), contains no mention of an altar-piece; but as the date of the entry lies between 1746 and 1761, the omission is unimportant. Mr. Penny is of opinion that, having regard to the views concerning church pictures which were held early in the eighteenth century, the altar-piece mentioned by Salmon would probably be in the form of carved or panelled woodwork. Further, it must be admitted that the present condition of the painting scarcely warrants the belief that the picture dates from Salmon's period. On the whole, it seems probable that the painting was acquired at some time between 1761 and 1782, possibly from Pondicherry after the second capture of that place by the British.

² *The town house*, the Town Hall.



of guns upon the river, which commands the plain beyond it. On the east there is a slight stone wall pretty high, and appears something grand to the shipping in the road ; but here is very little occasion for any fortification, the sea coming up close to the town, and no large vessels can ride within two miles of the place, the sea is so very shallow ; nor is there any landing but in the country boats, the surf runs so high and breaks so far from the shore. The north and south ends of the town are each of them defended by a stone wall moderately thick ; but then, like the fort walls, they are hollow within, and would hardly hold out one day's battery. There is a little suburb to the southward of the White Town, inhabited only by the black watermen and fishermen, and consists of little, low, thatched cottages which hardly deserve the name of buildings. Beyond this is an outguard of Blacks who serve to give intelligence to the fort ; but there is no other fortification on this side.

Black Town. To the northward, adjoining the White Town stands a much larger, called the Black Town, where the Portuguese, Indians, Armenians and a great variety of other people inhabit. This is built in the form of a square, and is better than a mile and a half in circumference ; being surrounded with a brick wall seventeen feet thick, with bastions at proper distances, after the modern way of fortification : it has also a river¹ on the west and the sea on the east ; and to the northward a canal is cut from the river to the sea, which serves for a moat on that side ; so that Madras, considering where it stands, might now be reckoned a town of strength if the garrison was answerable to the fortifications ; but it consists of no more than three companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one third of these Topazes or Portuguese Indians. The company indeed entertain two or three hundred of native Blacks in their service, and a body of men may be formed out of the inhabitants, who are very numerous ; but these would be of little service against an European enemy, or even against the Mogul's troops if there was occasion for them beyond their own walls. The streets of the Black Town are wide, and trees planted in some of them ; and having the sea on one side and a river on the other, there are few towns so pleasantly situated or are better supplied ; but except some few brick houses the rest are miserable cottages, built with clay and thatched, and not so much as a window to be seen on the outside, or any furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lie on. The houses of the better sort of Madras are of the same materials, and built usually in one form, that is, with a little square in the middle, from whence they receive all their light ; . . . but I must say, notwithstanding all this appearance of poverty, I never was in a place where wealth abounded more, or where ready money was more plentiful about twenty years ago. . . .

'In this Black Town stands an Armenian Church and several little Pagoda's or Indian temples : to the latter belong abundance of female choristers or singing women, as well as Priests. . . . They seem also designed to serve the public in another capacity, and make up part of the equipage of a great man when he goes abroad ; for every man of figure in the country, I observed, had a number of these singing women run before him ; even the Governor of Fort St. George was attended by fifty of them, as well as by the country musick when he went out ; but some of our late Governors, out of their excessive modesty, have thought fit to dispence with this piece of grandeur. But to

¹ An irrigation channel bounded Black Town on the west. The Elambore River was further west, beyond Peddanaikpetta.

proceed ; besides the town of Madras, the East India company have several of the neighbouring villages under their government, which yield them a considerable annual revenue, the whole having been purchased of the King of Golconda when he was Sovereign of this coast.¹ The company have also a house and garden at St. Thomas's mount, a hill seven or eight miles to the westward of fort St. George, where, according to the tradition of the country, St. Thomas was buried.

' Beyond the Black Town are gardens² for half a mile together planted with mangoes, coco-nuts, guavaes, orange trees, &c., where every body has the liberty of walking, and may purchase the most delicious fruits for a trifle : but I shall give a plan³ of the place, from whence the reader will have a juster notion of this noble settlement than he can possibly receive from the best descriptions.

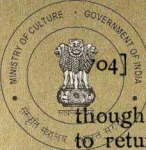
' *The Government of Madras.* The company's affairs are directed by the Governor and council, and they inflict any corporal punishments, short of life and member, on such Europeans as are in their service, and dispose of all places of profit and trust. There is also a court of mayor and aldermen held twice a week at the town-hall, where the Asiatick inhabitants sue for their debts, and implead one another, but civil causes among the Europeans are usually decided by a jury in the court of the Judge Advocate, to which belong two or three attornies, and as many serjeants or bailiffs who execute their processes, and make arrests for debt, &c. There are also justices of peace who hold their sessions in the Black Town, and decide criminal matters among the Indian inhabitants ; and though they do not give judgment in capital cases, yet I have known them proceed against the natives so far as the cutting off their ears in the pillory, and as much as I remember, the offence was stealing people's children to make slaves of them. There is also a court of admiralty for maritime affairs, and the Governor sometimes suffers the officers of the land forces to hold courts marshal, and inflict punishments on the soldiers. As for capital offenders, they are imprisoned, till they can be sent to Europe, in dark dungeons, hot as a bagnio, under the town wall, and kept with rice and water ; and thus trivial offenders, and those whom the government have any jealousy of, are sometimes punished ; but death itself would be more eligible to most men, for they neither suffer them to be relieved by their friends, or any to converse with them, that there may be no complaints of hardships carried to Europe.

' Nor are the common soldiers at all well used : scarce a day passes but one or other of them are tyed to a post and whipped unmercifully, tho' their number is so small. This makes them mortal enemies to the government they should defend, and piques them more than any soldier-like punishment would, such as riding the wooden horse, running the gauntlet, or the like. As to their being cooped up like slaves, and never suffered to stir out of the place, the usage already mentioned makes this piece of discipline necessary, for they would prefer any service to that of the company where they are so used ; and should the town be ever reduced to extremity, their masters could have but little dependance on them. Another hardship the soldiers complain of is, that

¹ Salmon is here in error.

² Along the irrigation channel between Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta—that is, in the heart of existing Georgetown.

³ The plan is a reproduction by Herman Moll of part of Thomas Pitt's map.



though they have served forty years they shall not be released, or suffered to return to their native country; and if they are so hardy to petition for it, a dungeon probably will be their portion.

'Company's officers and servants. . . . The Governor, who is not only Governor of Fort St. George, but of all the settlements on the coast of Cormandel and the west coast of Sumatra, . . . is also Captain of the first company of soldiers, as the second in council is of the next; and those who bore the name of captains had but lieutenants' commissions and pay very lately: besides the lieutenant, there are two ensigns to each company. The pay of a lieutenant is 14 pagodas or 6*l.* 6*s.* per month, the pay of an ensign 4*l.* 19*s.* per month, and of a private soldier 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* The serjeants have 2*l.* 5*s.* a month, the corporals and the gunners of the fort 1*l.* 5*s.* a month each, upon which they live very well, all manner of provisions being extremely cheap; and linen so reasonable that a soldier may put on a clean shirt every day, as many of them do, or at least every other day when they mount the guard; and not a common soldier in the place but has a boy to wait on him, the Indians suffering their children to serve the English for very little upon account of their learning the language. . . .

'As to the Governor's salary, it is no more than 300*l.* per annum. The great advantages they make is by their perquisites, according to the modern phrase, or by trading for themselves. The other six of the council have salaries also from 100 to 40*l.* per annum according to their seniority, but they are usually great merchants, and depend more on their trade than the company's allowance. There are also two senior merchants who have 40*l.* per annum each, and two junior merchants 30*l.* per annum. Five factors 15*l.* per annum, and ten writers 5*l.* per annum. These dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; but I believe no people in the world work so hard as the company writers do for 5*l.* per annum. Indeed their friends do generally supply them with something to trade with, or no man would undertake such a hazardous and tedious voyage, in quality of a writer, who was apprized of the fatigue he must undergo. The company allow the two ministers or chaplains of the fort 100*l.* per annum each and a house: how they manage it is a mystery to me, for they are not suffered to trade openly, and yet frequently lay up several thousand pounds; one of them particularly I knew who hoarded up money enough to purchase a bishoprick and sit in the English house of Lords at his return.¹ But to proceed; the surgeon or doctor of the fort has about 40*l.* per annum salary,² but he has so many ways and means besides of replenishing his pockets that he cannot well avoid acquiring a handsome fortune. The Judge Advocate has a salary of 100*l.* per annum, but makes as good a figure with it as a Lord Chief Justice with 2,000*l.* per annum in England. The Attorney General, as he is called, has no more than 23*l.* per annum, but he must be a very dull fellow if he don't improve his fortune. The company have also two essay-masters in their mint, whose salaries are 120*l.* per annum each. As for other inferior officers, it is not worth troubling the reader with them.

'The Governor's state. The Governor has as much respect paid him at his

¹ The Rev. John Evans, who accompanied Charnock to Madras in 1689, was dismissed in the following June for private trading. He became Bishop of Bangor in 1702. (*The Church in Madras*, Rev. F. Penny.)

² The actual rate was £36.



going abroad as a sovereign Prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he passes by ; and fifty or sixty armed blacks run before him, and some of the likeliest young fellows he can pick out of the European soldiers run by the side of the palauquin he is carried in, armed with blunderbusses. A numerous train of servants also, and the country musick attend him, and with their harsh untuneable trumpets give notice of his march. . . .

'I had forgot to acquaint the reader that there is a free school at fort St. George, where children are taught to read and write, and a publick library which consists chiefly in books of divinity ; and the church has usually a stock of three or four thousand pounds which is put out to interest, and the interest applied to the repairs of the church and relief of the poor ; but these were so few about twenty years ago, that the greatest part of the interest went to increase the principal : and there is an addition also of a hundred pounds and upwards collected every year, so that the buildings belonging to the church are always kept in good repair, and beautified as they ought.

'The church is provided with a stock against accidents, and able to make such additions to the fabrick as may be thought necessary ; but I don't hear they have yet built them a steeple,¹ or got a set of bells, though it was a project much talked of, but content themselves with one, as the new churches in London are contrived ; and probably when they hear that bells are out of fashion on this side of the world, they will think no more of them there.

'Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are also frequently committed to the care of the trustees for the church, being reckoned safer in their hands than in private persons', who too often defraud their wards of what is left them. The fortunes of these orphans are put out to interest also, and yield seven per cent. out of which the children are maintained and educated ; and the principal, with the surplus of interest, restored them when they come of age. Where there is no will made, the government takes care of the effects of the intestate, and sees they are restored to the relations of the deceased who are intitled to them, whether residing there or in England.

'The college, as 'tis called, at Fort St. George I was about to pass over without mentioning, the gentlemen who are permitted to live there studying no art or science, but are generally favourites of the government, who are allowed to live here and indulge their ease. . . .

LOCKYER'S ACCOUNT OF MADRAS.

Salmon's description is conveniently supplemented by that of Lockyer. In September, 1702, the *Colchester* arrived in the roads from England with a batch of ten young civilians on board, of whom Charles Lockyer was one.² After eighteen months' work as Assistant to the Accountant, Lockyer decided that a life of active voyaging would suit him better than an office desk in Fort St. George, and he applied to resign the service :—

¹ The steeple shown in Thomas Pitt's map seems to have been built some time during the first six years of the eighteenth century.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 6th March, 1701 [1702], and *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 14th Sept., 1702.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Mr. Charles Lockyer having Petitioned to be discharged the Company's service, Agreed the same be granted him, and his Petition entered after this Consultation.'

Lockyer's Petition.

'Your Honours Generosity and kind Inclination to promote the welfare of Youth incites me to trouble your Honour with an Affair of that Nature. 'Tis what you was pleased yesterday to speak of, which has wholly employ'd my thoughts since, and Humbly offer 'em to your Honours prudent consideration.

'As to the Honourable Company, here are so many in their service better capacitated then myself—and my Seniors—that the mean service I can do them will never be wanted; and the little hopes I have of advancing my small Fortune by lying ashore, and an opportunity now presenting which gives me a fair prospect of improving it, induces me to beg your Honours permission for going abroad, and favourable assistance therein; since the improving my time well, and the experience I shall gain thereby, will conduce much to the Satisfaction of my Friends, and enable me the better to serve your Honour when may be counted worthy your Commands. CHAR. LOCKYER.' (P.C., vol. xxxiii., 13th April, 1704.)

In the capacity, apparently, of a supercargo, Lockyer voyaged for some time to Indian ports, China, the Persian Gulf, etc., and eventually wrote an account of his experiences under the title of *An Account of the Trade in India, containing Rules for good Government in Trade, Price Courants, and Tables*. The work, which was published in 1711, is now scarce, though better known than Salmon's. In his preface Lockyer says:—

'At Fort St. George, I have confin'd my self to the Management of the English, which is rather owing to Necessity than Design; for having had but a Week's Warning before I left that Place, when I had been about twenty Months in the Honourable East India Company's Service, I had scarce time to get my self ready for the Voyage, much less to mind any other Matters than what related to my own private Affairs; whence I was able to write of those things only in which I had been daily conversant. . . .'

Lockyer's description of Madras is as follows:—

'Fort St. George on the Coast of Cormandel, in 13 deg. 30 min. North Latitude, is undoubtedly a Port of the greatest Consequence to the East India Company for its Strength, Wealth and great Returns made yearly thence in Callicoes and Muslin. I know no more of the Founder than the time of its being under the English: However, of late 'tis greatly improv'd to the Honour of our Nation and Profit of the Company; seated in a plain sandy ground so near the Sea that not long since the Waves endanger'd its Walls. The Citadel, or rather Inner Fort, lies N.N.E. and S.S.W. in the Middle of the English Town. Four large Bastions make the Corners, on which with the Curtains are Fifty Six Guns and a Mortar mounted. The Northern and Southern Points are 108,



and Eastern and Western 100 Yards distant. It has two Gates : The Western, or Main-guard kept by about thirty Soldiers ; and Eastern, by Six and a Co[r]poral. The Keys are every Night deliver'd to the Governour ; or in his Absence, to the Chief in Council that sleeps there. The Walls are of hard Stone, in Colour like rusty Iron, as is that which encompasses the *English Town* or Outer Fort. In this are Batteries, Half-Moons, and Flankers at proper Distances, whereon are about one hundred and fifty Guns and three Mortars mounted for Defence ; besides thirty two Guns more on the Out-works with 8 Field Pieces. The *Black City*, call'd *Madrass* and sometimes by the *Moors Chinnepatam*, joins it to the Northward : And *Maqua* Town, where the Boat-men live, to the Southward. The Prospect it gives at Sea is most delightful ; nor appears it less magnificent by Land : The great Variety of fine Buildings that gracefully over-look its Walls affording an inexpressible Satisfaction to a curious Eye. Towards the Land 'tis wash'd by a fruitful River that every *November*, half a Mile distant, discharges it self into the Sea ; the Bar being first cut for its Passage, which, proceeding from the wet Monsoon, would otherwise occasion great Damage by overflowing the adjacent Country. It runs about two Months in a Year, closes of its self, and forms a Peninsula three Miles in Circuit, Where are kept a great Number of Sheep and Hogs, with a few Cows. The Soil is so poor, tho' the Company has not spar'd Charges to improve it, that the Cattle would starve did not other Meat support them.

'The Streets are straight and wide, pav'd with Brick on each Side ; but the Middle is deep Sand for Carts to pass in. Where no Houses are, Cause-ways with Trees on each Side supply the Defect ; these being always green render it pleasant to those who otherwise must walk in the Sun. There are five Gates, Sea, St. *Thomas*, Water, Choultry, and Middle Gate ; the Second and Fourth may be open'd for Passengers at any time of Night, if unsuspected ; but neither of the other Three after Six. The Publick Buildings are Town Hall, St. *Mary's* Church, College, New House¹ and Hospital, with the Governour's Lodgings in the Inner Fort.

'The Company's Affairs thro' *India* are manag'd by Governours, or Chiefs and Council ; yet as *Madrass* surpasses their other Settlements in Grandeur, so the Orders of this Council are more regarded, punctually executed ; and each Member has a Respect proportionably greater than others shewn him. All Places of Trust and Profit are distributed among them. They are summon'd twice or thrice, or every Day in the Week, at the Governour's Pleasure. All Orders, general Letters, and monthly Accounts, as Ware-house, Sea-Gate, Storekeepers, &c., are examin'd, pass'd and sign'd by them, or the Secretary by their Order.

The City Charter I have seen, but never perus'd ; so can know but few of its Priviledges. They have a Mayor and Aldermen who exercise the same Authority as in Corporations in *England*. Quarrels, small Debts, and other Business of the meaner sort are decided by them at a Court of Six Aldermen, held twice a Week in the Town-Hall. Black Merchants commonly apply to this Court, but *Europeans* usually seek Favour of the Governour. When any are not satisfy'd with the Mayor's Justice, they may appeal to a higher Court, where for much Money they have little Law with a great deal of Formality. Here a Judge allow'd by the Company presides, who on the

¹ *New House*, the barracks.



Report of a Jury gives a final Decree. Of *European* Malefactors they hang none but *Pirats*, tho' formerly here have been Men put to Death for other Crimes, whence I am apt to think the Governours had then a greater Power. Two Serjeants are allow'd so much a Month for executing the Office of Criers in Court, have the making of Outcries,¹ call People to Feasts, and arrest Debtors on the Judges Warrants. Lawyers are plenty, and as knowing as can be expected from broken Linnen Drapers and other crack'd Trades-men who seek their Fortunes here by their Wits. . . .

' Besides these, five Justices of the Choultry, who are of the Council or chief Citizens, are to decide Controversies and punish offending *Indians* as they deserve. Their Sessions is twice a Week ; but what is done among them I can't well tell. When a Man won't stand to his Bargain, has trick'd another in it, or refuses to pay a Debt according to promise, they see Right done. When one buys a Servant, till register'd there he is not properly a Slave : the Clark has about Six Shillings and Nine Pence or 27 Fanhams for it, which is afterwards divided betwixt the Company, Justices and Servants.

' Most of the Currant Money is coin'd by the Company, for which they have a considerable Allowance by the Owners : two Essay Masters regulate the Mint, to whom they give great Sallaries for their extraordinary Care. The Pagoda (valu'd at 9 Shillings) is Gold of about 8½ Matts or 86¼ Touch or Waters fine.² . . . The Fanhams are not coin'd by the Company ; thirty six are Currant *per* Pagoda, yet in the *Bazar* one may get 36½ and sometimes more : they are Dollar-matt or Fineness. Doodos and Cash are Copper Coins ; eight of the Former make one Fanham, and ten of the latter one Doodo ; they are stamp't with the Company's Mark, as are the West-coast Fanhams. In the Company's Accounts, six imaginary Cash are reckon'd one Fanham. Rupees that are coin'd here are three or four *per Cent.* better than others, being sold 326, when mix'd Rupees are 338 *per* Pagodas 100. At the same time Dollars are 15 and 15¼ *per* Pagodas 10. . . . Mix'd Rupees are most common ; but neither sort us'd in Payments at a fix'd Rate, their Value rising and falling according to the Demand for Silver. . . .

' Custom on goods imported and exported is the greatest Part of the Company's Revenues. Sea-Gate Custom is five *per Cent.* on all Goods brought thither by Sea. . . . By a moderate Computation this brings the Company 30,000 Pagodas *per Annum*.

' Choultry or Land Custom is 2½ *per Cent.* on all Goods that are brought in from the Country, as Cloth, Provisions, &c., which amounts to about 4,000 Pagodas *per Annum* ; and the same things when they are again exported pay 2½ *per Cent.* more at the Sea-Gate. But Commodities that have paid the full five *per Cent.* are exempt from all Duties at other *English* Ports in *India* by a Certificate from the Custom-Master. . . .

' Here being a very high Surf which sometimes breaks a great way from Shore, our *English* Boats are of no use for landing or shipping of Goods. For this end therefore they have Mussoolas, large, flat-bottom'd ill-shap'd Boats, not nail'd as ours, but sow'd together with Coyr-twine, whence they are so pliable that the Planks never start with the most violent Shocks. Their Hire is six Fanhams or eighteen Pence a Trip ; but the Company has seven Boats *per* Pagoda, which is Money dearly earn'd, Two or three Turns a Day being the

¹ Outcries ; public auctions.

² 8½ tenths = 86¼ *per cent.*



most the Fellows can make : however they are merry Birds, howling out a *Ela, Yela* as Chorus to their Songs at almost every Stroke.

' Besides what's paid the Company, the *Moors* have several Mettas round the City, where they receive about 7 *per Cent*. Custom on all Goods that pass by them, except what's for Account of the *English* who pay no other than the Choultry Duties.

' The *Black City* is incompass'd with a thick, high Brick-Wall, and fortify'd with Points and Bastions after the modern Fashion. Nor does this limit the Company's Power, for they own several Towns two or three Miles in the Country, whence accrues no small Advantage to them; being let out to Merchants or Farmers at a certain Rent *per Annum*.

' *Egmore, &c. New Towns* 1100 Pagodas *per An.*

' *Old Garden* 120 ditto.

' Quit Rents in the City, about 250 ditto.

' The Scavenger, Fishing-Farm, Wine-licence, &c., are equally advantageous. . . .

' The Garrison consists of about two hundred and fifty *European* Soldiers at 91 Fanhams or 1l. 2s. 9d. *per Month*, and two hundred Topasses, or black Mungrel *Portuguese*, at fifty or fifty-two Fanhams *per Month*. The Gun-room Crew is about twenty experienced *Europeans* to manage the Ordnance at 100 Fanhams *per Month*. The Captains are paid 14 Pagodas *per Month*, Ensigns 10 Pagodas, Serjeants 5 Pagodas, and Corporals the same Pay as the Gun-room Crew. Chief Gunner of Inner Fort 14 Pagodas, Gunner of the Out-works 12 Pagodas, and their Mates in proportion.

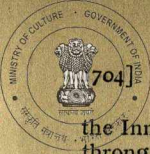
' They have also about 200 Peons in constant Pay, who may be augmented to what Number they please. The *Portuguese* are obliged to find a Company or two of Train'd-bands at their own Charge on any Disturbance; which with the free Merchants, Factors, Servants and other Inhabitants, a singular Decorum, good Fortifications, plenty of Guns, and much Ammunition, render it a Bugbear to the *Moors*, and a Sanctuary to the fortunate People living in it. . . .

' The Church is a large Pile of arched Building, adorn'd with curious carved Work,¹ a stately Altar, Organs, a white Copper² Candlestick, very large Windows, &c., which render it inferiour to the Churches of *London* in nothing but Bells, there being one only to mind Sinners of Devotion; tho' I've heard a Contribution for a Set was formerly remitted the Company. Church Stock, Anno 1703, was Pagodas 6,705 in Houses, Plate, Cash, &c., which with Orphans Money makes their Account Currant 13,753 Pagodas. Orphans Money is when wealthy Parents dying bequeath their Estates to Children incapable of managing them and make the Church Trustees, to provide a good Education, and prevent the Abuses their minority might render them incident to from a single Gardian who often prefers his own private Ends to the Trust reposed in him. . . .

' Prayers are read twice a Day, but on Sundays religious Worship is most strictly observed. Betwixt Eight and Nine the Bell tells us the Hour of Devotion draws near; a whole Company of about 200 Soldiers is drawn out from

¹ Carved Work; the gallery rail, which still exists.

² White Copper, also known as *tutenague*, a Chinese alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel.



the Inner Fort to the Church-Door for a Gard to the passing President. Ladies throng to their Pews, and Gentlemen take a serious Walk in the Yard if not too hot. On the Governour's Approach the Organs strike up and continue a Welcome till he is seated, when the Minister discharges the Duty of his Function according to the Forms appointed by our prudent Ancestors for the Church of *England*. . . . They likewise keep a Free-School in a large Room under the Library, appointed for that purpose, where Children may learn to read and write without Charge to their Parents. Books of Divinity in the Library are valu'd at 438l. 6s.

'College is a fine Name for an old Hospital; it formerly was such, tho' at present it is the Residence of seven or eight hopeful young Gentlemen. One, of the greatest Merit and Experience, is by the Governour made Overseer, by whom all Disturbances ought to be regulated; but his Collegiates are so much his Equals, I could never learn the least Good from his Commission. The Building is very ancient, two Story high, and has a paved Court, two large Verandas or Piazzas, and about sixteen small Rooms within it. The Company allows two or three Peons to attend at the Gate, and a *Parrear* Fellow to keep all clean. I don't know any priviledge extraordinary enjoy'd there, unless down-right sleeping without Disturbance may be 'counted such: they live merrily and at ease. Two or three, whose Misfortune it is to want good Recommendation from *England*, write for all the rest, and are sure to be the last preferr'd.

'New-House is the Soldiers Lodging, and Scene of many a drunken Frolick. It fronts the Main-gard, and has a strong Battery on the other side against the River. One Company at a time sleeps in it, of whom a Corporal and two Soldiers walk the Streets every Hour in the Night, to suppress Disorders and apprehend any who cannot give a satisfactory Account of themselves. Pay-day comes once a Month, when they'll be sure to have the full Enjoyment of a few Fanhams left them by their Creditors: their Debts, if within Bounds, are all clear'd at the Pay-Table. Every one keeps his Boy, who tho' not above ten Years old, is Procurer and *Vallet-de Chambre* for seven or eight Fanhams a Month. Offenders are usually whipt with Rattans, at a Stake fixt in the Ground, by the Marshal: they are sometimes tied Neck and Heels, and run the Gauntlet, but that is rare.

'If the Governour has not Power of Life and Death, he can commit to the Cock-House, which is in effect the same: for Rice and Water in an *Indian* Stove will send a Man as surely to the other World, tho' not with the same Expedition, as a Halter.

'The Hospital joins the New-House by the Water-Gate to the Northward, is a long Building, and has a Piazza with a paved Court before it: at one end of the Court is the Plaister-Room, and at the other an Apothecary's Shop, where Medicines are prepared after the Prescriptions of the ingenious Dr. *B—y*.¹ The Steward provides such Victuals for the Sick as the Doctor orders, and receives of Soldiers their whole Pay, while under his Care; but they pay nothing for Medicines, of what Nature soever their Distempers are. Sailors pay for the Physick used in their Cures, and a Shilling a Day for the Steward's Trouble and Provisions.

'The Governour's Lodging takes up about a third part of the inner Fort, is three Stories high, and has many commodious Appartments in it. Two or

¹ Dr. Edward Bulkley.



three of the Council have their Rooms there, as well as several inferior Servants. The 'Countant's and Secretary's Offices are kept one Story up; but the Consultation Room is higher, curiously adorn'd with Fire-arms in several Figures, imitating those in the Armory of the Tower of London.

'Provisions are at a cheaper rate than in *Europe*, especially Beef, Pork and Poultry, with Fish of all sorts. Venison is often brought to Market, with several kinds of wild Fowl, as Teel and green Plover; three of the former and sometimes twenty of the latter are sold for a Fanham. Hence everyone has it in his Power to eat well; tho' he can afford no other Liquor at Meals than Punch, which is the common Drink among *Europeans*, and here made in the greatest Perfection. Wine and Beer may be had, but it must be good Business that will afford a constant Supply of it.

'The Governour keeps a generous Table, nor is that where the Factors and Writers dine less regarded, differing only in this; here you have a great deal of Punch and little Wine; there what Wine you please, and as little Punch. As to their Diversions, they are suitable to their different Inclinations. Some are for a Collation at *Marmalon*¹ or *Woolf-Tope*,² or a Jaunt to *St. Thomas's Mount* where is an old House with a pleasant Garden of the Company's. Others think riding, shooting, or coursing the more agreeable Exercises; but those that love a Punch-house prefer Billiards and Back-gammon to them all. Thus a Man seldom fails of Company to his own liking; else let him search the Curtains and noted Walks, and 'tis much but he'll find enough to entertain him with something new and diverting.

'The Inhabitants enjoy as perfect Health as they could do in *England*, which is plainly discover'd in their ruddy Complexions, a Good [which] few of our other Settlements can boast. The Heats in Summer are the greatest Inconveniency they labour under; yet I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with are a great Help in this Extremity. . . . The Governour, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Refreshment, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its costly Gates, lovely Bowling-Green, spacious Walks, Teal-pond, and Curiosities preserv'd in several Divisions are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there, but five Shillings worth of Water and Attendance will scarce mature one of them.

'The Governour seldom goes abroad with less than three or four-score Peons arm'd, besides his *English* Gards to attend him. He has two Union Flags carry'd before him, and Country Musick enough to frighten a Stranger into a Belief the Men were mad. Two Dubashes attend to cool him with Fans and drive away the Flies that otherwise would molest him. He is a Man of great Parts, respected as a Prince by the *Rajas* of the Country, and is in every respect as great; save, those are for themselves, this has Masters.

'When a Person of Note dies, his Funeral is solemnized with the greatest Magnificence. The Governour, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend; nor are the fair Sex wanting in their Duty to their deceas'd Countryman. . . . The Burying place is at the further end of the *Black Town*,

¹ *Marmalon*; the village of Māmbalam (from Tam. *mā-ambalam*, place of mango-trees), generally called Marmalong, is on the Adyar River, six miles from the Fort, on the road to the Mount.

² *Woolf-tope*: The situation of this spot is not known. *Tope*, from Tel. *tōpu*, is a grove of trees, but the identity of Woolf has not been determined.

adorn'd with many stately Tombs in honour of the Defunct. Some with lofty Spires carved into different Fancies, after the *Indian* manner; others in a lower Sphere gravely express the Merits of the Person for whose sake they were erected; and all in general have the most curious Workmanship in *India* bestow'd on them. . . .

'The better sort of People travel in *Palankeens* carry'd by six or eight Cooleys, whose Hire, if they go not far from the Town, is three Pence a Day each; but they are paid more on long Journeys. They have of late Chariots and Chaises to take the Air in; but Horses are too dear to be put to hard Labour in travelling: Ten Pounds would here¹ purchase one worth 100 Pagodas there. They are brought from *Persia* or *Acheen*; the latter are small, and come at an easy rate, but I have seen some of the former valu'd at 400 Pagodas. . . .

'On the Arrival of a *Europe* Ship, the Sea-Gate is always throng'd with People, some laying Wagers, others waiting for Masters, and the rest to satisfy their Curiosities. Goods are seldom landed the first Day, it being sufficient to secure the Ship, send the Company's Packet a Shore, and get Refreshments for the Men, which they are presently supply'd with from Country Boats and Cattamarans, who make a good Penny at the first coming of *Orombarros*,² as they call those who have not been there before. . . .'

¹ Here—i.e., in England.

² *Orombarros*, new-comers, 'griffins'; from Malay *orang-baharu*, a new man.



CHAPTER VI

CIR. 1710

HAMILTON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—THOMAS PITT'S MAP
OF MADRAS—VIEWS OF FORT ST. GEORGE—SAN THOMÉ
AND THE MOUNT

HAMILTON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON traded in the East as supercargo, commander, and owner in turn of various ships from 1688 to 1723, visiting every port from the Red Sea to China. After his return to England he related his experiences in an entertaining work, entitled *A New Account of the East Indies*, which was first published in 1727, and which contains the statement that he relied solely on memory for his facts. His style has been likened to that of Herodotus. His death occurred in 1732.

The chief references to Hamilton in the Madras records occur in 1707, 1711, and 1719. In the first of these years a merchant of Cochin, named John Maxwell, complained that Hamilton had cheated him by repudiating a verbal contract. Maxwell pursued his adversary to Surat and ultimately to Madras, where he obtained an attachment against the latter's ship *George*.¹ In 1718 Hamilton wrote a long complaint to Fort St. George from Siam, regarding a dispute between Captain John Powney and himself.²

Hamilton describes Madras as follows:—

'Fort St. *George* or *Maderass*, or as the Natives call it *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *English East India* Company, situated in one of the most incommodious Places I ever saw. It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its Shore, more here than in any other Place on

¹ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 29th May, 1707, and vol. xlii., 12th April, 1711. Maxwell appears to have been a man of indifferent character. He married a daughter of Lieutenant Sinclair, and treated his wife so badly that the Government interfered for her protection.

² P.C., vol. I., 2nd April, 1719, quoted by Mrs. Penny in *Fort St. George, Madras*.



the Coast of *Chormandel*. The Foundation is Sand, with a Salt-water River on its back Side, which obstructs all Springs of Fresh-water from coming near the Town, so that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Destruction on one Side, and the River in the rainy Season Inundations on the other ; the Sun from *April* to *September* scorching hot, and if the Sea-breezes did not moisten and cool the Air when they blow, the Place could not possibly be inhabited. The Reason why a Fort was built in that Place is not well accounted for ; but Tradition says that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coast about the Beginning of King Charles II's Reign after his Restoration, for protecting the Company's Trade chose that Place to ruin the *Portuguese* Trade at St. Thomas's. . . . However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *English* against the *Mogul's* Subjects, from 1685 to 1689, made Fort St. George put on a better Dress than he wore before ; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, because it lay far from those Incumberers of Trade and near the Diamond Mines of *Gulcondah*. . . .

'The Town is divided into two Parts. One, where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the *white Town*. It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about 400 Paces long and 150 broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort St. George stood near its Center. There are two Churches in it, one for the *English* and another for the *Romish* Service. The Governor superintends both, and in filling up Vacancies in the *Romish* Church, he is the Pope's Legate *a latere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hospital in the Town, and the Company's Horse-stables are neat, but the old College where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in Repair.

'They have a Town-hall, and underneath it are Prisons for Debtors. There are, or were, a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen to be chosen by the free Burgers of the Town ; but that scurvy Way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council or Party fix the Choice. The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Preservation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Register of Transactions and Cases, and Attornies and Solicitors to plead in Form before the Mayor and Aldermen ; but after all it is but a Farce, for by Experience I found that a few *Pagodoes* rightly placed could turn the Scales of Justice to which Side the Governor pleased, without Respect to Equity or Reputation. . . .

'The black Town is inhabited by *Gentows*, *Mahometans* and *Indian Christians*, viz *Armenians* and *Portuguese*, where there are Temples and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated ; and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the land when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had some Apprehension that the *Mogul's* Generals in *Golcondah* might, some Time or other, plunder it, so laying the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either persuaded or obliged to raise Subsidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea and the white Town.

'The two Towns are absolutely governed by the Governor *Sola*, in whose Hands the Command of the military is lodged ; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company are managed by him and his Council, most part of whom are generally his Creatures. . . .

'One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for

that Reason called the Sea-gate. This Gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations resorted about eleven a Clock to treat of Business in Merchandize ; but that Custom is out of Fashion, and the Consultation Chamber, or the Governor's Apartment serves for that Use now. . . .

'The Company has their Mint here for coining Bullion that comes from *Europe* and other Countries into Rupees, which brings them in good Revenues. The Rupee is stamp'd with *Persian* Characters, declaring the *Mogul's* Name, Year of his Reign, and some of his Epithets. They also coin Gold into *Pagodoes* of several Denominations and Value. There are also Schools for the Education of Children: the *English* for Reading and Writing *English*, the *Portuguese* for their Language and *Latin*, and the *Mahometans*, *Gentooes* and *Armenians* for their particular Languages. And the *English* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Housewifery, good Clothes and Palankines.

'The Diamond Mines being but a Week's Journey from Fort St. George make them pretty plentiful there ; but few great Stones are now brought to Market there since that great Diamond which Governor *Pit* sent to *England*. How he purchased it Mr. *Glover*,¹ by whose Means it was brought to the Governor, could give the best Account, for he declared to me that he lost 3000 *Pagodoes* by introducing the Seller to Mr. *Pit*, having left so much Money in *Arcat* as Security that if the Stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the Owner should have free Liberty to carry it where he pleased for a Market ; but neither the Owner nor Mr. *Glover* were pleased with the Governor's Transactions in that Affair. . . .

'The Colony is well peopled, for there is computed to be 80,000 Inhabitants² in the Towns and Villages : and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen and Soldiery. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*, their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*, and their Firewood from the Island of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near Matchulipatam, so that an Enemy that is superior to them in Sea Forces may easily distress them.'

THOMAS PITT'S MAP OF MADRAS.

Pitt's valuable map of Madras, which has been referred to in earlier pages, throws abundant light on the topography of the city. In connexion with the caste disputes of 1707, the records mention the production of a plan of the streets and buildings of Peddanaikpetta ; and it is probable that this survey formed a part of the larger map which was subsequently engraved in England. The only copy of the engraving known to be extant has been discovered in the Gough Collection³ of maps preserved in the

¹ Mr. Samuel Glover, a free merchant.

² A great reduction of the numbers reported by others at an earlier period.

³ Richard Gough (1735-1809), author and antiquarian, devoted himself to the collection of topographical works, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian. Another Richard Gough was seventh of Council at Hugli in 1683, and a Director of the United Company in 1706.

Bodleian Library. It is entitled *A Prospect of Fort St. George and Plan of the City of Madras, Actually Surveyed by Order of the Late Governr., Tho. Pitt, Esq.* The engraving, by John Harris, is dedicated to the Directors of the Honble. United East India Company. The territory shown includes the White and Black Towns, the Island, and portions of Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta, drawn to a scale of about 20 inches to the mile. In the left top corner is a view of the White Town from the sea, on a scale about two and a half times larger. By the courtesy of Bodley's Librarian and of the Controller of the Oxford University Press, the map has been reproduced on a diminished scale for the present work. The view of the White Town, of the original size, forms the frontispiece of the first volume.

It is remarkable that this map should for two centuries have been lost sight of. It was known to the cartographer, Herman Moll,¹ who utilized a portion of it for an inset to his *Map of the East Indies*, published about 1712,² and also for the second edition of Salmon's *Modern History*. The original engraving by John Harris of the larger map is undated, but the words 'late Governr.' in the heading, and Moll's use of the print about 1712, fix the date of execution approximately.

The date of Pitt's survey can be roughly assigned by the internal evidence of the map. The Island is shown embanked, and Mrs. Heathfield's garden intact. Now the work of embanking was undertaken in 1705, and the garden was acquired by weavers for building purposes in 1706. The Mint, however, is shown in the position to which it was transferred about 1711.

The map bears every indication of being the result of an accurate survey, and its correctness has been checked in various ways. It displays the true form of Cogan and Day's square bastioned fort, and the shape of the White Town, and it proves Fryer's conventional plan to be quite untrustworthy. It also shows that no reliance can be placed on Langlès' plan of Madras in 1688. It determines the position of Charles Street, Church

¹ Herman Moll, a Dutch geographer, who settled in London in 1698, and published many fine maps. He died in 1732. He may have obtained Pitt's map through Cornelius Moll, who was a Writer at Fort St. George in 1711.

² See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Herman Moll. According to the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Moll's *Athlas Royal*, which contains his *Map of the East Indies*, was published between 1708 and 1720.



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Street, and St. Thomas Street in the southern part of White Town, and of Choultry Street, Middle Gate Street, and James Street in the northern portion. The sites of the Town Hall, Portuguese Church, Barracks, Hospital, Mint, and Carpenter's Yard are fixed. In the Black Town we find the names of several streets and works of fortification, and the sites of the English Burial Ground, the Armenian Church, the Great Pagoda, and the Mosque. The General Market is under the north curtain of the White Town, the Herb Market near the Great Pagoda, and the Green Market outside the northern rampart of Black Town. A fourth market is found in Peddanaikpetta.

The separation between Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta is well marked, the intervening space being occupied by numerous fruit gardens, watered by the *Cannall of the Padda*. In Muthialpetta several streets and gardens are named, and the sites of the present Armenian Church and Roman Catholic Cathedral are seen to have been originally the burying-grounds of the Armenian and Portuguese communities. Manucci's Garden and the Tomb of Bartholomew Rodrigues are depicted. Between them lie the 'Coco Gardens,' identified as Maria Pois's Garden, and a little farther north is shown 'The Companys Fruit Garden,' so often referred to under the title of the Company's Old Garden.¹

Peddanaikpetta possessed the alternative designation of Comer Petta.² This name, which has now been lost, was doubtless derived from the potters who formerly exercised their craft on the river-bank near the Company's new Garden. Several of the streets are named, and the sites of the garden houses of Dr. Bulkley, Messrs. Fleetwood,³ Empson,⁴ Samson, and

¹ The map of 1733 suggests that the *Companys Fruit Garden* formed part only of *Old Garden*.

² *Comer Petta*—i.e., *Kummerapettai*, potters' village.

³ *Fleetwood*; probably Edward Fleetwood, a free merchant. In some of the lists he appears as a freeman, in others as a seafaring man. He died in 1712. A tombstone to him and his infant daughter, Margery, may be seen by St. Mary's. His brother, Charles Fleetwood, sometime Chief at York Fort, Bencoolen, came thence to Madras about 1695, heavily indebted to the Company. In 1702 he was granted permission to go to a brother who was 'Consull at Grand Caro . . . thô wee can't excuse Mr. Fleetwood from being guilty of profound slothfulness and carelessness' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 20th Aug., 1702). He is shown as a seafaring man at Fort St. George in 1705, and he died about two years later. The brothers appear to have been sons of Robert Fleetwood, formerly Chief of Madapollam, whose widow, Margery, married Dr. John Heathfield.

⁴ *Empson*. Mathew Empson joined the civil service in 1687, married a Casteew, and entered Council in 1696. He resigned in 1705, and became a freeman, dying in

Brabourne,¹ Senhors John Pereira² and Manoel da Silva, Mons. Chardin,³ and Mrs. Heathfield are shown. The pagoda in 'Washing Street,'⁴ called after Allingall Pillai,⁵ a Company's Merchant, and doubtless built by him, is now known as the Ekambareswarar Temple. The origin of 'Loraines Pagoda'⁶ in 'Elephant Street' has not been determined. The 'Jews Burying Place,' though now unused and much restricted in area, still occupies part of the site shown in Pitt's map.

Dr. Edward Bulkley died in 1714, and his tomb, a substantial monument of gneiss, approached by steps and surrounded by an iron railing, may still be seen at the edge of the present western esplanade of Fort St. George, opposite to the entrance of the

1708. 'Doctor Bulkly acquainting the Governour this morning of Mr. Empsons death, he immediately sent for the Paymaster and Secretary whom he ordered to go to his Lodgings, and to enquire of his Nephew, Mr. Griffith, whether he knew of any Will, and if not, that they three should surch his Scrutores for it, which accordingly they did, but found none' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 8th Jan., 1708⁵). His property was consequently taken charge of by Government.

¹ *Brabourne.* John Brabourne was Attorney General at Madras in 1690. He was afterwards appointed 'Commodore' of Anjengo under Surat, and remained at that factory until 1704 or later. In 1709 the Company nominated him Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and to succeed as President of Fort St. George in case of the death of Addison, Pitt's successor (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xiv., 4th Feb., 1708⁵). Brabourne, however, perished at the loss of the frigate *Chamber* before the despatch arrived (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 11th Jan., 1708⁵). His first wife, Deborah, died at Anjengo in 1704, and in the following year he married Ann Bright at Fort St. George. A stone to the memory of his two young children, John and Deborah, forms part of the pavement round St. Mary's.

² *Senhor John Pereira* was an eminent free merchant. The site of his garden is now the centre of a squalid quarter of Madras known as 'John Pereiras.' According to Manucci, João Pereira de Faria settled in Madras in 1660, when the Dutch took Negapatam from the Portuguese. His daughter, Escolastica, became the wife of Cosmo Lourenço Madera of San Thomé (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii., pp. 113, 206, ed. by William Irvine). Luis Madera, whose name will be mentioned in the sequel, appears to have been their son.

³ *Mons. Chardin.* Daniel Chardin, a Frenchman and respected free merchant, was brother of Sir John Chardin, traveller and author. Daniel Chardin died in 1709, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's. His daughter, Jane, was married first to Joseph Lister, free merchant, and afterwards to Governor Charles Boone of Bombay. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.)

⁴ *Washing Street*, i.e., the street of the Calico Washers, is now called Mint Street.

⁵ *Allingall Pillai* (Alangāda Pillai) became a Chief Merchant and colleague of Pedda Venkatañri in 1680, on Verona's death.

⁶ *Loraines Pagoda.* The conjecture is hazarded that 'Loraine' may be a draughtsman's or engraver's error for Narrain. 'Kittee Narrain' was a prominent figure at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he may well have endowed a temple. He is perhaps identical with Venkaṭa Nārāyaṇ, son of Chief Merchant Timmanṇa.



Medical College grounds. Comparison of Pitt's map with a modern plan shows that the doctor was buried at the bottom of his own garden. This fact enables us to fix with precision the position of the Company's Garden House, which has long been a subject of wild conjecture. The centre of the house was 95 yards south of the bottom of Bulkley's garden, whence it appears that old Government House intersected the railing before the Medical College, and stood half on the present General Hospital Road and half on the College Green. Further measurements show that the nearer bank of the river south of the Garden House was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 160 yards north of its present position.

On the river several fords are marked, and a galley is seen making its way from the White Town towards the Garden House. South of the town is the '*Coufang*,' or fishing village, and on the Island are shown the Powder-mill, Slaughter-house, a Watch-house on the road from Triplicane to Peddanaikpetta, ornamental groves and gardens, and Pitt's avenue, or '*Great Walk*,' with its four gateways.

In the '*Prospect of Fort St. George*' are plainly, if archaically depicted, the four bastions at the angles of the White Town, conspicuous among which is the lofty *Round Point*. There are also shown the *Half Moon* on the sea face, which is probably identical with, or a development of, Langhorn's *Great Bulwarke*, or *James Bastion*; the Sea Gate with the gun platform before it, flanked by Plymouth and Dover batteries; St. Mary's Church with its steeple; the Town Hall surmounted by a dragon vane; St. Andrew's Church, crowned with the Gallic cock; and the Inner Fort with its four bastions, and the Factory-house in the centre. The Union flag of England and Scotland flies from the south-east bastion of the Inner Fort. The numerous ships in the forepart of the view, as well as those at the foot of the plan, afford information as to the rigs in vogue and the ensigns carried.¹ The low hills in the background are probably an exaggerated indication of the rising ground in Peddanaikpetta which was afterwards called Hoghill.

¹ The Company's flag bore red horizontal stripes on a white ground.



VIEWS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

Preserved at the India Office is a series of six views of Eastern forts, painted by Lambert and Scott about 1732. They comprise Fort St. George at Madras, Fort William at Calcutta, Bombay Castle, Tellicherry, the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena. They were purchased by the Company at the rate of fifteen guineas per picture in 1732,¹ and they could not have been painted much earlier, as both the artists were then young men of about two and twenty. George Lambert (1710-1765) is known as a scenic painter who became first president of the Society of Artists, and Samuel Scott (*cir.* 1710-1772) was a marine painter who rose to some eminence.² As neither artist appears to have visited India, the views must have been designed from existing material, and a comparison of the picture of Fort St. George³ with the 'Prospect' at the head of Pitt's map suggests one source of inspiration. Lambert was probably responsible for the delineation of the town and landscape, while Scott supplied the ships in front of the picture. The place is observed from a considerable altitude, as the mast-head of a ship, so that the interior of the town is exposed to view. The Sea Gate, the east wall and its batteries, the Round Point, St. Mary's Church, and the Town Hall, are depicted much as in Pitt's prospect; but the details of the Inner Fort are vague, and several round towers, which certainly did not exist, are introduced among the buildings. The north wall of the White Town is shown buttressed but lacking gateways, and the imposing hills in the background are foreign to truth.

In 1733 Lambert asked permission to make copies of the series. The disposal of his application, though not recorded, is judged to have been favourable, for a painting of Fort St. George has lately been discovered, which is practically identical with the India Office view in regard to the town, though the ships in front are differently arranged. The marine part of the picture is nevertheless considered to have been the handiwork of Scott. This painting, which measures 48 ins. by 36 ins., passed from the 'Fron' collection into the hands of the owner of Plas Llanfair,

¹ *Court Minutes*, 1st Nov., 1732.

² *Descriptive List of Paintings, etc.*, at the India Office, William Foster.

³ Measuring 52 in. by 32 in.



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Anglesey, and has lately been acquired by the Government of Madras. Being in excellent condition, it has been selected for reproduction in this work in preference to the India Office view. Both pictures may be regarded as representing Fort St. George as it was in Thomas Pitt's time.

The India Office records show that in 1735 John Bowles asked and obtained permission to 'make copies'—by which are understood prints—of the series. Bowles employed Elisha Kirkall,¹ and in due course engravings of some of the forts were published, printed in green ink. It is remarkable, however, that Kirkall's view of Fort St. George differs widely from the India Office painting. The ships, which occupy a prominent place, are faithfully copied, but the appearance of the town and landscape is much changed. The observer is stationed at a low level, so that the interior of the town is not visible. Lambert's false towers have disappeared, as have the hills in the background, save for a slight elevation towards the south; the substantial character of the Round Point is emphasized; the Inner Fort has given place to the Fort Square,² the cupola over the western gateway of which is conspicuously displayed; the Capuchin church is shown on an imposing scale, justifying Father Desideri's description, which will be quoted on a subsequent page; and the buildings generally are more modern in style than those painted by Lambert. Though the dedication states that the view was 'done after the painting in the Court Room of the Company's house in Leaden Hall Street,' the conclusion is irresistible that Kirkall drew his fort from later material than Lambert possessed. Since the Fort Square was not completed until 1717, while the Round Point was demolished in 1719, the view may be deemed to represent the White Town between those limits of time. A reproduction of the print is here given.

In 1736 the India House series of paintings was once more engraved—on this occasion by Gerard Vandergucht. His print of Fort St. George³ is an accurate copy of the picture now in the India Office. Vandergucht's engravings are rare, but a specimen

¹ Kirkall died in 1742. His engraving of Fort St. George was 'printed for T. Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, and J. Bowles at the black Horse in Cornhill.'

² The Fort Square was begun in 1714 and finished in 1717.

³ The engraving is inscribed, 'Printed for John Bowles in Cornhill, Carington Bowles in St. Pauls Church Yard, and Robert Sayer in Fleet Street.'



View of Fort St. George
after Geo. Lambert and Sam. Scott.



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To the Honourable the Court of DIRECTORS of the UNITED COMPANY
of Merchants of ENGLAND trading to the EAST-INDIES this View of
Fort St. George done after the Painting in the Court Room of the
Company's house in Leaden Hall Street is most humbly Dedicated
by their HONOURS most obliged
and most devoted Servant



John Bowles.

E. Rickall fecit.

View of Fort St. George about 1718.



CL



J. Van Ryne delin.

Fort St. George on the COROMANDEL Coast.
Belonging to the East India Company of England.

Published according to Act of Parliament 1724

London Printed for Robt. Dayer opposite Peter Lane Fleet Street

Le Fort St. George sur la Cote de COROMANDEL.
Appartenance à la Compagnie Angloise des Indes Orientales.

View of part of Fort St. George,
after J. van Ryne.



of Fort St. George which was formerly preserved in the 'Fron' collection, has lately been acquired for the Government of Madras. The execution of the print is markedly inferior to Kirkall's.

The best-known eighteenth-century view of Fort St. George is that due to J. Van Ryne.¹ Although his engraving was not published until 1754, it is evident that it represents the town at an earlier period, and the influence of Thomas Pitt's 'Prospect' and of Kirkall's print may be distinguished. Van Ryne's view in various sizes has been republished at different dates, and with more than one disposition of the ships in the roads. The reproduction for this work is made from the engraving of 1754, preserved in the British Museum. The representation of the Round Point and the cupola of the Fort Square shows that Van Ryne's print, like Kirkall's, depicts the Fort as it was in 1718. The most singular feature of the engraving is that all that part of the White Town which extended north of the Fort Square is omitted from the view. Consequently the Sea Gate, whose true position was near the middle of the east front, is depicted close to the northern extremity of the wall. The hill crowned with a building, which appears above the Round Point, is perhaps intended for St. Thomas' Mount, though that elevation lies eight miles south-west of the Fort, but the rest of the hilly background is the product of the imagination of earlier artists.

SAN THOMÉ AND THE MOUNT.

The condition of San Thomé and the Mount at this period is described by Thomas Salmon, Alexander Hamilton, and Father Tachard, and a little later by Father Desideri. Salmon states² that when the Portuguese first settled at 'Meliapour' the place was in ruins. They rebuilt it, and named it San Thomé. In course of time it became a Bishop's see. 'The churches, monasteries, and private buildings were very magnificent for that part of the world; it was regularly fortified, and became the greatest place

¹ Jan Van Ryne was born in Holland in 1712. He came to London in 1750, and practised engraving there until his death, ten years later. His principal works were views of Batavia, the Cape, St. Helena, Fort St. George, Fort William, and Bombay (*Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders*, Kramm, 1861).

² *Modern History; or, The Present State of All Nations*, Thomas Salmon, 1724 and 1739.



of trade upon the coast ; but they were beaten out of it by the Moors.' After alluding to the French occupation, Salmon continues :—

'The, Dutch . . . about four years¹ after the French had been in possession of it, blocked up the town by sea with fifteen sail of ships, while the King of Golconda's forces besieged it by land ; and the town holding out beyond expectation, the Dutch landed seven hundred soldiers, who joined the besiegers and took it ; whereupon the fortifications were destroyed, and it is at this day a place of no strength ; nor do the Europeans think it worth their while to have factories there. It is inhabited indeed by the descendants of the Portuguese, Moors, Jentoes, and a mixture of other nations, and still a Bishop's see ; but the people are generally poor, the trade being removed to Madras, whither also many of the Portuguese removed, and have a church allowed them there.

Alexander Hamilton writes in characteristic fashion :—

'*St. Thomas* is next, which lies about three Miles to the Southward of Fort *St. George*. The City was built by the *Portuguese*, and they made the Apostle its Godfather ; but before that, it was called *Malliapore*. There is a little dry Rock on the Land, within it, called the *Little Mount*, where the Apostle designed to have hid himself till the fury of the *Pagan* Priests, his Persecutors, had blown over. There was a convenient Cave in that Rock for his Purpose, but not one Drop of Water to drink, so *St. Thomas* cleft the Rock with his Hand, and commanded Water to come into the Clift, which Command it readily obeyed ; and, ever since, there is Water in that Clift, both sweet and clear. When I saw it, there was not above three Gallons in it. He stayed there a few Days, but his Enemies had an Account of his Place of Refuge, and were resolved to sacrifice him, and, in great Numbers, were approaching the Mount. When he saw them coming, he left his Cave, and came down in order to seek Shelter somewhere else ; and at the Foot of the Mount, as a testimony that he had been there, he stamped with his bare Foot on a very hard Stone, and left the Print of it, which remains there to this Day, a Witness against those persecuting Priests. The Print of his Foot is about sixteen Inches long, and in Proportion, narrower at the Heel and broader at the Toes than the Feet now in Use among us. He, fleeing for his Life to another larger Mount, about two Miles from the little one, was overtaken on the top of it, before he was sheltered, and there they ran him through with a Lance ; and in the same place where he was killed, he lies buried.

'When the *Portuguese* first settled there, they built a Church over the Cave and Well on the little Mount, and also one over his Grave on the great one, where the Lance that killed the Apostle is still kept there as a Relick ; but how the *Portuguese* came by that Lance is a Question not yet well resolved. In that Church there is a Stone tingured with the Apostle's Blood that cannot be wash'd out. I have often been at both Mounts, and have seen those wonderful Pieces of Antiquity.

'At the Foot of the great Mount, the Company has a Garden, and so have

¹ The Dutch fleet anchored before San Thomé within a year of the capture of the place by the French.



the Gentlemen of Figure at Fort St. George, with some Summer-houses where Ladies and Gentlemen retire to in the Summer, to recreate themselves when the Business of the Town is over, and to be out of the Noise of Spungers and impertinent Visitants, whom the City is often molested with.

'The City of St. Thomas was formerly the best Mart Town on the *Chormondel* Coast, but at present has but very little Trade, and the Inhabitants, who are but few, are reduced to great Poverty. The *English* settling at Fort St. George were the Cause of its Ruin, and there is little Prospect of its Recovery.'

Reference has been made on an earlier page to the rebuilding of the Oratory of St. Thomas on the Great Mount by the Portuguese in 1547, and the simultaneous discovery of a stone cross with Pehlevi inscription. It was believed that this relic not only bore indelible bloodstains, but that it exuded moisture periodically. The final manifestation, which is said to have occurred about 1703, was described in 1711 by Father Tachard, whose account is quoted both by La Croze and Desideri. Veyssière de la Croze, who discredited the traditions connected with the Apostle, writes¹ :—

'St. Thomas, says Gouvea, suffered Martyrdom in the Town of Meliapour, called Calamina in the Roman martyrology. I shall observe here in passing that this name Calamina rests only on doubtful authorities, and it is not known in India. The word signifies a Castle in Arabic, and the name might well have arisen, by confusion of terms, from the ancient Fortress which the Portuguese built at the beginning of their Conquests on the Coast of Africa called Guinea. This castle bears the name of *Castel da Mina* or *Castel Mina*. However this may be, the Town of Meliapour was formerly subject to the King of Bisnagar, whom all the shores of Ind recognised as their sovereign. When the holy apostle was slain by a lance wound, he was at prayer before a cross, similar to that of the Order of "Avis" in Portugal ; and this Cross was cut on a stone in a little Oratory which St. Thomas had built on a hill near the Town. This Oratory had been destroyed when, in 1547, the Portuguese (having made themselves masters of the place, and having peopled the Town, to which they gave the name of St. Thomas which it still bears to this day), resolved to build on the hill a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin. They had heard it said among the old inhabitants that this was the place of the martyrdom of the Apostle St. Thomas ; this encouraged them, says History, to undertake the construction of a new Church there. Scarcely had they begun to dig the foundations of the building, than they discovered among the old ruins a very large stone which was in the way. They ordered it to be removed, but when they came to turn it over, it was all ensanguined, and the ground beneath appeared covered with freshly shed blood. This stone, which all Indian Histories have made famous, had a Cross cut on it in relief, surmounted by a bird, and surrounded with some ancient characters, the explanation of which as given in Gouvea and in the *China* of P. Kircher² (who supplies a figure) is open to suspicion.

¹ *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, V. de la Croze, 2 vols., 1758.

² *China . . . illustrata*, Athanasius Kircherus. Amsterdam, 1667.



'One can well believe that few proofs were needed to persuade a superstitious people that a stone found under such circumstances was a monument respectable by its age and sanctity. Miracles were wanted to render devotion more authentic. They were by no means absent. Ten years later, that is, in 1557, this stone began to sweat blood on regular days and at regular hours, and became one of the chief objects of devotion in India. The Miracle would have continued if the Town of Meliapour had not passed into other hands ; the Portuguese Discoverers of the Stone and Authors of the Miracle having alone the ability to make it act.

'This is so true that, after the Portuguese had again won access to this Town, which does not appertain to them any longer, they hazarded, for their honour, the miracle once more, but without any subsequent instances. This we learn from a letter of P. Tachard, written in India at the beginning of the year 1711. . . .'

Then follows Father Tachard's narrative, which is here given in his own words :—

'Il y a environ sept à huit ans que, pendant le Sermon qu'on faisoit à la Fête de l'Expectation, où l'Eglise étoit pleine de monde, il s'éleva tout-d'un-coup un bruit confus de gens qui croient de tous côté[s], Miracle ! Le Missionnaire, qui étoit proche de l'Autel, ne put s'empêcher de publier le Miracle comme les autres. En effet, il m'assura que cette Sainte Croix, qui est d'un roc grossier et mal poli, dont la couleur est d'un gris tirant sur le noir, parut d'abord rougeâtre, puis devint brune, et ensuite d'un blanc éclatant. Enfin elle se couvrit de nuages sombres qui la déroboient aux yeux, et qui se dissipèrent par intervalles ; et qu'aussi-tôt après elle devint toute moite, et repandit une sueur si abondante que l'Eau en distilloit jusques sur l'Autel. La dévotion des Chrétiens est de conserver des linges mouillés de cette eau miraculeuse : c'est pourquoi, à la prière de plusieurs personnes considérables, et pour mieux s'assurer de la vérité, le Missionnaire monta sur l'Autel, et ayant pris sept ou huit mouchoirs, il les rendit tout trempés, après en avoir essuyé la Croix. Il est à remarquer que cette Croix est d'un roc très dur, et semblable au rocher auquel elle tient de tous côtés ; que l'eau en couloit en abondance, tandis que le reste du rocher étoit entièrement sec ; et que le jour étoit fort échauffé par les ardeurs du Soleil. Quelques Anglois Protestans ne pouvant nier ce qu'ils voyoient de leurs yeux, visiterent l'Autel . . . ; ils monterent même sur l'Eglise de ce côté-là, et examinerent avec grande attention s'il n'y avoit point quelque prestige,¹ dont on voulut surprendre la crédulité des peuples ; mais, après bien des perquisitions inutiles, ils furent contraints d'avouer qu'il n'y avoit rien de naturel dans cet événement, et qu'il y avoit au contraire quelque chose d'extraordinaire et de divin. Ils furent persuadés, mais ils ne furent pas convertis. . . .

'Il y avoit plusieurs années que cette merveille n'avoit paru au grant Mont ; et depuis ce temps-là, on n'a rien vu de semblable. . . .'

In 1726 Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J., who had been journeying in Tibet, was selected by the Bishop of Mylapore to carry certain important documents to Rome. Desideri's original manu-

¹ *Prestige, praestigium*, sleight of hand, illusion.

script account of his travels is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, and a transcript is in the possession of the Hakluyt Society. The following description of the Mount and San Thomé is derived from this copy¹:—

'Little Mount is a rock, not very high, but much scarped on all sides except the west and south. On the latter side is a stair. There are two churches, one being on the north towards Madras, half way up the hill. Access to it is gained by wide stone steps, having two or three bends, which lead to a fairly large space of ground artificially levelled on the rock. From this space you enter the church, which is dedicated to the Virgin. Beneath the altar, which is raised on ten steps, there is a large cave nearly 14 feet long and 15 to 16 feet below ground. It is situated so that only the western end of the cavern is beneath the altar.

'The grotto, whether natural or excavated from the rock, measures not more than 7 feet at its greatest height. It is entered with difficulty by a crevice. . . . People are firmly persuaded that here the Apostle retired for his devotions. Our Jesuit Missionaries have erected an altar at the end of the grotto. It is common tradition that, through a small opening about 2½ feet in width, the Apostle saved himself from the hands of the Brahmins who wounded him with a lance. He proceeded to Big Mount and there died. It lies south west of Little Mount half a league away.

'From this Church you climb higher to where the Jesuit fathers have raised a small edifice and a narrow dwelling founded on the rock. . . . To the south of the dwelling is the Church of the Resurrection, in which is a cross a foot high cut in the rock in a small recess. The cross is like that at Big Mount; the same miracles as there; the cross changes colour and is covered with clouds; it sweats. But the signs are not so marked as at Big Mount. . . .

'The top of this Church of the Resurrection is reached by a large stone stair which occupies the space from the western foot of the hill up to the small level quadrangular space which lies in front of the Church door. At the side of the altar towards the south there is an opening in the rock, four to five feet in width and about five or six feet in depth. It is called the well or fountain of St. Thomas. It is an ancient and wide spread tradition in these regions that the Holy Apostle who dwelt on the Little Mount was greatly moved at seeing the populace, who came in throngs to hear his preaching, endure the extremity of thirst owing to the absence of water, except at a great distance in the plain. Falling on his knees at the very highest point on the hill, he struck the rock with his staff and prayed. Immediately there gushed forth a spring of clear water, possessing the power of healing diseases when drunk with faith in the intercession of the Saint. Up to the present time the Hindus continue to visit the place and drink of this water; while Christians, laymen as well as priests, are persuaded and testify that the water still performs the most marvellous cures of various ailments. . . .

'The Little Mount when in its natural condition was nothing but a most rugged and almost inaccessible pinnacle of rock. About the year 1551 it was first made easier of approach, and levelled in places for the convenience of pilgrims, according to a record made for the benefit of posterity on a large

¹ Translated and communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, with the permission of the Hakluyt Society.



stone standing at the head of the stair towards the north of the hill. Here was built the Church of the Holy Virgin given to the Portuguese fathers of the Society of Jesus, who afterwards erected a sort of hermitage on the peak of the rock, and the Church of the Resurrection, where exists the stone cross above spoken of, cut in low relief. . . .

'Great Mount is not far from Little Mount, not more than half a league away. I am unable to state precisely the height, but at a guess it cannot be less than four times the height and extent of the other hill. Up to less than sixty six years ago¹ Great Mount was just as deserted as Little Mount once was. At the present day, however, there is a very large number of handsome houses round its foot, even some sumptuous mansions which belong to Malatri,² Portuguese and Armenians; also many owned by the English. So great an increase is there in the number of dwellings that it might be said that it is a large and agreeable town, where there is a continual concourse of the richest coaches and palankeens on their way to Great Mount. When the European ships have sailed from Madras, nearly one half of the well-to-do inhabitants of that city come and pass months at a time in this newly formed town at the foot of Great Mount.

'On the top of this hill is built a fine Church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and it is known as the Madonna of the Mount. Without fear of contradiction, this is the most celebrated, the most remarkable edifice existing in India, and it is the most frequented by Christians of this country. . . .

'The cross, carved in low relief in the live rock by the hand of St. Thomas, is situated over the high altar of the ancient Church. The Church has since then been much embellished by the Armenians, whether Catholics or schismatics, and as I have said, it is known as the Madonna of the Mount. As soon as ever the ships and vessels of the Portuguese and Armenians can see the Church from the sea and find they are about to pass it, they put up prayers for a safe return, and discharge a salute from their artillery.

'The said cross occupies a space of about two feet square; the two arms are equal. It stands out from the rock about the thickness of a finger, and in width may be four fingers. It is a generally accepted belief among the Indians, whether Hindus or Christians, that the cross must be the work of St. Thomas . . . ; also that he breathed his last at its foot from a lance wound inflicted by a Brahman. It cannot be denied that miracles are constantly performed at the Madonna of the Mount. . . .

'On the 18th of December every year the Portuguese celebrate there the Feast of the Expectation . . . ; and I had the satisfaction of being present at one of those feasts in the year 1726. On that date, during the feast, there is sometimes a miracle, which adds greatly to the veneration in which this sanctuary is held by all the people. This miracle is so supported and authenticated, so public and so closely scrutinised by both Christians and the Protestants themselves who on that day join the crowd frequenting the church, that even the most incredulous amongst them can never afterwards throw doubt upon it; and it is confirmed by the evidence of those who have more than once seen it with their own eyes. . . .'

Without naming his authority, Desideri then gives Tachard's account, which has been already quoted from La Croze, of the

¹ About 1660.

² Perhaps Malabars—i.e., Tamils.

incident which happened 'some years ago.' Desideri thus continues¹:—

'When the sweating began to stop, the Father Rector of Saint Thomas sent a Missionary to the Little Mount to find out what had happened there, and they found that the cross there, made just the same way by a carving in the rock, was all wet as if it had sweated, and the floor of the recess in which it stands was wet. The Portuguese are accustomed to say that, when the phenomenon occurs, it presages some disaster to their nation, and they told me several instances which occurred in the past century, and announced beforehand by means of the miraculous cross.

'In addition to the said cross there is in that Church another lovely monument, that is, a most impressive representation of the Holy Virgin. . . . There is a continuous tradition that such a picture was painted by the Evangelist St. Luke, and that St. Thomas brought it here with him. It is a fixed tradition that it was rediscovered, along with the cross and the relics of that glorious Apostle, on the very spot of his martyrdom. Not only the Christians have great devotion for it, but the very idolaters themselves hold it in the same veneration. . . .

'Such are the memorials of that holy apostle in the aforesaid Little Mount and Big Mount. In the town called Saint Thomas, or otherwise named Meliapur, or spelt strictly according to their language "Mailapur," that is to say "Peacock-city," in addition to the magnificent cathedral dedicated to the same saint, and the chapel with relics lately referred to, there is also preserved a certain miraculous beam of wood. . . .

'Let us now turn to what regards the city of Saint Thomas, that is to say Meliapur. I came there from Pondiscery about September. Thus I reached this city called, in the language prevalent in Malatar, the Peacock-City, because the princes who once reigned there had a peacock for their coat-of-arms, and caused it to be displayed upon their standards. . . . Some fifty years ago the city of S. Thomé was one of the finest and best fortified towns to be found in the Indies. It belonged to the Portuguese, but they finding themselves little by little deprived by the Dutch of their principal possessions, took the course of ceding the place to the King of Golconda. Monsieur de la Haye, a Frenchman sent to the Indies with a fleet of ten war vessels, considered he had cause to attack it. He disembarked, and in a few hours, to the great wonderment of the Indians, made himself master of it. He held it for two years, and the French would be to this day in possession if reinforcements from Europe had reached them at the proper time.²

'The King of Golconda feared that in time the French would succeed in retaking the place. He therefore determined to dismantle the fortress and city. Out of its ruins the town of Madras has been greatly extended and enlarged. Afterwards Orangzeb, Emperor of the Mogol dominions, conquered the Kingdom of Golconda, and thus at the present time the city of S. Thome is incorporated with the territories of that empire. All the same, the Portuguese continue still to occupy a handsome quarter, where are to be seen very

¹ The first paragraph of what follows is probably derived from Tachard, though not quoted by La Croze.

² According to Martin, a ship from France reached Bombay in October, 1675, with 200 men, for the relief of San Thomé.

fine houses of considerable size, spacious streets, and besides the bishop's palace there are also the large Cathedral church, the College and church of the Society of Jesus, with some convents and churches of other religious orders, of which some are placed within and some outside the city.

'A league further on to the north of the city of San Thome is the city of Madrasta or Madraspatan, called by the Malabaris Cinapattnam. Madrasta is a city of considerable beauty belonging to the English, surrounded by a wall, and in it a quadrangular fortress known as the Fort of St. George. You see also a second town¹ inhabited by Armenians and merchants of other foreign nations. Further on is a third town² much larger than the other, where dwell the Indians, forming as it were a suburb to the other town. In these three towns taken together as one whole there live more than one hundred thousand souls. It may be assumed that the English collect from it by annual taxes and fixed dues more than 60,000 pagotte, that is between seventy and eighty thousand Roman scudi.

'The French Capuchin Fathers possess a convent in Madrasta, and hence have the spiritual charge of the Christians who are settled in Madrasta, or have come there in the service of the English or other foreign merchants. In recent years the same Reverend Fathers have built in Madrasta, not far from the Fort of St. George, a very large and very magnificent church³ which is absolutely the best, or else one of the best churches to be found in the East Indies : and it looks as if such a building must have cost them somewhere about 25,000 pieces of Spain. Subsequently they have been arranging to rebuild entirely their convent house which stands on the left side of the noble facade of their Church. When it is finished it will certainly accord with their edifice, and add new beauties to its magnificence.'

An ancient view of St. Thomas's Mount will be found in Valentijn's *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., published in 1726.⁴ It is, perhaps, contemporaneous with the same author's plan of San Thomé of about 1673. A later and more accurate view forms the frontispiece to a poem entitled *Saint Thomas's Mount*, published in 1774, the authorship of which is attributed to Eyles Irwin, a Madras civil servant whose name will be mentioned in the sequel. Both views have been reproduced for this work.

¹ Black Town.

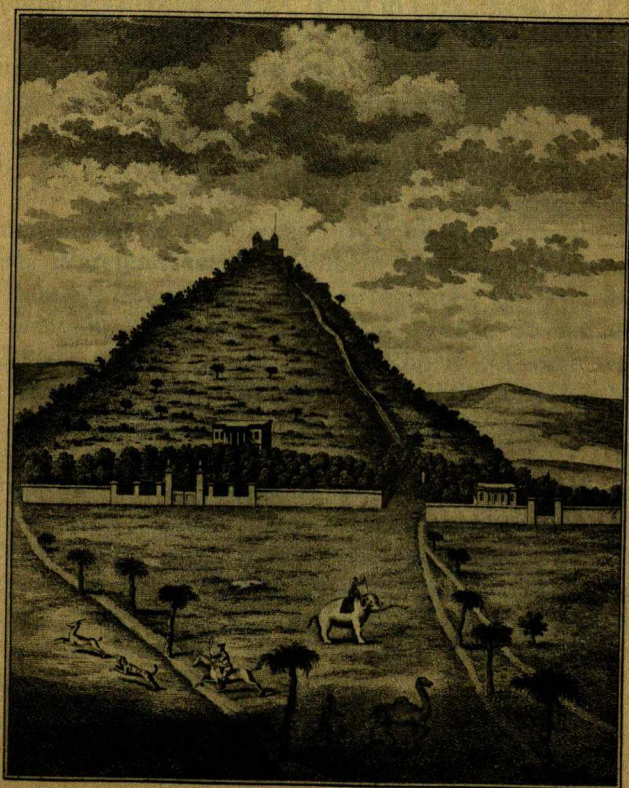
² Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta.

³ St. Andrew's Church, erected on the north side of Fort St. George—i.e., the Inner Fort.

⁴ Valentijn's view of the Mount was reproduced by Abbé Prévost d'Exiles in his *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, vol. ix., 1746, under the misleading title 'Ruines de St. Thomé.'



St. Thomas' Mount.
(about 1670).



St. Thomas' Mount.
(about 1770).



CHAPTER VII

1709—1717

GOVERNOR EDWARD HARRISON—MADRAS VILLAGES—
EMBASSY TO THE MOGUL—THE MADRAS MOSQUE

GOVERNOR EDWARD HARRISON.

ON the death of Addison, William Fraser, as senior Councillor, became provisional Governor until the intentions of the Company could be made known. The Directors chose Mr. Edward Harrison of the Company's marine service. Born in 1674, the son of Richard Harrison of Balls Park, Hertford, and grandson of Sir John Harrison, an ardent Royalist, Edward Harrison embarked in the Company's China trade, first as purser and afterwards as commander. His duelling exploit at Madras in 1695 has been already recorded. He arrived at Fort St. George in the *Dartmouth* on the 10th July, 1711, and took charge on the following morning. His Council consisted of Thomas Frederick, Accountant; Henry Davenport, Warehousekeeper; William Martin, Sea Customer; Edward Bulkley, Paymaster; William Jennings, Land Customer; Bernard Benyon, Storekeeper; William Warre, Scavenger and Rental General; and Richard Hunt. Robert Raworth went to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor. The impracticable Fraser, who had successively tormented Yale, Higginson, and Pitt, sailed for England in January, 1713.

The chief features of Harrison's administration were negotiations regarding the Madras villages, an embassy to the Emperor, difficulties with the native governments at Gingee and Vizagapatam, the revolt of the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, the demolition of Cogan and Day's fort and its reconstruction as the Fort Square, the rebuilding of the barracks, hospital, and mint and the completion of Egmore Redoubt.



Harrison's rule lasted until the 8th January, 1717, when he delivered over charge to his successor Joseph Collet, and sailed for England, the possessor of a considerable fortune. He was then forty-three years of age. He settled in London at 14, St. James's Square, now the home of the London Library; became Chairman of the East India Company, and inherited the estate of Balls on the death of his elder brother. He was elected Member of Parliament for Hertford, and was subsequently appointed Postmaster General. He married Frances, daughter of Reginald Bray, died in 1732, and was buried at All Saints Church, Hertford. His only surviving child, Ethelreda, became the wife of Charles, Viscount Townshend.¹

The accompanying portrait of Harrison is, by the courtesy of Sir Charles Lawson, reproduced from a painting lately in the possession of the Marquess Townshend.

MADRAS VILLAGES.

Scarcely had Pitt turned his back on Madras when Dā,ūd Khān demanded the return of the five new villages. The Nawab was soothed with a present of '400 bottles of Liquors,' which proved so acceptable that he not only confirmed the grant of the villages, but gave in addition forty acres of ground at the Mount for a house and garden.² Shortly afterwards, however, he renewed his demand on the pretext that the villages were part of Zu,lfikār Khān's jaghire, and he ordered Evalappa, the renter of Poona-mallee, to occupy them. Fraser determined to resist, and sent armed parties to 'Trevitore and Lungum bauc.' In May, 1710, the Dewan Sa'adatullah Khān not only pressed the demand for the new villages, but also claimed the restoration of the four old ones.³ Fraser pointed out that Zu,lfikār had duly received from Dā,ūd Khān an equivalent for the former, and that no difficulty had been raised until 'Yeavellapa, that plague of the poor and Cockatrice of all venom,' had brought his malign influence to bear on the

¹ *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, Clutterbuck, 1821, and *Memories of Madras*, by Sir Charles Lawson.

² *P.C.*, vol. xl., 21st Nov., 1709 and vol. xli., 9th Jan., 1711. In 1711 he applied for '200 bottles of the same Liquor as has usually been sent him.' Dā,ūd Khān was killed fighting in the Deccan in 1715. (*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 9th Jan., 1715.)

³ The old villages ordinarily mentioned are three—viz., Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tondiarpett. The fourth here referred to was presumably Triplicane.



Emery Walker Ph.D.

Edward Harrison



Nawab. As for the old villages, they had been granted many years before by Prince Kām Baksh and Asad Khān for services rendered during the siege of Gingee. The following letter was sent at the same time to Zu,lfikār himself. It gives the actual dates on which the villages were acquired :—

Governor Fraser to Nawab Zu,lfikār Khān.

‘To the most Excellent and most Illustrious Prince Cawne Bahawdir, Ameer ul Omrah, William Fraser, Governour of Fort St. George, wisheth all health. . .

‘It was the happy time when the royall army of the all-conquering King Orem Zeb lay before Chingee, when your victorious arms laid seige to that strong fortress, that my Predecessor, Governour Yale, was so highly honoured by the Nishan sent him by the then royall Prince Mahomud Cawne Bux. . .

‘And on the 10th February 1693, being the 36th year of the Kings reign, we were honoured with the Nabob, the great Assid Cawnes, Perwannas which freely gave and granted to the English Company the perpetuall inheritance of three Villages, Egmore, Tandore and Persiwaca. . .

‘Since which time we have and ever shall continue true and faithfull freinds to the Kings interest, in consideration of which the late Nabob Dowed Cawne generously gave and granted to Governour Pitt, my late Predecessor, five Villages, Vizt. Longumbauc, Varsalavada, Trivitore, Sautungudda, and Cuttevauc, as may appear by his perwanna dated the 28th of September 1708, which five villages are . . . said to be [taken] out of your Jaggeir, but that Nabob Dowed Cawne gave your Highness an equivalent out of his own Jaggeir at St. Thoma, because those Villages were joyning to our three old Villages. . .’ (P.C., vol. xli, 29th May, 1710.)

Fraser concludes by alluding to Evalappa as ‘the Epitome of all venome and malice,’ and expresses the hope that Zu,lfikār will ratify his father’s grant.

The Company signified their views as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘We cant but observe the precarious Title the Moors pretend we have to our Towns nigh Madrass, and how necessary it is to keep fair with the People in power thereabouts. . .

‘We likewise observe the Nabob in his Grant says he gives them to the Governour, which we could wish was alterd, and that the Grant be procured to the Company, because in every change by Death or absence of the Governour there is a handle made to take them away again, and then a New fine must be given at the Will of the Lord. If in the Mogulls Phirmaund the grant of those and our other three Townes were particularly inserted, wee should think our Tenure by so much the better, even thō wee paid some small yearly Rent for them.

‘Wee observe in your Countrey Letter Book that Governour Pitt obtained his ends of this Nabob by fair words and abundance of Professions of Service

and now and then a Small present of Liquors or raritys, and kept other of the Countrey Governours in quiet by a mixture of sometimes smooth and at other times menacing Language as occasion required. Wee hope our now Constituted President and Councill will herein write after his Copy, and to that end, by reperusing former transactions, will be well apprized of his methods ; and if they do but sett out right in the beginning, it will be very easy to continue.' (P. from Eng., vol. xv., 3rd Jan., 17[11].

From various indirect allusions it appears that possession of the five new villages was actually resumed by the native government in 1711. They passed permanently to the British, however, under the Mogul's *farmān* of 1717.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee observe the endeavours you have used for regaining the five Towns. . . . Wee dont think it for our Interest to have quarrells with the Government on account of these or any other new acquired Towns, thō wee would be glad to recover them by fair means when we are necessitated to make a present. . . . But the case of our Three Towns we think is different ; they are ours by Consent, or at least without any objection of the Emperor Aurengzebe or his Ministers, and wee may claim them by Sallabad ; and Fort St. David is ours by purchase from the then lawfull Possessor, and has been allowed since the Mogulls Conquest of Rama Rajahs Countrey.' (P. from Eng., vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

The strip of native territory between Egmore and Madras had now become a menace to the British :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The President with some Gentlemen going over on the Island to view the Cattle there in order to increase their quantity for the use of the Garrison, the Country government being very unsettled since Dowed Cawne left these parts ; at which time word was brought him by one of our peons that forty horses of the Mores were gott together at the metta, being a place where the Moors receive the Country Juncan, and is a slip of ground that lyes betwixt our bounds and our Town of Egmore : upon which the President immediately sent a peon and ordered them to decamp, and at the same time ordered a detachment of twenty Soldiers under the command of an Ensign to succour our guards at Egmore, which was accordingly done.' (P.C., vol. xli., 14th June, 1710.)

The unsettled state of the empire consequent on Shāh 'Ālam's death in 1712, the disputed succession, and Zu,lfikār Khān's execution in 1713, led to the revival of the claim to the three old villages. Zu,lfikār Khān's jaghire passed to Nawab Ghāzi-ud-dīn

Khān,¹ who succeeded to the government of the Deccan. On his behalf Sa'adatullah Khān, Deputy Nawab in the Carnatic for Dā'ūd Khān,² demanded the rendition of Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tandore. Harrison prepared to resist by force of arms. The matter was ultimately arranged, however, by the good offices of Sankarama (Sunku Rāma), the Company's Chief Merchant, supplemented no doubt by the inevitable present.³

In 1710 the Armenians were suspected of having designs on San Thomé. They had purchased several houses at the Mount, and Fraser believed that they intended to establish a mercantile centre there and use San Thomé as their seaport. Special complaint was made of Coja Saffur (Khwājah Şafar), 'to prevent which growing evil, it's thought expedient to pull up that insolent weed of ill humour by the root,' so Coja Saffur was confined to the Fort.⁴ Writing to England in 1712 the Council say:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We gave your Honours our reasons by the Avarilla why we did not care to meddle with the five Villages formerly given by Dowd Cawn unless we could have the grant confirmed from Court, and even then it would be better to have some ground that is nearer to Us, so that we may be able to defend it upon occasion : and if we could be so happy as to procure St. Thoma, tho' it cost a considerable Sum of money, it would be a very advantageous Article, for the ground is very fertile and good ; it would bring Us an encrease of Customes, and remove the Moors Government further from Us ; besides we know both the French and Armenians have their eye upon it, and hope to settle there one time or other, which would be of infinite prejudice to your affairs.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee cant agree with the Penman or Subscribers of the Letter of the 8th February That the Armenians will be forward to rent St. Thoma, or that wee had better do it than they should. Wee think they are wiser than to rely on generous tempers or mild Government of the Moors, or that the late oppressions of Meer Mahmud at that place on the Portugueez will ever make them fond to settle there. As to our Renting it, the late troubles at Fort St. Davids and the loss of the five Villages, to say no more, are sufficient reasons against such a thought.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

¹ Better known as Chīn Kilich Khān, Nizām-ul-Mulk. He is sometimes called by the name of his father, Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān.

² Dewan Sa'adatullah Khān was confirmed as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1713. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 8th Oct., 1713.)

³ *P.C.*, vol. xlv., 23rd April and 8th Oct., 1713, and vol. xlv., 21st and 27th Oct., 1715.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xli., 13th Jan., 1716.

EMBASSY TO THE MOGUL.

It will be remembered that Pitt had commenced negotiations in 1708 for a *farmān* from the emperor to ratify all previous grants, and that he had organized an embassy under the Rev. George Lewis to convey a present of sufficient bulk and value to propitiate the monarch. The project had the approval of the Court of Directors, who wrote in 1710: 'We wait with impatience to know the Issue, and take it kindly of Mr. Pitt that he will stay to give a finishing touch to that great and good work.'¹ Never was there greater need for patience. The present, instead of reaching Shāh 'Ālam, was ultimately delivered to his next successor but one; and the long-expected *farmān* was not issued until eight years after Pitt's departure, when Collet had succeeded Harrison as Governor.

Pitt sent the portable part of the present to Masulipatam for delivery to Shāh 'Ālam at Golconda. The emperor, however, left hastily for Delhi after the defeat of Prince Kām Baksh, and it was resolved to lodge the gift with 'Isuph Cawn, Suba of Gulcondah,' until the royal pleasure should be known, the Mogul 'haveing sent a Gusbardar² to Conduct itt safe to him, . . . itt being Herculian labour for us too send it too Dilhee, itt being little less than 2,000 Miles, and would be an immense Charge to the Company.'³ Under the advice of Zīyā-ud-dīn Khān, however, who had been appointed High Admiral of the coast from Hugli to San Thomé, the present was forwarded to Bengal. This so exasperated the Gusbardar that he went the length of blockading the British agent Mr. Noden in the factory at Masulipatam.⁴

On the 17th February, 1712, Shāh 'Ālam died at Lahore after a brief illness, and the usual struggle for succession ensued between his sons. The eldest, Mu'izz-ud-dīn, supported by Zu, līkār Khān, combined with his two younger brothers against Aẓīm-ud-dīn, the second son, governor of Bengal, whom he defeated and killed. He then turned on his fraternal associates, slew them and their children, and ascended the throne as Jahāndar Shāh. Aẓīm-ud-dīn's son, Farrukhsīyar, however, took the field, routed his uncle, executed

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 9th Jan., 1709 [1710]. The extract proves that there was no desire to hurry Pitt out of office. His so-called supersession was voluntary.

² *Gusbardar*, for *guzz-bardār*, mace-bearer.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xl., 1st Dec., 1709.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xli., 6th March, 1711.



him and Zu,lfikār, and proclaimed himself emperor early in 1713.¹ The Fort St. George Council deemed it fortunate that the gift had not been sent forward from Bengal before Shāh 'Ālam's death, and opined that Farrukhsīyar 'seems to be the King for whom Providence has designed your Present.'

The new emperor 'made the Sied Abdulla Cawn his prime Vizier, and Gousdeen Cawn,² who came over to him in the battle, Nabob of all the Dacan Country, which includes this Cornatta, Vizapoor and Golconda: he has the Character of a brave, generous man, and a friend to the Europeans. . . . Our old friend Zoodee Cawn came early into this new Kings Interest. . . . He is now rewarded by being made Duan of all the Dacan Country under Gousdeen Cawn, which is a very great Employment.'³

Early in 1714 the Bengal Council organized an embassy composed of Messrs John Surman, John Pratt, and Edward Stephenson, with Coja Seerhaud (*Kh*wājah Sirhād), to conduct the present to Delhi and negotiate for a *farmān*. The gift was somewhat reduced from its original magnitude, for the seven elephants had been sold off in Madras, and Fort St. George being short of cash, 'the large Gold Bowle and two cups,' which weighed upwards of 138 ounces, were sent to the mint to be coined into pagodas. Still, as Surman said, 'there had been no such present since the reign of Tamerlane.' Surman's reports to Madras, which commenced in July, 1715, are one monotonous tale of delays and obstructions; and it was not until February, 1717, that three *farmāns* for Madras, Bengal, and Surat, respectively, were secured.⁴ The following is an extract from the document relating to Madras:—

Farmān from the Emperor.

'A Translate of the Phirmaund Granted the English Company by King Farruckseer, and Attested to be a true Copy of the Originall by the Codgee.⁵ Dated the 5th of January 1716 [1717].

'To the present Subah . . . at Golcondah.

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712, and 16th Sept., 1713.

² *Gousdeen Cawn*: Chīn Kīlich *Kh*ān, son of *Gh*āzi-ud-dīn *Kh*ān, was sometimes called by his father's name. Chīn Kīlich was certainly 'Nabob of all the Dacan' in 1714. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 19th June, 1714.)

³ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

⁴ Full details of Surman's mission will be found in *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. ii., part ii., by C. R. Wilson.

⁵ *Codgee*, from Ar. *ḥāẓī*, a Mussalman judge.

'Be it known unto You that Mr. John Surman and Cojee Seerhaud, the English Company's Gomastahs,¹ have Solicited the King in their behalf, Vizt.

'That the Company have the liberty of trading Custom free in all the port Towns under the Subah of Golcondah, That they Annually pay twelve Hundred pagodas into the King's Treasury for the rent of Chinnapatam, as appears by the Books, and that they hop'd to obtain His Majestys Phirmaund for the continuance thereof according to Sallabad.

'Wherefore the King has been pleas'd to Order that their petition be granted if conformable to Custome. . . .

'The English Company's Gomastahs have further petition'd as follows :

'That in the time of the Chingie War they supplied the Kings Camp with Guns, Powder, Balls, &c. Ammunition and Provisions. That in consideration of such Services his Majesty gave them (as a free Gift) Trivatore &c. (5 Villages), which they a long time enjoy'd, but that they were taken from them by the King's Officers three years ago.²

'That also during the War at Hughly they were very assisting to Zeoudy Cawn in the same manner, in Obedience to his Majestys Command: that therefore they humbly hop'd the five Villages aforementioned might be restor'd to them and the Grant confirm'd.

'Wherefore the King has commanded that their petition be granted, and that the five Villages be redeliver'd to their possession with all the priviledges which they enjoy'd by the Munificence of Aurenzeb. . . .' (P.C., vol. xlviij, 21st July, 1717.)

On the 24th July, 1717, the contents of the document were proclaimed with appropriate ceremonial. The whole garrison was under arms, and one company was drawn up before the west gate of the Inner Fort, where the *farmān* lay in the Governor's state palanquin. The Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance mounted. On the arrival of the Governor³ the *farmān* was read in English by the Secretary, and afterwards in Urdu and Telugu by the Chief Dubash, to the assembled inhabitants. Mr. Francis Hugonin, the Chief Gunner, fired a salute of 151 guns from the White Town, beginning at 'St. Thoma's Bastion,' after which the fire was taken up by the ships in the roads.

The *farmān* was then escorted by the civic authorities and a foot company, with 'all the English Musick,' down Charles Street to St. Thomas Gate, and thence to the Sea Gate and Middle Gate, being proclaimed at each by the Registrar. The Mayor and Aldermen then returned to the Inner Fort, while the docu-

¹ Gomastah, from Pers. *gomashita*, an agent.

² There is confusion here, for which Surman was responsible, between the three old villages of Egmore, etc., which were granted during the Gingee war, and which still remained a British possession, and the five new villages of Trivatore, etc., which were originally part of Zu,likār Khān's jaghire, and had been resumed in 1712.

³ The Governor, Joseph Collet.



ment was carried round the Black Town. The procession consisted of the Peddanaigue on horseback, with all his Talliards and native music, a company of British soldiers, two trumpeters, the Chief Dubash mounted, and the palanquin containing the *farmān* guarded by six sergeants. The rear was brought up by the Company's Merchants. The procession moved northward from Middle Gate, left the Black Town by 'Attapollam Gate,'¹ re-entered by Tom Clarke's Gate, and proceeded to 'Bridge foot Gate,' the *farmān* being proclaimed at each point by the Chief Dubash. At the Choultry Gate the Talliards halted, while the rest of the company passed into the White Town and delivered the precious document, coveted ever since Aurangzib's conquest of Golconda, to the Governor at the Inner Fort.

The President and Council, attended by all the gentlemen of the city, then went through the Black Town 'to the Garden at Tiping,'² when the Governor drank the Mogul's health to a salute of 101 guns beginning 'from the Garden Point.' Later, 'all the English, Portuguse, Armenian and Moors Inhabitants were Splendidly entertained at Dinner,' and 101 guns were fired for King George, 51 for the Royal Family, and 31 for the Company. 'The Day Concluded with feasting of the Soldiers with Tubs of Punch and a Bonfire at Night; and the Black Merchants, to show their Joy at the Honourable Company's receiving so much favour from the Mogul, made abundance of fire Works upon the Island.'

THE MOSQUE.

The custom had long prevailed in Madras of levying duties on merchandise for the maintenance of the Black Town temple and mosque. Under this system the Hindu and Moslem communities each contributed towards the upkeep of the other's principal place of worship. In 1707, however, the 'Mogull and Patan Moor men Merchants' declined to continue payments to the Hindu temple. Pitt dealt with the matter as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'From the first settlement of this Place the Moors as well as Gentues pay'd a duty to the Gentue Pagoda or places of worship here, and the Gentues

¹ *Attapollam Gate*, otherwise called Mud Point Gate.

² *Tiping*; perhaps for *tiffing*, *tiffin*, luncheon. No part of Madras is recognizable under this name.



always pay'd something to their Muskeet, and do to this day. But however it comes about (which is wholly unknown to the Governour, and the Council say the same), that the Collecting of that Duty has been discontinued from the year 1699. . . . But few day's past the Gentue Inhabitants delivered in a Petition de[claring] that the Tax of the Town Wall lay chiefly upon them to pay, desired that the duty the Moors usually pay'd might be restored to their Pagoda. Upon which was perused the Consultations, and finding no orders therein for the taking it [off], 'twas agreed should be collected as formerly; and accordingly orders were given to the Sea Customer and Conicop[ly] at the Sea Gate; which occasions a murmuring [among] the Moors that reside here and Trade to [this Port], and induced them to deliver in a Petition . . . which we take not to be a little saucy in saying they will not pay. Besides, their assertion therein is faulse wherein they would insinuate as if they never had pay'd it, the truth of which being as before mentioned. And if we should give way in this manner, 'tis not unlikely that one of these dayes they will insist on being custom Free, for that the old Proverb is as well adapted to these sort of men as any in the world, for that give them an Inch and they take an Ell. And looking upon these Ancient and small Dutys of paying to Pagodas and Talliars a sort of barriar to the Companys Customs against these insulting people, Tis therefore unanimously agreed that they are made to pay the duty as formerly, or to leave the Place. Ordered that the Braminy give notice to the Moorman who brought the aforesaid Petition to appear before the Governour and Council next sitting to receive the answers mentioned.' (P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 27th March, 1707.)

This decision settled the matter for a time, but in 1712 the question was brought up again:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

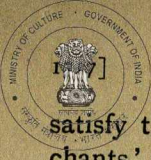
'Kittee Narran, one of the Gentue Overseers to the Moors Mosquito, complains that the Mullahs make a great deal of disturbance, and endeavour to revive an old dispute that was brought upon the stage in Governour Pitt's time, when they refus'd to pay the usual dutys at the Custom house applicable to the Pagodas of this place, unless they can have them intirely at their own disposall. . . .

'Resolved that the said Mosquito do still continue under the care and direction of the Gentue Overseers, by whose Predecessors¹ it was founded, and that the Mullahs be oblig'd to conform to ancient Custom.' (P.C., vol. xliii., 1st and 5th Aug., 1712.)

The Company wrote:—'We approve of your . . . accommodating the Difference between the Moors and Gentues about their Mosquito. Be always jealous [of] the Moors Inhabitants. Carry it fair to them and justly, to prevent their applications to the Countrey Government; but it do's not appear to Us Politi[ck] to have too many among you.'² The Council's resolution failed to

¹ Cassa Verona.

² P. from Eng., vol. xviii., 13th Jan., 1713 [1714].



satisfy the Moslem population, and several of the 'Patan merchants' trading with Bengal deserted Madras for San Thomé. In 1716 the Government gave way, and consented that the duty of twenty-five cash per pagoda should, when paid by Moslem traders, be devoted to the mosque instead of the temple.¹ A few years later, in Governor Collet's time, some 'Patan Merchants' who arrived from Bengal consented to settle in Madras, provided they were exempted from the payment of duty to either the Pagoda or the Mosque. Their presence being considered desirable, the following cowle was granted :—

Cowle granted to Bengal Merchants.

'Joseph Collet, Esq^r., President for Affairs of the Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, Governour of Fort St. George and St. David, Island of Sumatra, &c. Council, To all whom these Presents shall come send Greeting.

'Whereas Mahomud Cawn Jemmon, Shake Abdulla, &c. Cool² Mussulmen have requested of us permission to become Inhabitants of the City of Madrass under the Protection of the honble Company; and being Merchants trading to Bengall and other parts, from whence they bring Commodities liable to pay a certain duty to the Jentu Pagoda or moors Musqueet of this place, they further request an exemption from that duty, as their Contribution to the Pagoda a countenancing of Idolatry, and Scrupling also a payment to the Musqueet of this place, as belonging to a different Sect of Mahometans; and in Consideration of this Grant they promise to behave themselves in all respects with a Submission due to the English Government, and to promote as much as in them lyes the trade and Welfare of this place: We do hereby grant unto the said Cool Mussulmen permission to dwell in and Inhabit the City of Madrass, and to Enjoy the protection and priviledges common to the Inhabitants thereof, with an Exemption from the Payment of the Pagoda or Musqueet duty. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and Affix'd the honble Companys Seal the 26th of February 1718/9—JOSEPH COLLET, WILL^m. JENNINGS, NATHAN^{ll}. ELWICK, RICHARD HORDEN, RAND^{ll}. FOWKE, RICH^d. BENYON, JOHN EMMERSON, JOHN TURTON.' (P.C., vol. 1, 23rd Feb., 171⁸/₉.)

¹ P.C., vol. xlvii., 16th Jan., 171⁸/₉.

² Cool, kula, kul, a race or tribe. The term is especially applied to families or heads of families paying revenue. (Wilson's *Glossary*.)



CHAPTER VIII

1709—1717

THE INNER FORT—THE HOSPITAL, BARRACKS, AND MINT—
EGMORE REDOUBT—MADRAS GARDENS

THE INNER FORT.

HARRISON's administration was marked by an extensive reconstruction of public buildings in the White Town. The Fort House, which had been completely rebuilt in 1694-95, was in good order, but the Fort itself, the old structure begun by Cogan and Day, was in so dilapidated a state that demolition and re-erection seemed the only course to pursue. The following extract from a letter to England gives some particulars of the original fortification, as well as of the Fort Square which was now to replace it:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We are finishing the Buildings¹ we have in hand with all possible Expedition, and are very sorry to acquaint your Honours that in the late severe rains one of the Bastions of our inner Fort tumbled down, and we are of opinion that the rest will follow in a very little time: the Lodgings under the Courtin are in a most lamentable condition, as well as the Armory, Storerooms and Godowns. It would be endless work to repair them, and consequently many thrown away; and as we shall be under an Absolute necessity to erect a proper building for the Accommodation of your covenanted Servants, severall of whom are dispers'd about in very inconvenient places, and some oblig'd to hire lodgings at their own Expence, we humbly offer the following proposalls:

'The inner Fort has four pretty large bastions, each with ten Guns of great weight mounted upon them, which are no way usefull for the defence of the place either to land or Sea ward: it w[as built] when we first Settled here, and was very usefull to protect our[selves] before the town was wall'd

¹ The Hospital and Barracks.



in, but now only serves to make some noise in the Country of a Fort within a Fort, which conveniency (if any) will be much better provided for by what we are going to propose.

'We would pull down all the inner Fort, and take in the whole square with a very Strong wall, taking care to lay a good foundation which was very much wanting in the present buildings, as appears by the Bastion lately fallen down. We propose to carry out a small Semicircle at each Angle proper for mounting large Pattereroes¹ or small Brass Guns with Swivells to traverse round, and down into the Streets to clear them on occasion ; and the same we would mount at convenient Spaces round the Courtin, which would be a much better defence than the Guns now upon the points, that can only serve to batter down the houses in the Town.

'We propose to accommodate all your covenanted Servants within the Compass of this Square, by which means they will allways be under our Eye, much easier kept to their business, and allways oblig'd to conform to the regular hours of the Fort, the Gates being Shut at half an hour after ten. We shall save the intire charge of what was formerly called a Colledge, and the materials of this present Fort will all be usefull (except the timber which is rotten) towards the New building. We shall have room likewise for the Gold mint, Treasure Warehouse, Armoury, Cookroom and other proper offices within the Compass of this Building, as your Honours may please to observe by the Accompanying Draughts.² We will wait your pleasure before we venture upon so considerable an undertaking, and have in the mean time secur'd the fallen Bastion as well as we can on the inside. The whole building has been carefully survey'd, and all people of judgment agree in opinion that it cannot stand such another rainy Season. All which is humbly Submitted to your Consideration.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 11th Jan., 1713³.)

The Company having approved of the scheme,³ work was begun in 1714. The bastions and curtains were demolished by the following February. Of the original curtains, which contained quarters, offices, and stores, two were vaulted structures, and two roofed with timber.⁴ In June, 1715, the new Square was 5 feet above ground. Its angles coincided with the salients of the old bastions, so that a larger area was enclosed. The arrangement and appearance of the buildings may be learned from the plans of Fort St. George later than Pitt's, and from Swain Ward's views. The Square, which was finished in 1717, survived until 1825.

The rebuilding of the Inner Fort led to the construction of the first bridge across the river. The earlier bridges, viz., that on the

¹ *Pattereroes*, wall-pieces.

² A plan was sent home on the 11th January, and a duplicate on the 4th February, 1713. These have been lost or destroyed.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Jan., 1713 [1714].

⁴ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 12th Feb., 1714.

west front of Black Town, and the one leading from the Island to Egmore spanned artificial channels only. A river bridge between the Fort and Island was projected by Yale in 1690, but not carried into execution, and until 1715 the passage was made by boat.¹ A temporary bridge made in 1714 for the transport of materials proved so convenient that it was converted into a permanent structure:—‘Order’d that a Bridge be laid over the River from the Water gate to the Island, by driving down piles and laying loose Plank, for the conveniency of transporting the Rubbish in pulling down the ffort, which will save a considerable Charge.’²

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘The President represents to the Board the many Conveniency’s he has observ’d by the bridge of planks laid over the River for carrying out the Rubbish upon pulling down the Inner ffort, whereby it plainly appears that it will be of great use and benefit, as well to the Honble Company as to all the Inhabitants of the English Town, to have a firm bridge built upon Arches with Brick, Iron Stone, and Chinam. And further, upon examining old Orders, finding that this project was Recommended to Sir Jno. Goldsbury as a work of great Benefit, tho’ not executed because of his Sudden death, as we suppose; this being the properest time to set about it now the New ffort is in hand, and the work having been estimated at about One thousand Pagodas,

‘Agreed that one half of the Charge be defray’d by the Honble Company, and the other by the Inhabitants, and that a Subscription be taken accordingly from all such as are willing to contribute, which is Recommended to the care of the Paymaster.’ (P.C., vol. xlvi., 25th Feb., 1714½.)

THE HOSPITAL, BARRACKS, AND MINT.

On the west side of the parade ground, close to the river and opposite the main gate of the Inner Fort, lay a long range of buildings extending from Choultry Gate Street to Charles Street. At its northern extremity it was terminated by a house belonging to the Church Stock, which was let to Dr. Bulkley. Next came the Hospital built by Yale in 1688-1690, and then the Barracks which had been erected in temporary fashion by Gyfford in 1684 and made permanent by his successor three years later.³ Then followed the Mint, and at the south end of the block stood the

¹ ‘The passage boat upon the River being old, rotten, and eat with worms past Repair, Agreed that a New one be built as soon as possible.’ (P.C., vol. xlv., 21st Oct., 1714.)

² P.C., vol. xlv., 4th Nov., 1714.

³ P.C., vol. ix., 14th Aug., 1684, and vol. xii., 16th June, 1687.

Company's Import Warehouse. The Mint was so incommodious that its workers extended their operations to the street in front, to the discomfort of the soldiers in the adjoining barracks.¹ To remedy the inconvenience, the Government purchased a house belonging to Mr. William Martin in the north-west angle of the town, and set up the Silver Mint there, the coining of gold being carried on in the Inner Fort. The transfer of the Silver Mint to the vicinity of Caldera Point was made sufficiently early for the adapted building to be depicted on Thomas Pitt's map. In 1711, before the Hospital and Barracks had been in existence for a quarter of a century, their condition, as well as that of the old Mint, had become so bad as to call for demolition and re-erection. At the same time St. Thomas Point at the south-east angle of the White Town, a much older work, was found to be going fast to decay. All these structures were rebuilt during Harrison's time on a larger scale and in a more durable manner. The old Mint was absorbed by the barracks, and the Church house was acquired for the extension of the hospital :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour and Councill went at six this morning to view the buildings from the Carpenters yard to [the] godowns, as also St. Thomas Point w[h]ere the foundation was laid open on each side, and in some places on[ly] found to be three bricks under the sand. . . .

'Order'd that the paymaster² make preparation of bricks and what else necessary to rebuild the said Point as soon as the rains are over, and that in the mean time the Gunner do take of[f] the gunns to prevent the point falling on peoples heads as they pass by in the time of the rains. . . .

'The hospitall, free guard house and mint, that join in a range of building altogether, were found upon survey as has been before represented by the paymaster and surgeon, the walls being in severall places crackt from top to bottom, the rafters of the roof rotten and ready to fall in, the whole so much out of repair that we are unanimously of opinion it is most for the Honble Companys interest to pull all down and rebuild it firm and strong so as to last for many years. . . .

'Order'd that the foresaid buildings [from the Carpe]nters Yard to the godowns be pul'd down during the rains in order to be rebuilt when they are over ; and Mr. Way³ is desired to get ready a draught⁴ of a new building

¹ P.C., vol. xlii., 13th Dec., 1711.

² Mr. Edward Bulkley, lately Fort Surgeon.

³ Thomas Way, Surveyor of Buildings, appears as a freeman in the list of 1710. He married (1) in 1700 Sarah Blackwall, a widow, and (2) in 1710 Mary Philips. He died in 1725.

⁴ Receipt of the plan was acknowledged by the Company, but the drawing has not been preserved.



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upon the same ground. EDWARD HARRISON, THOMAS FREDERICK, HENRY DAVENPORT, WILLIAM MARTIN, EDWARD BULKLEY, WILLIAM JENNINGS, BERNARD BENYON, WILLIAM WARRE.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlii., 3rd Nov., 1711.)

Not less than Pags. 20,000, and probably a larger sum, was spent on these buildings during the next two years. The cost of the hospital, about Pags. 7,000, was met by public subscription, Government contributing Pags. 1,500. The edifice was intended 'for the use of all sick persons, Soldiers, Seamen, and poor Inhabitants,' and was designed to accommodate from 100 to 150 patients. It was placed under the management of the Governor and Council, and the Ministers and Churchwardens.¹ The Company wrote as follows regarding it:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Let us also know what the amount of each and every Mans contribution thereto is, as well our President and Councill as your Inhabitants, Captains, Supra Cargos and others which you mention. . . . We desire it the rather because, as this is a charitable work and the Towns People and others are concerned therein as well as wee, Wee would know how far their generous and Pious disposition enlarges itself. And, that wee may set a good example, Wee approve of your Proposall that all Fines and Forfeitures which lately have or shall happen while the building is in hand be applyed thereto, and that, as you have had it in your thoughts, you may as you see fit commute a Corporall for a pecuniary Punishment, or sometimes, when the Crime deserves it, inflict both. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

The new St. Thomas Point² was built in a more substantial manner than the old:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When we came to pull down St. Thomas's point in order to rebuild it, we found that the face of the Bastion next the Sea and all the Saillant Angle had not above two foot foundation, which was the Occasion of the Walls bursting in severall parts from Top to Bottom ; and if there had ever been occasion to have fired the Guns warmly in earnest, we are very sure that the whole Battery would have sunk or fallen to peices. When we came to lay the new foundation, which is full six foot under ground, and fifteen foot broad, we found a bed of soft mud of five foot deep, which we were forc'd to take out and fill the space up with sand ; and, to defend the work from the Sea in case of a violent monsoon, there are piles of redwood drove down into the ground in the shape of the saillant Angle, at a convenient distance, in two rows six foot distant from

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 25th Feb., 1711.

² In 1719 it went by the name of Marlborough Bastion. (*P.C.*, vol. l., 16th March, 1719, and 2nd April, 1719.)

each other, the space of which we have fill'd up with the Rubbish of the old point; so that it is now the best and most Substantiall work belonging to the place; and we made a Shift to finish it about the time the Duan talked of coming to St. Thoma. It is all built with Chinam, which indeed swells the Account, but otherwise it wou'd have been of no duration.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The 'Mint Braminys' were expected to contribute to the cost of Martin's house. In 1713 Fort St. George informed the Company that 'the ground on which the old mint stood is now part of the free guard house. . . . The deadness of Trade and Coinage for these three or four years past has withheld us from assessing the mint Braminys as we promised towards the new Mint, but it shall be done before this season is spent; and we do assure you the good effects of removeing the mint are very apparent, your Garrison having been much more healthy ever since it was done; and we have double the Convenience we had before; besides a great deal of annuall Charge sav'd in Repairs and building Sheds into the Street.'¹ Two years later a claim was made on the Mint Brahmanas and resisted by them.² The Mint was enlarged in 1717, additional land being acquired for the purpose;³ but the building proved incommodious, and in 1722 proposals were put forward for reconstruction.⁴

When the Church house was taken over in 1711 for the extension of the Hospital, a verbal promise was made to the Rev. George Lewis that compensation would be granted. Harrison bethought himself of this engagement when his term of office was drawing to a close,⁵ the Chaplains were consulted, and the following resolution was arrived at:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. John Legg,⁶ pursuant to an order of Consultation the 23th July last, Reports from the Ministers and Church Wardens that the Church House mention'd in said Consultation stands upon their books at pagodas four hundred and Eleven, thirty fanams, besides interest from the year 1711; that it was pull'd down in order to build the Hospital and free guard House; That they cannot find anything to demand of the board as an equivalent which will

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

² *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 13th Jan., 1714.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 28th and 31st Jan., 1714.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. liii., 1st Feb., 1723.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 23rd July, 1716.

⁶ John Legg came out as a Factor in 1709. In 1714 he was 8th of Council and Rental General and Scavenger. He married in 1714 Hannah, daughter of Captain Francis Seaton. She died in 1717, and her tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

suit their convenience except the few Toddy trees that are left standing in the burial place, and therefore they submit the Rest to the board to make provision for it.

'Agreed that the old Toddy trees in the Burial place, commonly call'd the Guava Garden, which are very much decay'd and bring in no more at present than twenty Pagodas per Annum, be given and granted to the Church for ever, and that the Sum of three hundred pagodas be paid them out of Cash, in full of all demands for the House aforementioned.' (P.C., vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

The old 'College' for junior civilians, a building measuring 60 feet square,¹ situated next St. Mary's Church, had become so dilapidated as to be uninhabitable. The Directors were desirous of having it repaired:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee hope you will Speedily set about the Colledge, because while our Young Servants are rambling about and have their Lodgings where they can get them, they are less likely to mind our affairs, and more subject to Temptations; and for this further reason also because you say the Accomptants Office is in the utmost Confusion, has no fitting Presses to keep Papers and Books in, and that matters of the greatest Consequence are thrown together in heaps like Rubbish. Wee wonder if those of the Councill who are of longer standing than the rest could Sign this Letter without blushing to see this Account of their incogitancy and Stupidity. . . .' (P. from Eng., vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

Harrison replied in September that nothing had been done to the College because the new Fort Square would give ample accommodation for all the junior civilians. The old building was then utilized as an Armoury.

A curious instance of Fraser's ineptitude is on record. When provisional Governor, he ordered a building to be destroyed² under circumstances which are set forth in the Court's disposal of the case:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee also find . . . a very odd Resolution for pulling down a Chamber built over the Sorting Godown for the Warehousekeepers Assistant, vizt. That it had been the Rendezvous of Severall disorderly Young Men who have given disturbance to the neighbourhood, and to prevent the danger of its being fired by them, and because, as wee understand it, all the means used to put a Stop to their extravagancies were ineffectuall. What Construction ought wee to put on these reasons except this, That our whole Councill had neither courage or

¹ P. to Eng., vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

² P.C., vol. xlii., 19th June, 1711.

wisdom sufficient to put another sort of stop to Juvenile disorders? Wee desire those of our now Councill who consented to that order to tell us Whether wee should take this for a Specimen of their ability to mannage the affairs wee commit to their care, and what reason they can give us why they ought not to build it up again at their own charge. It looks indeed Something like the courage of our late President; but that none of our Councill should dissent therefrom is a kind of blind, passive Obedience that wee hope never to be informed of again, at least at our Cost.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

Other old buildings found in bad order were Jearsey House, which had been acquired by Government in Higginson's time as a Beating Godown, the 'Calico Godowns in Church Street . . . utterly decayed with the White Aunt,' and the Company's Garden House, built during Master's rule. Jearsey House was transferred as a gift to the Charity School Trustees in 1717,¹ and the Calico Godowns and Garden House were renovated:—'The Prësident offers to the Board that now the garden house is repairing with a new roof, it will be no great additionall Expence to build an upper room whereby the said house will be able to accommodate any of the Council below stairs, and may in some measure answer the end of a house at the Mount; which is Agreed to.'² Allusion is here made to a project of Fraser's. The old Mount house, the gift of Chinna Venkaṭadri, had been pulled down. In a fit of generosity Dā,ūd Khān presented the Company with 12 cawnies³ of adjacent ground for a new house, which Fraser commenced in 1710⁴ at an estimated cost of Pags. 3,000. Harrison, finding expenditure would run to three times that sum, ordered the work to be stopped,⁵ but allowed an upper room at the Madras garden house as a temporary substitute.

EGMORE REDOUBT.

It will be remembered that the native choultry at Egmore was placed in a state of defence by Pitt in 1703, and that a guard was then established there. Seven years later, Fraser appointed a Committee consisting of the Paymaster, the Commanding Officer,

¹ *F. St. G. to Eng.*, 17th Aug., 1717 (mentioned in *The Church in Madras*).

² *P. C.*, vol. xliv., 24th Aug., 1713.

³ *Cawny*, a measure of land area, containing nearly 1½ acres; from Tam. *kāni*.

⁴ *P. C.*, vol. xli., 20th Feb., 1710, and 11th Sept., 1710.

⁵ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.



and the Chief Gunner, to consider the question of developing the post. The Committee reported as follows :—

Report of Committee.

‘Pursuant to an order of Consultation of the 24th ultimo, we went to view Egmore; and the best observation we could make we find a smooth rising ground at the Towns end of this side of Egmore to be the properest place to build a guard room in defence of any party of Soldiers, if should be occasion to send out to secure that Town, by intrenching round the lower part of that ground, to be faced up with brickwork; and that the guard house be built on the highest part of that ground where, as well as most parts thereof, they have a clear prospect of Madrass, that by signalls made they may be releiv’d by sending them succours; which is the opinion of RICHARD HUNT, GABRIEL POIRIER, ROBERT ATKINSON.’ (*P.C.*, vol. xli., 5th June, 1710.)

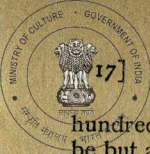
Orders were accordingly issued to build a guard-house, which was designed to serve as a combined defensive work and convalescent depot :—‘The Paymaster produces a plan of a Guard house convenient for the Soldiers, etc., to be built on the Redoubt at Egmore, which may likewise indifferently serve for a convenience for the sick Soldiers when arriv’d from England, for the recovery of their health, it being a good air: which is agreed to.’¹ On Harrison’s arrival, work was discontinued pending reference to England. Mention was made of ‘the turn pikes to keep the horse from pillaging the Villages: the project was like the Con-triver, and could be of little or no service because the Villages are open on every Side.’² The Directors considered that too much money had been spent, but they left the question of completion to be settled locally :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘Wee approved of the reasons given by the then President and Councill . . . for building the Guard House at Egmore, that it would preserve the Towns from being pillaged, would be a great relief to the poor Souldiers when sick, and contribute to the Saving their Lives; and on that Account, and that it cost but Pagodos Nine hundred twenty five, and by what therein appeard to us then wanted nothing more to be don except only a Small convenient place to lodge the Souldiers in, Wee were content, Believing also at the same time that you thought it necessary. But wee are Surprized to find . . . That it has cost already Pagodos Five thousand and Sixty one, and will cost at least Fifteen

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 15th Feb., 1714.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712. *Turn pikes* were *chevaux-de-frise* (cf. *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 8th May, 1727).



hundred Pagodos more to finish it and for common necessarys, and then will be but a good Mansion House. That the Council in their justification say they consented only to the building a Guard House, and the rest was ordered singly by Mr. Fraser. Wee must observe that Six of that Council, vizt., Mess^{rs}. Frederick, Martin, Bulkley, Jennings, Warre and Hunt, give this Account now under their hands. . . .

‘On the whole matter, Since it is so far proceeded, Wee leave to you to do therein as you shall Judge necessary, either to finish or not, and expect the late President and Six of Council abovementioned do take care to pay us the Surplus charge beyond what wee approved of as above.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb. 1712 [1713].)

Harrison’s Government decided to complete the work at a further cost of Pags. 1,000.¹ The six Councillors acknowledged their error, and received warning not to repeat it.

In connexion with the guard-house a bridge had been built across the artificial cut which connected the Elambore and Triplie-cane Rivers. It is shown on Pitt’s map, and was probably erected about 1703, when a guard was first posted in Egmore village. In 1716, however, the bridge was in a critical condition :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

‘The Paymaster, the Gunner, and Mr. Thos. Way, Surveyor of the buildings, deliver in their Report . . . of the condition of the little bridge to the Westward of the Island going off to Egmore house, which is enter’d after this Consultation. Agreed that it be pull’d down and Rebuilt forthwith, and that the ditch² be likewise Repair’d.’

Report.

‘Pursuant to your Honour, &cs order we have Survey’d the little bridge going off the Island to Egmore, and humbly offer our opinion that We think it Requires to be pull’d down and Rebuilt, the foundation being undermined by the force of the Water ; and the ditch wants cleaning throughout, being almost choak’d up by the banks washing in. THOS. COOKE,³ FRAS. HUGONIN, THOS. WAY.’

MADRAS GARDENS.

In 1711 Signor Niccolao Manucci, who was then residing at Pondicherry, represented that the twenty-one years’ lease of his garden near Tom Clarke’s Gate, which was granted in 1703, included by mistake some freehold ground acquired at an earlier

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 15th July, 1714.

² *The ditch*, the cut between the two rivers.

³ *Thomas Cooke* entered the civil service in 1702. He married Grace Bach (or Back) in 1714 when 7th of Council and Land Customer.

date. A Committee appointed to enquire into the case reported that part of Manucci's garden was originally leased to Thomas Clarke in 1671 for twenty-one years, while the remainder was sold by Charles and Ann Ryley¹ in 1674 to Thomas Drinkwater,² and by him to Thomas Clarke. The Committee found that, as the bill of sale gave no right to ground rent, this part of the land must also be regarded as leasehold, 'as at this day are all the gardens round it, and so we believe are all those range of gardens by the highway from Tom Clarks gate to the cross walk.' Harrison's Government, however, resolved to grant this portion to Manucci in perpetuity on account of his services past and prospective :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that Senhor Nichola Manuch, formerly Inhabitant of this place, but now of Pondicherry, is sent for up to Court by a particular order from King Shaallem whom he formerly served in quality of Physitian for many years ; and that he is now setting out for Arcott to visit the Duan, who has particular orders to supply him with all necessarys and send him forward for Dehly.

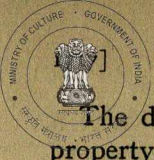
'The said Manuch having formerly solicited us concerning a small peice of ground near Tom Clarks gate, upon which he built a dwelling house, . . . we have now, in consideration that this ground is of a very small value, as also that the said Manuch, during his residence here, was very Serviceable to the Companys affairs by his perfect knowledge in the Persia Language and the customs among the Moors, having often been employed between Governour Pitt and Nabob Doud Cawn, but yett more in Consideration that he may be very usefull in our present Circumstances by Assisting those that go to Court with the present from Bengall, and likewise representing our quarrell with Surop Sing³ with advantage on our side, we have thought it the interest of our Honble Masters to come to the following resolution :

'Resolved that, in consideration of the particular good Service done by Senhor Nichola Manuch, formerly Inhabitant of this place, in frequent Journys to the Nabob Doud Cawn when this place was in trouble, We do confirm to him, the said Nichola Manuch and his Heirs for ever, the full possession and enjoyment of that peice of ground which Thomas Drinkwater bought of Charles and Ann Ryley the 26th of September 1674, since sold to Thomas Clark the 19th of Aprill 1675, and by the said Thomas Clark to Nichola Manuch, as will appear from the severall bills of sale.' (P.C., vol. xliii., 14th Jan., 171 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

¹ Charles Ryley, a discharged soldier and husband of a 'Musteez,' kept a house of entertainment in 1676. He died in 1686.

² Thomas Drinkwater was employed in 1674 in revenue collection 'at the water side,' where he had been posted by Agent Foxcroft.

³ Sarūp Singh, ruler of the Gingee country in which Fort St. David was situated.



The date of Manucci's death and the mode of disposal of his property are alike unknown, but down to 1730 or later the garden continued to be known as 'Seignor Manuch's'.¹ In December, 1716, a soldier named Beavis was drowned in a weed-grown tank on the property, to which he was in the habit of repairing to wash his clothes.

The Burial-ground, or 'Guava Garden,' contained toddy-trees, the produce of which was farmed out. The Ministers and Churchwardens drew attention in 1710 to the discreditable state of the cemetery. The toddy drawers were constantly at work, the gates were open day and night, and for several years the arcades sheltering the monuments had been used as stables for the Scavenger's buffaloes. A cattle-shed was then built against a 'brick wall adjoining to the West side of the Choultry,'² but two years later it was converted 'into shops for the Companys use,' and ground was allotted for stables outside Tom Clarke's Gate.³ The Company wrote as follows about the Burial-ground:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have considered . . . about the Toddy Trees let out at forty Pagodos a year, and that the Ministers and Church Wardens offer One hundred Pagodos for what those trees pay yearly, to prevent the grievous excesses and disorders Committed there. To which wee Say you must not allow or Connive at such Debauchery, which when ever the Governor is a Man of Spiritt and Prudence may be Cured . . . Could not a parcell of them be Planted in some other Place to produce Toddy, and then the Causes of the Complaints, vizt. T[h]at such excesses are Committed on hallow'd Ground, and the [Tombs of the D]eceaseds turned into receptacles for Beggars [and stables for] Buffaloes, and the Gates kept open a nights [would be removed]. . . . ' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvi., 28th Dec., 1711.)

In 1716, as already explained, the trees were granted to the Vestry in part payment for a Church house acquired for extension of the Hospital.

The Company's Paddy-fields consisted of two strips of ground, one lying between the pettas and the other by the Elambore River. They were let in 1685 to Chinna Venkaṭadri and Beri Timmappa, Company's Merchants, at Pags. 40 per annum. On the expiry of the lease thirty years later, the fields were let for Pags. 710 to

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lx., 2nd March, 1733.

² *P.C.*, vol. xli., 20th Feb. and 22nd March, 1710, and 30th March, 1710.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 17th and 22nd April, 1712.

Pāpaiya Brāhman and another,¹ and two years afterwards were transferred to Venkanna, who was distinguished by special permission to carry a roundel :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Yendapulle Vencana Braminy and Nalla Moot[oo] Mudelaree, two persons of substance and good Repute, having offer’d to take the Rent of the Paddy grounds at the same Rate as Paupa Braminy gave for them, the Secretary produces a Cowle drawn in the same manner as the last, which is agreed to, sign’d and deliver’d them, with a Roundell and a Cowle to Yendapu[lle] Vencana for wearing it ; with this Restriction, that He shall not carry it over his head in the English town, or in presence of any of the Councill. And it’s agreed for the future that no other black persons shall wear a Roundell in the English town or in presence of any of the Councill, except Nairo Verona who is one of the Aldermen of the Mayor’s Court, nor shall any black person whatsoever presume to make use of a Roundell without permission and a Cowle from this board.’ (P.C., vol. xlvi., 6th Feb., 1714.)

The ground known as *Maria Pois’s Garden*, formerly called the *Elephant Garden*, adjoining Manucci’s property on its north side, had for some time been leased by Government to the widow Pois. The garden, as will be shown later, was originally planted by her grandfather Dorai Mūrtiyappa, soon after the first settlement by the British, and it had remained in his family almost ever since. In 1717 the widow was also renter of ‘the Companys fruit gardens,’ which are shown on Thomas Pitt’s map.²

The designation of *Company’s Old Garden* is applied in the records to more than one locality, notably to the original Black Town garden, and occasionally to Pois’s garden. The common application, however, is to a piece of ground in Muthialpetta to the north of the enclosure last named. The land appears to have been first assigned in 1647 to a man named Bolā, who planted it. Sixty years later the lease was renewed for ten years at Pags. 120, and in 1717 the ground was let to his son, Mahādeva Bolā, at Pags. 150.³

The following extract throws some light on the mode of allotting ground to the people of Black Town during the infancy of the settlement, and shows that Government claimed proprietary rights over the soil :—

¹ P.C., vol. xlv., 3rd Dec., 1714, and vol. xlvi., 19th Dec., 1715.

² P.C., vol. xli., 4th April, 1710 ; vol. xlvi., 7th April, 1715 ; and vol. xlvi., 8th April, 1717.

³ P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 1st May, 1707, and vol. xlvi., 7th Feb., 1714.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Wotchowhan, Inhabitant of this place, makes a complaint against Berry Timapa for forcibly taking away his dwelling house during the time of the late President, in which he and his forefathers had lived sixty years.

'The heads of the casts and the Companys merchants being summon'd, unanimously declare as follows :

'That the said Wotchowhan and his Ancestors had been in peaceable possession of this house at least sixty years.

'That Wotchowans father built the said house from the ground upon a spott allotted him by Timapa's father¹ who was at that time entrusted by the Agent and Councill as principall Inhabitant of the place, to parcell out the ground in the Black Towne to such persons who were willing to reside and build in it, which is all the title that Timapa can any ways pretend to the aforesaid house and ground.

'Colloway Chittee, one of the Joint Stock merchants, particularly declares that the house he now lives in and enjoys was built by his fa[ther] in the same manner on a piece of ground [allotted] him by Timapa's Ancestors. . . .

'Upon full examination of the matter, we do not find that Timapas Ancestors had any title to this ground in dispute, but was only entrusted by the Agent and Councill to dispose of it as aforesaid. . . .

'Resolved that neither the title of this ground, or any other ground within the Companys precincts, doth or can rest in Timapa his Ancestors or any body else, upon pretence of their having formerly parcell'd it out to the severall Inhabitants, or upon any other pretence whatsoever, unless they can prove a grant from the Agent and Councill in the Honble Companys name, whose right and title thereto is indisputable and not to be call'd in question on any account whatsoever.

'Resolved that this house in d[is]pute, standing in the weavers street,² joining to the house of Poly Chitte to the westward, rightly belongs to Wotchowhan, whose Ancestors built it so many years ago, the said Wotchowhan acknowledging paying quitt rent to the Company according to the establish'd rent role. . . . ' (P.C., vol. xliii., 28th Jan., 171½.)

¹ Probably Beri Timmappa's uncle, Beri Timmappa. An uncle is often called 'elder father' by natives of South India.

² *Weavers Street*, now called Nainiappa Nayak Street in Peddanaikpetta.



CHAPTER IX

1709—1717

MILITARY AFFAIRS—STATE OF TRADE—NATIVE
SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

THE period of Harrison's rule was marked by considerable military activity. At the time of the Governor's accession differences existed with Sarūp Singh, ruler of the country about Gingee. The renters of Waldore had evaded their liabilities, and Sarūp Singh, failing to obtain satisfaction from Gabriel Roberts, a former Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, who stood security for them, captured Lieut. James Hugonin and Ensign Reay, whom he confined at Gingee and treated with great severity. In an attempted retaliation by Fort St. David some fatalities occurred, and open hostilities ensued.

Two days after Harrison's accession, Mr. Robert Raworth went down to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor, with ships, stores, and reinforcements under Captain Roach.¹ A smart action took place in August, 1711, in which Captain Coventry and Ensign Somerville were killed.² After further fighting, matters were ultimately arranged in April, 1712, by the mediation of the Governor of Pondicherry,³ and the two British officers were released after a captivity of nearly two years:—

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 12th July, 1711.

² *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 19th Aug., 1711. Captain William Coventry had been in Madras only a year. In 1714 his mother, who had married a man named Willeboort, obtained Pags. 40 as compensation for a horse which was killed with her son at Fort St. David. Ensign Robert Somerville married in 1705 Sarah Eyton, daughter of Lieutenant William Richardson, and widow of Ensign Nathaniel Eyton.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 1st March to 30th May, 1712.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

“Mr. Raworth gives the following Account.

“That Lieut. Hugonin, who is upwards of sixty years of age, has suffered so much by the cruel treatment he receiv'd when prisoner at Chingee that he is much impaired, and fears he will never recover it so as to be able to do the drudgery of his Employ.

“That the other Lieut., Wallace, having receiv'd a fall from his horse in visiting the out guards, by which his skull was broken and oblig'd to be trepan'd, 'tis much to be fear'd he can never recover so farr as to be able to do his duty.”

‘[Resolved] That the Ensigns are young men whom we have promoted¹ in consideration of their distinguish'd bravery against the enemy, but are not yet to be trusted with more than a single command of a Guard; wherefore we find it absolutely necessary to send Lieut. John Roach down again for the present to be cheif Comander of the Military under the Deputy Governor and Council, of whose good services we have had sufficient experience during the late troubles.’ (P.C., vol. xliii., 2nd Sept., 1712.)

Gabriel Poirier was commanding officer at Fort St. George, but the Government were so pleased with Roach that they proposed to create a new appointment for him as Commander of all the forces in the Presidency :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

‘We will close this head with recommending Lieut. John Roach to your Honours favour. He is a brave, able and diligent Officer, and has distinguish'd himself on all occasions in the Fort St. David Service, and is very fit to have a Superiour Command over all the rest, with the Title of Captain Major if your Honours think fitt, and to be employed in going from one Garrison to another as there shall be occasion. We have now return'd him to Fort St. David to establish a strict discipline and see the Outworks completed.’ (P. to Eng., vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

Discipline was certainly lax. At Fort St. David Captain Hercules Courtney² and Ensign Brooks were charged with sedition, Lieut. Vivers and Ensign Williams with being drunk on guard, and Ensign Kirkbred with desertion, and several of these officers were cashiered. At Fort St. George, just before Harrison's arrival, Captain Gale had refused to accept the Governor's commission in lieu of one given him by the Company, whereupon Fraser, who was on the parade, ‘immediately tooke from him his halfe pike and Discharged him.’ Gale was, however, subsequently rein-

¹ Among the sergeants promoted to Ensign was Handlon, who ‘distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner at an attack of the Enemy's entrenchment, insomuch that they termed him the little devil.’ (P. to Eng., vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

² In 1722 Captain Courtney was in the service of the Bombay Government.

stated. The want of discipline amongst the officers was reflected in the conduct of the rank and file. At Fort St. David more than one murder was committed, and Harrison asked for larger powers of punishment. Writing home in 1712, the Council said :—‘[We hope] your Honours will not leave Us longer without a full power to try and execute such notorious offenders who dayly make their brags that we have not a power to put them to death.¹ We have now no less than four in prison for direct murther, and George Brand . . . who killed Hughs in a rencounter : as for John Bailie, who deserted from Vizagapatam and assisted the Moors against the place, he died in prison the 26th February.’²

The following extract relates to Fort St. George :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

‘But few days since about fifty of the ablest Europeans of the free guard company in this Garrison, that has allways the liberty to take the evening air within the circuit of your bounds, got together in some of the Gardens without the Town, where they were drawn up by one Marvel, a private Centinel of a Villainous disposition ; and after they had arm’d themselves with clubs (their own arms being always kept in the ffort), he divided them into small Parties of six men each, and sending them by severall ways through different streets, he assembled them at the sound of a Hunting Horn in the Bazar, and fell upon Your Peons that are appointed to watch the black Town, knocking down every body that stood in their way, about twenty black people being very much wounded before the Guards cou’d get up to Quell them. And the next morning when we came to punish the Ring Leaders, the very first had the insolence to say upon the Parade in a publick-manner (so as to be heard by every body) that he could bear a whipping very well, and knew that was the worst Punishment we had a power to inflict. However he alter’d his opinion before we had done with him ; and we only relate this instance to convince Your Honours of the necessity there is for the Publick good that such incorrigible Villains shou’d be made publick and severe Examples. . . .’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 15th July, 1714.)

In 1710 the Directors ordered a reduction of pay to the following monthly rates :—Lieutenant, £4 ; Ensign, £3 ; Sergeant, 30s. ; Corporal, 24s. ; and Private, 21s. The order caused great dissatisfaction, and a remonstrance was submitted signed by Gabriel Poirier, John Roach, Alexander Fullerton, William Coventry, Patrick Dixon, Robert Somerville, Thomas Dutton, and David Symmes. The Government considered that the officers could not

¹ Harrison, however, used the authority of the Charter to execute pirates.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.



subsist on less than the former allowances, and represented the matter to England.

Simultaneously with the quarrel with Sarūp Singh there arose a difference, from a very similar cause, with the native governor of Vizagapatam, who invested the British factory. A small force was despatched from Madras in 1711, and some fighting ensued, in which Ensign Dixon was killed. Three years later a detachment was sent to the aid of the garrison of Tellicherry, who were closely besieged by the natives of Malabar.

The later months of 1713 were occupied by the singular revolt of Mr. Robert Raworth, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. The story is outside the limits of this work. It is related by Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*, where copious extracts from the consultations will be found.¹ It will suffice to say here that, after Raworth left Madras for Fort St. David, a large deficiency was found in the silver which he had in charge as Warehouse-keeper. At Fort St. David he submitted erroneous accounts, and arrogated to himself independent power. In October, 1713, Mr. Henry Davenport, accompanied by Captain Poirier and Gunner Hugonin,² was sent down to supersede him. Raworth refused to deliver charge, stated that he would resist by force, and imprisoned Captain James Hugonin, who was loyal to constituted authority. Many of Raworth's troops came over to Davenport, and reinforcements were sent from Madras. Davenport occupied Cuddalore, where, on several occasions, he was fired at from Fort St. David. Harrison then deputed Mr. William Warre and the Rev. George Lewis to expostulate with Raworth, who at length consented to deliver the Fort to the President in person. Harrison proceeded to Fort St. David early in November, but Raworth continued impracticable throughout the month. It was ultimately arranged that he should, on yielding, go to Pondicherry. The Governor entered the Fort on the 6th December, and proclaimed Mr. Thomas Frederick Deputy Governor. Raworth sailed in a French ship, and died shortly after his arrival in Paris. The Directors presented Harrison with 'a Sword with a Gold hilt Sett with Emeralds, and a Belt,' in appreciation of his conduct in the affair.³ Roach

¹ A better continuous narrative is given in *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Jan., 1714.

² Francis Hugonin was appointed Gunner of Fort St. George on the death of Robert Atkinson in 1711.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xix., 27th Oct., 1714.

received Pags. 500 for his good service 'in the Fort St. David warr, and the late unhappy revolt of the Military at Fort St. David.' Among the distinguished juniors was Sergeant John de Morgan, who was rewarded with a commission as Ensign.¹

Ensign Peter Eckman, who had served against Sarūp Singh and during Raworth's rebellion, was transferred to Fort St. George in 1715. He was promoted Lieutenant in 1723, after twenty years' army service, part of which had been spent in Bengal.² He was Commanding Officer at Fort St. George when Madras fell to the French in 1746.

The disorders of the soldiers in the pettahs led to the strengthening of a portion of Black Town rampart next the sea :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that there have been of late many complaints made by the black inhabitants of disorders committed in the outparts of the City by the Soldiers in the night. That he has made severall new regulations to prevent their getting without the walls ; but they will be ineffectuall unless something be done at the mud point, where the pallisadoes are so rotten that people may go in and out on a dark night without being perceived. . . . Agreed that a slight wall be run up from the point to the blockhouse, which is about a hundred and fifty foot, and will effectually prevent any bodys getting out without being perceiv'd by the Guard.'³ (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 26th March, 1713.)

STATE OF TRADE.

Madras trade was now in a thriving condition. As the Company remarked, in a letter to Fort St. George of 1710, commerce was, 'when Mr. Pitt left the Place, very considerable, there being Fifty Ships at one time in the Road in June before, and above

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlv., 18th March, 1713. Ensign de Morgan eventually attained the rank of Captain, and died at Pulicat in 1760. He married in 1717 Sarah des Pommare, née Clark, widow first of George Turville (or Tourville), and afterwards of Peter des Pommare, a freeman and renter for many years of the wine licence at Fort St. George. Their son, Captain Augustus de Morgan, was killed at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778. The latter's son, Lieut.-Col. John de Morgan, who died at sea in 1816, was the father of the famous mathematician, Augustus de Morgan.

² *F. St. G. Cons.*, 19th March, 1723.

³ The 'mud point' or earthen bastion here mentioned was 150 feet from the 'blockhouse,' and the latter was certainly 'Close by the Sea Side' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721). Hence this mud point was identical with the *New Point* of Thomas Pitt's map, and not with the *Mud Point* opposite the end of modern Armenian Street. The palisades through which the soldiers broke out connected *New Point* with the Blockhouse. The 'Blockhouse at New Point' is mentioned in a list of guards. (*P.C.*, vol. I., 20th July, 1719.)



Two hundred Smaller Craft.¹ Most of the larger vessels belonged to private owners, including the Company's servants from the Governor downwards. The lists of European inhabitants of 1710 show that there were twenty-nine free merchants, and thirty-nine ship captains, supercargoes, and others engaged in shipping. From England about a dozen Company's ships were annually despatched to the East. Thus, eleven vessels sailed in January and February, 1710. They were full-rigged ships, frigates, and galleys, ranging from 450 to 250 tons burden. Four of them were chartered to the Coast and Bay, one to the Bay direct, one to Mocha, one to Persia, two to Bencoolen, and two to China. Two more sailed in April for Surat.² Three Company's vessels belonged permanently to Madras, viz., 'the Ship President, the Briggantine Riseing Sun, and Maddapollam Yatch.'³ The first two voyaged to Bencoolen, and the last was constantly backward and forward between Madras and Fort St. David. The *Maddapollam* was lost in a cyclone in 1717.

The ship captains displayed considerable independence of action. Captain Raymond of the *Bouverie*, who carried letters of marque, seized a ketch⁴ flying Moorish colours in Madras Roads, because he professed to believe she was a French spy. This act 'sett all our Native Merchants, Inhabitants of this place, in convulsions, and makes them despond of adventuring to Sea, it being equall to them if their losses come from the common enemy the French, or their freinds the English.'⁵ Captain Cooke of the *Howland* behaved with even greater tyranny:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The little notice that was taken of our Complaint when Beaws in the Albemarle extorted a Sum of mony from the Manhila Ship at Malacca has undoubtedly encourag'd Capt. George Cooke, Commander of the Howland, to do the same. The Ship St. Juan sail'd hence in July, freighted by the Armenians and your black Inhabitants for Manhila, and arrivd at Malacca in August. Capt. Cooke immediately got his Ship in a readiness, remov'd close to the St. Juan, threatening to accompany her out to Sea and Seize her, which

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 7th July, 1710.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 5th July, 1710.

³ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.

⁴ *A ketch*; at that time a ketch was a brigantine. The term is now applied to a small craft rigged somewhat like a yawl.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 3rd March, 1711.

so terrified the Armenians that they durst not leave the Port (thô late in the Season and their passage was in danger) till they had accommodated the matter for a round Sum of mony, but how much we cannot justly tell till the Ship returns. These rash Actions to Ships that sail under our passes and your Honours protection will terrifie all Strangers from frequenting your Ports, and your inhabitants from sending their mony to Sea ; the ill consequence of which will soon be felt in your Revenue. . . . (P. to Eng., vol. iii., 11th Jan., 1713.)

The Company were liberal to commanders who acquitted themselves well, like Capt. Matthew Martin of the *Marlborough*. This officer defended his ship against the French in the Bay during his homeward voyage :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

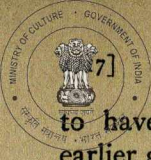
'We wrote you that We would encourage Capt. Martin for his Conduct and gallant defence of the *Marlborough*. We have done it accordingly by presenting him with a Thousand Pounds Sterling and, for a Memorial to be kept in his Family, with a further present of a handsome Medal of Gold set with Diamonds ; on the one side Our Arms finely Enamelled, and on the reverse an Inscription declaring the reason. To his Chief Mate We also gave Sixty Guineas, and to all the Ship's Company each a Months Pay. We were the more liberal to Capt. Martin and his Mate because it appear'd to Us the Captain led the Example of throwing overboard his own Goods to a considerable Value, then in the way, to fit the Ship better for an Engagement, and the Mate had some small losse on the same occasion.' (P. from Eng., vol. xx., 15th Feb., 1715 [1716].)

From the Court's despatch of the 12th January, 1714 [1715], it appears that the principal textile fabrics sent to Madras by the ships of that season were 'Auroras, Scarlets, Popinjays, Fine Cloth, Embost Cloth and Long Ells.'¹ The cotton goods to be provided by Fort St. George, and sent home by the same ships, were 'Long-cloth, Sallampores, Bettelees, Bettelees Oringall,² Chints and Moorees.' The Chints (*Anglicè* chintzes) were the 'paintings' printed in colour on muslin. The details of the order were—'Chints, Madrass, Five hundred Pieces upon a fine Mooree ; the painting, One third of the quantity to be large and two thirds little flowers, and not too much of the dirty Green in them ; two thirds white and One third Colourd Grounds, but no blew grounds.'

Wine was a considerable article of import. Madeira appears

¹ Perpetuanoes had gone out of fashion. (P. to Eng., vol. iii., 19th Jan., 1713.)

² Oringall ; perhaps Warangal, in the Kingdom of Golconda.



to have been first received in 1716, in consequence of some earlier grumbling at the quality of the claret. It rapidly became popular.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The oyl and pickles you were pleasd to send us this year were either so carelessly put up in England, or so roughly handled aboard Ship that great part of them came ashore broken and Spoil'd. One pipe of Mountain¹ was two thirds out, the others full, sound and good. Of the Beer, seven Puncheons were sower, the rest very good : and as for the Florence Wine in Bottles, not being able to say much in praise of it, we only desire that the next may be better, or that you will please to let us furnish ourselves out of the French Ships here that brought us large quantitys of Excellent Claret this Season at fifty Pagodas per hogshead ; and next year it will undoubtedly be cheaper.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Jan., 1714.)

In 1718 the Directors wrote :—'Finding by your letter of the 9th October how acceptable the Madera Wine by the King William was to you,² and that a hundred Pipes a year will save a great deal in your and other our Factorys in the East Indies, We have directed that the Bonita shall take in at the Maderas One hundred Pipes of Wine for our use, to be deliver'd to you.'³

The Madras revenues now aggregated about Pags. 70,000 per annum. The principal duties were :—Anchorage, from three to nine pagodas per ship according to size ; Tonnage, one rupee per ton ; Custom on grain, 5 per cent. *ad valorem* ; Ruby Brokerage, 2½ per cent. on the value sold ; and Slave Registration, eight annas per head. There were receipts also from ground rents, and from the licences for the sale of arrack, wine, betel, and tobacco, which were farmed to the highest bidder :—'We send your Honours . . . a List of your farms for one year, and Revenues for sixteen months. . . ., which amount to pagodas ninety Thousand Eight hundred and twelve, One Cash, and may serve to convince you how little foundation there was for the Reports that were industriously spread as if the Trade of this place were in a very declining Condition for want of due encouragement from us.'⁴

Harrison took steps to establish an overland post to Bengal, by which letters could be delivered in a little over a month :—

¹ *Mountain*, wine from the mountains of Malaga.

² Consigned by Joseph Hayward of Madeira in 1716.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].

⁴ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 9th Oct., 1714.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee have made it our business ever since your new President's arrivall to establish a usefull correspondence with the Gentlemen in the Bay, in which we have succeeded so well as to convey our Letters overland as far as Ganjam, which is good three fourths of [the way to] Ballasore, in sixteen Days, and were in hopes that they in Bengall would have found means to meet Us with the same expedition, which they have not hitherto effected. However, we now receive their Letters in upwards of thirty Days, which before were wont to be two and three months in their passage, and sometimes lost by the Death of their Cossids¹ that have not been able to perform the journey; so that the most materiall advices have often miscarried to the great prejudice of your Affairs. But we have now laid Tappy² peons at convenient stages as farr as Ganjam, half of which charge is born by private Merchants. . . . ' (P. to Eng., vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The rates of postage originally fixed are not given, but in 1720 they were revised as follows, covenanted servants being ruled 'Exempt from paying for Cossid or Pattamar³ Letters':—'For all Letters by the Companys Peons, Pattamars or Cossids, Vizt., Vizagapatam, to or from, 4 Fanams; Bengall, to or from, 6 Fanams; Anjengo, Bombay or Surat, 9 Fanams.'⁴

NATIVE SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY.

Swamped by debt, Serappa, the Company's Chief Merchant, fell into disgrace in 1711, and was superseded by Sunku Rāma. Three years later the aged ex-chief, being judged guilty of sedition, was placed in close confinement 'to prevent his doing further mischief.' His liability to the Company was discharged by the foreclosure of mortgages on his property. The President and Members of Council, acting personally as auctioneers at the Sea Gate,⁵ sold a dozen of his houses and gardens. Half the number were purchased by Messrs. William Warre and Richard Horden,⁶ and the remainder by natives.

In 1717 the principal merchants appear to have been only four in number, viz., 'Sunca Ramah, Ball Chittee, Colloway Chittee

¹ *Cossid*, a running messenger; from Ar. *kāsid*.

² *Tappy* for *tāppaul*, a post office; perhaps from Hind. *tāpnā*, to stamp.

³ *Pattamar*, a running messenger.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. li., 11th April, 1720.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 12th Jan., 1714.

⁶ *Richard Horden*, of the civil service, arrived in 1702. In 1714 he was 5th of Council and Sea Customer. He married in 1713 Cornelia Bugden, daughter of Dr. John Heathfield, and widow of Charles Bugden, a civil servant from 1692.

and Callastrey Chittee.' The last two were dismissed for taking part in a dispute between the Right and Left hand castes, and were replaced by 'Gongaram and Baddriah.' All six merchants gave their names to as many block-houses, which were built at this time for the defence of the pettahs. Sunku Rāma was granted admission to the White Town, being allowed to purchase a house in Middle Gate Street from Mr. Thomas Frederick for use as a Cloth godown. In 1724 the Chief Merchants were 'Sunkah Ramah and Tomby Chitty.' The latter perhaps gave his name to the present Tambi Chetti Street in Muthialpetta.

Rawsum Paupa Braminy (Rāyasam Pāpaiya), who filled the offices of Chief Dubash and Translator, was another functionary who became involved in the caste differences. He was dismissed, Rāmappa being reappointed Chief Dubash, and Virago (Vīra Rāgava) made Brahman Writer. Complaint was also preferred against Pāpaiya, as renter of the Company's paddy-fields, that he had created a corner in salt, and substantially raised the price of that commodity. He was thereupon deprived of his Cowle and Roundell, but in 1720 all his honours and appointments were restored to him by Governor Hastings.¹

A conspicuous instance of long service is presented by the case of the Town Broker Ankaṇṇa. The following extract of 1715 credits him with continuous employment since 1640, that is, for seventy-five years. The record, however, is in error, for there is evidence,² cited by himself, that he was first appointed in Chamber's time. Even so, he must have served for a period of from fifty-three to fifty-six years:—'The Secretary acquainting the Board that the Town Brokers Cowl expir'd the first instant, and the said Broker now offering eight hundred pagodas per Annum to have the Cowle Renew'd to him for Seven Years, which is five hundred pagodas per Annum more than the former Cowl; Agreed that the said Cowle be Renew'd to the Broker Ancana that has enjoy'd it ever since the first Settlement of the place under Agent Cogran.'³

In 1715 Harrison instituted inquiries as to the disposal of the Town Conicoply's Duty:—

¹ P.C., vol. lii., 4th Dec., 1721.

² P.C., vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 1709.

³ P.C., vol. xlvi., 4th July, 1715.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The President acquaints the Board that He has made a thorough examination into the Town Conicoplys duty usually collected out of the Sea and Land Customs from all black Merchants that imports ; and offers the following Remarks:—

'That the duty of ten Cash upon every Pagoda received for Custom was granted to the Corporation of Madrass by the Honble the Directors of the old East India Company, in their Letter dated the 6th of March 169 $\frac{1}{2}$, for ever, upon condition to be employ'd for beautifying and adorning the Town with usefull and necessary Buildings.

'That there has been a most notorious abuse in the collecting and paying in the money arising from the said duty for many years past, so that a great Sum has been sunk Some where.

'For that, one year with another, the said duty must always have amounted to Seven hundred pagodas more or less according to the Sum of the Sea Customs ; but upon a nice inspection into this head in the Generall Books from the year 1696 to the year 1709 it plainly appears That there never was more paid in, in any one year, than pagodas 470, and that only for the year 1697. In the year 1698 was paid in 330 pagodas, in 1699 no more than 50 pagodas, in 1700 was paid 356 pagodas, in 1701 nothing at all, in 1702 pagodas 162, in 1703 pagodas 176, in 1704 pagodas 176 20 fanams, in 1705 to January in the year 1709 not one pagoda ; Though the One hundred pagodas per Annum due to the old Town Conicoply, and settled upon him by order of the Board, was constantly paid him out of the Honble Companys Cash.

'This further remark'd, That Mr. Jeremiah Harrison¹ was Receiver of the Sea Customs for the most part of the time that nothing was paid in, and 'tis reasonable to beleive that the mony must have remain'd in his hands ; but as all the persons concern'd in the Receipt of this duty to the year 1709 are either dead or gone home for England, 'tis in vain to think of recovering what has been short paid in.

'That from the year 1709 to this time Mess^{rs} Smart, Cooke and Fowkes,² that have been the Receivers of the Sea Customs, and have the mony, in their hands, are ready to Account as the Board shall direct. . . .

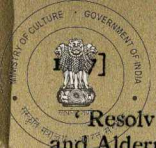
'Resolv'd that the ballance of the Town Conicoplys Account be wrote of[f] upon the next Books as follows, Vizt.

'To Account of the New Bridge laid over the River from the Fort to the Island, what the said bridge stands in over and above the mony rais'd by Subscription.

'To Account of the New Hospital, the Remainder of the mony, if it be no more than will ballance that Account. If it is, the board will, in concert with the Mayor and Aldermen, then take into Consideration how the Overplus shall be employ'd ; and these are the most usefull buildings can be thought of at present. . . .

¹ Jeremiah Harrison was 8th of Council in 1709.

² Joseph Smart was Upper Searcher and Thomas Cooke Receiver at the Sea Gate in 1712. The former died in 1715, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's. Randall Fowke was discharged from the Gunroom Crew in June, 1703. He was admitted to the civil service, and became Factor in 1711. He died a Member of Council in 1745, aged seventy-two, after forty years' service. His tombstone is by St. Mary's.



'Resolv'd that this Board will from time to time, in concert with the Mayor and Aldermen, take care that the mony arising from this duty be employ'd on usefull Buildings and Repairs for the benefit of this Corporation, agreeable to the intent for which it was granted by our Rt. Honble Masters. . . ' (P.C., vol. xlvi., 18th July, 1715.)

Conscientious objections to taking an oath were often raised by natives. In 1715 the Peddannaigue appealed to Government against a judgment in the Mayor's court for a debt of Pags. 1,000. He alleged that, though the debt had been discharged, decision was given against him because 'Your Petitioner would not swear he had paid that bond, Which Your Petitioner averrs is contrary to his cast.' The Government passed the following order, and the Peddannaigue¹ overcame his scruples :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that the judgement given in the Mayors Court against the Pedda Naigue be confirm'd, Vizt., That he pays the bond of One thousand pagodas which Mr. Theobalds Dubash, Jango, sues him for, unless he will take his oath that the said Bond has been already discharg'd.

'Agreed that if the Pedda Naigue does agree to take his oath as before-mention'd, Mess^{rs} Thomas Frederick and William Jennings do take the Cheif Dubash with them and see it be substantially and satisfactorily drawn up as Customary amongst the Jentues in such cases.' (P.C., vol. xlvi., 8th Nov., 1715.)

In 1710 the Council resolved to encourage the study of Persian by the junior civil servants :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'An order of Consultation having been made in June 1710 for the entertaining one Madera pilla, Persian interpreter, purposely to teach such of the Companys Servants as are willing to apply themselves to that language, but nothing further done therein till this time, and the poor man having waited in expectation of employ without any allowance,

'Agreed that he be now entred at five pagodas per month to teach as many young gentlemen as shall be hereafter appointed, and that, in Consideration of his loss of time by attendance, he be tasherif'd.' (P.C., vol. xlii., 17th Sept., 1711.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Persian Master whom we entertain'd to teach your Servants is since dead, and very much regretted, as he was a good man and very capable of that

¹ In 1718 the Peddannaigue was dismissed for neglect of duty and debt, and was replaced by 'Coonogoree Timapa Naigue' of the same family. After a year's service the latter resigned, and 'Coonogoree Pedda Naigue' was reinstated.



Employ. There is never another in the place that can speak a word of English or portuguese, which is a great misfortune to those that had made a beginning, and especially to young John Turton¹ who had made an unusuall progress in that Language for the time. In our humble opinion there can be no greater encouragement for such as make themselves masters of the Eastern Languages than to give them the preference to such as do not think it worth their while to take the same pains.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.)

Another munshi, a Brahman, was appointed in 1716.

¹ *John Turton*, a Writer who came out in 1711.



CHAPTER X

1709—1717

RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES—FORT ST. GEORGE
RECORDS—THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—NORBERT'S
DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—VARIETIES

RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the settlement effected by Pitt in 1708, and the heavy penalty prescribed for breach of the agreement then made, a fresh caste dispute broke out in October, 1716.¹ The difference arose through the contention of the Left hand Chetties that the Right hand Komaties had 'usurp'd several titles belonging to them, and perform'd some Ceremonys before an Image that they have no right to do.' The Council ordered each caste to select an equal number of Brahmans, who were of neutral caste, to settle the dispute by arbitration. The heads of the Komaties refusing, were confined to the Merchants' Godown, until Colloway Chetty offered to refer the matter to the heads of the castes in the surrounding country. The proposal was accepted; but a few days later, all the domestic servants deserted, 'such as Cooks, Water bearers, Cooleys, Pallenkeen boys, Roundell men, and other usefull Servants, and arming themselves with Pikes, daggers and long staves, made a greivous uproar in the black town, stopping all the Water from coming in,² and committing many other disorders.' The ringleaders were seized by the guard and put in irons.

Matters remained fairly quiet until December, when the Chetties

¹ P.C., vols. xlvii. and xlviii., 12th Oct., 1716, to 7th Feb., 1717. Many of the consultations are quoted by Wheeler.

² Drinking-water was drawn from wells in the north part of Peddanaikpetta, and carried by water-bearers to the White Town.

closed their shops, and caused the Left hand artizans to strike. Harrison being about to embark for England, the Government determined to adjudicate. On the 7th January, 1717, they resolved that 'the Quomitties may cry out their Pennagundoo Naggarrum¹ at their Houses, feasts, Weddings, etc., according to Salabad, but not before the Pagoda of Chindadry Pillary² till that matter can be decided' by Brahman arbitration. If the Komaties refuse arbitration, 'the Image of the Chindadry Pillarry Pagoda shall be Remov'd to the great Jent [ue] Pagoda, and to prevent any future disputes the Chindadry Pillarry Pagoda shall be shut up for ever.' It was further resolved that no new temple should be erected without permission, nor any flags used at feasts except St. George's cross.

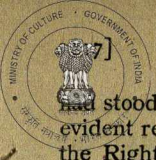
These provisions were somewhat modified by Mr. Joseph Collet, Harrison's successor. On the 7th February, 1717, it was ruled that the Right and Left hand castes could repeat the *Nakāram* only at temples situate in their respective streets, and that neither caste might say it before the great Gentu Pagoda. Kālavāy Chetṭi and Kālāstri Chetṭi, who had deserted to San Thomé, then made their submission, and were again received under the Company's protection on giving security of Pags. 40,000 for good behaviour. The Company wrote as follows on the subject :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Touching the Quarrels between the Quomities and Chittees, We have . . . reviewd the Account We had on discourse with Mr. Pitt on his return hither, who was Governour when the first grand Quarrel between them happend. . . . The result of all, for so far as concerns the present Case, is as follows . . . Vizt., That the Right and Left hand Casts be each encouraged and allowd the free exercise of their Religious Rites and Customs. . . . That both Casts be kept in a Ballance, and neither suffer'd to claim a Superiority over the other. That the Governour and Councils leave be ask'd for allowing them the Priviledges they desire. The Right hand Cast are forty to one in point of Number, and all Sorts of Handycrafts People among them, but then generally they are poor and lavish, whereas the left hand Cast are mostly Merchants, Wealthy and Parsimonious and forty times richer, Insomuch that when We forbad advancing Money beforehand for Goods, the then Joynt Stock Merchants, who were of the Right hand Cast, could not contract for an Investment, and our Business

¹ *Pennagundoo Naggarrum* : Rao Sahib K. Rangachari explains this expression as the *Pannirāṇḍu Nakāram*, or twelve adorations of Pillaiyār.

² *Chindadry Pillary*, the temple of *Chindādri Pillaiyār*, near the present Chennai *Mallikesvarar Kovil* in *Peddanaikpetta*.



had stood still had not the Left hand Cast undertook the Contract ; which is an evident reason why they should be regarded, altho in the Country round about the Right hand are allow'd to claim the precedency, and to exercise some Priviledges above the others ; for which reason they will not allow the left hand Cast to build a house with a flat roof, to ty up their hair with a Red Ribbon, and many other things, without asking leave. And if the poorest fellow of the Right hand Cast lives among never so many of the left hand Cast, he will insult them, which was the occasion of the first grand Quarrel. For which reason Governour Pitt with abundance of difficulty separated each Cast into their respective Streets to prevent the handle for quarreling : and it is necessary that Law should continue for them to live asunder ; and he is of opinion that whoever is catchd beginning fresh quarrels which beget Mutinys deserves the utmost punishment, and that a Solemn Proclamation should be made that whoever is found either Secretly or openly to disturb the present Settlement of the Casts should be declared a Publick Enemy to the Interest of the English Nation as well as to the Companys Settlements on the Coast.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1711 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

FORT ST. GEORGE RECORDS.

The series of Public Consultations preserved at Fort St. George is nearly complete from 1678. There is, however, a gap in Vol. XLII. for 1711 from the 9th November to the end of the year, and the volume for 1723 is missing, the preceding and following volumes being numbered consecutively. These defects can be made good from the India Office ; but the absence of consultations from the 30th April, 1746, to the time of the French occupation constitutes a serious loss which can be only partially repaired from the records of Fort St. David.¹ In January, 1712, it was observed that the despatches from England for the period 1688 to 1692 were missing. Fraser eventually proved to be the culprit. Unknown to the Council, he had removed several books of records to his own house. These he restored on his departure from India.² It is singular, however, that Vol. X. of the Letters from England, 1688-1696, is not extant. ❧

In 1712 Harrison directed that the Paymaster's disbursements should be shown monthly under separate heads.³ The classification enables us to determine what buildings and fortifications were from time to time under construction. The headings prescribed were, 'Charges Garrison, Charges Diet, Diet Stores,

¹ The consultation books at the India Office carry the record down to the 16th June, 1746.

² *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 14th Jan., 1711 $\frac{1}{2}$, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 11th Jan., 1711 $\frac{1}{2}$.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 5th May, 1712.

Charges Generall, Fortifications and Repairs, Charges Cattle, Charges Extraordinary, Buildings.' Separate accounts were to be kept of payments for subordinate Factories, and of work done for the Storekeeper in the Carpenter's and Smith's yards, 'as in making Gun Carriages and Accoutrements for the soldiers.' These yards were the antecedents of the Madras Arsenal and Gun Carriage Factory.

The copies of Madras grants which had been sent to Bengal appear to have been lost or mislaid, for fresh ones were forwarded in 1714 :—'Generall letter of this days date to the President and Council [of Bengall]; also one to Mr. John Surman, etc. Gentlemen intrusted with the present for the Mogul, now going forward to Court, read, approved and signd. Agreed that attested copys of all our Grants and Phirmaunds for the Settlements upon this Coast be once more sent to the forementioned Gentlemen by this Conveyance.'¹

A new feature in the consultations of this period is the entry of the Wills of deceased persons. The earliest is that of Mr. John Nicks,² who died in 1711. His estate passed to his daughter, Anne, and her husband, William Warre. The following extracts from the Wills of William Warre and John Ouldham are given as specimens :—

Will of Mr. William Warre.

'In the Name of God Amen. I, William Warre, of Madrass in the East Indies, being in perfect State of health, mind and Memory, thanks be to Almighty God for the same, but considering the many hazards my life is Subject to, Doe therefore make and ordain my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First I bequeath my Soul into the hands of my heavenly ffather, hoping to receive pardon for all my sins, and my body to the earth in hopes of joyfull Resurrection at the last day. Item, I give and bequeath unto my Son William and to his Heirs male all that estate left me by my ffather at Bradford in Somersetshire. . . .

'[I give all other property to] my Dear Wife Florentia Warre,³ my very good freinds Osmond Beauvoir, Esq., of Balms in the County of Middlesex, and the Reverend George Lewis, late Minister of Fort St. George, [in trust for my wife and children].

Item, I give unto my honoured Mother twenty pounds Sterling, and to my

¹ P.C., vol. xlv., 12th April, 1714. The transcripts were made by 'Paupa Braminy.' They have been quoted in an earlier part of this work.

² P.C., vol. xlii., 19th March, 1714.

³ His first wife dying in 1711, William Warre married secondly Florentia Cradock in March, 1715. Within two months he died himself.



Brother and Sister, John and Ann Hoadly, ten pounds Sterling each to buy them Rings or mourning as they may think fit. In case of my decease in India, my request is to my Dear Wife that she goes to England so soon as she can conveniently, and that then she Commits the care of my concerns in India unto my very good freinds Mr. Richard Horden and Mr. Charles Long.¹ . . .

'In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this third day of May Anno Domini 1715. WILLIAM WARRE.

'Sign'd and Seal'd where no stamp'd Paper is to be had, publish'd and declar'd by the Within nam'd William Warre to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us, and by us Sign'd in the presence of the Testator and of each other. THOS. THEOBALDS, THOS. ROBSON, GEOR. WOOLLASTON.'² (P.C., vol. xlvi., 27th June, 1715.)

Will of Capt. John Ouldham.

'In the Name of God Amen. I, John Ouldham, now of Fort St. George in the East Indies, Mariner, being Weak and indispos'd in body, but of Sound and perfect mind and Memory (thanks be to God for the Same), and calling to mind the certainty of death and the uncertain time of its approach, Do make and ordain This my last Will and Testament in manner and form following . . . For what Worldly Estate it has pleas'd Almighty God to bless me with, I leave and bequeath as follows, Vizt.

'*Imprimis.* I will that all my just debts, Funeral Charges and Legacies herein after mention'd be first fully discharg'd and Satisfied.

'*Item.* I give and bequeath to my good freind Mr. Thos. Cooke³ my Slave boy Emanuel, also my Long ffrrench Gun and pair of Pistols.

'*Item.* To my Slave Boy Shyrash I give him his liberty and freedom, and all my old Wearing Apparell, also my Short Fowling Peice, and a Brass hilted Cutlace.

'*Item.* I give and bequeath the Remainder of my Estate, both Real and personal in India or else-where, to be divided in four Equal Shares, Vizt., One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Honoured Mother, Anne Ouldham, of Christ Church Friars; One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Loving Brother, James Ouldham, of said place; One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Loving Sister, Frances Clark, Wife of Captain John Clark; and the other quarter part I bequeath unto John Clark, the Son of John and Frances Clark aforesaid. . . . I have hereunto set my hand and Seal in ffort St. George this Eleventh day of November, Anno Domini 1715. JOHN OULDHAM.

'[Witnesses] J. SANDERSON, HENRY DAVY, EDWD. CROKE.'⁴ (P.C., vol. xlvi., 19th Dec., 1715.)

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

On Dr. Bulkley's resignation in 1709 of the office of Surgeon, Dr. Thomas Robson⁵ officiated until the arrival of Dr. Richard

¹ Horden was Sea Customer and Long one of the Ministers.

² Theobalds was a free merchant, Robson the senior surgeon, and Woollaston a junior civilian.

³ Thomas Cooke, 7th of Council and Land Customer.

⁴ All three witnesses were junior civil servants.

⁵ Dr. Thomas Robson married in 1709 Diana Bridges, *nee* Baggs, widow of Richard Bridges.

Chadsley, the Company's nominee. Chadsley dying in 1711 within a year of taking charge, the Council entertained two surgeons, Thomas Robson and Anthony Supplie. The latter had previously served at Masulipatam and Fort St. David. The duties of the two surgeons were differentiated as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When we wrote that we had taken Doctor Suplee into Doctor Chadsley's place, we did not mean as chief Surgeon, not having known any such distinction here. Their provinces are distinct; one has the charge of the Hospital, and the other attends your covenanted Servants if they please, and assists in the hospital if there is too much work for one. We gave Doctor Robson the Choice in regard of your Orders by the Dartmouth, and he declares it is not with his knowledge if any Complaint has been made to your Honours of hardship done him.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.)

Three years later Dr. Supplie resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. Andrew Peitchier from Sumatra.

Bulkley served as Member of Council and Paymaster until February, 1713, when he resigned on account of ill-health. His death in the following year is thus referred to by Harrison:—'On the 10th August last died Mr. Edward Bulkley, much regretted by every body here as having been a very good, usefull inhabitant, and a charitable man.'¹ Dr. Bulkley was buried in his own garden in Peddanaikpetta. His tomb, which may still be seen on the Ordnance Lines opposite the Medical College, bears the following inscription:—'Sacrum sit hoc monumentum perenni memoriae Edwardi Bulkley, Honorabili Anglorum Societati medici, feliciter experti et ipsae tandem a consiliis, qui cum naturae arcana diu indagasset, laeto animo ipsae satisfecit viii. Augusti² MDCCXIV., et anno aetatis suae climacterico. Ne mireris viator quod in horto ubi animum perpoliebat, corpus suum voluit reponi, beatam sperans resurrectionem.'³

A funeral sermon which was preached at St. Mary's by the Rev. William Stevenson was afterwards published. A copy preserved in the British Museum has been consulted, but it contains no particulars of interest.

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 29th Sept., 1714.

² The records assign his death to the 10th August.

³ *List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.

NORBERT'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

The following account of Madras, relating to the year 1715, is given by Father Norbert in his memoirs¹:—

'Madrast ou Madraspatan est une des plus considérables Villes de la Côte de Coromandel, sous la zone torride, aux environs des 13 degrés de latitude et des 104 de longitude. Elle est située au bord de la Mer, dans un terrain plat et uni. L'air y est pur et salubre. Les chaleurs y sont extrêmes, surtout dans les mois d'Avril, May, Juin, Juillet et Aoust. Sa grandeur est d'environ une lieue de longueur sur près de demi lieue de large. Toutes les choses nécessaires à la vie y abondent par mer et par terre. Ses habitans et les étrangers qu'un commerce florissant y attire, jouissent d'une parfaite tranquillité; ils n'ont à craindre ni les troubles de la guerre, ni l'avarice des Prêtres, ni l'ambition des Princes de la gentilité. Les marchandises de toutes les parties du monde y arrivent continuellement. Madrast appartient à la Couronne d'Angleterre. Cette Nation y entretient toujours une nombreuse Garnison. Le temporel y est gouverné par un Chef, et par un Parlement ou Conseil souverain dont les jugemens sont sans appel. Toutes les Religions y sont permises, et chacune d'elles a ses Temples ou Eglises dans lesquelles le Citoyen ou l'Etranger peut aller surement et librement à sa manière.

'Cette Ville est divisée en trois parties. La forteresse où le Gouverneur et une partie de la Garnison demeurent, est nommée le fort de S. George; elle a son enceinte particulière, les cazernes des Soldats sont bâties tout auprès, le temple des Anglois est placé d'un Côté, et l'Eglise des Capucins François de l'autre. La Ville proprement dite,² est contiguë à la Forteresse. Elle est fort vaste, et habitée par les Officiers, les Ministres de la justice, les Marchans et autres de différentes Nations; On y voit des Arméniens, des Grecs, des Danois, des Mahométans et des Malabres. Les maisons en sont magnifiques, et d'une propreté qui égale celle des Palais d'Europe les plus superbes. Cette partie est environnée d'une simple muraille. La troisième, qui peut être considérée comme les faux bourgs des deux autres, est ouverte de tous côtés, et contient un grand nombre d'Indiens, de Gentils, et de Maures. On prétend que ces trois villes renferment plus de cent mille Ames. Les langues qu'on parle plus ordinairement sont l'*Indolstan*, le *Talinga*, le *Malabare*, le *Persien*, l'*Armenien*, l'*Anglois*, et le *Portugais*. Cette dernière est entendue de presque tous ceux qui demeurent ou trafiquent à Madrast.

'On y compte près de vingt mille Catholiques, instruits par les Missionnaires Capucins de la Nation Française. Ils reconnoissent pour Evêque Diocésain celui de Méliapure, autrement dit S. Thomé. Ces Peres ont bâti depuis quelques années une très-belle Eglise, sur un des plus beaux terrains qu'il y ait dans la Ville de Madrast: les Anglois non seulement leur en ont donné la permission, mais, comme maîtres de l'endroit, ils ont pris encore cette Eglise sous leurs auspices. Elle est decemment ornée et pourvue du nécessaire.

¹ *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Indes Orientales*, R. P. Norbert (Pierre Parisot), Luques, 1744, vol. i., pp. 291-295. Communicated by the Very Rev. Francisco Ehrle, S.J., Librarian of the Vatican, and the Rev. Louis-Antoine de Prentreuy.

² Black Town.

Nos Religieux d'Europe n'en ont pas une seule qui puisse l'égaliser. Les Portugais et les autres Catholiques qu'on nomme *Mestices* et *Topases*, également comme les naturels du Pays, y viennent sans distinction pour assister aux divins mystères ; ou y chante avec l'orgue les Messes solennelles, et on y fait ou en Portugais ou en Malabare la Prédication après l'Evangile presque tous les Dimanches, de même que toutes les grandes fêtes. Les Capucins y font observer les mêmes Cérémonies qui se pratiquent en Europe selon les Rubriques du Bréviaire et du Missel Romain. Ils suivent les mêmes usages pour les mariages et pour les enterremens. Cette Mission ne s'étend que dans Madrast et ses limites, qui terminent à quelque distance ; En un mot, sur tous les endroits qui dépendent de la juridiction Angloise. Cette Nation y suit le Rit Anglicain. Elle n'a qu'un temple assez petit, mais très-bien bâti et d'une grande propreté ; il est desservi par deux Ministres de leur Nation.

'Hors les Murs de la Ville se trouve une autre Eglise pour les Arméniens,¹ qui sont en très-petit nombre. Elle est sous la direction de deux Prêtres Schismatiques.

'Les Mahométans, encore moins nombreux que les Arméniens, y ont une Mosquée située également hors des murailles de la Forteresse, mais ils n'ont point de Prêtres ou mollahs que en prennent soin.

'Enfin dans le district de Madrast, on compte une infinité de Temples pour les Gentils : ils sont gouvernés par des Prêtres qu'ils appellent *Brammes*. Ils donnent le nom de Pagodes à leurs Eglises.

'Pour dire encore un mot de la Mission de Madrast, nous ajouterons que les Capucins, qui y sont ordinairement au nombre de quatre ou cinq, y ont été appellés par les Anglois mêmes. Ces Peres ne laissent pas que de faire de tems en tems de nouveaux Chrétiens. Ils ont une maison nouvellement batie à côté de leur Eglise. Ils ne reçoivent pour vivre aucune pension ni secours d'Europe. L'unique fond dans lequel ils puisent est la charité des Anglois et des Catholiques du Pays. Il[s] se contentent du nécessaire sans s'inquiéter de faire amas de pierres précieuses et des richesses de l'Asie. . . . Les Anglois les secourent dans toutes leurs besoins, ils les habillent, et leur accordent toute la liberté que des Missionnaires peuvent désirer. Ils les favorisent de leur protection, et leur prouvent continuellement combien ils les honorent. Nos Peres y ont exercé jusqu'à présent leur ministère sans inquiétude et sans crainte. Ils portent librement le Saint Viatique dans l'Hopital des Anglois, et même jusques dans leurs maisons, lors qu'il s'y trouve des Catholiques malades. Bien loin de les troubler dans leurs fonctions et de s'opposer aux progrès de la foi, ou même d'entrer en connoissance de ce qui se passe entre eux et les fidèles qu'ils dirigent, pour leur donner plus de crédit et leur attirer plus de respect, ils leur ont volontiers accordé le droit de décider juridiquement sur tous les différens qui peuvent survenir entre les Catholiques Romains. Et en cette qualité de Juges, ils sont chargés du soin de veiller aux intérêts du Pauvre, de la veuve, et de l'orphelin. Lorsqu'il arrive que les parties appellent de la décision des Capucins au Conseil Souverain, ou Parlement Anglois, les Juges veulent qu'un de ces Pères y assiste, et fasse les représentations qu'il croit convenables. Il signe même au bas de la Sentence. Si un vaisseau appartenant à un Catholique Romain vient à echouer à la Rade de Madrast, les Capucins prennent fait et cause du naufrage en faveur des intéressés, et ils reçoivent en dépôt tout ce qui appartient aux Catholiques Romains. Quoique cet Article soit d'une

¹ Situated in Black Town, near the Bridge Gate.

très-grande conséquence, et d'une très-grande délicatesse dans la commerce, jamais les Anglois ne s'y sont opposés : au contraire, ils ont donné à nos Missionnaires tous les secours qu'ils requeroient en pareil cas : on voit par là que ces Religieux sont en vénération parmi la Nation Angloise. Tous les dimanches il y en a un qui mange à la table du Gouverneur, et qui, à l'absence de son Ministre, dit la prière de la table avant et après le repas, selon l'usage de l'Eglise Romaine.'

VARIETIES.

In January, 1714, peace with France was publicly proclaimed at Madras. During the war, the French Fleet in Indian waters had captured several English prizes, but the relations between Fort St. George and Pondicherry continued amicable, as evidenced by Governor Hebert's mediation in the Gingee quarrel, and Governor Dulivier's conduct in the Raworth case.

On the 7th April, 1715, intelligence reached Madras of the death of Queen Anne and accession of George I., and on the following day the usual ceremony was observed. The King's birthday was thus celebrated in 1716:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'This being the Birth day of his Royall Majesty King George of Great Brittain, the Hon'ble President, for the better Solemnization thereof, invited the Councill, the Cheif of the Hon'ble Companys Servants, Commanders of Ships and free Inhabitants of the City to an entertainment in the Fort, at which were drank the following healths, Vizt.

His Royal Majestys, with fifty six guns.

His Highness the Prince of Waless, with twenty Seven guns.

The Princesss and their Issue, with twenty five guns.

The Royall Familys with Twenty three guns.

'Upon drinking his Royal Majestys health, all the Ships in the Road, to the number of about forty, fir'd a Peal, the Honble Companys Ship Catherine beginning first; and in the Evening all the Garrison drank to his Majestys health.' (P.C., vol. xlvii., 28th May, 1716.)

The Directors wrote as follows regarding the control of the charitable funds administered by the Church:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have from divers hands an Account of the manngement of the Church Stock whereby it has of late Years been greatly improved, so as to be very beneficiall to the whole City of Madrass, especially the poor Europeans, which of late have greatly encreased; and that it is of the greatest consequence to the

good of the place that the same care and good management should be kept up for the preservation and Improvement of it for the sake of such as are in want and are relieved thereby; That there is another Stock under the same management called the Orphans Stock, which is improved for the benefit of those Orphans and Widows whose Money is put in, and that could not of themselves turn it to any Advantage; by which means they also are preserved from Penury. Wee hope the same Zeal will be always continued in looking after and enlarging both these so publick Spirited undertakings, and That there may, and no ill designing persons be permitted to embezzle either, Wee earnestly recommend to and enjoin you the President and Council, and the President and Council for the time being in all time to come, to enquire at Stated times such as you shall fix, into the State of both Stocks; and to take care the Ministers and Churchwardens do constantly keep the Cash in a Chest for that purpose, to which they are to have severall keys, that it may not be touched without the Concurrence of all; That none be Churchwardens but men of Substance, esteem and Credit; That you inspect their Accounts and cause them to send us Annually by our Ships the Copys of their Journall and Ledger to the end of the Year. . . . (P. from Eng., vol. xix., 27th Oct., 1714.)

The Council were also exhorted to exercise supervision over the Public Library:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee understand that the library in Fort St. George is worthy our Notice as consisting not only of a great Number of Books, but of a great many that are choice and valuable, John Dolben, Esq^r., Mr. Richard Elliot and others having made a present of their Books (which were considerable) to the library, besides other Augmentations it hath lately received from the Society for propagating Christian knowledge, etc. Wee therefore recommend the care of the library to our President and Ministers, ordering that the said Books (such at least as are of value) be put up in close Presses to keep them from Dust and Vermin, and that none of them be lent or carryed out of the library without the Consent of both Ministers, if two shall be on the place; and the Books so carryed out shall be entered in a Book kept for that purpose, inserting the day and year when, and the Person to whom it is Lent on one side of the Folio, and on the other the day and year when returned.

'And Wee order our Ministers to sort the said Books into proper Classes, and to take a Catalogue of them to be kept in the Library, of which they shall deliver a Copy to our President, and send a Copy home to us. And Wee desire our President to order two of our Servants, together with our Ministers, to examine the Books by the Catalogue once a Year, that is to say some few days before the Vestry is held, and make their Report at the Vestry. It would be very proper also to put our Chop on the said Books in the title Page or first Leafe, to show to whom they belong if they should any of them happen to be stolen, and to stamp our Armes on the Cover.' (P. from Eng., vol. xix., 12th Jan., 1714 [1715].)

The following extract relates to the type of horse available in Madras:—