

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Messrs. Hastings,¹ Warre and Horden acquaint the board that they have pitch'd upon four very good serviceable Horses, . . . and have agreed for them at the following prices, Vizt.

A Persia Horse of a Brown Bay Colour of 15 hands high of about 8 years old	- - -	Pags. 230
Another of a light Bay Colour about 15 hands high and 7 years old	- - -	180
One of a Sorril Colour 13½ hands high, 8 years old	- - -	180
A Turkish Barb, 14½ hands high	- - -	250
		Pags. 840

which is considerably cheaper than Horses used to be sold for here.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 21st March, 171½.)

The junior civil servants were taken to task in 1711 for irregular attendance at church, and a fine of nine fanams was imposed for each absence from Sunday services.² The conduct of some of them was occasionally irregular in other respects :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'John Morgan and Cornelius Moll, Writers, having been severall days under close confinement for keeping ill hours in the black Town, and climbing over the Battery walls next the sea at midnight, were sent for and severely reprimanded, the President acquainting them that, pursuant to the hon'ble Companys orders, they should infallibly be dismiss and sent home for the next offence.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 12th April, 1712.)

¹ *Francis Hastings*, 2nd of Council and Accountant,

² *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 30th July, 1711.



CHAPTER XI

1717—1720

GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET—RECOVERY OF THE FIVE
VILLAGES—DIVI ISLAND—THE GARRISON—THE
FORTIFICATIONS—SCHOOLS

GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET.

THE Company's choice of a successor to Harrison fell on Mr. Joseph Collet, who was serving at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra. He was transferred to Madras in August, 1716, as Second of Council, to prepare for the high office which was to devolve on him. Governor Harrison relinquished the duties of Cashkeeper and Mintmaster in December, but continued to sit as President of the Council until his embarkation on the 8th January, 1717, when Collet assumed charge. Collet's early history has not been traced, but in 1711 the Directors appointed him Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, and he sailed from England in the frigate *Jane*, Captain Austen :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The *Jane* Friggat that arrived here on Saturday last the 24th instant, having in her outward passage touch'd at Rio Janeiro in Brazile, where a French Squadron under Mons^r. De Guaye¹ arriv'd soon after them to attack and plunder the place, which they did effectually; and Capt. Austen, Commander of the *Jane*, having thought fit to surrender the said ship and the Companys Cargoe to the enemy, which Mr. Joseph Collet, Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, then Passenger on board the said ship, found means to ransom and bring hither; we have thought it necessary [to have] the said Mr. Joseph Collet's answers to severall interrogatorys relating to this affair. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 26th May, 1712.)

¹ *De Guaye*, Admiral Duguay Trouin.



Captain Austen's conduct was regarded as suspicious. He had deliberately parted company from his consort, and sailed for Brazil instead of the Cape. He delayed at Rio until the French squadron arrived, and then surrendered the ship and the Company's treasure. Collet ransomed the vessel and cargo for £3,500.¹ His action, which was commended, probably contributed to his subsequent promotion to Fort St. George.

The chief political events during Collet's administration of three years at Madras were the deposition and assassination of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, the expulsion of the British from Bencoolen, and the opening of negotiations for the possession of Divi Island. Among domestic occurrences were the forcible recovery from the Nawab of the five new villages, the completion of the Fort Square, the construction of outworks to protect the pettahs, and the development of the Charity school. These features are described in the following pages.

In October, 1719, Collet announced that the condition of his health compelled his return to England. Francis Hastings, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, was summoned to Madras, and the government was delivered over to him on the 18th January, 1720, when Collet embarked in the *King William*, Capt. James Winter.

RECOVERY OF THE FIVE VILLAGES.

It will be remembered that possession of the five new villages² had been resumed by the native government in 1711. Although the hamlets were included in the Emperor Farrukhsiyar's grant to the British of 1717, Nawab Sa'adatullah Khān declined to restore them until the original *farmān* of the Mogul was produced for his inspection. Collet, considering it unsafe to part with so valuable a document, resolved to take the villages by force.³

¹ The *Jane* was again captured by the French in June, 1713, in the course of a voyage to Tonquin. She was afterwards restored, but some treasure belonging to her commander, Capt. Darley, was distributed by the French captain, Boineau, to his officers and men. Lieut. John Roach, of the Fort St. David garrison, spending a quiet Sunday at Pondicherry, heard the whole story from Boineau, and reported the facts to Fort St. George. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 17th April, 1714.)

² 'Trivatore, Satan Godu, Catawauca, Vezallawarrow and Lingumbauca.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 16th Oct., 1717.)

³ Extracts from the consultations will be found in *Madras in the Olden Time*, ii. 2 et seq., Wheeler.

On the 23rd September, 1717, the President took possession of Trivatore and two other villages, and on the following day Mr. Horden secured the remaining two. Ten days later the Nawab announced from Arcot that Madras would be blockaded until the villages were restored to Dayā Rām, his head Renter. On the 18th October, Trivatore was occupied by Dayā Rām with 250 horse and 1,000 foot. Collet immediately ordered Lieut. John Roach to march for the village at 1.0 a.m. on the 19th with 150 English and 120 Peons. The force surprised the place at dawn, penetrated to the temple and tank in the middle of the town, and, after an hour's struggle, expelled the enemy. Roach maintained his position against further attacks until he was reinforced by Lieut. Alexander Fullerton with 100 Europeans, two field-guns, and 60 Peons. The enemy then retreated towards Poonamallee, and the force was ordered back to Fort St. George. The fighting lasted six hours, but the casualties were few.

During the absence from Madras of so large a proportion of its defenders 'the President order'd the Militia of the Town to be rais'd, who took Possession of the white Town, while the Out-guard's were Strengthen'd by the Remainder of the Garrison, and Gunner Hugonin with the Governour's horse Guards (being Six in the whole)¹ were order'd to Patroll about the washer Town and Tondore to Prevent the enemy from burning or Plundering on that side.' The Governor, who personally issued all orders, accorded the highest praise to Lieut. Roach, and proposed that he should be specially rewarded :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that, in consideration of Lieut. John Roaches former Services at Fort St. David, for which the Honble Company have in their Letter's order'd him a Gratuity which has never yet been Given, and also in Consideration of his eminent Services at Trivadore on the 19th instant, in defeating the enemy with so much loss on their Side, and without the loss of one man on ours, That the President, by his Commission, constitute Lieutenant John Roach Major of all the Honble Companys Forces on the Coast of Choromandell and Island of Sumatra ; and that a Gold medall with the Honble Company's arm's Set round with Diamond spark's, with an Inscription on the Reverse Suitable to the occasion, (the Value about three hundred Pagodas) be given him.

'Agreed that his Pay as Major be twenty pagodas per mensem.

'Agreed that it be left to the Discretion of the President to order Smart

¹ An elementary phase of the modern Body Guard.



mony to the wounded, and some Gratuity to the inferiour Officer's, who all behav'd themselves very well in the Engagement.' (P.C., vol. xlviii., 21st Oct., 1717.)

Roach's commission as major was duly made out, and on the 12th December the 'Jewell,' which had been fashioned by Marcus Moses, the diamond merchant, was presented to him. The five villages were let to Sunku Rāma for twelve years at Pags. 1,200 per annum. The only dissatisfied person was the Nawab, who sulked for twelve months. He ultimately consented to procure from Sayyid Hūsain 'Alī a confirmation of the late emperor's grant on receipt of Pags. 2,000 for himself and half as much for Dakkañ Rāy, his minister and son-in-law. The terms were accepted, and on the 15th December, 1718, an envoy was received with great pomp at the Garden House, who delivered 'the Nabobs Perwanna and the Ratifications of the Peace.'

DIVI ISLAND.

Harrison had attached extraordinary importance to the acquisition of Divi Island near Masulipatam, and Surman's Mission was instructed to endeavour to procure a grant :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have given particular directions about Diu Island, and a grant of it from the Crown¹ directly would be the best Jewel you have in India. There is every thing upon it that can be wishd or desired in such a place: the water is excellent; there is a great plenty of wood; the Soil is fruitfull to a Wonder, productive of every thing that is usefull and necessary, especially great quantities of the very best Chay root² for painting. There is good harbouring for Vessells and Ships of an hundred and fifty to two hundred Tons; and the insufferable usage under the Moors Government upon the main land will people the Island (as soon as we are in possession of it) with the most usefull persons for the manufactures, and a handsome Revenue may be raisd. . . .' (P. to Eng., vol. iv., 29th Sept., 1714.)

The grant was duly made, Mr. Richard Horden was somewhat prematurely appointed Deputy Governor, and an expedition was planned to meet possible opposition. This led to shipbuilding at Madras :—

¹ The Mogul.

² Chay root, the root of the chay plant; Tam. saya (*Oldenlandia umbellata*). It yields a fine red dye.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is represented that it will be a very great service in the Reduction of Divi Island in case of opposition, and afterwards in preserving it from any insults from abroad, to have a Galley built after the manner of those used in the Mediterranean, which both sail, Row, and carry a considerable number of men, without drawing much water. And there being in the place one Richard Spencer, a very good Ship Wright, capable of building such a Vessell or any other We shall need, who offers his service at twelve pagodas a Month,

'Agreed that the said Spencer be entertain'd as a Master Ship Wright in the Honble Companys Service at that allowance, and that he be immediately employ'd in Building a Galley of about forty Tons burthen, which shall not draw above five foot Water, for the purposes beforemention'd.' (P.C., vol. xlviii., 2nd Sept., 1717.)

A detachment of troops was sent to Masulipatam, and through the agency of the Armenian Aga Pera, negotiations were opened with Nawab 'Maubeuze Cawn, Subah of Golconda,' on a basis of Pags. 5,000. The Nawab, however, wanted a lakh. In 1719 news came that the two Sayyids, Husain 'Alī and his brother 'Abdullah, who virtually ruled the empire, had seized the sovereign, put out his eyes and imprisoned him. Shortly afterwards 'they destroy'd the late King Furruckseer and all the Princes of the Tamerlane race in the Pallace of Delhy, or within their reach, to the Number of eighteen or twenty persons.'¹ This tragedy put an end to the negotiations with the Nawab, and it was resolved to abstain from the use of force pending orders from the Company.

In connexion with the northern settlements, it may be noted that Mr. Thomas Faucet² was ordered thence to 'Ingeroon' in 1712 to ascertain what manufactures could be produced there.³ This appears to be the earliest reference to Ingeram, in the Northern Circars, where a factory was established which endured into the nineteenth century.

¹ P.C., vol. 1., 2nd July, 1719.

² Writing home three years later, the Council say of Faucet that he 'has never been thought capable of any considerable trust by reason of a Moon Frenzy that seldom fails him full or new; besides he is intollerably addicted to drinking, old, perverse and ignorant in business, a Phisician if any thing, but not enuff of that to keep him from starveing even in this Country where Doctors are so scarce' (P. to Eng., vol. iv., 12th Feb., 1714). Faucet, who married in 1700 Johanna, widow of William Martin, died at Ingeram in 1723.

³ P.C., vol. xliii., 29th Jan., 1714. According to Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, the Factory was founded in 1708.

THE GARRISON.

In 1717 the garrison of Fort St. George, consisting of 360 Europeans, was divided into three companies in place of two.¹ An equal number held Fort St. David. Disabled officers were eligible for pension. The case of Ensign Jonathan Newman, who represented that he was 'very Infirm, as troubled with the falling Sickness,' was thus disposed of:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Petition of Ensign Newman read, . . . representing to the Board that he has Serv'd the Honble Company these twenty five years in a military Employment, and that now (thrō an infirmity of Body) he is not Capable of Performing his Duty as formerly: he therefore Prays that he may have a Pension Settled on him wherewith he may Subsist.

'Agreed that, in Consideration of his former Services and his present ill State of health, he be allow'd eight Pagodas per mensem, and that he be excus'd the Duty of an Ensign till the perfect Recovery thereof.' (P.C., vol. xlvihi., 2nd Oct., 1717.)

In 1719 the Company again sent out a Chief Engineer:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have entertained Captain James Johnson as Chief Engineer, Bombardier, and Fireworker for Fort St. George, as supposing he will be necessary for Our Service at Dieu Island, at Ten Pounds a Calendar Month, to commence from his arrival. He served under My Lord Galway several years in Portugal, and has his Lordship's and other satisfactory Credentials. We have given him Thirty Pounds as a Gratuity and Ten Pounds towards his fresh Provisions, because he has no pay during the Voyage. He promises Our Committee he will teach any of the Young Men under him as far as they are willing and capable to learn his Art. Do you therefore employ such as you think most likely, That they may be improving and become Serviceable to Us even while he remains in India, which he has contracted shall be for Five years certain. If you shall find it necessary for Our Service, you may, when he can be spared, send him to any your Subordinate Settlements, or to Bengall, &c., to give advice and Assistance in his Art there. But We are more especially desirous that when he has compleated what is necessary for Dieu, or put the Works in a regular method to be compleated, so that he can be spared, send him for one Season to Bombay, where President Boone very earnestly presses Us for One to Instruct them in some Fortifications necessary for defence of that Our Island, and for Stopping the great Breach there, and for inspecting Our Fortifications at Anjengo, &c. . . .' (P. from Eng., vol. xxii., 9th Jan., 1718 [1719].)

¹ P.C., vol. xlvihi., 29th April, 1717. In the following month it was resolved to increase the garrison temporarily to 500 men.



The negotiations for the possession of Divi Island having fallen through, 'Captain Johnson the Ingenier' left for Bombay after a very brief stay at Fort St. George.¹

Major Roach, who had been granted sick-leave to Bengal on the understanding that he was to return by the first ship of the ensuing season, calmly announced his intention of voyaging thence to Manila. Swift retribution followed :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President communicates to the Board a paragraph of a Letter which He has receiv'd from Major Roach at Bengall, dated the 27th December last, wherein he Expressly declares that he is going to Manilha, without so much as Asking leave for so long an absence.

'The manner of Major Roache's quitting the Service here appears to the Board to be no better than Desertion.

'Agreed that Major Roach be discharg'd of his Military Commission and of the Honble Companys service under this Presidency.

'Agreed that Capt. Alexander Fullerton do command the first Company of Soldiers belonging to this Garrison, and Capt. Edward Orrill the second.

'Agreed that the President do give Ensign Alexander Southerland a Breviate, whereby he may [be] Empower'd to act as Lieutenant of the third Company ; but that He defer giving a Commission till we hear from England whether our Honble Masters will have three Companys kept up according to the present Establishment, or shall think fit to reduce them to two Companys as they have sometimes been.' (P.C., vol. 1., 31st Jan., 1718.)

Similar consequences attended the misconduct of Ensign Clarke :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that he has receiv'd repeated complaints from Lieutenant Alexander Fullerton of Ensign Clarke's incorrigible Sottishness, for which he has often pardon'd him upon promise and in hopes of a reformation. But having receiv'd another complaint very lately of his having been found so much disguis'd by liquor upon his Guard two nights successively as to be rendred incapable of doing the duty of his Station, he had Suspended him from his office and confin'd him.

'Ensign Clarke being sent for, made a tacit confession of the Facts alledg'd against him. Wherefore the Board, esteeming it unsafe to trust such an Officer in the Garrison, Agreed to take away his Commission and dismiss him the Honble Companys service, which was done accordingly.' (P.C., vol. 1., 21st Sept., 1719.)

¹ Before Johnson reached Bombay, he received orders from Governor Boone to board a bomb-ketch and join an expedition against the pirate Angria. Johnson considered the order *ultra vires*, refused to obey, and received dismissal. He returned to Madras in indigent circumstances in 1721, and was granted a small allowance till his death in May of the same year. (P.C., vol. lii., 21st March, 1724.)

During the trouble with Arcot respecting the five villages, the garrison had been augmented ; but in 1719 orders were issued for its reduction to normal strength. The officers, however, represented the difficulty of finding men for the requisite guards, and their letter was transmitted to the Company :—

Letter from the Garrison Officers.

(P.C., vol. 1., 20th July, 1719.)

‘Having had Your Honours Orders to discharge a great many of the Garrison, which shall be punctually obey’d, we presume to lay before you the inconveniency of reducing it to so low as three hundred and sixty, that number not being sufficient thô all at once upon Guard. . . .

‘The number of our constant Guards are sixteen, and in time of troubles Nineteen, and since our Garrison is like to be small, we must throw them all upon Duty. We hope your Honour will think twenty Men on each Guard as few as we can have. The main Guard must at least have fifty Men because of the Number of Centrys, and one Serjeant and two Corporalls is the fewest can be plac’d on any Guard. Commission Officers guards must have more. The number much exceeds what Your Honour resolves to reduce the Garrison to, thô there is no provision made in case of Death and sickness, and no Dieter for our Men, &c. accidents. . . .

‘We are perswaded your Honour knows the great advantage we had, when we was threatned by the Moors, from our Garrison of Egmore, that they seemd frightned at the name of it even at Arcot.

‘Our respect to our Masters and our Duty to You is what has put us on this, which is altogether left to Your better judgment by Your faithfull and most obedient Officers ALEX. FULLERTON, EDWD. ORRILL, ALEX. SUTHERLAND, THOS. OGDEN, PETER ECKMAN, HUGH BOYD, RALPH CLARK, ARTHUR CREW, JAM^s. HARRINGTON, PETER NANGLE, BEN. BREWSTER, JAM^s. ADAIRE.¹

‘P.S. Please to observe that thô those Officers may do upon Guard, they are not sufficient for Action or Exercise. Commission Officers, their Servants, and Drummers are not herein mention’d, nor any Provisions made for releive of those upon Duty.

Ordinary Guards, Vizl.

Main Guard²
Back Guard³
St. Thomas Guard
Midle Gate
Choultry Guard
Mudd Point⁴

¹ Three company commanders, three lieutenants, and six Ensigns.

² *Main Guard*, at the West Gate of the Fort Square.

³ *Back Guard*, at the East Gate of the Fort Square.

⁴ *Mudd Point*, a bastion near the middle of the north rampart of Black Town, opposite the debouchment of the present Armenian Street.



New Point¹
 Clark's Gate
 Bridge foot Gate
 The Garden Guard²
 Egmore Guard³
 Sunca Ramahs Choultry⁴
 Ball Chittees Do.
 Gongarams Do.
 Colastre Chittees Do.
 Baduroy[s] [Do]

Extraordinary Guards, Vizl.

The Bastion at the foot of the Companys Garden
 The Block house at New Point⁵
 The Block house at the New Guards⁶

The above is a List particular of the Guards of the Garrison belonging to this place.'

THE FORTIFICATIONS.

The combat at Trivatore village invited attention to the defenceless condition of the pettahs :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President represents that, having Observ'd all the north side of the black Town⁷ as far as the washing Town to lie open without any defence from the River to the Sea side, so that it is in the Power of a small Body of men by Surprize to Seize the Honble Companys Cloth when at washing, and to plunder and Burn all the Suburb's on that side, he had order'd Mess^{rs}. Way and Hugonin⁸ to take a Survey of the Ground on that side the Town in order to build some work's for it's defence. He add's that they had made their Report to him that four Small outwork's built at Proper Distances, with four Cannon on each, would be sufficient to command the whole Breadth from the Washer Town⁹ to the Sea, and that fifteen men apiece would be Sufficient for the constant Garrison. They had Computed the charge would amount to

¹ *New Point*, a bastion near the sea, at the east end of the north rampart of Black Town. It was also known as Fleet Point.

² *The Garden Guard*, at the Company's Garden House.

³ *Egmore Guard*, at Egmore Redoubt.

⁴ *Sunca Ramahs Choultry* : This and the four following 'Choultryes' formed the new defences of the pettahs. All except the last were on the northern boundary. Badraiya's Choultry was on the west side of Peddanaikpetta, close to the river.

⁵ *The Block house at New Point* was a work defending Black Town. It was situated on the shore, about 50 yards east of New Point.

⁶ *The Block house at the New Guards* was a work defending the pettahs. It was situated by the sea, at the east end of the line of Choultryes.

⁷ *The north side of the black Town*, the suburbs north of Black Town proper.

⁸ Thomas Way, the Surveyor of Buildings, and Francis Hugonin, the Gunner.

⁹ *The Washer Town* was near the north-west angle of Peddanaikpetta.

about Page 2400. The President further added that he was of opinion those outwork's should be built in form of Choultry's, and us'd as Such by the Merchants, Except in time of warr or Danger of a Surprise, which will Justifie their making another use of them.

'After mature Consideration it was unanimously agreed that the Building the work's abovemention'd are absolutely necessary for the Security of the Town on that side, and that the President should immediately Give orders for the Effecting them.' (P.C., vol. xlviii., 28th Oct., 1717.)

The works were put in hand forthwith, and completed within twelve months. The Paymaster's accounts relate to five new choultries, not four, and the Consultation of the 8th May, 1718, shows that all were distributed along the northern boundary of the pettahs.¹ The list of guards of 1719, already quoted, makes mention of five outworks under the names of 'Sunca Ramahs, Ball Chittees, Gongarams, Colastre Chittees and Baduroys' choultries, and of a Blockhouse; but George Morton Pitt's map of 1733 shows six works in all, one of which, 'Budria's Battery,' is situated on the west side of Peddanaikpetta near the river, four on the north are designated 'Gonguerams, Suncarmas, Ballachettys and Calway Chettys' Batteries, while the sixth, which is next the sea, is unnamed. The explanation of the numerical differences is that the northern line of four outworks was provided with a fifth in the form of a flanking blockhouse at its eastern terminal, while a sixth work, not included in the original design, was added on the west side of Peddanaikpetta.² Comparison of names shows that 'Colastre Chittee's' choultry must have been either an alternative designation of 'Calway Chetty's' battery, or else a name for the blockhouse. The cost of these defences was met by assessment of the inhabitants:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster delivers in an Account charges of the New Choultrys, Blockhouse, Hedge³ and line of Communication from the Sea to the River on

¹ The works occupied the line of the present Old Jail Street. The fortifications in that locality, whose ruins are now visible, belong to a later period; they were erected after the 'Choultries' had been demolished.

² Cf. P.C., vol. lvii., 27th March, 1725, where reference is made to 'the Five new Choultrys and Block House.'

³ The Hedge, elsewhere called the 'Bound Hedge,' connecting the line of choultries, was an impenetrable boundary fence, consisting of aloe and other thorny plants. The name is, or was until lately, preserved in 'Boundage Lane,' near the present Clive Battery.

the North side of the Suburbs, Amounting to Pagodas Three thousand one hundred and fifty four, thirty fanams and Fifteen Cash. . . .

'The President represents to the Board that the Charge of the Choultrys being to be now Laid on the Inhabitants, he thinks it convenient that a larger sum should be Raised at once to Answer some Extraordinary charges which must happen either on making a peace with the Nabob, or in our Defence in Case of an open Rupture. He therefore proposes that the sum of Four thousand five Hundred Pagodas may be levy'd by a Land Tax to be paid by all Proprietors of Land and Houses, exclusive of those who have not possessions to the Value of one hundred Pagodas. The Fortifications being made for the Security of the Rich, who have large possessions Secured by them, it is Reasonable the charge should be born by them only. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlix., 3rd Nov., 1718.)

Lists of lands and tenements were duly produced by all the castes except the Chetties, who were, at their own request, permitted to pay a lump sum of Pags. 2,000. The valuation amounted to Pags. 450,000, so the tax was levied at one per cent. The Armenians, of whom there were only six in the place, pleaded for and received exemption.¹

The reconstruction of the Inner Fort, begun by Harrison, was still proceeding. As the old fortification was replaced by civil buildings,² it will henceforward be denominated the Fort Square, the name by which it became known in later times. The renovation occupied four years, and its cost appears to have been above Pags. 160,000.³ We are able to judge of the appearance of the Fort Square from the drawings of Francis Swain Ward and Thomas Daniell of a later date. Ward's view of the west front shows the principal gateway surmounted by a cupola with clock. The clock was made locally by a Frenchman in 1717 at the moderate cost of Pags. 60. The old Fort bell being found to be too small for the clock, the Churchwardens came forward with the offer of St. Mary's bell. The church bell was replaced by a new one from England after an interval of two years.⁴

St. Thomas Point had been rebuilt by Harrison in 1711. To his successor fell the duty of renewing the old Round or Charles Point. A Committee, nominated to survey the bastion, handed in the following report :—

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlix., 27th Nov., 1718.

² It contained quarters, offices, stores, armoury, and the Gold Mint.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxii., 17th Oct., 1718.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 16th Dec., 1717; vol. xlix., 28th April, 1718; vol. l., July,

*Committee's Report on the Round Point.*

'We being appointed by this board . . . to Survey Charles Point, commonly call'd by the name of the Round Point, do upon strict Examination find it to be in the condition as follows—

'We observe it very much crack'd, and open in many places from the Surface to the top of the Bastion, the rents being so very wide towards the bottom that rats and bandicoots¹ harbour there, with severall cross rents in the middle of it, which makes it belly out, and much endangers the fall thereof. The reason of the complaint arising from the badness of the foundation, having been for these two years condemn'd as useless; the Guns formerly planted upon it being taken away except two, the firing of which might endanger the City, the Magazine being underneath; and not improbable but the next monsoon, if it blows hard at East, may bring it down, the sea having a Communication with the river in bad Weather. We think it impossible to repair it; and to case it with another Wall must digg ten foot for a foundation, which is five below the old foundation, and must endanger its fall. NATHAN^L. ELWICK, RICH^D. HORDEN, RANDALL FOWKE, FRANCIS HUGONIN, THOMAS WAY.' (*P.C.*, vol. 1., 2nd April, 1719.)

The Government ordered the Point to be pulled down and rebuilt 'so as to answer Marlbrô Bastion,² by both which the Town will be fully fortify'd to the Southward.'³ Charles Point was rebuilt as a bastion with salient and flanks.

SCHOOLS.

A free-school for elementary education had been in existence at Fort St. George for many years. Designed at the outset for English children, it was afterwards opened to the offspring of Portuguese and native parents. Ralph Ord, appointed Schoolmaster in 1678, was followed in 1682 by John Barker, who governed the institution for a quarter of a century. According to Lockyer, the school occupied a large room under the Library, but its situation in the White Town has not been determined. On Barker's death in 1707 John Knapton was nominated to succeed. The duration of his service is unknown, but in 1712 he is referred to as 'sometime Schoolmaster.'⁴ The Chaplain, the Rev. George

¹ *Bandicoat*, bandicoot; from Tel. *pandi-kokku* (literally, pig-rat), the great rat called *mus giganteus*.

² *Marlbrô Bastion*: The renown of Marlborough's victories had caused the Duke's name to be given to St. Thomas Point, Madras, as well as to York Fort, Bencoolen. The old names, however, were afterwards resumed.

³ *P.C.*, vol. 1., 16th March, 1713, and 2nd April, 1719.

⁴ Inspired perhaps by Ord's example, Knapton applied to go to the west coast of Sumatra as a Writer, and his request was granted. (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 3rd April, 1712.)



Lewis, who was proficient in Portuguese, seems then to have assumed control of the school. After his return to England in 1714 the management devolved on the Rev. William Stevenson. He considered, and the Vestry agreed, that a Charity school on the English model was needed. In 1715 a scheme was drawn up for an institution to accommodate poor Protestant children from 5 to 12 years of age, who were to receive both education and board. The Overseers were the Ministers and Churchwardens, with three others elected by the Vestry. This Church school, which was established on the 28th October, 1715, the date of the Vestry meeting, appears to have superseded the old free-school. It received the support and assistance of Harrison's Government.¹ The selection of the first schoolmaster was unfortunate. John Mitchel, who came out as a soldier, represented that he was in holy orders, but had been compelled to fly from England on account of a bond entered into for a brother. Taken off garrison duty, Mitchel signalized his appointment as schoolmaster by officiating at his own marriage with the daughter of William How, free merchant. The case was reported by the Mayor's Court, and Mitchel was obliged to give security for future good behaviour.² The Overseers of the school in 1716 were the Rev. William Stevenson, the Rev. Charles Long, and Messrs. Thomas Way, Catesby Oadham, Francis Hugonin, Thomas Robson, and Thomas Theobalds.³

The Portuguese and native children, to whom the old free-school had been open, being ineligible for the Charity School, were relegated to missionary care. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge proposed to send out Protestant missionaries to establish schools for slave and native children, and the Directors were sympathetic. The Society co-operated with Ziegenbalg's Danish Lutheran Mission⁴ at Tranquebar, and in 1717 the Rev. Mr. Gründler came up to Fort St. George to

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 9th Jan., 1714.

² *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 15th June, 1716.

³ *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 10th Dec., 1716. Way was the Surveyor of Buildings, Oadham the Assaymaster, Hugonin the Chief Gunner, Robson the Fort Surgeon, and Theobalds a free merchant.

⁴ Bartholomew Ziegenbalg went to Tranquebar in 1708. Three years later he was allowed passage home from Fort St. George, but correspondence ensued with Tranquebar which resulted in the withdrawal of the permit. He was, however, granted an outward passage by the Directors in 1716.



promote a scheme for erecting two Charity schools at Madras, 'one for the Portugese in the English town, and another for Malabars in the black town.'¹ The plan was sanctioned by Collet's Government. Failing European missionaries, the teachers were at first to be native converts from Tranquebar.

The cost of St. Mary's Charity School seems to have been met mainly from Church funds. With the approval of the Directors, however, Jearsey House and ground were granted for a new school building, on the understanding that the compensation already given for the Church house which had been absorbed in the New Hospital should be refunded.² Government subsequently granted a site on the Island, where school buildings, which were 'an ornament to the place' costing nearly Pags. 5,000, were erected by 1719.³ Jearsey House was sold, and the proceeds applied to the institution. Later records, relating to the time when the extension of fortifications necessitated the removal of the school, show that the edifice must have stood near the river's bank by the bridge from the Water Gate.⁴

¹ *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 27th May, 1717.

² *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th and 18th Nov., 1717.

³ *F. St. G. to Eng.*, 29th July, 1719, quoted by Mr. Penny in *The Church in Madras*, p. 175.

⁴ The School is not shown in the map of 1733, but it must have stood near the buildings marked *Granary*, which occupied the site of the *Powder House* delineated on Thomas Pitt's map.



CHAPTER XII

1717—1720

LAND AND BUILDINGS—THE COMPANY'S TABLE—CRIMES
AND PUNISHMENTS—MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS

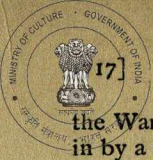
LAND AND BUILDINGS.

WHEN Jearsey House, lately in use as a Calico godown, was transferred to the Charity School Trustees,¹ the Council found that additional warehouse accommodation must be provided. They determined to rebuild the Export Warehouse, which appears to have been situated in St. Thomas Street, on a larger scale, and to utilize for this purpose the site of the old 'College' and other adjacent property:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President reports that, on the 5th instant, himself, with all the Gentlemen of Council, assisted by Mess^{rs}. Way and Hugonin, took a Survey of the Honble Companys godowns belonging to the Export Warehousekeeper, which have for a considerable time been found too strait; and now it is necessary to enlarge them on the delivery of Jersey house, which had for some time past been made use of for beating the Callicoës. And that on the Survey they found the Colledge belonging to the Hon'ble Company, which has of late been us'd for an Armory, but, now the new Armory is built in the Inner Fort, may be spar'd, is conveniently Scituated to be join'd to the Godowns; and with the addition of a Small peice of ground formerly sold by the Honble Company to the Church on condition to be return'd at the same Price whenever wanted, and of Three adjacent houses which it is suppos'd may be bought at a moderate Price, there would be sufficient room to enlarge the godowns so as that the whole buisness of the Export Warehouse may be done conveniently in one Compound, and all the parts of it will be constantly under the Warehousekeepers eye; besides that, by the Purchase of the Three houses mention'd,

¹ The Trustees appear to have demolished the house, and sold the materials and site. (P.C., vol. xlviii., 4th Nov., 1717.)



the Warehouses will be secur'd from the danger of Fire, which they were once in by a Cask of Spirits taking fire in one of those houses. . . . ' (P.C., vol. xlviii., 11th Nov., 1717.)

The three houses, which adjoined the existing 'Sorting Godown,' were accordingly purchased and pulled down. The College was demolished in 1719. The new Export Warehouse was designed by Mr. Way¹ at an estimated cost of Pags. 2,580.

The Bridge Gate in the Black Town was repaired and added to. The following report of a Committee reveals the mediaeval character of the structure :—

Committee's Report on the Bridge Gate.

'We have, in obedience to your Honour, &c's orders, view'd the Gate commonly call'd Bridge Gate,² near the Armenian Church, and find the Arch of the Gate very much crack'd ; but Mr. Way informs us that by the opening the top, and putting in a new key to the arch, it will be sufficiently secured, and to pull down the whole Gate will be a very large expence. It is further necessary to uncover that part of the Gate that is tiled and terrassed, as likewise to make Guard rooms on each side the Gate. . . . It's convenient that Stairs should be made to go out of each Guard room upon the Curtain or Town Wall which will join the Guard rooms. . . . RICH^d. HORDEN, RANDAL FOWKE, THOMAS WAY.' (P.C., vol. 1., 9th Feb., 171⁸.)

A new bridge was built to connect Peddanaikpetta with the Island. The estimated cost was Pags. 1,400, of which sum the natives voluntarily contributed Pags. 1,000.³ This structure, which was known as Garden Bridge from its proximity to the Company's Garden, is shown on the map of 1733.

At this period ground in Egmore and elsewhere was granted for private gardens and houses. The following extract, which relates to the Island, shows the terms on which land was leased :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

Mr. Thomas Cooke Requesting of the board a vacant peice of ground upon the Island to make a garden of,

'Agreed that one of the feilds fronting to the Southward of the Honble Companies Garden house, measuring in length three hundred yards and in breadth One hundred and fifty, be granted to the said Thomas Cooke upon

¹ Originally a free merchant, Mr. Thomas Way was engaged in 1700 to supervise the collection of the weighing and measuring duty at the Custom-house. He was subsequently appointed Surveyor of the Buildings.

² The 'West Gate' is referred to in Greenhill's time.

³ P.C., vol. xlix., 21st July, 1718.

his paying a pagoda per annum acknowledgement for the same during the term of twenty one years. And the board will Renew the lease to him for eleven years longer, provided he desires it a year before the present lease expires, and pays into the Honble Companies Cash for such a Renewment the Sum of One hundred pagodas. JOSEPH COLLET, THOMAS FREDERICK, WILLIAM JENNINGS, RICHARD HORDEN, THOMAS COOKE, JOHN LEGG, JOSIA COOKE, RANDALL FFOWKE.' (P.C., vol. xlvi., 18th March, 1717.)

On this land was built a house which will be referred to in the sequel as occupied successively by Mrs. Higginson, George Drake, and Noah Casamajor. Leases of ground on 'Egmore plain' were granted for a longer period to Messrs. Richard Horden and Thomas Theobalds.¹ Both gentlemen built garden houses, which were sold about 1721 to Joseph Walsh and Joshua Draper respectively. In 1716 the Government established brickfields in Pursewaukum, and the inhabitants of 'Peersha Waux' applied for compensation for the ground taken up.² The following extract relates to John Pereira's garden in Peddanaikpetta:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. I., 16th July, 1719.)

'The Petition of Antonia de Carvalho da Silva read, setting forth that her Grandfather, John Perera De Faria, bequeath'd her a House and Ground without the City³ for her maintenance, which she has been lately inform'd was not in his power to give her, the same having been let to him to farm for 31 years only by Agent Foxcroft and Council the 20th of November 1671, as appears by the Cowle which was produc'd and Examin'd; wherefore She desires that, as that Cowle has been some years since expir'd, It may be renew'd upon the same conditions as are therein Express'd.

'Order'd That the Paymaster and Mr. Way do take a Survey of the said House and Ground, and make a report thereof in Writing before we determine concerning it.'

Committee's Report.

'In obedience to your Orders . . . we have been to view the Ground Leas'd to Jno. Ferara by Agent Foxcroft and Council, and find it inclos'd according to the following Dimensions, with Improvements. In the first place there is a small Tyl'd house with a sort of a Chappell near, which we suppose might be Built for Family Worship.

'The Garden measures on the South side 480 Feet, On the West side 600, on the North side 600, On the East side 540. Contains two hundred and fifty

¹ P.C., vol. xlvi., 22nd April, 1717, and vol. I., 16th March, 1718. Theobalds also received a lease of ground 'in the Potters Village by Triplicane.'

² P.C., vol. xlvi., 25th Oct. and 6th Dec., 1716.

³ In that part of Peddanaikpetta now called 'John Pereiras,' opposite the General Hospital.



Coconut Trees with a few other Trees that are gone to decay. There are also three Wells. As to the Annual Value, we leave to your Honour &c. better Judgement. RANDLL, FOWKE, THOS. WAY.

The Council directed that a lease of the property for eleven years 'be put up at outcry.' The possession of a private chapel and entertainment of a chaplain seems to have been not uncommon among the wealthier Portuguese. In a consultation of 1719 we find 'Lewis Madeira requesting leave to keep a Chaplain in his house for private Family worship, it is granted him on that Condition.'¹

By promise of special concessions Collet encouraged the immigration of weavers and 'painters' to Trivatore. The settlers built themselves a new village on the south side of that town, and named it Collet Petta.² When completed, it consisted of 104 houses, 10 shops, and a temple, and contained 489 adult inhabitants. Shortly before the Governor's departure for England a cowle was issued exempting the villagers from quit rent for three years, and conferring sundry minor privileges.³

THE COMPANY'S TABLE.

The life of that venerable institution, the General Table at Fort St. George, was drawing to a close. Established apparently from the first settlement of Madras, at the Company's charge and in the interests of order, discipline, and economy, it was suspended by Sir William Langhorn in favour of fixed allowances for diet and lodging, on the plea of inconvenience caused by the messing system to Members of Council and other married officers. The Company, however, insisted on the immediate revival of the Table for the use of the Factors and Writers, one of whom was appointed Steward for the management of the Mess. A separate Table was afterwards maintained for the Governor and public guests. In

¹ P.C., vol. 1., 23rd Nov., 1719. Luis Madera (or Madeira or Madeiros) appears to have been the son of Cosmo Lourenço Madera, who held a militia command at Madras in 1681, married a daughter of John Pereira, built the Descanção Church, Adyar, and was buried in it in 1703. Luis Madera was a substantial free merchant of Madras, who in 1711 commanded the ship *Messiah*. The nucleus of the present Government House was acquired from his widow about the middle of the eighteenth century.

² Now disguised under the form Kulatipetta.

³ P.C., vol. 1., 28th Dec., 1719.



1710, during Fraser's undisciplined administration, the Directors passed unfavourable comments on the behaviour at the General Table of the junior civil servants composing the Mess:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee are Sorry to hear That of late there has not been a Sufficient Decorum kept up among our People, and particularly among the Young Writers and Factors, [and] that there has been Files of Musqueteers Sent for to Keep the Peace at dinner time. This, wee are Sure, casts a very untoward reflection upon the President and Councill, and bespeaks them to want Prudence and Conduct. Wee only touch upon it here to caution against the like for the future, for how can it be expected that a due obedience should be paid to Government among all the People when it is affronted by such Youngsters?' (P. from Eng., vol. xv., 3rd Jan., 1710 [1711].)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Severall disorders having been committed at the Generall Table, which we find to be partly occasioned by the absence of those persons in the Service that are of a Superiour Standing, and might awe the young ones into better behaviour, we have thought fit to appoint Joseph Smart, Head Searcher, Richard Horden, Under Searcher, Thomas Cooke, Receiver, John Legg, Register, John Mason, Secretary, and Alexander Bennett, Steward, to take their turns either weekly or monthly, as they shall agree among themselves, to be present at the Table and take care that no indecencys or disorders are committed.' (P.C., vol. xliii., 30th June, 1712.)

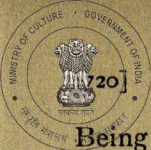
The practice of employing a civil servant as Steward proved so expensive that it was discontinued. Substitution of an expert reduced the cost by half without depreciating the standard of messing:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This put the Board upon considering that there is a person here who was Steward under Governour Pitt, at such time as there appears a very thrifty and frugall management upon the books; and there being no person among all the Factors and Writers by whom we can hope this buisness will be so well manag'd as by one that has had so much Experience, thô many of them may be very fit for other Employes,

'Agreed that Henry Spackman do take charge of the Stewards Employ upon tryal, to be continued according to the proof he gives us of his good management by lessening the Expence; and nothing should have put us upon this Extraordinary method but the impossibility of complying with the Hon'ble Companys orders for retrenching the Expences by any other way we can think of.' (P.C., vol. xli., 30th March, 1713.)

Three years later, however, we find that the Steward was again a covenanted servant in the person of Mr. George Woollaston.



Being taken to task by Mr. Frederick on account of the growth of table expenses, Woollaston replied as follows:—

Woollaston's Explanation.

'Mr. Frederick having compar'd six months accounts of the year 1713 with six months accounts of this present year 1717, it being so long before my time that I am wholly unacquainted with what the expences might be then, only I can remember there was no suppers allow'd the Companys Servants excepting milk, saltfish and rice, which almost half the expence cut off, and no more than nine dishes of victualls allow'd for dinner; and now there is fifteen dishes both for dinner and supper. . . .

'Goa arrack he observes to have been expended in the months of 1713 but eighty two gallons and three quarters, and Six leaguers of Batavia arrack, and in the months of 1717 Six Leaguers of Batavia arrack and four hundred and ten gallons of Goa Arrack. To which I answer that the punch was formerly made of Batavia Arrack for the Companys Servants, and is now made of Goa arrack, the expence of which is eight bottles per day or Sixty gallons per month; and the reasons why the same quantity of Batavia Arrack was us'd are that for the Six months past there has been severall occasions to dram the Military, as when partys have been sent out and return'd, and the Governours keeping a Standing guard at the Garden. . . .' (P.C., vol. xlix., 28th Jan., 1717 $\frac{1}{8}$.)

Woollaston¹ further represented that not only were there now more persons at table, but that the price of provisions had risen, notably 'Kismisses,² Sugar Candy, Almonds, Braminy butter, Soyee, Bengall goats, Turkeys, Geese, Country Sheep, Rabbits and Limes.' This explanation was deemed satisfactory.

No madeira having been sent out for consumption during 1717, European and other liquors were purchased by the Paymaster, at a cost of upwards of Pags. 5,000, including 'Mountain Wine, Rhenish, Syder, Galesia, Florence, Hock, Canary, Palm, Brandy, Clarett, Ale, Beer, Cask Beer, and Shyrash Wine.' The vintage of Shiraz was the principal item. The Directors, hearing of profuse consumption, prohibited the purchase of 'Europe Liquors'; but madeira was regularly supplied by Messrs. Hayward and Rider, and the Governor's Table received the liberal allowance of two pipes a month.³

Mr. Augustus Burton, who came out as a Factor in 1718, brought with him the following provisions and other luggage.

¹ Woollaston died in May, 1718, and was succeeded as Steward by Mr. John Turton, and later by Mr. George Drake.

² *Kismisses*, from Pers. *kishmish*, raisins.

³ P.C., vol. lviii., 21st March, 1718 $\frac{1}{8}$.



Part may perhaps have been intended as an investment rather than for his own consumption :—

*'A Manifest of Goods, &c., of Mr. Augustus Burton, Factor.'*¹

2 Cases of Brandy	2 Tops to an Esscretore
2 Cases of Cheese	2 Chests of Ale
1 Chest of Beer	1 Cask Tobacco
1 Box Tobacco	2 Boxes of Glasses
2 Chests of Beer	1 Box of Cards
1 Case Hatts	2 Chests of Stationary Ware
1 Case Broad Cloth	4 Hoggsheds Wine
1 Do. Glass Ware	1 Chest Wine
2 Casks of Pipes	1 Small Hamper Wine
1 Box Tobacco	1 Writing Esscretore
1 Box Corks	1 Small Box Cards
1 Hoggshhead Wine	1 Chest Wearing Apparel for his Lady
1 Cask of Beer	1 Clock in a Case.'
1 Chest Apparel	
2 Bottoms of an Esscretore	

Mr. George Drake,² when occupying the post of Steward, drew attention to the increase in the price of provisions, and instanced the following :—

*Steward's Report of Prices.*³

	'former prices.
'Fowles.	12 per Pagoda ; now but 9 per Pagoda.
Milk and Butter.	9 Bowles of Butter per Pagoda ; now but 7, and milk the same in proportion.
Bengall Mutton.	1 Sheep for 24 fanams ; now it [is] one Pagoda.
Country Mutton.	1 Sheep for 8 fanams ; the price is now 10.
Eggs.	10 for a fanam ; now but 8 for a fanam.'

The General Table was finally abolished in 1722 during Elwick's Governorship :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That part of our Hon'ble Masters letter relating to the Stewards Expende having been several times taken into consideration and debated, Agreed that we cannot think it possible that both Tables⁴ can be maintain'd for 7,000 Pagodas per annum, the prices of Provisions being so much risen within these

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].

² *George Drake*, son of Sir Francis Drake, Bt., came out to Madras in 1716. In 1722 he married Sophia Bugden, and three years later resigned the civil service to become a free merchant. He returned to England in 1740.

³ *P.C.*, vol. i., 29th June, 1719.

⁴ The Governor's Table and the General Table.



few years ; for which reason it is Resolv'd that diet money should be propos'd to the Company's Servants, which being readily accepted, Giving the advance of two Pagodas a month upon the customary allowances to their under Servants, and is Vizt.,

'To the Gentlemen of Council, 7 in number, at 10 Pags. per month,

'To the Factors and Writers, 31 in number, at 8 Pagodas per month, so that there remains Pags. 265,¹ which the President informs the Board will not be sufficient to maintain his table in the manner it was in his Predecessors time ; and being unwilling to reduce any part of the Grandeur of his Post, will rather advance himself what may be deficiient in the monthly expence.' (P.C., vol. liii., 29th Aug., 1722.)

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

Criminals as well as debtors seem to have been committed to prison for indefinite periods. They sometimes languished in gaol for so many years that the very offences for which they had been interned were forgotten. In 1712 Mr. Martin, Chief Justice of the Choultry, drew attention to several prisoners who had 'lain long in the Talliards hands,' and pointed out that their maintenance was a burden on the Company. Investigation followed:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Secretary acquaints the Board that he has perus'd the Consultations for severall years past, but finds nothing relating to the prisoners mentioned in our last Consultation. However, upon enquiry into the matter, wee find that there are two Weavers, inhabitants of Triblicane, who are indebted part of the sum that stands out upon the Generall books under the head of Comrapa, &c. Weavers, which debt was occasioned by money advanced the Weavers in generall by Mr. Higginson and his Council to build them houses in Triblicane for the improvement of the manufacture, part of which money has been paid at times ; and these two persons now in custody, being poor and unable to discharge their part, were committed by Governor Pitt, and have continued prisoners ever since. And being very well satisfyd, upon enquiry, that they are miserably poor, and will never be able to pay unless they are releas'd and sufferd to work at their Trade, Orderd that the said Weavers, by name Tondoway Pundaurum and Comra, be forthwith discharg'd, and that it be recommended to our Merchants to keep them employ'd.

'Severall others of the prisoners now upon the Choultry having been committed for theft and other vile unpardonable misdemeanours, where they have lain a long time at the Companys Expence ; Agreed that they be shipped off for the West Coast² by the first Conveyance, where they are to be employ'd in buildings and other hard labours as long as they live.' (P.C., vol. xliii., 3rd March, 171½.)

¹ Pags. 265 per month for the Governor's Table, or Pags. 3,180 per annum.

² The west coast of Sumatra.



Mr. Francis Hastings, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, reported, during a visit to the Presidency in 1716, that the former Chief Dubash, Poinde Kistna (Pūṇḍi Krishṇa), had been 'fully convicted before the Choultry Justices for having practiced with a Pandarum¹ to bewitch Kitte Chinna Narran his Kinsman, present Cheif Dubash.' Krishṇa, who had been superseded in his employment by Narāyan, appears to have been brought to Madras by Hastings for judgment. Government disposed of the case as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The board taking into consideration the [ill] effect it may have upon our Settlements if such evil practices are not severely punish'd ; That this Kistna has always been a turbulent, Saucy and abusive fellow ever since he was turn'd out of his employ ; That he was the main instrument under Mr. Raworth for oppressing the Merchants and inhabitants till He turn'd him off ;

'Agreed that the said Poinde Kistna be fin'd five hundred pagodas towards the bridge, &c. Buildings now in hand, and that he be sent to Fort St. David with the Deputy Governor, with orders to make him stand before the Pillory with a labell about his neck containing An account of his crimes, that others may be deterr'd from the same vile practises, and especially such as owe all they have in the world to the Honble Companies Service.' (P.C., vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

Uncertainty long subsisted as to the power of awarding capital punishment. In a case of mutiny at sea, Harrison's Council decided that the Mayor's Court could, under the Charter, sentence criminals to execution by a majority of votes. The man charged was condemned :—'This morning [27th October, 1712] the person sentenced by the Mayors Court to death was executed upon the island and hung in chains to deterr others from being guilty of the like villainys.'² Collet, however, did not consider himself empowered to inflict capital punishment on Englishmen. In June, 1718, Richard Seale, mate of the *Shrewsbury* lying in the Madras Roads, was tried by the Council for the murder of a Christian lascar :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

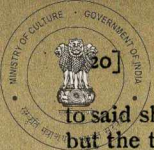
(P.C., vol. I., 23rd June, 1718.)

'Agreed that the Prisoner and the Evidence be immediately call'd in and examin'd.

'The Evidence, Sidoo, Yellaree and Poterauze, all three Lascars belonging

¹ *Pandarum*, a Hindu ascetic mendicant of the Sudra caste ; from Tam. *pandāvam*.

² P.C., vol. xliii., 27th Oct., 1712.



to said ship Shrowsberry, who were sworn to speak the whole truth and nothing but the truth, according to the rights of their own religion, by a Braminy, who put a sprigg of Mint into each of their hands and power'd water upon it; they eat the Mint, and power'd the water out of their hands upon their heads: which ceremony being perform'd, each of them severally gave in a full relation of the Fact, their Evidence agreeing even in the minutest circumstances. . . .'

It was to the effect that the mate, who had been drinking, lost his temper with the lascar without cause, had him tied to a capstan bar, and compelled the other lascars to beat him with a rattan under threats of shooting them. He then gagged the lascar and struck him with his pistol. The victim remained bound all night, and was found dead in the morning. The mate ordered the body to be thrown overboard, but this was not done.

'The President then desir'd every Member of the Board to declare his opinion whether the Prisoner was guilty of murther or not; every one answer'd in the affirmative, and the President also declar'd himself of the same opinion, and added that, as he had not yet receiv'd any Commission for Trying any persons accus'd of Murther, Piracy or Robbery on the High Seas, he did not conceive himself empower'd to give judgment of death upon an English man, neither did he think the Charter of the Corporation sufficient to warrant Judgment of death on any English Subject. He therefore propos'd that the Prisoner be kept in Irons in the Cockhouse upon Rice and water till We can advise Our Honble Masters of the Particulars, and receive their orders how to proceed.'

The power to condemn native criminals to death was, however, held to exist under the Charter. In the selfsame month the Mayor was authorized¹ to try three men for murder, and to execute them if found guilty. The offenders were condemned and hanged on the Island.

In February, 1719, a Commission was received for the trial of pirates.² It was exercised the same year, when Roger Bullmore was found guilty of running away with the brigantine *George*, and duly hanged.

Captain John Powney having complained that John Richardson, Writer, had forged two documents, the accused, who admitted the offence, was confined to the Cockhouse, and ordered to be sent to England. Some three weeks later Richardson prayed to be shifted 'to some cooler place of confinement.' It was agreed that 'he be Remov'd to one of the Rooms in the Fort, and that the

¹ P.C., vol. xlix., 11th June, 1718.

² In the following year Hastings, Jennings, and Elwick were commissioned extraordinary Masters in Chancery.

Door and Windows may be kept open in the day time.¹ The phrase seems to imply that the Cockhouse was no longer in the Inner Fort. It was perhaps situated under the north curtain wall of the White Town.

A few months later Josiah Cooke, a Member of Council, was accused by a Portuguese of having misappropriated, when a Choultry Justice, some promissory notes :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Order’d that Mr. Josiah Cooke be Confin’d to the inner Fort till he can obtain a Passage to England, not only as a Penalty for his abuse of Power when a Justice in the instance abovemention’d, but also to Prevent other Prosecutions of the Same kind, and also to Prevent his being Guilty of any Extravagant or Scandalous Actions, which, Considering his Present Circumstances, we have Reason to Apprehend.’ (P.C., vol. xlvihi., 9th Oct., 1717.)

Natives as well as Europeans seem to have been eligible for the accommodation of the Cockhouse :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘The President acquainting the board that He has got a black fellow nam’d Peremaul in the Cockhouse, whom He confin’d upon a discovery which the shroffs made of his bringing bad fanams to be chang’d, which the said Peremaul upon examination confess’d. . . .

‘The following Resolutions are agreed upon ; That the Choultry Justices do meet at the Choultry on Fryday next between nine and ten aclock in the Morning, to direct the said Peremaul to be put in the Pillory, where he is to stand two hours, after which to have both his ears cut off, and be whip’d out of the Honble Companys bounds, never to set his foot therein again under penalty of being sent a Slave to the West Coast upon his being discover’d.’ (P.C., vol. xlvihi., 13th May, 1717.)

After the evacuation of Bencoolen in 1719, St. Helena was substituted for Sumatra as a convict settlement. ‘Pallee Narran being convicted of Stealing some of the Company’s cloth from the Washers, Order’d that he be sent a Slave to St. Helena, and all of the Jentu or Pariar casts that do so for the future.’²

Following a case of perjury in the Mayor’s Court, the subjoined order was passed by Government :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Resolv’d that to prevent in future any attempts of this nature, whereby the due Course of Justice is impeded and sometimes necessarily inverted, The

¹ P.C., vol. xlvihi., 4th and 29th April, 1717.

² P.C., vol. l., 3rd Dec., 1719.



Secretary do affix Notes at the Sea Gate and Choultry, declaring that we do resolve that whoever shall be convicted of Perjury shall lose his ears, stand in the Pillory, and be whip't out of the Bounds, which is the same punishment that was formerly inflicted for this Crime, but has not been for many years put in Practice.' (P.C., vol. liv., 27th Jan., 172 $\frac{3}{4}$.)

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS.

The south-west monsoon of 1717 was ushered in by a cyclone¹ :—

Fort St. George Diary.

(P.C., vol. xlvi., 7th and 8th April, 1717.)

— '7. The Wind kept to the Westward all last night, and continues to blow so hard that most of the Ships are drove out of the Road. In the evening it clear'd up, and the wind began to incline to the Southward, when severall Ships, Sloops and boats appear'd wanting, and Several had lost all their Masts.

'8. It blew very hard all last night from the South East, in so much that the Honble Companys Maddapollam Yatch was drove ashoar and Stavid to pieces ; also a Ship Belonging to Mr. Horden, and another belonging to the Moors at St. Thoma. Sloop Ramah founder'd in the Road. Severall Ships and Vessels are wanting out of St. Thoma Road.'

On a calm morning in September, 1718, the Company's ship *Success*, Capt. Benjamin Graves, sailed for London. Twenty-four hours later she lay a wreck on the coast at Trivembore, a little south of San Thomé. Salvage measures were at once taken to prevent appropriation by the Poonamallee government. Boats were sent down with 'Soldiers, Gunners and some great Guns for Encampment on Shore or Action by Sea.' The expedition was managed by a Committee consisting of Capt. Graves, Capt. John Powney, Mr. Humphrey Holcombe,² and Capt. Alexander Fullerton,³ under the personal direction of the Governor. Subsequent inquiry revealed the fact that the Captain had deserted his ship before she struck, and that the senior officers remaining with the vessel were the Surgeon, Duncan Munro,⁴ and William Waters, Boatswain. Being called on for a report, Munro made the following deposition :—

¹ The last severe storm mentioned in the records occurred in November, 1695.

² *Humphrey Holcombe* was a civil servant who had joined in 1709.

³ *Alexander Fullerton* commanded the *Garrison*.

⁴ *Duncan Munro* was appointed one of the Fort Surgeons on Dr. Robson's death in 1720.

Dr. Duncan Munro's Narrative.

(P.C., vol. xlix., 6th Oct., 1718.)

'Having received notice from the Secretary that it was your Honours, &c. pleasure I should deliver into the Board a Declaration of whatever I knew for a certainty touching the Circumstances of Ship Successes misfortune, I have accordingly done it as follows—

'We sailed out of this road the 21st of September about seven of the clock in the morning. Some time after twelve the same night, being surprized by a greater Noise than ordinary on the deck, I came up, and asked Capt. Graves the occasion of it. He told me the Ship sprung a leak, had for or five foot water in the hold, and her pumps were choaked. I asking what he designed to do, he replied, I'll launch out my longboat, and then, either by clearing my pumps or throwing over board Chests and Lumber, and baling, endeavour to save the Ship; but when she can Swim no longer we'll save our lives in the longboat, where I think its convenient you put some cordials, bread and Cheese, or what else you think Necessary for fatigued men under such Circumstances, or words to that purpose.

'I got one or two of the Sick men, who helped to hand some of these things up to the Quarterdeck; but going to look for more, I was Surprized to see the Captain and some others Jump over board towards the Long boat. I came to the Starboard side of the ship with the same Resolution that I believe all the remaining part of the Crew that were left aboard did, Vizt., to reach the Boat, but saw none Venture after her but one or two who could swim, the Rope that lowe[r]d the long boat being cut or slip'd about the time the Captain got aboard of her.

'Some of us that was left on board the Ship, encouraged by the Boatswains Example, Assisted him to lighten the ship by clearing the maindeck, opening the forehatch way, and as he cleared Casks of water, Arrack, &c., in the Lazaretto, four or five hands on the deck with a tackle raised, Staved, and threw them overboard. I saw one Mr. Obrya[n], midship man, employed for some time with a few more hands in clearing the pumps, but to no purpose, after which I heard they went down the afterhatch way by the Boat-swains desire, to clear and bale as well as they could.

'By five of the clock in the morning it was said we gained five inches on the Water. About the same time we made a light, and, as we Judged, of some Ship at Anchor. We fired a Gun, increased the number of our lights, and sounded in nineteen fathom water, and a little after in fifteen. This made us keep alongshore for fear of running aground in the dark. Before Six we made St. Thomas's mount. Our Lazaretto was pretty well Cleared, but the baling in the afterhatch way went on but heavily. Then we Refreshed by giving some Bisket and a glass of wine or half a glass of Brandy to every one that would take it. We made signals to Country boats we met to come on board, but none would. We spread our Ensigne in the main topmast Shrowds, and fired a Gun every quarter of an hour or oftener, as long as we found any ready Cartridges.

'We kept a little after Six a clock in nine and Seven fathom water (as I was told), sailing alongshore, Robert Richardson being at the helm; and the Boat-swain told me he had an anchor and Cable in readiness when occasion would offer. Betwixt seven and eight a clock the ship seemed to be going full butt

ashore. They ordered him at the helm to hold her hard aport, which they often Repeated, and he as often Reply'd he did, but she would not answer her helm, and notwithstanding some other Endeavours that were used to prevent her going ashore, in some time more she struck aground. Then the Boatswain made a Raft by lashing together the main topmast, Mizenyard and Studdon sail booms, &c., upon which and two Cattamarans we all came Safely ashore, but almost naked. DUNCAN MUNRO.'

'*Jurat coram me.* JOSEPH COLLET.'

The profits of voyages were not inconsiderable. In 1717 the Rev. William Stevenson lent money—whether on his own behalf, or for the Church or Orphans' Stock does not appear—to Capt. Bell of the ship *Chindadre*, bound for Manila. Bell gave a respondentia bond¹ to refund the principal together with 30 per cent. respondentia on his return to Madras within twelve months. If the period were exceeded, 10 per cent. additional on both principal and respondentia were to be paid. The ship having proceeded from Manila to China, Mr. Stevenson duly claimed the extra 10 per cent.²

Madras was visited by famine in 1718. Collet stated in the following January that for several months he and Messrs. Jennings, Horden, and Legg had, by the gift of rice, preserved the lives of several thousand of the poorest inhabitants.³ References to scarcity occur throughout the year 1719.

Early in 1719 'Ducknaroy' (Dakkan Rāy), the minister of Nawab Sā'ādatullah Khān, appeared at San Thomé with a force of 1,400 men to perform a religious ceremony. His friendship being desired, he was invited to visit Fort St. George. Accompanied by the Nawab's General Tāhir Khān, Dakkan Rāy was admitted to the White Town on the morning of the 12th February under a salute of 51 guns. The Governor, who was attended by all the civil servants and most of the inhabitants, met him at the Fort House stairs, and conducted him up to the Consultation Room, where the health of the Nawab was drunk. Dakkan Rāy was accommodated with a house in the Black Town during the day, and in the evening, after a visit to the Company's Garden house, he returned to San Thomé.⁴

At this period the Directors had occasion to reprehend the extravagant habits prevalent at Madras:—

¹ *Respondentia bond*, a bond on the security of the ship's cargo.

² *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 8th April, 1717.

³ *P.C.*, vol. l., 5th Jan., 1718.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. l., 11th Feb., 1718.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We hear from several hands that many of the People at Fort St. George are gotten into a more expensive way of living than formerly, and that our young Covenant Servants, tho they have not wherewith to support it, will vie with those in better Circumstances in the like unjustifiable Pageantry of Pallen-keens, Horses, and other Disbursements; and even in Private Houses the profuseness vastly exceeds that of former times. The Natural Consequence of this will be to tempt the Poorer to evil practices to maintain their Extravagancy, and to drain the Pockets of those who at present can bear the charge, and take away what else might be employ'd to profit in fair Trade. Wherefore do what in you lies to discountenance it. Our Covenant Servants are in your power. Let them know We expect it from them; and for such English as are not, use all fair methods to convince them of their folly, and how mischievous such their practice will prove to themselves and Familys, as well as their Example to others.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].)

The following approximate statement of the Madras revenues is compiled from the lists of 1718 to 1720:—

Madras Revenues.

'Farms.

	Pagodas
Beetle and Toddy Farm - - - - -	7,000
Arrack and Wine Farm - - - - -	4,000
Egmore, &c. Towns - - - - -	1,750
Cawn Gohee duty, paid by the Farmers - - -	35
Measuring Duty of Grain - - - - -	820
Fishing of the River, granted to the Macquaws - - -	50
Town Brokerage - - - - -	800
Rent of Paddy Feilds - - - - -	710
Toddy Farm - - - - -	500
Trevitore, &c. Towns - - - - -	1,200

'Collected by the Rentall Generall and Scavenger.

Rent of a Garden between Nicholao Manuches and the	
4 Brothers Garden - - - - -	40
Butteca Rent and Shroffs duty - - - - -	332
Rent of the Companys Old Garden - - - - -	150
Quit Rent Roll - - - - -	2,161
Scavengers Duty - - - - -	947

'Customs.

Sea Customs - - - - -	28,349
Land Customs - - - - -	5,608
Custom on Coinage of Gold and Silver - - - - -	5,297

Per annum, Pags. 59,749



During Collet's administration more than one of the senior servants of the Company fell into disgrace. Mr. Thomas Frederick, second of Council, was suspended for disobedience, and subsequently dismissed. Mr. Richard Farmer,¹ Deputy Governor of the West Coast of Sumatra, was superseded by Mr. Thomas Cooke from Madras, and made a close prisoner for maltreating his subordinates and the native inhabitants. The Rev. Charles Long was suspended in 1720 for flatly refusing to go to Fort St. David. He was eventually dismissed for private trading. The Directors wrote:—'We understand Mr. Long hath Exchang'd his study for a Counting house, and is turn'd Supra Cargo, which in all likelyhood will bring a scandall upon his Character, and give the Natives and Roman Catholicks a handle to depretiate the Reputation of a protestant Clergy man. Let him stay no longer in India, but return to England to keep the Solemn promise made at his Ordination.'²

Collet noted that, though Portuguese was 'the common Language of India amongst all Europeans,' none of the civil servants were proficient in either that language or French. Mr. George Torriano, who understood both tongues, was accordingly admitted locally as a Factor, and appointed Translator.³ The name of Torriano subsequently became well-known in Madras.

¹ *Richard Farmer*, who came out a Writer in 1688, married Ann Bett in 1692. In 1710 he was serving as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.

³ *George Torriano* was the son of Mr. Nathaniel Torriano, Supercargo of the Company's ship *Hertford*. He lost his post as Translator in 1720 because the Directors declined to recognize appointments made in India. Three years later he was readmitted to the civil service in the capacity of Secretary to the Council. (*P.C.*, vol. I., 25th May, 1719, and vol. li., 4th Aug., 1720; *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721, and *F. St. G. Cons.*, 7th March, 1723.)



CHAPTER XIII

1720—1725

GOVERNORS HASTINGS AND ELWICK—THE CORPORATION

GOVERNORS HASTINGS AND ELWICK.

ON the 18th January, 1720, Francis Hastings, a civil servant of nineteen years' standing, succeeded Governor Collet by virtue of the Company's orders of 1716, that 'the Deputy Governour of Fort St. David is always to be esteem'd the immediate Successour to this Government in case of the Presidents mortality or Total Absence.'¹ Within six months Hastings had a serious difference with Elwick, the next senior member of the Government, regarding the strength of the Council and the treatment of the Company's native Merchants:—

Declaration to the Council by the President.

'As you must all be (doubtless) sensible that the design of our Constant assemblys here is to Consult with each other about such measures as are most proper for advancing the Interest of Our Hon'ble Employers, You must likewise be sensible that nothing can contribute so much to the enabling us to think and to act What is most for the advancement of their Interest as to think and to act with Mildness, calmness and Moderation. And in Order to this, a decent modest behaviour, and a becoming deference and respect to my self as President, and to each other (which will always preserve decorum), are of absolute necessity.

'But instead of meeting with such a behaviour from the Person who has been some time next to my self at the board, and who ought to have shown a good example to others, I have, ever since my accession to this Chair, been affronted, abus'd, insulted and Maltreated by him, I mean Mr. Nathaniel Elwick. You must all be sensible with what arrogance he has behav'd himself at this board to my self in particular, and of my long forbearance to resent it, which has made him more and more Insolent, till at length he has become insufferable, and this I shall now make appear. . . .²

¹ P.C., vol. li., 18th Jan., 1718.

² Then follow specific instances of the behaviour complained of.



I shall now comprize the whole of What I have said in a very few words, and then refer the matter to your consideration. I think in my Conscience that Mr. Elwick is not fit to remain at this board on account of his Insolent behaviour at it, And also on account of his Incapacity and Negligence ; And therefore I now declare to you all that I am fully resolv'd not to sit any Longer as President If he is Continued a Member of it. FRANCIS HASTINGS.' (P.C., vol. li., 8th Aug., 1720.)

The Council thereupon suspended Elwick and reported the matter to England. The result was unexpected. On the 15th October, 1721, the *Heathcote* and *Marlborough* arrived simultaneously from home with packets addressed to the Hon'ble Nathaniel Elwick, President and Governor, containing the following disposal:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Accounts [from Madras] give us the greatest uneasiness and surprize to see the Orders We wrote in such pressing Terms and for such cogent reasons, slighted and disobey'd, and the answers given as reasons for your proceedings so very trifling and frivolous in some parts, and such flagrant breaches or misconstructions of our possitive orders in others, as if design'd for so many insults on our Authority and understanding. When we told you our opinion some years ago why We would not have above Seven of Council if death or absence reduced it to that Number, This is to be interpreted only as an advice, not an order, and a Strange and never before heard of Doctrine advanced That the President and Council have an undoubted power to Encrease that Number, notwithstanding the Companys opinion Four years before, if the Majority see a just occasion. Had this been only the hair brain'd Notions of a Giddy headed Youngster, We could have slighted and pity'd it. But when We find the Council in the General Letter Patronizing it, and referring Us thereto to justify their proceedings, It is time for Us to look about Us and crush this Cockatrice of Rebellion in the Egg.

'We have often found fault with some instances of mismannagement, and generally in an Expostulatory mild manner, hoping thereby to bring Our Affairs into a faithfull, frugall and regular method of administration, as being unwilling to proceed to rougher methods of Cure. But since Lenitives will not do and the Infectious Gangrene spreads so fast, We must, though with regret, apply the last remedy, lest the yet sound parts should be tainted and Our Affairs at Fort St. George become incurable. For which and other reasons . . . We have Resolved to dismiss, and do hereby dismisse Mr. Hastings, Mr. Horden, and Mr. Cooke from any longer continuing in Our Service after Receipt hereof ; and do herewith send a Commission . . . for Constituting Mr. Elwick in his Stead President of Fort St. George, and the Persons therein mention'd to be the Councill. . . .

'The Cry of Oppression which We are told from severall is made against him [Hastings] and others that have been or are in Our Service is so Generall and diffusive That the former Reputation of the English just and mild Government is now lost and become a reproach all round about you. . . .

'We observe plainly . . . that the Merchants were put in Prison, and by

other Accounts are informed they were treated like the Vilest of Criminals in being carry'd about the Town in the most disgracefull manner, then confined in the Cock House to a strait narrow hole of a Room, deny'd the Liberty of Common and usuall necessarys for Men of their Characters and Estates, which hath made the English Government to stink in the Nostrils of the neighbouring Country. . . . ' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.)

Hastings, who had been indisposed since the beginning of October, obtained permission to reside at the Company's Garden house until he could embark for England. The cash chest, in the late President's charge, which should have held a sum of Pags. 72,075-10-60, was found to contain a solitary fanam, and the Warehouse, under Mr. Thomas Cooke's control, was deficient of twenty-nine chests of silver, worth upwards of Pags. 80,000. Hastings assumed full responsibility for the cash and silver, but both he and Cooke were placed under arrest, and sentries were posted at their quarters. On the 18th Hastings was reported to be seriously ill. The following day he refunded Pags. 10,000, and gave security for the balance from his interest in eighteen ships valued at Pags. 269,707. On the 27th diamonds were handed in to the value of Pags. 20,000, and the guards were withdrawn.¹ Hastings was then permitted 'to goe to a house of Mr. Horden's on the Choultry plaine for the benefitt of the Air, He having promis'd us not to leave the Bounds.'² On the 11th December Hastings was able to apply for passage to England, which was granted. He expired, however, on the 15th, and was buried after the unusual interval of four days. A stone under the tower of St. Mary's Church bears the brief inscription, 'M. S. Francis Hastings.'

By his will,³ which is dated 13th November, 1721, the ex-Governor left his estate to his brother, John Hastings, after payment of various legacies, among which were £2,000 to his sister, Mary Coward, £1,000 to Delarobia Smith, daughter of his eldest brother, William Hastings, Pags. 5,000 to Mr. Richard Horden, £1,000 to his god-daughter, Cornelia Horden,⁴ Pags. 5,000

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lii., 15th to 27th Oct., 1721.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721. This is the first reference to the *Choultry Plain*, so called from a Choultry on the Mount Road, situated 2½ miles from the Fort. Horden's house appears to have been in Egmore (*P.C.*, vol. i., 2nd April, 1719).

³ *P.C.*, vol. lii., 15th Dec., 1721.

⁴ *Cornelia Horden*, daughter of Richard and Cornelia Horden, became the wife of William Percival in 1730.



to Mr. Joshua Draper,¹ Pags. 1,000 to the Rev. Thomas Wendey, Pags. 500 to his Steward, James Tobbin, Pags. 500 to his 'Musick, William Zinzan² and Richard Deakins,' Pags. 300 to his butler, Thomas Newton, and Pags. 100 to his groom, William Johnson.'

By the 12th February, 1722, the balance of Hastings' debt to the Company had been paid in by his executors Mr. Joshua Draper and the Rev. Thomas Wendey.

Early in February Governor Elwick brought to notice the existence of a 'scandalous paper,'³ supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Draper, and at his instigation signed by Hastings. The document was a letter to the ex-President's brother and executors, urging the 'prosecution of the Honble Nathaniell Elwick, Esq^r., &c. Council, and the Worshipfull Catesby Oadham, Esq^r., Mayor of the said Place, as accessory to the death of the said Francis Hastings, Esq^r., by arrest and imprisonment.' Mr. Thomas Cooke stated that the paper was signed by Hastings when he was very ill, and some ten or fifteen days before his decease :—

Mr. Thomas Cooke's Deposition.

' . . . I then went into the Chamber to see him sign it, where was present Mr. Draper, Mr. Wendey, Mrs. Johnson, three or four of his English servants, and some others whose names I have forgot. What I chiefly observ'd [in] his discourse was that he suspected the paper which he was going to sign related to Mrs. Johnson,⁴ at which he seem'd very much out of humour and angry that she should come her self about it ; upon which She and Mr. Draper told him it was a Letter to his Brother, which Mr. Draper had read to him but just before, and did no ways relate to her, which, when he was satisfy'd of, he answer'd, " Now I understand what it is, but what has Mrs. Johnson to do with it," and immediately he sign'd it in my presence. . . . THOMAS COOKE.' (P.C., vol. liii., 6th Feb., 1722½.)

The Rev. Thomas Wendey, Mr. Richard Horden, and another deposed that Mr. Hastings at the time of signing was not in a condition to appreciate the purport of the letter.

¹ Joshua Draper, who came out as a Writer in 1715, was Secretary to the Council.

² William Zinzan ; perhaps a connexion of Charles Zinzan, who was appointed Deputy Governor of Bombay in 1684.

³ To be quoted later.

⁴ A debt due from Mrs. Johnson was remitted by Hastings under a codicil dated 27th November, 1721. Frances Johnson, who appears to have been the widow of the late Engineer, Captain James Johnson, became in 1724 the wife of the Rev. Thomas Wendey.

Horden went to England to seek reinstatement, and to complain of the treatment to which he had been subjected by the Mayor's Court. He represented to the Directors that, being in debt, he had been forced to sell his Town and Garden houses. Mr. Joseph Walsh purchased his garden house in Egmore, but the Mayor refused to register the bill of sale on the ground that Horden was attempting to cheat his creditors. He pronounced the sale a felony and a capital offence. The following are extracts from Horden's statement:—

Mr. Horden's Petition to the Company.

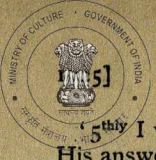
'²^{dy} On the 23^d of November 1721 I was, by the Mayor's Warrant, arrested by Sargeant Henry Medhurst, who came to my dwelling House, and as I was writing at my Table, forcibly hawled me out of my House, and carryed me to the Town Hall, and delivered me to the Common Goaler, who forced me into a small Prison¹ and then lockt me up. I told him That as I had not been used to such Lodgings, I thought it impossible for me to live long, with which I suppose he acquainted The Mayor,² because some time after he returned to me and told me The Mayor would permit me to go to my House provided he (the Goaler) might Sleep with me of Nights, and two of his Black Servants watch me by Day, which I was obliged to consent to. In this infamous manner I was kept till within a few Hours of my coming away. . . .

'⁴^{thly} I had long before this cleared all my Accompts³ with The Company, and delivered up all Books and Papers that were under my Charge, by which I thought myself intituled to the Protection of The Governour and Council. I therefore in the most humble manner begged The Governours Protection both in writing and by word of my Mouth. I had often requested The Mayor to consider on the hardships I laboured under ; That by my Confinement I was so much indisposed, for want of my usuall exercise of going four or five Miles in the Countrey, that I now began to fear my Life in danger, since I had scarce eat or slept sufficient to suffice Nature : wherefore I desired leave to go to St. Thomas Mount for a few Days to recover my health, promising to return any Day or hour they should Order me. This they would not grant me, tho I went from The Mayor to the Governour and from The Governour to The Mayor severall Days one after another. At last some few Friends, observing that I was much fell away and in a weak condition, with the supplications of my Wife, prevailed with a Relation of hers to be bound for my personall Appearance, when they permitted me to go for a few Days to the Mount, where I recovered my health and returned to Town, when my Bail was taken of[f], and I again committed to the Charge of the Goaler ; and all my Estate being to be sold at the expiration of fifteen Days put my poor Wife (in her condition) to such an apprehension . . . as made her fall ill, and her Life looked upon to be in great danger. . . .

¹ Probably one of the cells under the Town Hall.

² Catesby Oadham.

³ Horden was Second of Council and Accountant at the time of his dismissal.



5thly I verbally requested of The Governour to permit me to go for England. His answer was, You must talk with the Mayor. When I went to The Mayor, he told me I must comply with the Judgments of Court or that I should not go. . . . About four Days before the Ships sailed a Person came to me and told me, If I would go off just then, The Governour would permit me to go. It was about nine a Clock at Night and very dark, when I had a Boat ordered me. The Commander of the Ship . . . would not receive me without a Permission from The Governour, so I waited on him and got his Permission and went off ; And had not so much as time to see one of my Children before I left the Shoar. The four Days I lay in the Road in the Ship I got some Necessarys and Cloaths for my Voyage. Not having an Account how they have disposed of my Estate or treated my Wife and Children, I am not at present prepared to add to these hardships.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., cir. 1723.)

Horden eventually returned to Madras, where he resided as a free merchant till his death in 1730.

Little has been traced regarding Nathaniel Elwick's early career. In 1714 he was Supercargo of the *Dartmouth* trading to China, and four years later the Company directed his admission to the Fort St. George Council on the occurrence of a vacancy. Elwick arrived from China in 1719, when he was appointed Third of Council and Warehousekeeper. He married 'Mrs. Diana Robinson' at Fort St. George in 1722.¹ On his accession as Governor Elwick found himself with a nearly new Council, consisting of Nathaniel Turner, Richard Benyon, Catesby Oadham,² John Emmerson, Randall Fowke,³ and George Drake. Horden, Cooke, and Draper were dismissed. Elwick's administration lasted only three years, after which he resigned in favour of James Macrae. The chief events of his time were the foundation of Hyderabad as an independent state, and an attempt by the Nawab of Arcot to recover possession of the five new villages.

Çin Kılıç Khān, called in the records *Chickleys Cawn*, son of Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān of Tatar origin, was one of Aurangzīb's galaxy of generals. In 1713, when forty-two years of age, he was

¹ This lady appears to be identical with Mrs. Diana Robson, widow of Dr. Thomas Robson. If so, she made her first matrimonial essay in 1693, when, as Diana Baggs, she became the wife of Richard Bridges.

² *Catesby Oadham* came out as Assay Master in 1715, married Mary English in 1717, and was subsequently appointed Sea Customer. He died in 1723, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

³ *Randall Fowke*, who was 'discharged from the Gunroom Crew' in 1703, was appointed Factor in 1711, and a Councillor five years later. He married Ann May in 1713, and died in 1745 at the age of seventy-two. The inscription on his tombstone by St. Mary's records the statement that he served the Company forty years.

appointed Subahdar of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, with the title Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Āṣaf Jāh. He is first mentioned in a consultation of June, 1714, when he sent a perwanna and seerpaw to the Governor of Fort St. George. In the following year he was recalled to be governor of Morādābād and subsequently of Mālwa. After the assassination of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers placed Muḥammad Shāh on the imperial throne. Chīn Kīlīch Khān freed the new emperor from the dominion of the Sayyids by procuring the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī and the imprisonment of 'Abdullah.¹ He afterwards rebelled against his master, marched to the Deccan, and established himself by the sword as an independent ruler at Hyderabad in 1724.² He survived until 1748.

THE CORPORATION.

The following extracts disclose the system of voting in vogue for the election of the Mayor and Aldermen, and reveal the Corporation's jealousy of any interference by Government in their proceedings:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President³ represents to the Board that to morrow being the 20th September, which is the day appointed for the Election of a new Mayor, he judges it proper to lay before the Board an ill convenience which he has been inform'd did arise from the present Method of choosing the Mayor and Aldermen the last and former years, which is as follows :—The manner of electing the Aldermen is by writing down the Candidates names upon the side of a Sheet of Paper, with a Black Line drawn from each of those names to the other side, and thereupon every Burgess makes a cross Line or small stroke upon the long line which is drawn from the names of those Candidates for whom he is inclin'd to vote ; and the one half of those Candidates who appear to have the greatest number of cross Lines or Strokes are esteemd to have the majority of Votes, and are accordingly elected Aldermen. Now the ill convenience that arises from that method appears to be this : the Attorneys and Servants who attend the Court always carry the voting Paper abovemention'd round to the Burgesses as they are seated : severall of those Burgesses are of the French, Portugueze and other foreign Nations, and not understanding who the Candidates are for want of being able to read the English Language, are consequently ignorant whom to give their voices for, or whose names to affix a

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 20th Jan., 1729.

² *P.C.*, vol. liv., 1st July, 1724, where Chīn Kīlīch Khān is called *Nissa Mulmo-lucque—i.e.*, Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

³ Francis Hastings.



Dash to, and so have frequently been known to be altogether influenc'd and directed by the Attorneys and Officers of the Court attending upon them to vote for such of the Candidates as they were mostly affected to. The Voting Paper abovementioned is generally observ'd to be carry'd round in a very great hurry, in so much that People have hardly time to think of what they are going about ; and this as thô done with a design to put People into confusion, and to cover an Artifice which some of the Attorneys are said to have been guilty of in giving five or ten dashes to the names of any candidates in whom they are particularly interested.

'The manner of Electing the Mayor is as follows :—The Attorneys and Officers attending the Court do carry round to the Burgesses a parcell of little Slips or bits of Blank Paper, and thereupon each Person is to write down the name of such One of the Aldermen as he is most inclin'd to have chosen Mayor. Those Slips of Paper are afterwards examin'd, and any one of the Aldermen who appears to have the most of them with his name inscrib'd thereon is thereby chosen Mayor. Now the ill convenience that attends this Method is as follows : The Officers attending the Court have here a greater Latitude for fraudulent practices than in the choice of Aldermen, having it in their power to Slide in a number of little [Slips] with votes already written upon them in favour of any one of the Aldermen to whom they are particularly affected. This is supposed by some People to have been done the last year in favour of Mr. Benyon, and is well known by Mr. Thomas Cooke to have been practic'd some years ago by Mess^{rs}. Josiah Cooke¹ and Abell Langelier² in favour of himself, althô without his previous knowledge or Consent. It is alledg'd by Mr. Michael Willson, one of the Attorneys of the Court at present, that Mr. John Laurence, his Predecessor now deceased, did at the last Election of Mayor make use of some Clandestine practices of this kind in favour of Mr. Benyon, and actually wrote down for above twenty of the Burgesses who were of the French and Portuguese Nations his name as electing him for Mayor, and by that means procur'd him such a number of Votes which carry'd the Election in his favour.

'The President therefore, to prevent the like fraudulent practices, proposes to the Board that the method of Polling, which is open, fair and just, shall be made use of for the future at the Mayors Court in their Election of a New Mayor and Aldermen. . . .

'Orderd that the method of Polling be used for the future by the Burgesses in the Mayors Court at the Election of their Mayor and Aldermen.

'Mr. Benyon thereupon dissented to the method of Polling, alledging it would influence the Election ; but it is to be noted that he acquainted the Governour yesterday he intended to stand for Mayor the ensuing year also. FRA. HASTINGS, RICH^d. HORDEN, RAND. FFOWKE, JOSHUA DRAPER.' (P.C., vol. lii., 28th Sept., 1721.)

Cooke, Turner, Benyon, and Emerson were present, but did not sign the Consultation book.³

¹ Josiah Cooke joined the civil service in 1706, when three others of his name were serving at Madras—viz., Thomas Cooke, his senior, and Francis and John Cooke joint Assay Masters. In 1712 Francis died and John retired.

² Abel Langelier was a Writer in 1710. In 1714 he married Elizabeth Berners, and died the same year.

³ Cooke's omission to sign was probably due to oversight.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Joshua Draper, Secretary, acquaints the Board that, pursuant to order of last Consultation, he deliver'd to the Register of the Mayors Court the order we had made for them to proceed to the election of a New Mayor and Aldermen by the method of polling; but that, being present there as a Burgess, he found they did not comply with that order.

'Mr. Richard Horden then acquainted the Board that, being present also at the Mayors Court that day as a Burgess, he observ'd . . . that the Bench did not comply with our order for polling, nor proceed to any election either of Aldermen or Mayor by any method whatsoever, altho they had a great deal of seeming debate amongst themselves concerning the matter, But came to no direct determination; that Mr. Richard Benyon (then Mayor) ask'd him if he appear'd at the Court as a Burgess or not, and that he reply'd he was summon'd there as such and did appear in that manner, But that if he had any affairs to discourse with him upon in any other Capacity, he would retire to the Fort, where he was Substituted by the Honble Governour to act in his Character for that day, he being so extreemly ill as not to be able to attend in Town to perform all the ceremonialls usually pass'd upon the Choice of a new Mayor. . . . The Bench then made some demurr, and, soon after, Mr. Benyon made the following speech to the Burgesses, which being compar'd with what is enter'd upon the Court register (now produc'd) appears to be Authentick.

"Whereas it does not appear by the Charter that the President or the President and Council of Fort St. George have power or Liberty to alter any of the Customs of this Court or Corporation in their method of Elections, and the method of Polling being contrary to all usage and Custom since the grant of the Charter, which Custom and usage I am of opinion is a Law of prescription which to break into may be attended with many ill Consequences; and as I think it also a breach and Violation of my Oath to introduce any innovations, I therefore am of opinion the said order cannot be comply'd with by me while I am under the tye of my present oath. All which circumstances being Consider'd, and because I would not act contrary to any order of Government, I have no method left but to deliver up the Charter."

'Mr. Horden adds that, when Mr. Benyon had clos'd the foregoing Speech, he made a motion to deliver up the Charter to him in the Town Hall, but that he refus'd to accept it there, alledging he was no more than a Burgess in the Court; but that he would immediately go to the Fort (if he desir'd it) and receive the Charter from him there, Provided he would engage for himself and the whole Bench that the Court should not be adjourn'd till another Mayor was appointed in the room of him. It being not at all proper that the city should be left destitute of a Person to act in that office.

'Mr. Horden proceeded to say that, finding Mr. Benyon give him no direct answer to such his Proposall, and that he still insisted on flinging up the Charter in the open Court, and offer'd to quit the Bench, he acquainted him and the rest of the Aldermen that, since they would not choose a Mayor for themselves, there was one already chosen for them; and thereupon produc'd the following order which he deliver'd to the Bench.

"To the Worshipfull the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Madrass for the time being. By Virtue of the power deriv'd to us from the Hon'ble Company in your Charter, we do hereby constitute and appoint Mr. Joshua

"Draper to be Mayor of this Corporation in as full and ample manner as if he had been elected by the Choice of Burgesses. FRA. HASTINGS, Governour, "RICH^d. HORDEN, THOMAS COOKE, RANDALL FOWKE."

'Mr. Horden proceeded to say that, upon the foregoing order being publicly read in the Court, as well as that part of the Charter whereto it pointed, Mr. Benyon acquainted him that he was sorry that power was not sooner produc'd, because it would have sav'd him a great deal of trouble ; to which he reply'd that power was lodgd with him to be deliver'd only in case their Proceedings should be such as he then found them.

'Mr. Joshua Draper (the new Mayor) then . . . proceeded to acquaint the Board that, by virtue of the aforementioned power, he immediately took possession of the Chair. That thereupon Mr. Benyon offer'd to leave the Bench ; that being ask'd to tender the Accustomary oaths to him, he absolutely refus'd to do it, and went out of the Court in a very abrupt manner, follow'd by Mr. George Sitwell (one of the Aldermen) and about one fifth part of the Burgesses. Mr. Draper added that he was then sworn by Mr. Thomas Way (the next Alderman in Course), and immediately proceeded to the Election of three Aldermen to supply the three vacancies at the Bench, by the method of Polling (conformable to our order) which Mr. Benyon would not comply with ; after which he made the following speech to the Court—

"Gentlemen, I am sorry that I could not be introduced to the Office of Mayor of this Corporation in the regular way of Election, since it was the desire of the Hon'ble Governour and severall of the Gentlemen (here present) that I should undertake it, and I should then have been satisfy'd that it was your inclination also ; but as I have nothing to condemn you in for the Obstruction which I have met with in this respect, I shall proceed to the execution of the Trust reposed in me, and endeavour to discharge it with so much justice and integrity as I hope will make you as well satisfy'd with the Honble Governour and 3 of the Councils choice as if it was your own ; and I do assure you that, if I was convinc'd to the Contrary, I would immediately resign my Post, thô given to me by a Superiour power." (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 2nd Oct., 1721.)

This was the last consultation at which Hastings presided. His illness increased, and on the 15th he was superseded by the Directors' unexpected orders. Draper, who was dismissed at the same time, yielded up the charter on the following day, and Catesby Oadham was elected Mayor in his room.

The Company expressed disapproval of the attempted change of procedure, and applauded Benyon's resistance to innovation.¹

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].



CHAPTER XIV

1720—1725

THE OLD AND NEW VILLAGES—THE GARRISON—FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND BRIDGES

THE OLD AND NEW VILLAGES.

IN February, 1720, 'the Hovildar of the Metto near Egmore'¹ stopped some goods coming into Madras, and offered violence to the custodians. Hastings despatched the Chief Peon and his men to remonstrate. 'The Hovildar drew his Scimeter and struck at him, which he warded off with his Target.' The Chief Peon immediately shot the Havildar dead, and his followers fell on the toll-gate people, killed two more, and put the remainder to flight. The Governor commended the Chief Peon, and explained the origin of the affray to the Nawab at Arcot.²

The cowle to the renters of the three old villages, 'Egmore, Persiawalk and Tonderwood,'³ having expired, and no offers being made, the Government undertook the administration in June, 1720, and placed Mr. Stephen Newcome⁴ in charge. A year later Newcome stated that the villages were producing 80 garse⁵ of paddy, of which the Inhabitants and the Company each received about 30 garse, while the remainder was claimed as an ancient privilege by a great variety of persons, such as the Peddanaigue, the

¹ *The Metto near Egmore.* The toll-bar where dues were collected by the native government on goods entering Madras. This bar was situate at the existing Periamett—i.e., Great Metta.

² *P.C.*, vol. li., 20th Feb. and 14th March, 17 $\frac{19}{20}$.

³ It follows that *Tonderwood* or *Tondavoodoo* was an alternative name for Tandore. The *Mud Point* of Black Town Wall was sometimes called *Tondavoodoo Point*.

⁴ *Stephen Newcome* entered the civil service at Bencoolen in 1715. He was appointed Clerk of the Market at Madras in 1724, and three years later was serving as 'Surveyor of the Works.' He married Violanta Hunter in 1726.

⁵ A *Garse* of 400 mercalls is equivalent to 8,400 lb. of grain.



authorities of the Pagodas, Choultries and Schools, the Talliards, Conicopies, Washermen, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Barbers, Doctors, 'Pariar Fellows, Tank Fellows, Severall Braminys, Dancing Girls, Tom Tommen, Town Cryer,' and others.¹ Newcome added that the irrigation tanks had not been repaired during the late famine, 'especially the great Tank at Persiawalk, and that a number of weavers were desirous of settling in the last-named village.'² A later report contains the following:—

Mr. Newcome's Report.

'The Inhabitants have been very diligent this year, and have sow'd a great deal more Land than they did last year, which promised an extraordinary produce; but the late Storm spoild them a great deal of Paddy, particularly Tonderwood Village, the Sea having flow'd in at Cattawaack Village,³ so run through Trivitore, Sattangoord, Tonderwood, and so to this place, which has kill'd the paddy, and made the Ground Salt wherever it came, and has occasion'd this second time of sowing to come up very thin, and will afford but a small produce. . . .' (P.C., vol. liii., 3rd Jan., 1724.)

A few months later a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Turner and Oadham, furnished an abstract of the history of the villages since their acquisition in 1693. The revenue was collected by Government down to 1700, and for the next twenty years by various renters who paid from Pags. 1,100 to Pags. 1,750 per annum for their leases:—

Report of Messrs. Turner and Oadham.

'In Consultation the 4th of May, Mr. Stephen Newcome deliver'd in a report of Egmore, &c. Villages, complaining of severall large allowances being insisted upon by people not in the Hon'ble Companys Service, which lessens the value of the Villages, and he does not find the value of the said Allowances settled any where in Consultation. He also reported the Tanks being much out of repair, which prejudic'd the rent of the Villages, and would cost 500 Pags. to repair the same; and a debate arising in Council thereupon, Mess^{rs} Emmerson and Draper were order'd to Scrutinize into the said Allowances, and report the same to the Board, which was accordingly comply'd with the 15th June last. And they then reported there was always an allowance of 55 per Cent to the Inhabitants upon the produce of the grain for their tillage and looking after it, and the Hon'ble Company had the remaining 45 per Cent clear of all Charges. They also report that it never was customary for the Hon'ble Company to repair the Tanks, but the Inhabitants, who, being reduc'd very low by the late Famine, cannot be at so great a Charge except the Hon'ble Company would be at the Charge of building a few Sluices from the great Tank. The Renters

¹ All these were hereditary beneficiaries under Mirasi right.

² P.C., vol. lii., 4th May, 1721.

³ *Cattawaack Village*, by Ennore backwater, eleven miles north of Fort St. George.

pretend that by the grant of ground to People¹ for Gardens, part of the Paddy ground is thereby taken from them, and of course depreciates the rest of it. If this be as they say, We remember that, when those grants were made, the renters were first consulted about them, and should then have declar'd the prejudice to the Farm of the Villages.

'Upon enquiry of Mr. Newcome into the Charges of the Villages and Income for these two years since the Hon'ble Company have kept them in their own hands, he acquaints us their charge in Conicoplys and other servants, as Peons, &c., amounts to about 120 Pags. per annum, and the two years produce clear of all Charges he beleives will come to 1600 to 1700 Pagodas, so that the Hon'ble Company, by keeping said Villages in their own hands, are not like to make 2/3ds of what they us'd to rent for. All which being maturely consider'd, and no one offering near the usual rent, the only course that remains to be taken we think is a tryal at Outcry, but that we leave to your Honours, &c.'s Consideration.' (P.C., vol. liii, 27th April, 1722.)

The lease was accordingly put up to auction, and knocked down for Pags. 1,360 to a syndicate of village residents.

Early in April, 1723, the Nawab, Sa'adatullah Khān, demanded the restoration of the five new villages, 'Trivitore, Sautenguard, Cutta Walk, Lingum Bauk and Versalah Waddah,' together with Pags. 8,000 arrears of revenue, on the ground that they formed part of the jaghire of Chīn Kīlīch Khān. Elwick replied that he held the Mogul's *farmān* for the villages, and pointed out that Sa'adatullah had himself acknowledged the Company's right in the past, and had advised Collet to use force to maintain it.

The Nawab came to San Thomé on the 13th, and renewed his demand, stating that Collet had given a bond to deliver up the villages in case no grant could be procured from Sayyid Hūsain 'Alī. Elwick then sent Pāpaiya Brāhman, Sunku Venkaṭāchalam (alias Sunku Rāma) and other merchants to Lālā Dakkaṇ Rāy with an intimation of the true purport of Collet's letters of 1718. The uncompromising terms of the message exasperated the Minister. The embassy was forcibly detained at San Thomé, and informed that it was held answerable for the deaths which had occurred in the Egmore Metta affray three years before. The members were, however, set at liberty on the 16th. The Nawab himself then addressed Elwick:—

Nawab Sa'adatullah Khān to Governor Elwick.

'Tho' I have been so long at St. Thomé, I have never receiv'd any marks of your Friendship such as I might expect from what you formerly seem'd to

¹ Horden, Theobalds, etc.

express. Somebody has been endeavouring to sow dissension so that we should not agree long. Look to it. Tis your duty therefore [to] send your Second¹ with Vencatathilum to give me full satisfaction, or send an answer immediately. Delays will look ill. I send you the Contents hereof by Mr. St. Hillaire² who, I hope, told you the same, and that you will act so in this affair as to secure your effects. What can I say more?' (F. St. G. Cons.,³ 1st May, 1723.)

President Elwick to the Nawab.

'I last night receiv'd your Excellency's Perwanna by your Chubdar,⁴ and am surpriz'd you should therein charge me with beginning to break off the friendship hitherto maintain'd between us, Since your Excellency can't but remember that I was so ready to pay my compliments to you on your first coming to these parts . . . , nay, I had gone further, and sent some of the English to congratulate your Excellency on your arrival at St. Thomé had I not been prevented by demands you thought fit to make, which I could no way think reasonable, and which seem'd to me to point to a design that you yourself had of violating our friendship. I am still willing to continue in freindship and amity with your Excellency, and so far as my own honour and the good of my Employers will permit me, I shall be ready to come into any measures for that end.

'I cannot submit to send my Second or any of the Company's Merchants to you, since you seem inclin'd to quarrel whatever my designs were, had your Excellency at your first coming appear'd in a friendly manner.

'I return your Excellency thanks for the care you seem to take of my Effects. They are under the protection of my Guns, and if you will endeavour to take them from me, you alone are accountable for the Consequences, whatever they may be. I think myself well able to maintain them, and I believe a Rupture between us will be more pernicious to your Excellency than to me. I am, notwithstanding, willing to live in friendship. What can I say more?' (F. St. G. Cons., 1st May, 1723.)

Elwick's bold front produced the desired effect. The Nawab rejoined that his language had been misapprehended, and he intimated through his messenger, Dr. St. Hilaire, that a present would be graciously received. Two Councillors, Messrs. Hubbard and Houghton,⁵ were selected to be bearers of the gift, worth about Pags. 800, and it was stipulated that they should be escorted by a

¹ Second of Council. No challenge is implied.

² M. Jean Baptiste de St. Hilaire was a Frenchman who in 1716 was physician to Bākar 'Ali Khān, governor of Vellore and nephew of Nawab Sa'ādatullah (*Chanda Sahib and Beschi*, tr. and ed. from the *Litteræ Annuæ* of 1715-1717 by the Rev. L. Besse, S.J.). Formerly of Manila, he became a resident of San Thomé, and subsequently of Madras.

³ The volume of *Public Consultations* for 1723 is missing from Fort St. George, but the deficiency has been made good from the India Office records.

⁴ Chubdar, mace-bearer, Silver Stick in waiting.

⁵ James Hubbard came out a Writer in 1712. In 1731 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain John Powney, and died ten years later when Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. Joseph Houghton joined in 1721 as a Junior Merchant. He married Mary Bright in 1722, and died at Madras in 1727.

Jemadar,¹ and use chairs during their interview with the Nawab. The Councillors were well received, and no further difficulty was raised about the villages.

THE GARRISON.

The strength and condition of the Fort St. George Garrison when Elwick assumed charge of the Government is described in the following report :—

Report of the Commanders of Companies.

'In obedience to your commands we here lay before you the State² of the Military, which consists of 545 Men, Officers included, out of which number please to observe 245 are Europeans, of whom we do with Concern assure you that a great part are infirm, and 22 Topasses at Europe Centinells pay for their former good services at Fort St. David and elsewhere, besides 278 other Topasses, most of whom we were obliged to take in, tho' good for little, because our Honble Masters did not think fit to send out recruits, and no better to be had.

'The next thing we are to represent to you is the number of our Guards, which are in all 18, eight of which are without the Walls ; and if our Garrison of 545 Men were all able good Men, they would be by much insufficient, even without any relief at all, according to Military discipline, considering the distance our Guards [are] one from the other, the many infirmitys Europeans are liable to in this hot country, and that our Men are always dieted by some of themselves, and consequently excused duty.

'Should our Honble Masters urge that we now have on our Muster rolls near as many as formerly, we humbly presume that the Consideration of eight Guards more to be maintain'd by the same number may sufficiently answer the objection.

'By this state we hope your Honour will see the necessity of sending for Europeans, when we assure you we have nothing else in view than the preservation of the happy establish'd Government and Garrison. ALEXANDER FULLERTON, ALEX^R. SUTHERLAND, DAVID WILSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 2nd Nov., 1721.)

Like ex-Captain Seaton, who was rebuked by the Directors in 1721 for his gambling habits, Captain Fullerton was addicted to high play :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have heard a very ill Character of Capt. Fullertons Gaming and enticing the young People to play and Strip them of their Money, in which he hath been too often successful. Had not you given Us a good Character of his

¹ *Jemadar*, head of a body of troops, officials, or servants ; from Pers. *jama' dār*.

² *State*, statement, muster-roll.

behaviour at Chyore,¹ We were enclined to send for him home, but have forborn for that reason. However, let him know We are much displeased with him on this Account, and do expect he give no more occasion for such reports. If he doth, you have our Orders (as We hereby give you) to dismiss him our Service and return him to England for Example Sake, to deter others from such Vile Practices.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].)

Fullerton died in March, 1723, and Sutherland two years later.

Major Roach returned from Manila to find himself without employment. He hastened to England with his family in 1721, and prevailed on the Directors to reappoint him on his former salary of Pags. 20. A consultation of 1724, at which new commissions were issued, shows that the three companies were distinguished by facings of blue, yellow, and green:—'Sign'd the following Commissions for the Military: To John Roach, Captain of the blue Company, and Major of the Troops under the command of this Presidency: To Alexander Sutherland, Lieutenant of the Yellow: To Thomas Ogden, Lieutenant of the Green: To David Wilson, Lieutenant of the Blue.'² On reappointment, Roach was allowed two servants 'to Support the Grandeur of a Feild Officer.' Francis Hugonin retired to England, and was succeeded as Gunner by David Murray. The period of enlistment for the rank and file was five years, after which discharge could be claimed, but soldiers often continued to serve for much longer periods. When incapacitated they, like the officers, were pensioned:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster reports that there are four Men that have serv'd the Company a great while, but are now incapable, and desire to be enter'd upon the Pensioners List, Vizt.,

'Joseph Garret, serv'd the Company thirty years, and is superannuated, and has a wife and two children.

'Simon D'Crewser, serv'd the Company twenty one years, and is superannuated.

'Ralph Taylor, serv'd the Company fourteen years, and was in the camp against Mr. Raworth, when he got the Barbiers which has since hinder'd him the use of his Limbs.

'John Carey, serv'd upwards of ten years; has lost the use of his right Arm.

'Order'd that they be enter'd upon that List.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 23rd March, 1724.)

¹ During fighting which occurred in connexion with the salvage of two wrecks near Sadras.

² *P.C.*, vol. liv., 1st July, 1724.

Alarmed at the steady growth of civil and military charges, the Directors sent out stringent orders in 1724 for reversion to the standard of expenditure of 1707, which involved a retrenchment of upwards of Pags. 20,000 from a total charge of about Pags. 57,000. The number of garrison companies was at once reduced to two, and the Paymaster, as the head of the spending department, was ordered to contrive further means of effecting economy. Randall Fowke submitted his report in September. The chief heads are Military, Gun Room Crew, Particular Persons, Peons, and Repairs of Fortifications. As an ex-artilleryman, Fowke wrote with peculiar authority on the Gun-room service. The following extract describes the condition of that service, and the duties of the Peons in peace time:—

Paymaster's Report.

'*Gun Room Crew.* . . . There are many more outworks than Anno 1707, and so consequently more men. The Gunner declares now he has barely enough to dry his Powder, attend the Batteries, remove Stores from place to place, Screw the Bales, and many other Labours about the Garrison: that they and the Lascars are the most seldom idle of all others. As for the Mates, who are at Five pagodas per month, and the hundred fanam men, there are scarce any among 'em but what have been in that Service twenty or thirty Years, and most of the rest many Years. Formerly the Gunroom was lookt upon as a Lodging work-house to relieve poor seamen, and at the same time be of use to the Garrison. They were entertain'd and discharg'd at their pleasure, which encouragement was thought necessary, thereby to have always Sailors on any extraordinary occasion; so that their Number increas'd or decreased as Voyages offer'd. They now consist of Forty six Europeans, Fifty two Portuguese and thirty Lascars, in all one hundred and twenty eight Persons, most old Standars. And if a man will look about the Garrison and take notice how they are employ'd, I believe there will be found but little reason for Alteration. However, I bow down to Your Honour, &cs. Better Judgement. It may be added that, if ever we shou'd come to action with an Enemy, we shall want a great many more of that sort than we have at present, or perhaps may be procurable at such a Juncture.

'*Particular Persons.* . . . The first line of Particular Persons amounts to twenty Pagodas, as is for ten pagodas to the two Supravisors of Buildings, Thomas Way and Henry Johnson. . . . The others are Doctors Mates, Master of Arms, Steward of the Hospital, School master, Marshall, Book binder, Cooper and his mate, disabled men, and poor widows, whose allowances stood as they are many years. Whereabouts to lessen this I must leave to Your Honour, &c.

'*Wages and Allowances.* Wages is to head Workmen, Three of each Sort, except the Smiths who are five, all which I propose to reduce to two. . . . All other Articles under this are only petty Expences almost unavoidable. Several Works constantly in the Armory, as Cleaning Arms, making Scabbards,



Pouches, Cartridge Boxes, &c., Making Powder Casks in the Coopers Yard. . . .

'Charges General. . . . We are directed to observe the year 1707, and not to exceed the number of peons then, which they say was about two hundred and forty, 240. They are now two Hundred and Ninety one, excluding Tent fellows, Trumpeters, Flagmen, &c. . . . The Governour and Council, Secretary's, Ministers, and Doctors Servants stood always much the same, but in that year of 1707 Mr. Frazier happen'd to be Suspended, so there was no Second and but one Doctor, which might occasion some difference. The Linguister Mulla, Paymasters Conicoplys, Oil Braminy, and shroffs are also much the same. . . . The main difference in this Article seems to me to lye in the Gardners.¹ . . .

'The Number of Carpenters, Mooches² and smiths appear very large because they are paid by the Day and sum'd all up at the months end. . . . They are no part of a Garrison charge . . . but are Cheifly Employ'd in making locks and Keys, hooping or opening Treasure Chests, attending the Sea Gate, Making Bolts or Chains for Prisoners, Buckett straps for Wells, Bolts, hesps or hinges for Doors or Windows, and many other small matters. . . .

'The Carpenters under this head are Employ'd much the same in mending . . . Centry Boxes, Troughs for hogs, horses and powder, Pump and Mangers in the horse Stables, . . . and many other little Jobs. . . .

'The Mooches under this head are likewise paid by the day, and employ'd in drawing Musters for Chints, Binding Books, Painting, and such other work as their trade performs.

'Another Article herein complain'd of is Batty to Peons abroad and at home. This has always been under the direction of the President, because he sends and receives all advices. Batty to Peons is allow'd all Over the Country. . . . To this follows a Complaint of the large Quantitys of Oil and wax more than Usual. The quantity of Oil increas'd as the Gaurds and out-works, and is receiv'd of the Warehousekeeper, who has it from Bengal every Year at the Best hand, as the Storekeeper the Wax, which is deliver'd to the Gentlemen to whom it is allow'd, who sometimes take it every month, sometimes two or three or twelve months together. . . . But there has been no Addition to this allowance for ought I know these Thirty or Fourty Years. . . . (P.C., vol. liv., 3rd Sept., 1724.)

Capt. John Shepherd, Commander of the *Lethuilier*, reported, on his arrival at Madras in 1727, that one of the recruits had been lost at sea under the following circumstances:—

Capt. Shepherd's Report.

'A very unfortunate accident that happened on board my ship is the occasion of the present trouble. It happened to one of the Souldiers I brought out, in the following manner.

¹ There were 29 gardeners, and 12 more employed on the Island to look after the hedges and water the trees.

² *Mooche*, *moochy*, a caste employed in binding, leather work, etc.; from Tel. *muchche*.



'On the 21st May 1727 our Boatswain, William Bromfield by name, complained that he had lost out of his Cabbin two quarts of Brandy, for which Search was made in the ship. A part was found in the Chest of one of the Souldiers by name Henry Pendre, which, with several other circumstances concurring, made it evident that he was guilty of the Theft. Being a Souldier, I thought a Military punishment the properest for him, and accordingly ordered that he should run the Gantlope, and receive a Blow from every Souldier and Sailor in the ship. But when he came to the Gangway as he was running, he leaped overboard at a time when we went eight knots, and consequently it was impossible for us to save him. This is the exact account of the case, as by the accompanying Certificate will appear : and from the same it will be further manifest that the said William¹ Pendre was, in the opinion of all my Officers, Guilty of the Fact charged on him, and deserved the punishment ordered ; as also that it proceeded solely from his abominable Stubbornness that he flung himself into the Sea, and not from the Severity of the punishment. JOHN SHEPHEARD.' (P.C., vol lvii., 7th Aug., 1727.)

It appears that enlistment was occasionally a device to secure lawful residence in India. In 1729 William Jermin and James Robson obtained their discharge from the Garrison in view to practising Law and Medicine respectively, professions for which they had been trained. Jermin bought his discharge for Pags. 44-16-0 and became an Attorney in the Mayor's Court in place of Mr. Henry Rumbold, while Robson joined Capt. Timothy Tullie on a voyage to Mocha.²

About 1728 or 1729 there was some trouble with the Garrison, though the consultations are silent on the subject. Writing in 1730 of the famine from which Madras had been suffering, the Directors say :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'And now We are upon this Melancholly Subject, We must add That we have likewise been informed your Garrison twice laid down their Arms, and said they could not do Duty unless they had Rice to eat : That this was called a Mutiny, and they were threaten'd with Decimation, but the Ringleader only was imprison'd, severely whipt, and sent home on one of Our Ships. Sure so extraordinary an Accident was worthy of a true Representation in your Consultations, where We find many things of much less Importance and Signification ; and then it might have appear'd to Us whether real necessity or a turbulent Spirit was the cause of this Disorder, and We should have seen the Methods you took to cure the Evil. . . .' (P. from Eng., vol. xxxi., 23rd Jan., 1729 [1730].)

¹ The certificate of the officers shows that William is an error for Henry.

² P.C., vol. lix., 24th Nov. and 2nd Dec., 1729.

FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND BRIDGES.

Elwick's period of rule being a time of economy and retrenchment, little was done to the fortifications beyond the completion of Charles Bastion, which replaced the old Round Point. An allusion is made in 1722 to Plymouth Battery, a work which, by the help of a later document,¹ is identified with the gun-platform on the north flank of the Sea Gate. The corresponding platform on the south side of the gate was known as Dover Battery. The large bastion on the east front, lying between the Sea Gate and St. Thomas Point² and appearing in Thomas Pitt's map as the Half-Moon, was now designated the Saluting Battery. The intervals between the gun-platforms on the east front were protected only by the Town Wall; but the construction of an arched store shed on the north side of the Saluting Battery permitted a length of 27 yards of wall to be converted into rampart. In his report on retrenchment of expenditure the Paymaster offered the following observations on the defences:—

Randall Fowke's Report.

'*Repair of Fortifications, &c.* I cannot Offer anything from my own Judgment on this head than only to promise my Utmost care that no abuses are Committed, of which our Honourable Masters seem to be very Jealous. And, to say the truth, Little 'frauds herein are near as unavoidable as the decay of Buildings and Honesty [are] the Causes, which every Body will affirm that have had any thing to dō with Buildings in these Parts, tho never so circum-spect. . . . But if a man will take a Walk and view the whole Garrison, he will find so many things so necessary to be done that he wou'd think it a pity to be left undone unless 'twas Resolv'd it should be so. And here I cannot forbear mentioning the Powder House,³ which You'll easily Agree is of some importance, there being made from Fifteen Hundred to two thousand Pagodas value of Powder every Year for Garrison Use and sale, both Convenient and profitable. Then I must pass to the mint, the Condition of which Your Honour, &c. know very well, having taking a View of it not Long ago. All the Garrison is continually wanting Chinam some where or other, and where its used there will be those little Articles of Jaggery,⁴ Corcoy,⁵ hemp and several other ingredients to Cement it, besides Bricklayers, Cooleys and Boys. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd Dec., 1724.)

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 30th May, 1740.

² Otherwise called Marlborough Bastion.

³ On the Island.

⁴ *Jaggery*, coarse sugar, used as an ingredient of mortar; from Sans. *sarharā*.

⁵ *Corcoy*, from Tam. *kadukkāy*, the tree *Cassia fistula*. Rao Sahib K. Rangachar states that a decoction of the plant is still used in mixing mortar.

Attention was repeatedly drawn to the existence of an undefended gap at the eastern extremity of the northern rampart of Black Town.¹ The Directors considered that a palmyra hedge would serve, similar to that used for the northern boundary of the pettahs.² Local opinion was in favour of a more permanent obstacle, but the work was not carried out until 1739.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We are now to remark to your Honours a very necessary peice of Building in order to secure the Black Town, which now lies open and exposed from the Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse Close by the Sea Side. There was formerly a Fence of Palmira Pallisadoes, which are now all broken down, and we are of opinion it would be much Cheaper as well as more durable to build a brick wall of about nine foot high from the said Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse, which is distant 180 foot, and it is Computed will Cost about 500 Pags. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.)

The undefended interval of 180 feet from 'Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse Close by the Sea Side' is evidently the space of about 150 feet between 'the mud point' (identified as New Point) and the blockhouse through which soldiers broke out in 1713.³ It follows that Madapollam Point is an alternative name for New Point, which is elsewhere called Fleet Point.⁴ The same bastion was also specifically designated Mud Point, for a consultation of 1720 states that 'the Town lies exposed from Mudd Point to the blockhouse, and that there are nothing for its defence but a few Palmeiras which are very much decayed.'⁵ The Mud Point of Thomas Pitt's map was situated farther west in the northern rampart.

Heavy floods in 1720 and 1721 did serious damage to several of the Madras bridges, and all five of them underwent either repair or reconstruction at this period. The oldest was *Armenian Gate Bridge*, spanning the drainage channel and connecting Black Town with Peddanaikpetta. It appears to have been built a little before 1677, for it is referred to in that year as 'the new bridge.'⁶ Built

¹ In the locality now called Parry's Corner.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 16th Feb., 1721 [1722], and vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].

³ *P.C.*, vol. xliv., 26th March, 1713.

⁴ By 1732 the designation Madapollam Point appears to have been transferred to the middle bastion of the northern rampart. (*P.C.*, vol. lxii., 19th Aug., 1732.)

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. li., 7th July, 1720.

⁶ *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 13th Aug., 1677.



of timber on brick abutments, it was found to be much decayed in 1724, and it was rebuilt in the following year. The bridge, together with the adjacent massive gateway known as Bridge Gate, Bridge Foot Gate, or Armenian Gate, was demolished during the French occupation of 1746-1749. Its site was just outside the present north-west glacis of the Fort, near the apex of the angle between Walajah Road and Fraser's Bridge Road.

Egmore Bridge,¹ which, like Armenian Bridge, is shown on Thomas Pitt's map, spanned the artificial cut connecting the Triplicane and Elambore rivers. The bridge was probably erected soon after 1703, when a guard was first stationed at Egmore Choultry. The foundation was washed out in 1716, and the work was rebuilt.² Eight years later the arch gave way, and the bridge was once more reconstructed in 1728. It is now known as St. Mary's Bridge.

The Island Bridge, a masonry work built in 1715 to connect the Fort and Island, was badly damaged by the cyclone of November, 1721. The volume of water pouring down the Elambore River was so great that an afflux of two feet was observed at the bridge. The structure was repaired in 1722 at a cost of Pags. 1,500. It was removed soon after the middle of the eighteenth century in consequence of the diversion of the stream and obliteration of the old bed.

Triplicane Bridge joined the Island with the village of Triplicane, and carried the main road from the Fort to San Thomé and the Mount. No record of its first construction has been traced, but it must have been erected after Pitt's time, and probably between 1715 and 1718. The earliest allusion to it occurs in February, 1721, when the structure was reported to have been carried away by a recent flood. The rebuilding of it, at a cost of Pags. 2,000, was barely completed when the cyclone of November, 1721, caused fresh damage, so that a further expenditure of Pags. 1,800 became necessary. The site of the work is now occupied by St. George's Bridge, which has, however, a different alignment.

Garden Bridge was built in 1718³ across the Elambore River near the Company's Garden House. It carried the direct road from Triplicane and the south to Peddanaikpetta. The bridge

¹ Afterwards called the Metta Bridge.

² P.C., vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.

³ P.C., vol. xlix., 21st July, 1718.

was destroyed by the flood of 1720, and rebuilt at a cost of Pags. 2,500. The structure was removed at some time subsequent to the siege of Madras in 1759.

The passage of the rivers was originally made by ferry. The 'great Boat for carrying Passengers over the river before the Bridges were built' survived until 1730, when she was sold as useless.¹ Hastings had decreed that the cost of renewal of the Triplicane and Island bridges should be borne by the inhabitants. When Elwick presented a claim, however, they professed ignorance of the order :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

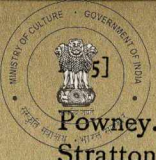
'The President informs the Board that he has appointed several meetings of the Casts on account of the Company's disbursements for building and repairs of the Bridges, the last of which was on the 10th Inst., and then found them (as often before) positive and certain that they were never acquainted by the late Governour that the Bridges were building at their Charge, at the same time pleading poverty and begging to be excus'd; and tho' the President argued with them that it was an Act of Charity (the Poor being oblig'd otherwise to carry their heavy loads thro' 2 Rivers² sometimes very deep), it had but little effect on them. The President therefore told them further that the money must be rais'd among the Black Inhabitants, the White People being but very few in Number, and having but little or no advantage from them; upon which they desir'd a week's time more to consider of it, which he granted, at the same time letting them know that if they did not make a voluntary Contribution amongst themselves, he must raise it upon them according to a method formerly made use of on Account of the Choultrys which were built for the security of the black Town.' (P.C., vol. liii., 11th Dec., 1722.)

The inhabitants were induced to pay in Pags. 2,000 before the end of the year, and an equal sum in 1724.

The belief is current in Madras that the houses on the east side of St. Thomas Street were occupied by the Company's Writers, and that, at a later date, Robert Clive attempted his life in one of those buildings. It is true that the 'College' was probably situated in or near the locality named, but the Fort Square was designed to provide quarters for all the unmarried civil servants, and there is evidence that in 1722, and for many years afterwards, the houses toward the sea in St. Thomas Street were private property. One of them, having a frontage of 111 feet, had been acquired from Draper by Mr. Walsh, and the next building, with a frontage of 75 feet, belonged to Capt. John

¹ P.C., vol. lx., 16th and 31st July, 1730.

² The Triplicane River and Elambore River.



Powney. Others in the row were the property of Mr. John Stratton and Capt. Rawson Hart. There was a strip of ground between the backs of the houses and the Town Wall, which was occupied by store sheds. Walsh and Powney obtained permission to purchase portions of this ground which lay opposite to their respective houses, at the usual rate of Pags. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Gentu foot of 60 English square feet, on condition that they should reserve a passage for the funeral processions of the 'macqua men,' which had hitherto passed from the fishing village to the Portuguese church by way of St. Thomas Street. The remainder of the strip, viz., 90 feet from Powney's house to the Saluting Battery, and 124 feet from Walsh's residence to Marlborough Bastion, was deemed sufficient for the Company's purposes; but some years later the whole was sold to Stratton and Hart.¹

The Portuguese padres asked permission in 1721 to rebuild the Capuchin church, as it was 'very old and Crazy.' Sanction was accorded on the ground that 'the said Portuguese Padrees have always behav'd themselves very respectfully towards the Company and the Government here.'² The new edifice, if we may judge of it from Kirkall's view of Fort St. George, was erected on an imposing scale and possessed a lofty campanile. Reference is made to a garden belonging to the Capuchins, which was contiguous to the Company's Garden, and contained a well of exceptionally pure water.³

The following is a statement of the Quit Rent revenue for 1723 as furnished by Mr. Joseph Houghton, Rental General and Scavenger :—

*Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty.*⁴

	P.	.	c.
'To the Honble Companys Account Quit rent for the year 1723 - - - - -	2,300	15	"
To Butteca Rent and Shroff duty for 1 year - - - - -	310	"	"
To Quitt rent of the Companys Old Garden for 1 year - - - - -	150	"	"
To Quit rent of Maria Pois's Garden for 1 year - - - - -	40	"	"
	2800	15	"
'To the Honble Companys Account Scavengers duty for the year 1723 - - - - -	1036	25	"

¹ P.C., vol. lii., 25th May, 1721; vol. liii., 10th April, 1722; Cons., 5th Feb., 1723; P.C., vol. lxi., 9th Aug., 1731; and P. to Eng., vol. x., 1st Oct., 1733.

² P.C., vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721. (Cf. P. to Eng., vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

³ P.C., vol. li., 24th Nov., 1720.

⁴ P.C., vol. liv., Dec., 1724.



CHAPTER XV

1720—1725

MARINE AFFAIRS—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND EXTRACTS—
AN ESSAY UPON FRIENDSHIP

MARINE AFFAIRS.

IN 1721 Madras experienced a storm of exceptional severity.¹ The Company's fleet, consisting of the ships *King George*, *Heathcote*, *Dartmouth*, and *Marlborough*, and the *George*, brigantine, had postponed sailing to a perilously late date. On the morning of the 13th November, President Elwick, having delivered despatches to the captain of the *King George*, walked down with that officer to the Sea Gate, but the surf proved too high to allow of the commander's embarkation. Two of the other captains also were ashore. The wind gradually increased, and by nightfall was blowing a hurricane, which lasted thirty-six hours. On the 14th signals of distress were heard in the offing, but nothing could be seen through the murk and the blinding rain. In a few hours the country was under water. Many of the dwellings of the poorer inhabitants were blown down or washed away. The fall of the bridges has already been described. On the morning of the 15th, when the weather cleared, the *Heathcote*, Capt. Tolson, alone remained in the roads. The *Marlborough* dragged her anchors, but was brought up in a dangerous position off San Thomé. The *Dartmouth* and *King George* were both cast away, the former at 'Maubeliveram,'² and the latter near Sadras. The wrecks

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lii., 13th Nov., 1721.

² *Maubeliveram*, Māhāvelipūram, or 'Seven Pagodas.' Six years afterwards Capt. Charles Boddam brought out a 'Copper diving Engine' and diver as a speculation. The diver examined the wreck of the *Dartmouth*, but reported that the apparatus, which was probably a diving-bell, could not be used in the surf (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727], and *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 21st Aug., 1727). Charles Boddam was commander of the *Charlton* in 1710, and a resident of Madras in 1714.



were seized by the Moslems, and the crews detained. A salvage party was sent down from Madras with a detachment of troops under Lieut. Sutherland. In December force was used to recover the Company's property. The *faujdār* and several of his men were killed, and the prisoners were rescued.

In the following year Madras saw a squadron of the Royal Navy for the second time.¹ Commodore Thomas Matthews, with four ships of war, left England in February, 1721, to hunt down Angria and other pirates in eastern waters. In the course of his enterprise, which was not marked by conspicuous success, he came round to Madras with the *Lion* of 50 guns, *Exeter* 50, and *Salisbury* 40 :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'About ten this morning His Majesty's ship the *Lyon* came to an anchor in this road, and was saluted with 31 Guns from the Fort, Commodore Matthews being aboard her. Mr. Emmerson and Lieut. Sutherland were sent aboard to invite him ashore. He accordingly came in the evening, and was met at the Sea side by the President and Council with the Gentlemen of the Place, from whence he was conducted to the Garden house, where his health was drank and 31 Guns fir'd.' (P.C., vol. liii., 13th July, 1722.)

The Commodore required an advance of £5,000 for the use of the squadron, and the Warehousekeeper was directed to supply 'that Summe in Pillar Dollars, the Company having no Mexico, at 17 dwt. 12 grs. each, which makes Dollars 15,384½ at 6s. 6d. per Dollar, and compleats the above demand, for which the said Commodore Thomas Matthews hath given us four bills of Exchange, dated the 19th Instant, for said Summe at 30 days sight upon the Honble Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy.'

Kānhoji Angria, admiral of the Marātha fleet in 1698, ruled 150 miles of coast south of Bombay. In 1713 he asserted his independence, and swept the seas from his fortress of Gheriah in the harbour of Vijayadrūg, and from the fortified island of Kendry.² When this sea-robber turned his attention to British ships, Governor Boone prepared an expedition against him, consisting of ten ships and galleys, and as many galleywats.³ The command

¹ The first occasion was in 1699, when Commodore Warren brought out Sir William Norris as ambassador to the Mogul.

² *Kendry*; Khanderi, 7 m. south of the entrance to Bombay harbour.

³ *Galleywats*; large boats fitted with a sail and 20 to 40 oars. They carried 6 or 8 swivel guns, and 20 fighting men besides the rowers.

was given to Capt. Alexander Hamilton, but he resigned after some fighting at Karwar. The expedition bombarded Gheriah in 1717, but did not attempt assault, and in the following year it was repulsed at Kendry.¹ Commodore Matthews was then sent out 'to curb that Insolent Pickaroon,'² but, though he spent upwards of three years in Indian waters, he failed to accomplish his principal object. Kānhojī Angria died in 1729,³ and was succeeded by Sambhājī Angria. Tūlājī Angria followed in 1748. It was not until 1756 that Vijayadrūg finally fell to the bombardment and assault of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. The depredations of the Angrias are frequently referred to in the Fort St. George records.⁴ Kānhojī seized many British ships, and held their officers and crews to ransom in the dismal dungeons of the castle of Gheriah. The following is the will of one of his Madras prisoners who died in captivity :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. lv., 3rd Feb., 172½.)

'Mr. Richard Benyon, one of the Trustees to the last will and Testament of Mr. John Harnage, made at Gereah on the Coast of India, . . . Produceth to us a Copy of the said Will, which is as follows.

"*In the Name of God Amen. Whereas I, John Harnage of Madrass, Merchānt, being called by my lawfull occasions to cross the seas, was, on my returning from the Port of Suratt, most unfortunately, the second day of Aprill last, taken by the fleet of Angaria, ever since which time I have been detain'd at this Place. Now, having a due sense of the instability and uncertainty of life, and not knowing when it may Please Almighty God to take me, I hope with faith, to himself out of this transitory and wicked world, I doe by these presents Will and Bequeath the Estate it has been our Almighty Creator and most Bountifull Protectors good will and Pleasure to bless me with, among my relations and Freinds in manner as is underwritten. . . .*

* * * * *

"*Item, I give and bequeath to my worthy Freind and at Present Fellow prisoner, Mr. Peter Curgenven,⁵ the sum of Three Thousand Rupees to lay out in*

¹ *Correngey Angria; a Compendious History of the Indian Wars, with An Account of the Rise, Progress, Strength, and Forces of Angria the Pyrate*, Clement Downing, 1737.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 7th Oct., 1729.

⁴ In *Letters to Fort St. George*, vol. xx., 13th Dec., 1730, will be found 'A Relation of a Sea-fight between the Bombay Cruizers and Angria's Grabs, the 25th November 1730 off Colabbo.' It is quoted on a subsequent page.

⁵ Both Peter Curgenven and John Harnage appear in the 'List of Sea Faring Men not constant Inhabitants' of 1714. Among others in the same list are Alexander Hamilton, George Heron, John Powney, Alexander Orme, Sir John Bennet, Charles Boddam, Rawson Hart, John Curgenven, David Murray, and Lewis Madeiros.

two Diamond Rings, the one for himself, the other for his Spouse *Frances Curgenven*,¹ both whom I entreat to accept thereof As a Token of my Gratitude and good will. . . .

“*Item*, I give to Captain John Bell, if he lives to be at Liberty, five hundred rupees. *Item*, I give to Mr. William Reeves, if he lives to be at Liberty, five hundred rupees. *Item*, I give to — Neale, our Second Mate, if he lives to be at Liberty, Two hundred and fifty rupees. *Item*, I give to Mr. Paul Bouillard, if he lives to be at Liberty, Two hundred and fifty rupees. *Item*, I give to my other fellow Sufferers in this Prison, among which number I include the English or Europeans not already nam'd, our Servants, the two Lascars that return'd with the Letter from Bombay, and that Lascar call'd Faquir who was formerly a Ship mate with me, the sum of Six hundred Rupees to be shar'd among them all equally on their Releasement from this Imprisonment. . . .

“*Moreover*, I doe hereby impower and appoint for my Trustees, for the execution of whatever is necessary or needfull in India, my very good Freinds *Mr. Peter Curgenven* and *Mr. Richard Benyon*, whom I beg Chearfully to accept of that trouble.

“*Given at the Goal in the Fort Gereea* on the Coast of India the twelfth day of February in the Year of our Lord and Saviour one thousand Seven Hundred Twenty one. Witness my hand and Seal

“JOHN HARNAGE.

“Sign'd, Seal'd, and declared and published in presence of us, where no Stamp Paper is to be had. W. SCOTT, JNO. GALLAWAY, JOHN VAINES, EPHRAIM ROBERTS.”

The following is a report of deserters from the Company's ship *Middlesex* at Madras. The men were ultimately arrested at Dolphin's Nose, Vizagapatam :—

Capt. John Pelly to the Honble. Nathaniell Elwick.

‘At two a clock this morning five of my People rob'd my Ship of sundrys, Vizt., 5 Cutlashes, 1 Fuzee and powder-horn with powder, one Compass, two half hour Glasses, one Lead and line, Arrack, bread and Cheese out of my Lazaretta ; then took my Yawl with the Pinnacle's Sails, and being discover'd, made the best of their way from the Ship. My Officers designing to follow, apply'd themselves to the Tackles to hoist out the Pinnacle, but found them all cut, which these Piratical Rascals must have done to prevent their being pursued. I hope your Honour will give such immediate Orders, if they should put into any Place along the Coast, they may be apprehended and brought to justice. The following names and descriptions are of the abovementioned :

‘*William Munroe*, Quarter Master, of middle Stature, a well set Man of a ruddy Complexion and wearing a dark brown wig.

‘*Thomas Darkin*, a man of small Stature, of a black Complexion, wearing his own short black Curl'd Hair, Armorer.

¹ Peter Curgenven married Frances Rotherham in 1713. His brother Thomas, also a seafaring man of Madras, married in 1703 Rachel Dobyns, *née* Baker, widow of Henry Dobyns of the civil service.

'John Hunt, Midshipman, of short Stature, about 18 years of age, of brown Complexion, wearing a light bob wig and silver lac'd Hat.

'Thomas Merrick, Cooper's and Steward's Mate, about 6 Foot High and very lusty, of a ruddy Complexion and sandy colour'd Hair.

'Robert Parris, about 18 years of age, a thick, short, bluff Fellow of a round fair Complexion, Foremast Man.

'I am inform'd by my Officers that their opinion about Robert Parris is that, being Asleep upon deck, was hurry'd away into the Boat by the others, thinking He was going upon the Ship's Business. JOHN PELLY, WILLIAM WRIGHT.' (P.C., vol. liii., 31st May, 1722.)

On a rough morning in December, 1723, the Company's ship *Goodfellow* was brought into the roads by her Syrang.¹ After an interval of two days, during which communication with the shore was impracticable, he reported a mutiny on board, in which Captain Crossing and all the ship's officers had been killed. Aided by a discharged soldier and some lascars, the Syrang secured and held ten of the mutineers prisoners on board. The Council showed their appreciation of his conduct by appointing him Second Syrang of the Fort, and presenting him with a medal, chain, and the sum of Pags. 200.²

Many pages of Hastings' Consultation Book of 1721 are occupied with a claim by Mr. Stephen Orme, supercargo of the ship *Lusitania*, owned by Messrs. Alexander Orme³ and Francis Hugonin, in regard to the murder of two of the ship's officers in Pegu. In the course of his complaint he charged Captain George Heron, who, being then 75 years of age, is described as British Resident in Pegu, with seeking to defeat the ends of justice :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Stephen Orme, Supra Cargo of Ship *Lusitania*, presents a Petition to the board importing that the Cheif Mate of that ship, nam'd Charles Wangford, and the Gun[ner], nam'd John Dalzeil, have been inhumanely murder'd at Syrian⁴ in the Kingdom of Pegu by Coja Zachary and his Accomplices, and desires us to do him Justice on the Murderers, not having been able to obtain it in Pegu from the hands of the King and Prince of that Country. Mr. Orme, upon this occasion, delivers in a Journal of his transactions since he left this Place the Last year, as also severall Letters and Papers of Attestation. . . .

'Capt. George Heron, who was Cheif for affairs of the English Nation at

¹ *Syrang*, the chief of a lascar crew; from Pers. *sarhang*.

² *F. St. G. Cons.*, 4th to 20th Dec., 1723. The mutineers were eventually hanged. (P.C., vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1725.)

³ *Alexander Orme*, father of Robert Orme, the historian.

⁴ *Syrian*; Syriam, on the Pegu River, near Rangoon. The English Factory was founded in 1698.

Pegu when the Murder was Committed, being accus'd by Mr. Orme in his Diary of Obstructing the Course of Justice at that place by espousing rather the Cause of Zachary than of his own Countrymen, and being also accus'd by the said Mr. Orme of having taken a Bribe from the said Zachary for his assistance in getting clear, which was the receiving a Brigantine from the said Zachary just after the Murder was Committed, which Mr. Orme terms the Price of Blood ; and many other things of a very heinous nature being laid to the said Capt. Herons Charge, he was immediately sent for, and appearing before the board, was ask'd what he had to say in his own Vindication ; but he peremptorily denying the severall particulars of his Charge, and offering some argument to prove his Innocence, he was order'd to Commit what he had to say in his own Vindication to writing, in order to be enter'd upon our Consultations, that the whole matter might appear the more plain and Clear to our Honble Masters, whereupon he was dismiss'd.' (P.C., vol. lii., 20th April, 1721.)

It appears that on the 28th October, 1720, a party from the ship attended the Mussalman festival 'Hossen Jossen,'¹ where they quarrelled with Zachary's men and Heron's lascars. In the course of the disturbance the mate and gunner were done to death with clubs. Zachary was present, and instigated the crime.

Heron was able to show that the transaction of the brigantine took place long before the murder, and that he did all in his power to bring the offenders to justice. He affirmed, though Orme denied, that Zachary actually suffered the punishment decreed by the King, which was that he 'should lye in the Sun 3 days, be bored thrô his Cheeks and cut in the neck and back 7 times: also pay 100 Viss of Silver.' Heron concluded his statement in these words:—

Capt. Heron's Statement.

'Having said what is necessary on this melanchol[y] affair, I must now beg your Honour, &c., to do me justice on Mr. Orme, who has insulted the Character I have maintained in India these 50 years of being an honest man, and that in the most open manner before this Honble Board. I think I need not say any thing to prove I deserve that Title ; and to be tax'd with Bribery in perhaps the last publick action of my Life is not to be tamely bore with. But I will depend upon the honour of the Board to cause [me] ample satisfaction. GEORGE HERON.' (P.C., vol. lii., 4th May, 1721.)

The matter was referred to England, and the Directors expressed disapproval of Heron's conduct.² That venerable master-mariner died in 1727, and was buried in the Powney vault, which

¹ *Hossen-Jossen*, the Moharram ceremonies.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].

was built by direction of his son-in-law, Captain John Powney, and still remains a relic of the old Burial-ground. The tombstone records that Heron expired on 'the 2d. May 1727 in the 81st year of his age, then a sojourner in India 61 years.'

The Company found it necessary to restrict the prodigal use of powder in salutes:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'That to prevent the great Expence of Powder which the Owners¹ likewise complain of as lavisht away under pretence of Salutes, We direct that all the Companys Europe Ships, upon their first Arrivall in any port of India, Salute the Fort with no more than nine Guns, and that the Fort return the like number; and at the Captains first coming on Shore from Europe, or Dispatch thither, they shall Fire but nine Guns; and at all other times of Saluting the Captains with only seven. That all Countrey Ships be answer'd with no more than Five Guns (Foreigners excepted). That the Governour, or any of the Council, or other persons belonging to the Company going on board be not Saluted with more than nine Guns at their coming on board or going off, and that no other Guns be fir'd during their Stay on board.' (P. from Eng., vol. xxvi., 2nd Feb., 1724 [1725].)

It appears that cable manufacture may be added to the list of the dead industries of Madras. The Chief Gunner begged the Government to prohibit the importation of coir cables and cordage made at San Thomé and elsewhere:—

Gunner David Murray's Report.

'With submission to your Honour, &c., I humbly presume to offer that, if those Cables were not Imported, the Coire they are made of must come to this place and pay Equal customs to the Company. Besides, these Cables sold to ships in this place, if damaged or not well made, may pass for Madrass Cables, and bring an ill repute on the cables and cordage of this place, which has hitherto the Repute of Laying cables the best of any Port in India.² DAVID MURRAY.' (P.C., vol. lvi., 17th Sept., 1726.)

The following order by the Company's Committee of Shipping shows the classification of officers on their ships. The vessels ranged from 400 to 490 tons burden:—

Order by the Committee of Shipping.

"The Committee took into Consideration the Reference of the Court . . . of what Officers shall be Carried and Employed in the Ships taken up by

¹ Owners of ships chartered by the Company.

² The 'Rope-Walk' was situated on the beach between the Maqua village and the river bar. See the map of 1733.



the Company for the future, and have ordered Four Mates in a Ship of four hundred Tons, and Five Mates in a Ship of a greater Burden, and the following Officers, viz.

Purser
Surgeon and his Mate, and a Barber, if required
Gunner and his Mate
Boatswain and his Mate
Carpenter and First and Second Mate
Caulker and his Mate
Cooper and his Mate
Sail-Maker
Armourer and Smith
Four able Midshipmen, and no more
Four Quarter-Masters
One Coxswaine
Captain's Cook, Ship's Cook, and Cook's Mate or Butcher
Ship's Steward and Captain's Steward.

'That the Captain have no more than two Servants.

'Chief Mate a Servant, and Second Mate a Servant, if required, provided they be well-grown lusty Youths.

'The Gunner, Carpenter and Boatswain each one Servant, if the Captain thinks fit; to be lusty well-grown Youths, fit for Business.

'All the rest of the Ship's Company shall be Fore-mast-men and Able Seamen.

'And that there be no Reformado's or idle Persons under any Denomination carried out in any Ship in the Company's Service. . . ' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxx., 27th Aug., 1728.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

The following is a specimen medical certificate of the period:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Surgeons deliver in their Report of Mr. Jenkinsons distraction (as enter'd after this Consultation) setting forth that his going into a Cold Country may probably Contribute to restore him. Wherefore tis Order'd that he be sent upon the Hanover, and that his Trustees provide every thing necessary for the Voyage.'

Report.

'On the 10th of January last Mr. Tho^s. Robson, late deceased, and I were sent for to visit him. We found him afflicted with a Mania or Malancholly madness, having a deprivation of Imagination and Judgement Accompany'd with great rage and Anger, but without Fever.

'We administer'd him from time to time what is practicable in those cases, as Emeticks, Cephalicks, &c., having had several Intermissions, and Chiefly towards the New Moon, at which time he acts and Speaks with a great deal of Vivacity, as is accustomed with those People in that deplorable Condition.

'He never could be perswaded to take Physick voluntarily, but always



oblig'd to have the assistance of two other men. Being of Opinion that the Change of Climate may contribute much towards his recovery Because the Southerly Monsoons affect the Nerves and animall Spirits in a great degree, I wish he may be able to justify the same. ANDREW PEITCHIER.' (P.C., vol. li., 8th Aug., 1720.)

In 1720 the Government accepted a deposit of Pags. 10,000 from Padre Joseph Labbée on behalf of the Jesuit Missionaries in China. He left it 'to their generosity whether they'll allow him Interest or not.' In the following year it was agreed that the loan should be a perpetual one at 6 per cent., and by 1726 it was raised to Pags. 20,000.

Madras was startled in 1721 by news of the massacre at Anjengo of Mr. William Gyfford, the Chief of that Factory, with most of the Company's servants. Gyfford, who probably belonged to the family which had given Madras a Governor in the preceding century, set out on the 11th April, with his factors and the greater part of the garrison, for Attingal to make the usual presents to the Queen. The party was treacherously attacked by the natives. Gyfford himself was murdered in a barbarous manner, and only a few sorely wounded survivors crawled back to tell the tale. Gunner David Ince, though not the senior officer, assumed command of the remnant of the garrison, sent Mrs. Gyfford and the other women on board a country vessel, and, with the aid of reinforcements from Calicut, bravely sustained a siege which was not raised until the following October¹:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'General Letter from the Commission Officers and the Gunner of Anjengo, advising that the Cheif and Council, with the rest of the Companys Servants of that Factory,² went to pay a Visit to the Queen of Attinga, and to present her with the accustomed presents at the expiration of every seven years, and that they were all treacherously murder'd excepting 17 Topazzes, who made their escape in a most miserable condition, some of them having received Eleven, twelve and thirteen wounds Each. . . .

'The unfortunate Widows of the Gentlemen lately cutt off at Anjengo arriving from thence the 17th instant destitute of all manner of necessarys, The President proposes to the board to take some proper means for their mainten-

¹ For a full description of events, see *The Pirates of Malabar, and an Englishwoman in India Two Hundred Years Ago*, Colonel J. Biddulph, 1907. An account of the early history of the Factories of Calicut and Tellicherry will be found at the end of vol. lviii. of the *Public Consultations* for 1728.

² The party consisted of about 120 men and as many coolies.



ance, their husbands having left their lives in the Company's Service. Whereupon It was Agreed that as Mrs. Burton¹ has four Children, she be allow'd 25 pagodas per Mensem, and as Mrs. Burton has two Children, 20 pagodas per Mensem. And as it is uncertain whether Mrs. Gyfford will accept of any allowance of that nature, the Paymaster is order'd to tender it, and report her answer to the board.' (P.C., vol. lii., 11th and 25th May, 1721.)

Mrs. Katherine Gyfford, who, though only twenty-six years of age, had already experienced the tender mercies of Angria and been three times a widow,² was held responsible for her last husband's debts to the Company. She proceeded to Bengal 'to live with her Relations,' and there met Commodore Matthews, to whom she appealed for protection against the claims of the Bombay Government. Matthews carried her to Bombay in the *Lyon*, and afterwards to England, where cross suits were filed between her and the Company. At a later date Mrs. Gyfford returned to Madras, where she died in 1745.

The following petition from an arrack farmer at Fort St. David, who had been imprisoned for debt to the Company, is phrased in a style which is not unknown in India at the present day :—

'The humble Petition of Chinnaapa, late Arrack Farmer.'

'Humbly sheweth. Whereas your Worships Petitioner most humbly imparts to your Worship, with the most profound submission, that it is now six years since he is suffering intolerable misery in a very tedious confinement, and all his Family is fatally precipitate with starving, and having no body to assist them with a piece of Charity in this present Calamity, which he has took the liberty to implore your commiseration.

'Another Arrack Farmer named Adeverage died ignominiously, being imprisoned, and your Worship's most humble Petitioner is almost in the same Conformity ; therefore he desires your Worship will be pleas'd graciously to take your Compassion on him, being destitute of all kind of Assistance.

¹ An error for Mrs. Cowse, who died at Madras two years later.

² Daughter of Captain Gerrard Cooke, Gunner of Fort William, she accompanied her parents to India in 1709 as a girl of fourteen. The ship anchored for a few days at Karwar, where Mr. John Harvey, Chief of the Factory, and then an elderly man, prevailed on Miss Cooke to become his wife. On his death soon afterwards, his youthful successor, Mr. Thomas Chown, married the widow. Chown and his bride proceeding to Bombay to claim Harvey's estate, their small vessel was taken by Angria. Chown was killed in the attack, and the rest of the Europeans were carried to Colaba, whence Mrs. Chown was recovered by ransom. Shortly after her release, the lady became the wife of William Gyfford, a young Factor, who in 1717 was sent as Chief to Anjengo. *The Pirates of Bengal, and an Englishwoman in India, etc.*, Colonel J. Biddulph, 1907.

'Your Worship's Petitioner most humbly beseeches your Worship to take his Case into pious Consideration that releasement may be obtain'd for him, and your Petitioner as in duty bound for ever pray.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd Feb., 1724.)

Governor Elwick received a visit from the grandson of that Dāmarla Venkaṭappa with whom Francis Day negotiated for the grant of a site for Fort St. George :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that one Vencatty Putty Naigue, Grandson to the Person who first gave the English Nation the grant of this Place, is at Trivitore, and has sent him word he designs to come and pay him a visit. That his father came to see Governour Pitt,¹ and had a gold Chain and several other things presented him at that time, and that this Person will expect to be treated in the same manner.

'Agreed that a gold Chain be bought, value about forty Pagodas, and that such other Presents be given as shall be judg'd necessary.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd March, 1724.)

The presents were duly conferred, and a salute of fifteen guns fired. In the Paymaster's accounts the name of the recipient is entered as 'Damnulla Vencapata Naigue.'²

Among the Wills of this period which are recited in the consultations are those of Charles Davers and George Tullie, both civil servants.³ Davers, a son of Sir Robert Davers, Bart., was dismissed in 1717, shortly after his arrival, for challenging a member of Council, Mr. Thomas Frederick; but he was ultimately reinstated. He died in 1720, and left the most minute directions for the conduct of his funeral, and the erection of a monument to his memory.⁴ George Tullie, a Junior Merchant and former Registrar of the Mayor's Court, was a nephew of Thomas Tullie, Dean of Carlisle. He had several brothers, of whom Capt. Timothy Tullie of the *Hanover* appears to have been one, and Philip Tullie, a civil servant, another.

¹ 'Venketashala putte Naigue,' who visited Pitt in 1703, is also called 'grandson' of the original Naik (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Dec., 1703). Venkaṭapati's next visit was paid to Governor Benyon in 1743.

² If this 'Damnulla Vencapata Naigue' is identical with the 'Dammel Comar Pedda Vencatapa Naindu,' mentioned in Mackenzie's list of the Poligars of Kālahastī, then Elwick's visitor would appear to be the great-grandson of Chennappa Naik.

³ *P.C.*, vol. li., 26th Sept., 1720, and vol. liv., 16th Nov., 1724.

⁴ Davers's Will is quoted in *Madras in the Olden Time*, Wheeler.



AN ESSAY UPON FRIENDSHIP.

There was published in London in 1725 a small volume entitled '*An Essay upon Friendship, Deliver'd with a view to an Unhappy Gentleman deceas'd and a Monster just strip'd of Power which he has abus'd, and is lately return'd to England.* By a Faithful Servant and Soldier of His Majesty's.' The work relates to Hastings and Elwick, and though the names of the various persons referred to are indicated only by initial and final letters, it is not difficult to penetrate the disguise in most cases. In the extracts quoted below, the names, when recognizable, are entered in full. Internal evidence shows that the author was Joshua Draper, who held the post of Secretary to the Council during Hastings' administration. He appears to have entered the military service after his return to England.

The introduction reminds Elwick that 'You was, (perhaps you don't remember), once in Times of Old a petty-fogging Journey Man to a Tradesman : that Tradesman was mechanically call'd a Linnen Draper.' The author states that Elwick, in virtue of letters from the Company, was appointed Third Member of Council and Warehousekeeper ; 'and now I'll show you how that Farce was Acted, least a Thing so entertaining should have slipt your Memory' :—

'*Scene.* The Consultation Room at F[ort] St. G[eor]ge. A large Table, spread with a Sea Green Cloth, in form of a Parallelogram or Quadrilateral Figure ; an Ebony Elbow Chair at the upper End of it ; four common Ebony Chairs on each Side, and a single one at the lower End, just opposite to the President's. A handsome Silver Standish¹ at each End.

'Enter, with a numerous Train of black Attendance, the G[overno]r, C[ounci]l and S[ecretar]y, and take their places according to Seniority, the President in the Elbow Chair, the Council on each Side, and Secretary at the lower End.'²

'*President.* "Gentlemen, I am to acquaint you that, whereas our Honourable Masters have thought fit to order and appoint M^r. N[athaniel] El[wic]k (who is very happily Resident with us at this Juncture) a Place at this Board as a Member of the Council, on Account of his extraordinary Knowledge in the Cloth Trade,³ as appears by their late general Letter . . . ; I say, Gentlemen,

¹ Standish, inkstand.

² The Consultation of the 26th Feb., 1718, is here described, when Collet was President ; Hastings, Horden, Cooke, Fowke, Benyon, Emmerson, and Turton formed the Council, leaving one vacancy ; and Draper was Secretary.

³ The appointment was proposed to the Company by John Elwick, a Director, on the ground that his brother, Nathaniel, had been 'twice Supracargo to China, and . . . extraordinarily skill'd in Callicoes' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xlvii., 24th Dec., 1717). The motion was carried on the 3rd Jan., 1718.

That whereas the H[on]ble C[our]t of D[irecto]rs have been pleased in the said Letter to repose such an extraordinary Confidence in me as to leave it to my self solely to place him in such particular Station as I shall, in my Conscience, think him best qualified for; In order therefore to a faithful Execution and Discharge of that great Trust, . . . I do . . . hereby Order and Appoint that Mr. N[athanie]l El[wic]k he admitted to this Board as third of Council and Warehouse-keeper, and that he be immediately sent for to take his Place accordingly."

'C[ounci]l. Bow respectfully.

'S[ecretar]y. Minutes hastily.

'Here the Chubdar (or black Gentleman Usher) is sent for in, and order'd to dispatch Peons away in all haste to Mr. El[wic]k to acquaint him that the P[residen]t and C[ounci]l require his Attendance forthwith.

'Here the Chubdar makes his Obeisance to the Board with a Trisalam, according to the grand Persian manner, pronouncing these Words,

"O Sahoib Salamud, Mahor Bollum, Salamud."¹

'He then withdraws, and dispatches away the Message order'd; but Mr. El[wic]k, being (as good Fortune would have it) no further off than the next Room (merely by Accident), was introduced much sooner than some there expected; and appearing (respectfully) before the Board to know their Commands, the P[residen]t acquainted him with the great Favour the Company had thought fit (in consideration of his extraordinary Qualifications) to bestow upon him; but that they having left it (in his single Breast) to fix him in such Station as he should think proper, he had summoned him thither to pronounce him (absolutely) third of C[ounci]l and Warehouse-keeper, and to order him to take his Seat at the Board accordingly; which he, without much hesitation or demurr, comply'd with.

'So far my Farce hath succeeded pretty well as to the Narrative part; the Fallacy begins (now) to appear a little; or (according to M^r. Bays) the Plot thickens.'

The author next quotes a separate letter to Collet, apparently from the Chairman of the Court of Directors (Josias Wordsworth), in which the President, while nominally given discretion as to Elwick's posting, is virtually enjoined to nominate him Third Member. The letter concludes, 'This is all we have been able to do for Mr. El[wic]k at present; if H[orde]n² grumbles, let him know that he had gone the last Year, had not I stood his Friend and sav'd him.' The author adds, 'Here ends my Farce; *Tu, amice, vale et plaude.*'

The text of the work begins as follows :—

'After having expos'd to publick View an Advertisement promising the Exhibition of a Monster lately brought from the East Indies; it will doubtless

¹ Mr. William Irvine suggested that these words perhaps stand for *Ai Şahib, salāmat! Muḥarib 'ālam, salāmat!* They may be rendered, 'All hail, Master! Hail, Warrior of the world!'

² Richard Horden was then Third Member.



be expected from me that I should either gratify the world with a Sight of this strange Creature, or give some substantial Reasons for not doing it

'A Copy of the publick printed Bill :—

'Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.'

'This is to inform the Curious That there is lately arriv'd from the East Indies a most surprizing Monster, above 17 Hands in height ; he was taken on the Coast of Coromandel, near a place called Mad-ass-apatam, where he had lived in a Wood for some Time, and (in a Manner) reign'd King of the Beasts. . . . Those who know him best agree to name him from the Creature he nearest in some Points resembles, the monstrous Indian Elk. Farther Particulars concerning the Brute may be had at the Jerusalem Coffee-House in Exchange Alley in London ; and he is to be seen from Ten to Six every Day, besides Sundays, at his Den in St. Mary-Ax.'

The author next alludes to Elwick's suspension for 'Ignorance in his Business, Indolence in the Care of it, and Insolence to his Superiors,' and to the final outcome in the dismissal of Hastings, who was 'flung most unjustly into the Hands of a common Goaler,' his illness, and his dying charge to the author to vindicate his character :—

'Leaning (as I was) one Evening on his Chair, and watching with silent Sorrow o'er his tedious Hours of unkind Illness, he rais'd at once his awful, venerable Head ; his languid Eyes he fix'd, with steadfastness unusual, on mine ; reach'd forth that friendly Hand which he had exercis'd so frequently in Offices of Aid and Kindness ; with it he grasp'd my own, press'd it, and charg'd me, in the most sad and solemn Tone of Voice (if Providence preserv'd my Life) to do him Justice. I bow'd, obey'd, and then ensued the everlasting Pause.'

Then follows a copy of a letter from Hastings to the Court of Directors, written in November, 1721, in which the ex-Governor protests against the treatment meted out to him. It concludes thus :—

"I shall now reply to your Letter, and let you know that I could not reasonably or lawfully proceed in the Method you prescrib'd against Mr. Col[le]t, tho' he had been upon the Place, because some of the best Lawyers in England advised me to the contrary ; nor could I condescend to carry the Government from the Council Table into the Court, or encourage the Blacks to insult our Nation with their lawless Power. But that dirty work is doing now with a Witness. The Fort is fill'd with Black Knaves of all Casts, and a Gentleman is asham'd to walk the Streets ; Shop-keepers, Shoe-makers and Tailors are bringing in their Bills, which they pretend were not duly paid some Years ago ; and if Mr. D[rak]e¹ was not skreen'd behind these Laws by Preferment, he should pay ten Times more than any Man I know in the place.

¹ George Drake, dismissed from the post of Steward, had just been elevated to the Council by order of the Directors.



I have now slav'd in your Service One and Twenty Years, and run a continual Hazard of my Life between Three and Four, to defend your Settlement at Viz-patam; for which I was once to be rewarded with this Government after Mr. Har[riso]n, but good Sir —¹ made F[aucet]'t's vile false Story a Handle to put me by my Right; and now Complaints and Informations are trump'd up to ruin me in my Character and Fortune; of which you shall have a more plain Account if I live to return to my Country; but your ill Treatment and a long Sickness make that Life doubtful; yet I hope some Friend will live to sue for Justice, being I am, Sirs, Your most injur'd Servant,

“ F[RANCI]s H[ASTIN]GS.

“ F[or]t St. G[eorg]e,

“ Nov. the —, 1721.”

The author next transcribes the document which Elwick denounced in February, 1722, as ‘a scandalous paper’ drawn up by Draper. Horden and Wendey, it may be remembered, certified that Hastings, when he signed it, was not in a condition to understand its purport:—

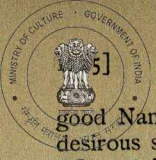
“ *A Power of Prosecution executed by F[ranci]s H[asting]s, Esqr., empowering J[oshu]a D[rape]r and Th[oma]s W[ende]y, his Executors, to recover Damages on his Account.*

“ To Mr. J[oh]n H[asting]s, Esq., My dear Brother and nearest Relation in the World, To my Ex[ecuto]rs Named in my last Will and Testament, and to all Mankind in general,

“ Be it known that I, F[ranci]s H[asting]s, having for some Time past been Governour of the U[nite]d E[as]t I[n]di]a C[ompan]y's F[or]t of St. G[eorg]e in the E[as]t I[n]die]s, and having, on the 15th of October last, been dismiss'd by the said U[nite]d C[ompan]y in a most illegal and inhuman Manner, without having any the least Opportunity to vindicate my self from the Accusations whereupon they so dismiss'd me; and having also, at the Time afore-mentioned, been by the said U[nite]d C[ompan]y entirely abandon'd, and thrown into the Hands and Power of N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esq., G[overnou]r, &c. Council, who then took poossession of the Government from me and my Council; and having furthermore forthwith been by the said N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esq., G[overnou]r, &c. Council left destitute of all manner of Protection, andicast into the Hands of C[atesb]y O[adha]m, Esq., M[ayo]r, &c. Al[derme]n of this Place, who have deliver'd me over to the lawless and merciless Power of the Natives to be arrested, thrown into Prison, impeach'd, arraign'd, and treated in a most barbarous Manner by them; in which Prison I now continue under the Charge of the common Goaler.

“ And being now near the Approach of Death, occasion'd by such barbarous Usage, do request of the Persons to whom this is directed that, although I do heartily forgive my said Enemies, they will nevertheless, after my Decease, vindicate my Reputation to the World, and clear my Character of the several vile Aspersions thrown upon me by malicious Men in order to destroy my

¹ Perhaps Sir Robert Child, who was Chairman of the Court of Directors shortly before Harrison left India.



good Name and Reputation, which, though my Body may be dead, I am very desirous should remain alive to Posterity. And therefore I do order that the E[xecuto]rs aforesaid nam'd in my Will shall have full and ample Power and Authority, at the Expence and Charge of any part of my Estate, to sue for, implead and recover just and ample Reparation and Amends for all the Injuries said to be sustain'd, or which I may hereafter sustain, from the said U[nite]d E[as]t I[ndi]a C[ompan]y, or the said N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esq^r, G[overnou]r, &c. C[ounci]l of F[or]t St. G[eorg]e aforesaid, or the said C[atesb]y O[adha]m, Esq^r, M[ayo]r, &c. A[lderme]n of F[or]t St. G[eorg]e and City of M[adra]ss.

“ F[RANCI]s H[ASTING]s.

“ 28th Nov., 1721.

“ Sign'd, seal'd and deliver'd (where no stamp Paper is to be had) in the presence of us T[homa]s C[ook]e, W[illia]m W[arde]n, A[braha]m O[tghe]r, J[oseph] G[oldfin]ch,¹ J[ame]s T[obbi]n, W[illia]m Z[inza]n, R[ichar]d D[eakin]s,² F[rance]s J[ohnso]n.”

The following certificate relates to Hastings' arrest :—

“ We whose Names are under-written do hereby testify, and are ready upon our Oaths to declare, that F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esq^r, late P[residen]t and G[overnou]r of F[or]t St. G[eorg]e, was Arrested on the 23rd Day of November 1721, at the Garden-house of Mr. R[ichar]d H[orde]n, about a Mile or two distant from the Town of M[adra]ss,³ by H[enr]y M[edhur]st, Court S[ergean]t, who then served a Warrant on the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esq^r, sign'd by C[atesb]y O[adha]m, Esq^r, M[ayo]r ; That the said H[enr]y M[edhur]st continued at the Garden all that Day and the next Night waiting for Bail, and at last, upon his departure, delivered the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esq^r, to the Care of T[homa]s T[ippin]g, M[arsha]ll, who committed him to the Custody of his two Servants N—a and T—a, and then went away. We do further Testify That the said two Persons, named N—a and T—a, Servants to the Marshall aforesaid, did remain with the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esq^r, (whose prisoner he was) from the said 23rd of November 1721 till the 15th of December following, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esq^r, expired. Given under our Hands this Ninth of April 1722 on Board Ship Marlborough at Sea. J[OSHUA] D[RAP]E[R], W[ILLIA]M Z[INZA]N, R[ICHAR]D D[EAKIN]S, T[HOMA]S N[EWTON], W[ILLIA]M LL[OY]D.”

In concluding, the author states that he himself was dismissed the service and ordered home. The Government, becoming apprehensive of his future action in England, afterwards pressed

¹ The names of William Warden, Abraham Otgher, and Joseph Goldfinch, which have been supplied by Miss Sainsbury, are almost certainly those of the persons indicated. Warden was commander of the Company's ship *King George*. Otgher and Goldfinch were recently arrived Writers, appointed to Bengal and Madras respectively, who came out together in the *Monmouth* in 1721. Otgher was detained at Madras, and did not reach Calcutta till the end of March, 1722.

² Tobbin, Zinzan, and Deakins were retainers of Hastings.

³ Horden's garden-house was situated in Egmore.



him in vain to stay. Then 'it was contrived that my Co-partner in the formal legal Trust should, some three Nights before the Ships were to depart, break suddenly into a Rage with me. . . , that he should call me (under the indisputable Sanction of a Priestly Gown) Names Opprobrious and Grating to a Gentleman's Ear. . . .¹ The Consequence of this concerted Quarrel was a quaint Demand next Morning early made, to send this Man in Sacerdotal Life, unskilled in Mercantile Affairs, the Papers, Books, etc., of the unhappy Gentleman deceas'd.' The author refused compliance, and boarded his ship. An attempt being made to serve a warrant of arrest, he manned and armed the pinnace and put out to sea, returning to the ship at nightfall. Next day the *Marlborough* sailed, and in due course reached England, where 'my natural Love and Affection for the Army and the Gentlemen of that Honourable Profession were the real Motives of my desiring them to receive me in their Number as one who might, by Time and Pains, be worthy to be named among them.'

¹ The difference between Wendey and Draper was due to the latter's transfer of his Trust to George Tullie. (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 29th Jan., 172½.)



CHAPTER XVI

1725—1730

GOVERNOR JAMES MACRAE—FORTIFICATIONS AND
BUILDINGS—ARMENIANS AND JEWS

GOVERNOR JAMES MACRAE.

LITTLE is known of Macrae's early history. He was born in Ayrshire about 1677 of humble parents, went to sea at the age of fifteen, and ultimately entered the East India Company's marine service. The first reference to him which has been traced in the Fort St. George records is of 1722. The ship *Nightingale*, Captain William Mackett, sailed from England for Madras in February of that year with several passengers, among whom were Richard Higginson, son of a former Governor,¹ and his mother. According to her Charter Party, the ship was 'free between Decks, and jocund, and fit to sail through the Seas, and capable to defend her self,' but these excellences little availed her when she encountered a severe storm off the Cape. Together with two other Company's ships, the *Chandos* and *Addison*, she was driven ashore, and all three vessels were wrecked. On the 20th June, 1722, Capt. Mackett addressed a letter from 'Cape bona Esprance' to Governor Elwick, reporting the disaster, and intimating that he had associated with himself 'Capt. James Mcrae,' Capt. Thomas Gilbert, and Mr. Richard Higginson to concert measures for salving the Company's goods. From this it is inferred that Macrae and Gilbert were the commanders of the other two stranded ships.²

The Directors next appointed Macrae Supervisor of the West

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 16th Feb., 1721 [1722]. Richard Higginson was entertained as a Junior Merchant in recognition of the services of his father, Nathaniel.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv., 20th June, 1722.



Coast, with orders to regulate the settlement, and then proceed to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor in view to succeeding Elwick at Madras. Macrae reached Fort Marlborough in February, and unravelled the tangled affairs of the Deputy Governor, Mr. Joseph Walsh. He thence came straight to Fort St. George,¹ and took his seat as Second of Council on the 8th September. Elwick resigned the Presidential chair to Macrae on the 15th January, 1725, and sailed for England two days later in the *Heathcote*.

Macrae proved himself a capable commercial Governor. The period of his rule was profoundly peaceful. Neither external troubles nor internal dissensions disturbed the steady current of affairs. The most notable event of his administration was the arrival of a new Charter and the adoption of its provisions.

On the 14th May, 1730, when Macrae had more than completed the usual five years of office, Mr. George Morton Pitt, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, appeared unexpectedly at Madras with the Company's commission constituting him President and Governor, 'and he was accordingly received with respect and submission.' Macrae retired to the Garden house, where he drew a diet allowance of Pags. 150 per month till his departure for Europe in the following January.² Directly he left office, complaints streamed in against his dubash Gooda Anconah (Gūdā Ankaṇṇa). The ex-President was himself charged in only one case, which was brought by two men named Gopāl and Guruvappa. They stated that, having been concerned some years before in the sale of a large diamond, they were summoned before the Governor:—

Petition of Gopāl and Guruvappa.

'The next day, about nine in the morning, we were both Carried to the Governours Gardenhouse, under charge of Changala Raya with other Talliars, where were present Anconah, Ball Chettee [&c], . . . the first of whom . . . introduced us to the Governour, who, upon our entrance, rose up from his Chair and walked across the room, expressing much passion, and, as it was represented to us by the said Anconah his dubashe, Threatened us with the pillory and Cutting off our ears for presuming to Carry any Goods so clandestinely about Town, when we knew it was our duty to bring them to him first as our Governour

'We . . . at length Compromised the matter for the sum of one Thousand

¹ *P.C.*, vol. liv., 18th Jan., 10th May, and 3rd Sept., 1724.

² *P.C.*, vol. lx., 7th Aug., 1730; *P. to Eng.*, vol. viii., 19th Jan., 1731.



CSL

Harrison

G. M. Pitt

Joseph Collet

Rich. Benson

Ed. Loring

W. Mott

W. L. Wick
J. A. Maerue

Stringer Lawrence

Rich. Jones



pagodas to be paid to the Governour. . . . This money we took with us up Stairs, and gave the bag into Anconah's hands, who before us and in the presence of Ball Chittee . . . put it into the hands of the Governour, who then sat smocking on a Couch in the room; who accordingly took the bag, and looking all round to see if anyone observed, put it under the pillow of the Couch. . . . Anconah Attacked us next, and saying he had Interposed very earnestly in our favour or we should surely have Lost our ears, told us he expected some acknowledgement for his trouble. . . . MAUCAW GOPAULOO, GARLAWPAWTEE GRUAPAH.¹ (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 2nd June, 1730.)

The complaints were referred to the Mayor's Court. The history of the original transaction will be found in the Consultation of the 3rd April, 1727,² whence it appears that Gopāl and Guruvappa cheated the simple countryman who was the real owner of the diamond by having the gem surreptitiously cut, selling it without his knowledge, and paying him only a fraction of the price realized. They were punished by the Governor, and their subsequent accusation of Macrae was probably unfounded.

The complaints against Ankaṇṇa occupy some fifty pages of the Consultation book. The Dubash was ultimately condemned in a fine of Pags. 20,000, to be laid out in grain for distribution to the poor during the prevailing scarcity.

Macrae carried home a substantial fortune of over £100,000, with which he purchased several estates in Scotland. He resided at Orangefield near Monkton in Ayrshire. Being unmarried, he sought out and adopted the grandchildren of a connexion named Hew Maguire, who had befriended him in his youth. The girls were liberally dowered, and all made good marriages. Macrae died at Orangefield in July, 1744, and was buried in Monkton churchyard.

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

Macrae commenced his rule by placing the fortifications and buildings in good order.³ In the White Town repairs were carried out on the north rampart and east wall, on 'Caldera Point and York point,' on Plymouth Battery, and on the godowns under the curtain 'between Fishing point and Middlegate,' and near 'Marbrô point'; and on the three 'Sally Ports,' by which term posterns seem to be meant, near 'York point, St. Thomas's point

¹ Marakkāya Gopālu and Karālapāti Guruvappa.

² Quoted by Wheeler.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lv. to vol. lvii., *passim*.

and Gloucester point.¹ The renovations included the magazines under the north and south ramparts by York Point and St. Thomas Gate, and on the 'Turnpikes' or chevaux de frise of the garrison; while platforms were made for the guns at the Choultry and Middle Gates.

In the Black Town repair was done to the rampart from 'the round Point² to Tom Clark's Gate,' and from Tom Clarke's Gate to the Fleet Point,³ as well as to the Block House by the sea. As to the outworks, the five new Choultries and Block House⁴ were reported to be in good order, but 'Egmore Fort' required reparation.

Among the buildings, the Garden house, the Choultry prisons, the 'Newhouse and Hospital, the Sorting Godown,' and in the Fort Square the 'Great house, Gunroom, Armory and Gold Mint' were all put in order, and the 'Umbrellas' or window shades of the Consultation room and quarters were renewed.

Two new buildings of importance were put in hand, the Silver Mint and Powder Factory. The Mint was originally at the south end of the range of barracks called Newhouse. About 1711 it was transferred to ground close to the river wall by Gloucester Point, where a private house was acquired to form the nucleus of the buildings. This mint had been for some years in a decaying condition when, in 1722, the Government proposed its reconstruction. The Directors withheld sanction for three years, but the work was ultimately put in hand and finished about the end of 1727. A house was built on the south part of the same site, the lower floor of which was designed for storing and weighing the precious metal, and the upper as quarters for the Assay-master. The rest of the ground was devoted to workshops for the melters, refiners, and coiners. The north-west salient of the White Town was afterwards known as Mint Bastion, a name it still retains.

To the construction of the new Powder House numerous references are made. The old factory is shown on Thomas

¹ Both the old and new names of the bastions were in use, for Caldera Point = Gloucester Point, Fishing Point = York Point, and St. Thomas Point = Marlborough Point.

² The round Point—i.e., Queen's Point. The old Round Point of White Town was demolished in 1719.

³ Fleet Point is apparently identical with New Point, near the sea.

⁴ There were two Blockhouses by the sea, one terminating Black Town Wall, and the other at the end of the line of Choultries.

Pitt's map in the north-east corner of the Island's then conformation, about 400 yards west of the Fort House and 300 yards south of Queen's Point. In 1726 the Directors sanctioned its demolition and the erection of a new building, preferably on the old foundations :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The old Powder House was many years since built upon raised ground, has a tank in the midst of it, and several good conveniences for the business, but now gone to decay, the Walls Crack'd and bricks Moulder'd away, being at first built but slightly. We are told That the foundations are strong, and it will Cost more Mony than We are willing to bestow If it be remov'd to another place and new ground . . . , whereas if only what is so decay'd be pulled down, and the old Foundations preserv'd, and what built on them be made substantial, a strong good Godown made for putting the finish'd powder into, and another for the petre, and three or four large Chimneys for Furnaces, the other places where the Ingredients are beat and the Compositions prepar'd may be kept as they are. Consider this well, and do as you think most fit for our real Service.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 7th Jan., 1728 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

The Government seem to have exercised the discretion granted them, and to have built the new structure some distance to the southward on the site marked 'Magazine' in the map of 1733. The old factory is shown on the same map as the 'Granary,' by which term a Powder Grainery¹ is understood, for the building was certainly in use for powder-making down to 1733, and probably till 1738. The old Powder House lay between the two roads which led from the Island Bridge to Triplicane Bridge and Garden Bridge respectively. The new buildings were begun in 1728,² and three years later the Directors were grumbling at the heavy outlay :— 'We observe your new Powder House Cost us Pags. 4,419-1-4, which is a very large Sum of Money for such a building. You say it is Substantial and good. It had need to be so, for the Old one, that has stood many years, did not Cost us half the Money.'³ When two more years had passed, and the new buildings were nearly if not quite finished, Roach, Burton, and Rous say in their survey report, to be quoted later, that 'the Godowns for Making

¹ This expression is used in Apperley's plan of 1749, though in connexion with a different building. It is true, however, that the Paymaster was ordered in 1730 to prepare a plan and estimate of a *Grain Godown* or Banksall, but the situation of the building is not mentioned. (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 16th July, 1730.)

² *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 19th Jan., 1728 $\frac{1}{2}$.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., 1731.

Gunpowder on the Island are intirely decay'd, but there being an Order of Council Already for making another close to the new Powder house,¹ we have Omitted taking any further Account of them.' The old factory was still in operation in 1733:—'Our Powder House is intirely finished, and the Magazine is Chunaming: the Account of the Cost of the latter, with a Plan, shall be sent in January when it is Compleated. We still use the Old house for making Powder, Having been busily employed in finishing the Magazine.'² Within five years another change was made, and the mills were re-erected in the west corner of the Island.

Imaginative ciceroni point to more than one secluded nook in Fort St. George as the probable position of the original gaol. In point of fact there existed three several prisons attached to the three Courts of Justice, and the records of Macrae's period permit of their location being approximately assigned. In 1729 the Land Customer reported that 'some of the Choultry prisons are out of repair.'³ To this place of confinement offenders were committed by the Choultry Court, and they were guarded by the Peddanaigue's talliards. The prisons appear to have been adjacent to the Court in the Choultry Street of Black Town. The Mayor's Court gaol was at the Town Hall, situated on the east side of St. Thomas Street, nearly opposite St. Mary's Church. It comprised six cells, of which three were under the Hall, and other three at the back or east side of that building. In 1733 the Registrar of the Mayor's Court wrote as follows regarding their condition:—'I am Orderd by the Honble the Mayors court to Represent to Your Honour, &c., that . . . the Prisons under the Town Hall are in so Ruinous a Condition that they are become very insecure, and that Several Repairs are wanted to the Town Hall it self, that work not having been well Perform'd under the Direction of Mr. Newcomb in the year 1728.'⁴

Finally there were the 'Town prisons' under the northern rampart of the White Town, to which offenders were committed by the President and Council sitting as a Superior Court or Appeal

¹ The new factory, which included a Magazine, was situated 500 yards south of the old Powder House.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. vi., 1st Dec., 1733.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 12th Aug., 1729.

⁴ Letter to Government from 'John Stratton, Register.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 28th Feb., 1733.)



Court. This gaol, containing six cells, is identified with the 'Cockhouse' to which reference has frequently been made¹ :—

Report of the Paymaster.

'Pursuant to your Honour's, &c., orders of the 30th past, I have been with the Marshall and Head Workmen to view the Arched prisons under the North Rampart, which are Six, and I found the Doors, windows and pavements in so Slight a Condition that it is no great difficulty for a man to make his way out. Two of them, wherein are Two Lunaticks, the pavements are all dug up and holes made in the walls, notwithstanding they are Iron Fettered Hands and Feet; and another wherein has been a person several years for murder told me, If he had a mind to break through He could easily do it. To strengthen and Secure which We computed it would take up the following Particulars,—Five of the said prisons being Twenty two feet long and eleven feet Broad, and one of eleven feet and Twelve feet . . . RANDALL FOWKE.' (P.C., vol. lvi., 9th May, 1726.)

Other works undertaken were the clearance of fourteen tanks used by the Washers of the Company's cloth in Peddanaikpetta, the provision of an additional washing-place in Triplicane, and the construction of a drainage channel 'from the Choultry Gate to the river.'²

Responsibility for the building and maintenance of all civil works lay with Mr. Stephen Newcome, who, 'having a tolerable knowledge of Building,' was appointed Surveyor of Works in August, 1726, on five pagodas a month. Newcome was a man of inventive turn. He erected for the Company a large waterlift driven by wind power at Fort St. David, and designed a private saw-mill and power-station for Madras, for which Government granted him a lease of ground on the beach north of the White Town for twenty-one years. The following is Newcome's application :—

Letter from Mr. Stephen Newcome.

'Having obsarved these Several years past the Difficulties of getting Timbers and planks sawed, there being but few Sawyers, and they so very unskillfull of their Business that the Carpenters are generally obliged to dubb³ after them, and do often hew away Timber rather than be at the expence of imploying 'em, to the great loss of Timber and expence of Coolyhire; to prevent which Inconveniences, if your Honour, &c., will please to permitt me to sett up a

¹ The earliest *Cockhouse*, however, must have been within the Inner Fort.

² P.C., vol. lxi., 11th Jan., 1731. In *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732], it is referred to as running 'from the Choultry to the River,' thus affording confirmation of the view that the Choultry was near the Choultry Gate.

³ To dubb, to bring to an even surface with the adze.



Sawing mill, it will not only save very considerably in Timber and Cooleyhire, but with Great expedition Square and Cutt any Timber into joyces or planks of any Thickness desired with great Dexterity and exactness. And I humbly request your Honour, &c., will please to grant me a Lease, on the useall Terms leases have been granted already, of a peece of Ground Situated by the Seaside to the North of the Butchar's shambles; the nearest part Laying eighty foot from the Fort Walls, to be an enclosure for the said mill and necessary Sheds belonging to it, of Fifty foot broad from the backside of the houses to the Seaside, and in Length one hundred and twenty ffeet alongshore, it being my intention to make it performe some other Sarvices besides sawing, as I find it may answer its proffitts and advantage to this place. STEPHEN NEWCOME.
(P.C., vol. lvi., 26th Dec., 1726.)

Whether the saw-mill was actually erected does not appear: the waterlift at St. David's was not a pronounced success. In 1729 Newcome relieved Nicholas Morse as Deputy Governor at Bencoolen. He lost his life two years later during his return voyage on the ship *George*.¹

In 1725 the Mayor, Mr. James Hubbard, stated that the Corporation were rebuilding Armenian Bridge, and were about to improve the Island by planting a new hedge round it and filling up its swamps. He represented that the 'Company had been pleas'd to give the Town Conicoplys duty to them for ever towards beautifying the Town and making necessary and usefull buildings.' After settling the outstanding charges for the new Hospital and Triplicane Bridge, the Government handed over the balance to the Mayor.² The Town Conicoply's Duty, however, proved all inadequate to the function required of it, and the Government were generally obliged to provide much of the money needed for various public works, such as the rebuilding of the 'Metta Bridge'³ in 1728, the paving with brick of the footways of the White Town, and the reparation of damage done to the Paddy Banksall, Triplicane Bridge, and the avenues of trees on the Island by a storm in 1729. The Garden Bridge, it appears, consisted of masonry arches, while Egmore Bridge was rebuilt of timber with brick abutments founded on eighteen wells of '108 Earthen hoops.'

Father Thomas, the head of the Capuchin mission, obtained sanction to rebuild, with due regard to appearance, the quarters attached to St. Andrew's Church.

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxiv., 28th Aug., 1732, and vol. xxxvii., 29th Jan., 1733 [1734].

² *P.C.*, vol. lv., 13th April, 1725.

³ The *Metta Bridge*, Egmore Bridge.

*Petition of the Capuchin Missionaries.*

'Sheweth That your Petitioners, who have the Honour and Happiness to be Established in this city under the Auspicious protection of the Honble Company and your most favourable Government, humbly request your Honour's and the Gentlemen of Councils permission to rebuild the Cells and Apartments belonging to our Church, They being very old and ready to fall ; which we design to do after the model in Tuscany answerable to that of your Hospital and Guard-house. Your Condescension to this will entail an everlasting obligation on FR. THOMAS, CAP. M. AP.' (P.C., vol. lx., 14th Feb., 1738.)

ARMENIANS AND JEWS.

The Armenian and Jewish inhabitants came into greater prominence at this period. In 1724 the President observed that the Armenian merchants 'had for a long time behaved themselves in a very insolent haughty manner,' notwithstanding their enjoyment of exceptional privileges. Commerce with Manila was entirely in their hands, and they were blamed for carrying their merchandise from Europe in Danish bottoms, and consigning their oriental goods to Pondicherry and other foreign ports in India.

A member of the community named Petrus Usan, who is first alluded to in 1724 as 'Corderjee Petrus, an Armenian lately arrived from Manilha and an inhabitant of this place,' left his mark on Madras. At his own expense he rebuilt the great Marmalong¹ Bridge, which spans the Adyar River between Madras and the Mount. One of the two tall pillars which flank the south approach bears a stone tablet with the following inscription in raised letters:—HUNC PONTEM EDIFICARI JUSSIT PRO BONO PUBLICO COJA PETRUS USAN, NATIONE ARMENI, ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXXVI. Usan also rebuilt the long flight of inclined planes and steps which conducts the pilgrim to the ancient church on the summit of St. Thomas's Mount. His sympathies with the Roman Church, evinced by this and later actions, seem to have been shared by his compatriots. Built into the east wall of the Church of St. Rita, which stands at the south end of San Thomé's principal street, is a stone inscribed, in Armenian characters, with words signifying *In Memory of the Armenian Nation, 1729*. It is conjectured that the event commemorated was the opening of the

¹ Marmalong, from Māmbalam, the name of a village near Saidapett, about 5 miles from Madras towards the Mount.

grave of St. Thomas for the veneration of the faithful, which took place on the 29th April, 1729.¹ Another inscription in Portuguese on the same church shows that the edifice was partly rebuilt in 1740.

In 1728 'Coja Petrose Uscaïn' was granted a ninety-nine years' lease of 'the Company's House near the Choultry Gate,' a structure which had been built many years before as quarters for the Land Customer.² Major Roach, who, as Paymaster, reported on the building, refers to it as the 'Lodgings at the Choultry,' thus confirming our belief that the Choultry stood just outside the Choultry Gate of the White Town. Further reference to Uscaïn will be made in the sequel.

The Jews were chiefly engaged in the diamond trade, in which a large business was done. They operated partly on their own account, and partly in conjunction with Hebrew traders in London, who exported coral, for which there was great demand in Madras. The name *Coral Merchants Street* still survives in Georgetown. The trade was practised under peculiar conditions. Coral in beads or in the rough was exported from England by licensed merchants under a bond that the sale proceeds should be expended solely in the purchase of 'Diamonds or Diamond Boart,'³ which must be despatched within twelve months by Company's ship to London, and there 'brought into the Treasury of the said United Company in order to be Sold at the said Company's Candle.' Silver might be dealt with like coral, and it appears that a single ship, the *Lynn*, carried out upwards of £4,000 worth of silver and £2,000 worth of coral consigned by the five firms, Abraham Mendes, Abraham Franks, Moses Julian, Abraham and Jacob Franco, and John Baptista Mayer, to Fort St. George.⁴ The principal merchants in Madras were Marcus Moses, Abraham Salomons, and Aaron Franks.

¹ *India Orientalis Christiana*, Fra Paolino San Bartolomeo.

² P.C., vol. lviii., 23rd Sept. and 14th Oct., 1728.

³ *Diamond Boart*. Coarse diamonds, or diamond chips unsuitable for jewellery.

⁴ P. from Eng., vol. xxvi., cir. 1725.



CHAPTER XVII

1725—1730

GARDENS AND LANDS—CHARTER OF GEORGE I.—COMPANY'S SERVANTS

GARDENS AND LANDS.

ALL the Madras villages were at this period farmed to renters. The 'Three old Towns' of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were let to Ponkala Krishna and two others at Pags. 1,450 per annum. The 'Five new Villages' were held by one 'Mahau-dew' (Mahādeva), but in consequence of complaints of his tyranny towards the inhabitants his cowl was withdrawn. This man was also renter of the *Company's Old Garden* down to March, 1725, when he was turned out for not fulfilling the terms of his agreement. The garden was then leased to Ponkala Krishna at Pags. 351.¹ Mahādeva complained of Sunku Rāma.² He alleged that when his cowl for the Old Garden was renewed by Governor Collet in 1717 at an enhanced rate of Pags. 150, he and his ancestors³ had occupied the ground for seventy years, *i.e.*, since 1647, and that Sunku Rāma, when in power, had not only withheld the new lease, but exacted a large sum of money for himself. The Council ordered both men to take their oaths regarding these allegations. Sunku Rāma, refusing, was compelled to refund the amount extorted, and pay a fine in addition. Mahādeva's oath was taken as follows :—

'Form of an oath for Mahadew.

'You are first to wash your body in the Tank at Triplicane, and with a garland about your neck you are to go to the Pagoda and swear that Sunca

¹ The lease was subsequently restored to Mahādeva.

² *P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th May, 1725.

³ In a later petition of December, 1730, Mahādeva implies that his father, 'Bolue,' was the first to lay out and rent the garden.



Rama obliged you to pay him Pagodas 446 . . . In Confirmation of all which you are to put out the Lamps according to Custom.' (P.C., vol. lv., 4th May, 1725.)

We are able to glean some facts also relating to the early history of the ground commonly known as *Maria Pois's Garden*, 'scituated near Seignor Manuch's Garden.' The widow Pois submitted a petition¹ in 1725 representing that, 'a few Years after the Honble Companys Settlement here, a great many Inhabitants and your Petitioners Grandfather planted Gardens without any title thereto from the President and Council.' In some cases, she said, these lands are still retained by descendants; in others they have been sold for building. Her grandfather was promised a cowle, but he died without receiving it. His son and successor, 'being soft and illiterate,' obtained a grant for thirty-one years only. Had he abstained from worrying the President and Council for a cowle, he might, like others, have enjoyed the land in perpetuity. Maria Pois, who discovered these facts only after the lease expired, had 'built a house, planted trees, and brought the Garden to a vast perfection.' She laid the case before the President of the time, who granted her a lease,² which had from time to time been renewed, at Pags. 40 per annum. Learning that the house and land are now to be 'put up at Outcry to rent,' she begs to continue in occupation at the old rate.

Macrae turned a deaf ear to this entreaty. The lease was put up to auction and knocked down to Sebastian Chanda at Pags. 70 per annum. The property, however, did not pass out of the family, for it appears, from a petition of later date, that Sebastian Chanda was the widow's brother. In applying for an abatement of rent on account of a storm, he mentions³ that his grandfather, Torre Moorteapah (Dorai Mūrtiyappa), originally planted the garden. The land descended to the latter's son, who was the petitioner's father, and Sebastian himself occupied it until 1705, when the Company resumed possession. The Government afterwards leased the garden to the petitioner, at first for Pags. 40 and afterwards for Pags. 70. From this statement it is clear that Sebastian and his sister acted together as one person. In 1731

¹ P.C., vol. lv., 30th March, 1725.

² The lease was given in 1706 by Governor Thomas Pitt.

³ P.C., vol. lx., 21st Dec., 1730.



Sebastian Chanda was unable to pay his rent, and a new cowle was granted to one Parasu Rāma at Pags. 60.¹

A petition was also received from 'Veahsum Braminy' (Vyāsam Brāhman),² the renter of the *Company's Paddy Fields*. Vyāsam stated³ that 'a Certain track of Land belonging to the Company, lying out from Tom Clark's Gate up to the Batteries, together with another track lying along the River from Coomerapollum⁴ towards Trivatore, commonly known by the Name of the Company's Paddy fields,' had been let to Paupa Braminy at Pags. 710, the previous rent having been only Pags. 40. By this lease the renter lost heavily. Although the lands are 'called Paddy fields, yet a very Small part thereof is fit for that Use, and therefore the rest hath for many Years been Converted into Salt Pans.'⁵ The manufacture of salt elsewhere by the inhabitants of Tandore and Trivatore has of late largely increased, and the product is sold at a lower rate than the petitioner can profitably fix for his own salt. He accordingly asks that free export be forbidden, that the Peddanaigue be directed to watch his stock as formerly, and that he, like his father, may 'wear the Roundel.'

The Government were unable to comply with these requests, and transferred the lease at the existing rate to one 'Devaroyah Moodelaire' (Devarāya Mudaliyār). In the following year Devarāya complained that Padre Thomas, whose garden⁶ was adjacent to a Company's tank, the water of which had always been available for the paddy fields, had moved his fence so as to deprive the petitioner of water. Macrae ordered an enquiry, but the report and decision are not entered.

Hendrik Johnson, the Company's Carpenter, represented⁷ that he was greatly in want of space for the conduct of his business, and there being on the Island 'a Spot of ground enclosed with a Brickwall Eastward of the Charity School,' which was originally designed for the storage of the Company's timber, he asks for a lease of it so that he may build a house and sheds there. The

¹ P.C., vol. lxi., 1st Nov., 1731.

² Son of Rāyasam Pāpaiya Brāhman, Company's Dubash.

³ P.C., vol. lviii., 9th April, 1728.

⁴ *Coomerapollum*; probably identical with *Comer Petta*—i.e., Peddanaikpetta.

⁵ Salt-pans by the river are shown on the map of 1733.

⁶ Padre Thomas's Garden, which is mentioned in 1758 during the siege of Madras, appears to have been situated near Manucci's Garden.

⁷ P.C., vol. lv., 16th Sept., 1725.



Government consented to let him have the greater part of the enclosure on a fifty-one years' lease on payment of a lump sum of Pags. 260 and an annual quit rent of Pags. 3, with liberty to renew for a further like period.

Mrs. Elizabeth Higginson, widow of a former Governor of Fort St. George, who accompanied her son, Richard, to Madras in 1722, purchased Mr. Thomas Cooke's house situated on the Island opposite the Company's Garden. In 1731, when the original lease for twenty-one years, granted to Cooke in 1716, had but a short time to run, Mrs. Higginson asked for power to renew. The application being referred home, was granted by the Directors 'in consideration of the good Services we have received from that Family.'¹ The house is shown on George Morton Pitt's map of 1733, as occupied by Mr. George Drake, but it passed into the possession of Capt. Alexander Carvalho, who in 1738 renewed the lease for a period of fifty-one years.² It ultimately became the property of Mr. Noah Casamajor.

At a consultation held in December, 1726, Mr. Joseph Houghton, the Rental General and Scavenger, explained the causes of short collection of Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty. Macrae proposed³ that a Revenue Survey should be made 'of all houses, Tenements, Gardens and Grounds within the extent of the Hon'ble Company's bounds that are not farmed and comprehended under a Cowle from Them, in order to a Better Proportional assessment, and for improving and making more effectual in future the Revenue of Quit Rent and Scavenger's duty.' The proposal was agreed to, and the Council, which then consisted of:—

James Macrae	...	President, Cashkeeper and Mint-master,
Nathaniel Turner	...	Accountant and Export Warehouse-keeper,
John Emmerson	...	Sea Customer and Import Warehousekeeper,
Randall Fowke	...	Paymaster,
James Hubbard	...	Land Customer,

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732].

² *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 4th March, 1737.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th Dec., 1726.



Joseph Houghton .. Storekeeper, Rental General and
Scavenger,
David Pyot ... Secretary,

resolved that all the members except the President should take part in the survey, working in pairs, and dividing the whole area into three parts. The work was delayed by Houghton's sickness and death. Mr. Samuel Hyde was then advanced to Council 'for the merit of his Ancestors who had served the Company both in Peace and War,' and he succeeded to Houghton's duties.¹ The reports, which were handed in on the 27th June, 1727, show that only a small increase of assessment was made.² They throw some light on the topography and condition of the city and suburbs.

Messrs. Turner and Emmerson, who dealt with the eastern half of the Black Town from Choultry Street to the sea, as well as all ground south of the White Town, stated that they found in Triplicane some unassessed gardens 'made out of Sandy Spots of Ground,' but that the inhabitants were 'mostly Braminies maintained by the Merchants, and poor Painters, Gardiners and other Labouring People.' The assessment in east Black Town they left practically unaltered.

Messrs. Fowke and Hubbard examined the western half of the Black Town from Choultry Street to the rampart, together with Muthialpetta and the long stretch of garden ground adjacent to it. They enumerated 628 houses in the city and 1405 in the pettah. Among the inhabitants of the suburb were 'Carpenters, Peons and Coolys, and Great numbers of Beggars and Braminies who live in Straw hutts on the Sand upon Charity.' There were twenty-six gardens 'to the Northward, of this Muteal Pettah, two whereof are under Cowle, vizt. Maria Pois's which pays Pags. 70, and the Companys Garden Pags. 351 per annum.'³ The horticultural area inspected, which included the gardens of Com Chittee (Kāma Chetṭi) and Chinia Mootah (Chinnaiya Mutta), extended along the Pulicat road to *Addison's Garden*,⁴ then the

¹ P.C., vol. lvii., 27th March, 1727. Hyde's death occurred in 1733.

² P.C., vol. lvii., 27th June, 1727.

³ The word 'Northward' probably relates to Black Town, for Maria Pois's and the Company's gardens lay west of the pettah. The Company's was clearly the *Company's Old Garden*.

⁴ Probably so called after Gulston Addison.

property of Sunku Rāma, on one side and *Narrain's Garden* on the other. These were probably near the line of the Choultries.

Mr. Samuel Hyde submitted the remaining report, his colleague, Mr. David Pyot, being dead. Hyde's division comprised the large western suburb of Peddanaikpetta. In raising the assessment by about Pags. 85, the surveyor spoke emphatically of the filthy condition of the streets, the inadequacy of the conservancy arrangements, the dangerous condition of the wells, and the numerous encroachments made on the public highways.

The subsequent orders for the collection of the assessment were so stringent and inelastic that, in 1729, Mr. Charles Peers, who had become Rental General and Scavenger, was moved to expostulate:—

Report of the Rental General.

'The rigorous methods that have been us'd for the receiving this part of the Company's revenue have reduced the bad debts so often complained of almost to nothing . . . I cou'd wish my Concern to prevent the hoñible Company's complaints has not overlooked many real objects of their Charity. I think I have taken no less than a hundred and fifty four doors from the houses ; several apparel, bedding and the like from those who were otherwise unable to pay the Tax imposed on them by the Committee appointed for that purpose. How far this may answer our Hoñible Masters design, or suit the Company's Interest, I must leave to your Honours, &c., determination ; but This must be the case if They will have what They call no bad debts. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lix., 3rd Feb., 1728.)

The amounts collected for the year were:—Quit Rent, Pags. 2,603 ; Scavenger's duty, Pags. 1,116. During the period reviewed, the Rental General had sold the ground of certain inhabitants who were in arrear with their dues. Particulars are given of the property, whence we derive¹ the following names of streets in the Black Town and Pettahs:—

'*Black Town.* Colloway Chetty, Choultry, Le fountain, Seravenna, Kistnama, Mundapa [Streets]

'*Mootal Pettah.* Collastry, Bagalalake, Fleet Point, Parsmulla, Sea Side [Streets]

'*Peddenagues Pettah.* Badria, Sundaramin^a., Gangaram, Baal Chitty, Braminy, Sheverama, Juggamulla, Nullamuttely, Tombee Chitty, Nanapa, Weavers [Streets].'

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 22nd April, 1728.



Europeans seem not infrequently to have acquired houses in the Black Town. In a consultation of 1725¹ the following Bill of Sale of an earlier date is quoted :—

Bill of Sale.

‘ Know all Men by these presents that I, Berry Timapa, for and in Consideration of the sum of eight Hundred and Ten pagodas to me in hand paid by Mr. Richard Horden of Madrass, Merchant, . . . have Bargained and sold . . . unto the said Richard Horden all that my Brick and Terrassed House (commonly called the Looking Glass House) and ground Scituate in Choultry Street in the Black Town, . . . being ninety three feet Square, with a small backside to the Northwest containing in Length Fifteen foot and Breadth Twenty three, To Have and To Hold . . . Dated in Fort St. George the 20th June 1717. BERRY TIMAPA.’

Two petitions from Colecherla Paupiah Braminy (Kolacherla Pāpaiya Brāhman) show that Governor Collet granted administration of the new pagoda in Collet’s Pettah to Virago Braminy (Vira Rāgava Brāhman), who was allowed a small duty on the Madras exports and imports to maintain the temple, which was known as ‘Colleana Verdaraja Swaminee Covela.’² Virago expended his whole estate on the pagoda, and at his death the management passed to the petitioner as his heir. The petitioner asked that his cowle might be transferred to his surviving uncle, Rawsum Paupa Braminy (Rāyasam Pāpaiya Brāhman), and his request was sanctioned.³

Macrae was successful in averting an impending quarrel between the Right and Left hand castes respecting another temple. The Left hand had lately ‘built a pagoda named Catchaliswar in a Garden formerly belonging to Collaway Chitty’ in Muthialpetta. The edifice encroaching on ground assigned to the Right hand caste, the latter forbade the use of the temple, and dissensions ensued. Macrae prevailed on the disputants to accept arbitration, and a fresh approach to the temple was opened for the Left hand caste. Among the arbitrators were ‘Coja Petrusse, Coja Sarkis,’ the Peddanaigue, and some Mussalmans.⁴ This consultation fixes the approximate date of construction of the existing Kachālesvarar Temple in Armenian Street.

¹ P.C., vol. lv., 4th Sept., 1725.

² Kalyāna Varadarāja Swāmi Kovil.

³ P.C., vol. lv., 4th and 12th May, and 15th June, 1725. Rawsum Paupa Braminy, the Company’s Dubash, died early in 1727.

⁴ P.C., vol. lviii., 4th Nov., 1728.



The revenue of Madras in 1727 was about Pags. 64,000, of which one-half was derived from Sea Customs, one-sixth from Betel and Tobacco, one-twelfth from Mintage, one-fifteenth from each of the three items, Land Customs, Arrack and Wine Licence, and the Farms of villages and gardens, while one-twentieth represented Quit rent and Scavenger's duty.

CHARTER OF GEORGE I.

A new Charter, dated 24th September, 1726, was received in Madras in July, 1727, with instructions that it be put in operation within thirty days. The following were its chief provisions¹:—

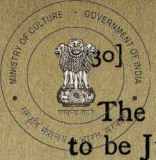
The Charter declares that, owing to the development of 'the Town or Place anciently called *Chinapatnam*, now called *Madraspatnam* and *Fort St. George*,' the grant of greater judicial powers is desirable. A Body Corporate is accordingly authorized, to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, of whom the Mayor and not less than seven Aldermen shall be 'natural born subjects of Us,' while two may be subjects of any friendly Prince or State.

Richard Higginson is appointed to be the 'First and modern Mayor of the said Town or Factory of *Madraspatnam*,' and '*Edward Croke, Richard Carter, Duncombe Monroe, Robert Woolley, Abraham Wessel, John Powney, Francis Rouse, Luis De Medeiros and Thomas Way*,'² are to be first Aldermen. Thereafter the Mayor is to be elected annually on the 20th December, but the Aldermen, unless removed, continue for life. Vacancies among the Aldermen are to be filled by the Corporation.

The Mayor and Aldermen are to be a Court of Record authorized to try all Civil suits. Appeal shall lie to the Governor and Council, whose decision shall be final up to Pags. 1,000. In judgments involving a larger sum appeal may be made to the King in Council.

¹ *Charters granted to the East India Company, 1774.* Reprinted, with additions, by John Shaw. Reprint, Madras, 1887.

² It is singular that Nathaniel Higginson having been the first Mayor under the old Charter of 1687, his son, Richard Higginson, should have been named first Mayor under the new Charter of 1726. Of the Aldermen nominated, Croke, Carter, Woolley, and Wessel were civil servants; Duncan Munro was one of the two surgeons, while Powney, Rous, de Medeiros, and Way (late Surveyor of Buildings) were free merchants. When the Charter arrived, Higginson and Way were dead, and Munro and Woolley had left Madras. Way died in 1725, and Higginson in the following year. The latter's tombstone is in St. Mary's pavement.



The Governor and the five senior members of Council are to be Justices of the Peace for the Town of Madraspatnam. The junior member of the Council is, at the outset, to be nominated 'Sheriff of *Fort St. George* and the Town of *Madraspatnam*,' but thereafter the Sheriff is to be elected annually on the 20th December by the Governor and Council.

The Governor and the five senior members of Council shall hold Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and shall be a Court of Record, and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for trying all offences, except High Treason, committed 'within the said Town of *Madraspatnam*, *Fort St. George*, or within any of the said Factories subordinate thereto, or within Ten *English Miles* of the same.' Grand and Petty Juries are to be summoned by the Sheriff, and offenders are to be tried and punished in the same manner as in England, or as nearly as may be.

The Company may appoint 'Generals of all the Forces, by Sea and Land, of or belonging to the said Town of *Madraspatnam*, and the Towns, Places, and Dependencies of *Fort St. George*,' as well as other Officers to train the Inhabitants in martial affairs, and to maintain standing forces. The Officers may exercise Martial Law in time of war.

In forwarding copies of the Charter, the Company pointed out that, while the Mayor's Court would judge all Civil causes, Criminal cases would come before the Sessions Court. Although three Aldermen, the Mayor being one, were empowered to try cases, the Directors hoped that as many Aldermen as possible would always attend. They concluded as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We think it necessary here to acquaint you that this new Charter, and what is before wrote concerning it, is principally designed for the Government of Europeans and what relates to them directly, or wherein the Natives may be concerned with them. We add, and do you acquaint the Mayor's Court for your and their constant observance, that the Gent[ues] and other Natives having particular customs of their own in the disposal of their deceaseds Estates, you must by no reasons intermeddle therein, but leave the management intirely to themselves, for fear of the unforeseen mischiefs that may arise if their old customs are broke into: and further, that they be allowed to live in the full enjoyment of the privileges of their respective Casts, provided they do nothing to the prejudice of the English Government. You must also be very careful to avoid as much as possible putting any of the Moors to death, unless the crime is of a very high nature, such as Murther

and Piracy, and the proofs thereof be very positive and plain, lest the Moguls Governours make it a handle for raising disturbances, of which it may not be easy to foresee or prevent the ill consequences.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727].)

On the 14th August, 1727, the Government nominated Messrs. Thomas Weston, William Monson, John Bulkley, and Edward Bracstone¹ to fill the four vacancies among the Aldermen, and selected Capt. John Powney to be Mayor. The 17th was fixed for putting the Charter in operation, and at nine in the morning all concerned assembled on the Parade in the White Town, and proceeded in the following order to the Garden House, via Middle Gate, Armenian Bridge Gate, and Peddanaikpetta :—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. lvii., 17th Aug., 1727.)

'Major John Roach on horseback at the head of a Company of Foot Soldiers, with Kettle drum, Trumpe[ts] and other Musick.
The Dancing Girls with the Country Musick.²
The Pedda Naigue on horseback at the head of his Pe[ons].
The Marshall with his Staff, on horseback.
The Serjeants with their Maces, on horseback.
The old Mayor on the right hand and the } Six halberdiers.
New on the left.
The Aldermen two and two, all on horseback. }
The Companys Chief Peon on horseback, with his Peons.
The Sheriff³ with a White Wand, on horseback.
The Chief Gentry in the Town, on horseback.'

At the Garden House the President administered the oaths to the new Mayor and Aldermen, received the old Charter from Mr. Francis Rous, the late Mayor, and delivered the new Charter to Capt. John Powney. The procession then returned to the Fort by the Bridge Gate and Choultry Gate.

¹ All four were civil servants.

² 'The Country Musick is a priviledge bought of this government by the old Company at a very great charge, and is therefore kept up, it being look'd upon here as one of the greatest Marks of Grandure that can be; but if you please to have them discharged, it shall be done, they being far from Agreeable to your President or any of the Europeans.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. vi., 22nd Sept., 1727.)

³ Mr. Augustus Burton, being junior member of Council, was nominated Sheriff; but as he was at Fort St. David, the Sheriff designate did not take part in the procession. On the 22nd August Mr. Nicholas Morse, then junior member, was sworn in as Sheriff.



The Sessions Court was constituted a few days later. On the 12th September it was resolved that the Justices of the Peace should be also Justices of the Choultry to decide small causes up to Pags. 20. Realizing, however, that this plan would render decisions by Justices, who were incidentally members of a superior Court, liable to an appeal to the inferior Mayor's Court, the Government determined in November to erect a Sheriff's Court in which such petty causes should be decided without right of appeal to the Mayor's Court unless the judgment involved a sum greater than Pags. 5. The registry of slaves and of sale of houses and lands was also transferred to the Sheriff. The functions which then remained to the Justices of the Peace were enumerated as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that the Justices of the Peace do take Cognisance of all breaches of the Peace, petty Larcenies, and other crimes properly belonging to their office: that for the lesser Faults they do order Corporal punishment to the Offenders; for those of a very high nature they do bind over to the Sessions, and that for others they do commit the Offenders to the Choultry and report their Crimes to the Board the next Consultation; and that the Secretary do affix papers at the Gates in the several languages, giving notice to the Inhabitants that all Murthers, Breaking open of houses, or Robberies by night will be punished with Death, and all other Thefts with the utmost severity of the Law. . . . ' (*P.C.*, vol. lvii., 27th Nov., 1727.)

The Sheriff's Court, which superseded the Choultry Court, found no favour with the Directors, and from July, 1729, it was abolished, and the Justices of the Peace again sat at the Choultry.

The Charter provided that Probate of Wills and Letters of Administration should be granted by the Mayor's Court. The Wills of Roman Catholics might, however, if the Administrators desired, continue to be proved at the Portuguese Church; but in such case the Executors would have no right to sue outside their own communion, and the priests had no authority to decide any controversy which might arise.¹

The cost of the Mayor's Court was met from the Weighing and Measuring duty, which was assigned to it, and from Fines imposed; while the Town Conicoply's duty was held by Govern-

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 10th Oct., 1729.

ment in order to provide any balance of expenditure over receipts, and to meet charges for public works. The establishment was not expensive :—

'An Account of the Corporation Monthly Expende.

Mr. Ralph Mansell, Clerk of the Market -	P. 3	„	„
Thomas Pelling and William Hathaway, ¹			
Court Serjeants at Ps. 3 each - -	6	„	„
Thomas Tipping, ² Marshal - - -	2	„	„
Charles Nero, Interpreter - - -	1	„	„
Mayor's Palaquin Coolies - - -	6	30	„
Ten peons - - - - -	7	„	„
Three Conicopies - - - - -	2	„	„
John Stratton, ³ Register - - - -	P. 4	„	„
D ^o . allowance for a Servant - - -	„	24	„
	4	24	„
	32	18	„

At which rate the yearly Expende amounts to Ps. 390.' (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 26th Sept., 1730.)

Mr. George Torriano served as 'Clerk of the Peace' as well as Coroner, and was granted Pags. 100 per annum in the joint capacity⁴ 'provided that, in consideration hereof, he shall be obliged to prosecute all causes for the Company as their Attorney, for which employ our Honble Masters formerly allowed a Salary of Fifty pounds per Annum.' In 1731 the Directors, when permitting Mr. Henry Rumbold, Attorney, to return to Madras,⁵ recommended his employment in all cases in which the Company might be concerned as 'their Attorney and Sollicitor' at a standing salary of Pags. 50 per annum. Thus was inaugurated the present post of Government Solicitor.

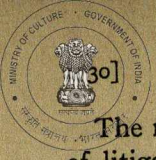
¹ Hathaway and Pelling also acted as Crier and Bailiff, respectively, at the Quarter Sessions at Pags. 10 each per annum. Pelling, who died in 1735, was probably father of Thomas Pelling, jun., born 1723, who is mentioned in the sequel as a member of the firm of De Castro, Pelling, and de Fries.

² Tipping, who had been Marshal for sixteen years, representing that he had now to do duty also as 'Goalkeeper,' was granted a residence in York Alley.

³ Stratton was father of George Stratton, who usurped the government of Madras in 1776.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 3rd Jan., 1728. He is elsewhere designated 'Clerk of the Crown.'

⁵ Rumbold had previously practised at the Mayor's Court until he went home in 1729.



The new Charter had the effect of vastly increasing the volume of litigation. The Directors wrote to Fort St. George, 'We do not at all wonder at your not being able to send the Duplicates of the Mayors Court 'till January Shipping. Little did We imagine that the Number of Suits at Fort St. George should rival those of one of the Principal Courts at Westminster Hall. This can be owing only to a vexatious Temper, or to a Wanton Desire to try the experiment of Law Suits upon the coming of this new Charter.'¹ A year later they found the Court records so voluminous that they transferred them *en masse* to Messrs. John Brown and Thomas Woodford, their Standing Counsel and Attorney, respectively, for examination and criticism.²

COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

The Directors having appointed a Commission consisting of Messrs. Macrae, President of the Council, G. M. Pitt, Second and Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, Nathaniel Turner, Third of Council, and Richard Higginson, 'to inspect and examine the Characters and behaviour of the Company's Servants, and to place or displace as they thought fit,' and Mr. Higginson being dead, the remaining three set about their delicate duty, and in August, 1727, announced their resolutions. The Commission of Three adopted two remarkable measures. The first was the dismissal for incompetence of Mr. Turner, one of the Triumvirate; the other the appointment of the Commandant of the Garrison to be Fourth of Council.³ They also dismissed Mr. James Hubbard,⁴ the Sixth member, and appointed Messrs. Robert Symonds and Charles Peers to the Council. Emmerson, who sat next to Turner, then resigned, and Nicholas Morse became a member of the Government.

Major Roach, on taking his seat, remarked that, having served the Company as a military officer for nearly twenty-five years, he would 'rather to Sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to him than to have it thought he had, by Accepting a Mercantile

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., 1730.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxiv., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732].

³ *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 21st Aug., 1727.

⁴ Hubbard was afterwards reinstated, and became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.



Employ, entered into an Asylum.' He begged, therefore, to retain his command, which he was ready to exercise without allowances, while he served in a civil capacity. The Government thereupon resolved that he should hold both civil and military appointments. The Company, however, when it came to their knowledge, disapproved of the arrangement :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'But as to Major Roach in particular, We can't help saying that, though We had a very good Opinion of his Military Capacity, it was no small Surprize to Us to find him advanced at once to so high [a station], at the same time keeping his Post as Major of the Garrison, and, if we are rightly informed, the Perquisites and Advantages of his Company, which are altogether inconsistent with the Office of Paymaster allotted him as Fourth in Council ; and therefore We find Ourselves under a Necessity of directing that he be not advanced higher than where he is upon any Account untill We have had further Experience of his Conduct and Abilitys in his present Station. And if he retains his Command over the Garrison as Major, and enjoys the Perquisites of that Company which was his, or of any other (which does not appear very plain to Us by your Advices), We can by no Means approve thereof. . . . If he likes therefore to be where he is, he must entirely quit the Military, and if not, he may return to his former Station in Our Military Service.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxx., 21st Feb., 1728 [1729].)

Major Roach finally elected¹ the civil service on account of impaired health, but stated that his sword nevertheless was always at the disposal of Government.² In the meantime the gallant officer's personal conduct had been assailed. Sebastian de Brito, a Portuguese inhabitant of Madras lately returned from Manila, complained that Major Roach had enticed away his daughter from the home in San Thomé where she had been left. Roach alleged that the girl was really a daughter of the late Mr. Robert Raworth, and stated that she had claimed protection from him because he was a Justice of the Peace. In that capacity, and as Attorney for Raworth, he thought himself bound to take her under his care. Admitting that his failure to report the facts to the Governor was an indiscretion, he was fined three hundred pagodas.³ De Brito then petitioned the Company, and the Directors expressed disapproval of the Government's disposal of the case :—

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 14th July, 1725.

² Major Roach had the military command of an expedition to Porto Novo in 1734.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 10th and 19th March, 1729.

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'This is so dark and misterious an affair ; the Fine is arbitrary and illegall, and the Father should have applyed to the Proper Court of Justice, where the Cause should have been heard and determined, and not have come before you unless by way of appeal. . . . Upon the whole, as this affair has been managed, all the Justice We can do the Plaintiff is to send you his Memorial . . . that you may enquire into the Facts and put the Plaintiff in a method of obtaining Justice according to Law. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., 1730 [1731].)

The consultations are silent as to any further action that may have been taken. The matter was probably compromised, as there is no reference to it in the proceedings of the Mayor's Court.

There was considerable mortality at this time among the surgeons and chaplains. Dr. George Ramsay, who succeeded Duncan Munro in 1726, died in the same year, and Matthew Lindsay, who followed, survived only till 1730. His place was filled by Dr. Douglas. The senior surgeon, Andrew Peitchier, still remained in office, but he appears to have died soon afterwards. His quarters were at the north end of the hospital block; the other surgeon had rooms at the south end.¹ One doctor had charge of the hospital, while his colleague attended the Company's servants. Macrae, believing that the spirit of emulation would make for economy of management, ordered that they should exchange duties at intervals.²

In 1728 Madras was for a time destitute of chaplains. The Rev. Thomas Wendey returned to England in 1727, and the Rev. William Leeke died in the following year. Their duties were performed by two civilians, Randall Fowke and George Torriano, who were each paid at the rate of £50 a year. The Rev. Thomas Consett and Jonathan Smedley arrived at the end of 1729, but both died in 1730. Messrs. Torriano and Bulkley then officiated until the Rev. Robert Wynch came out in 1731, followed by the Rev. Eden Howard in the succeeding year. Mr. Consett, who had a family,³ complained of the straitness of his quarters by the Church, but the Paymaster and Gunner reported that the walls were too slender to carry an upper story.⁴

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 16th Feb., 1728.

² *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 17th Sept., 1726.

³ The widow, Catharina Consett, was in Madras down to 1744 or later. (*Register of Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 2, 4th May, 1744.)

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lix., 2nd and 15th Dec., 1729.

From Manifests¹ of Goods shipped on the *Mary* and *Darby* in 1725 and 1726, it appears that Mr. George Powney, Midshipman, brought out—

- ' 1 Half Chest of Wine q^t. 5 Dozen
- 1 Chest of Beer q^t. 12 Dozen
- 1 Chest of Clothes
- 1 Small Case of Lime Juice
- 1 Tubb q^t. a Cheese
- 1 Box Sugar and Tobacco
- 1 Box Biskett and Gingerbread;'

while Sir Charles Peers consigned to his son, Charles Peers, Factor at Fort St. George—

- ' 2 Chests of Wine q^t. 12 Dozen each
- 2 Chests of Beer q^t. 12 Dozen each
- 1 Case of Pickles
- 1 Box of Herbs
- 1 Box with Wiggs
- 1 Box q^t. 32 pair Silk Stockings, 12 pair of Thread Hose, 6 Hatts, one Peruke, and 2 Silver Sauce dishes.'

Not satisfied with this consignment, Mr. Peers bought two pipes of madeira at the sale of that wine by public auction in August, 1726. Ninety-two pipes were then disposed of. One-third of them were sold singly at about Pags. 54. Emmerson took the remaining two-thirds at Pags. 50 per pipe.

The work of sorting the calico brought in by the Company's Merchants was shared by Members of Council with other civil servants, as in Langhorn's time. It was so dull and unpopular that Macrae issued special orders for its due performance :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

' There having been frequent Complaints that some of the Sorters do not attend at the Godowne, and that others neglect their business there, the Board, upon a proposal made by the President, Ordered that the Gentlemen Appointed to sort the Company's cloth do, whenever notice is given them by the Warehousekeeper, meet at the Sorting Godowne² at Seven of the Clock the next morning at latest, there to sort such cloth as shall be brought them, under a penalty of Forfeiting, every Councillour not meeting as aforesaid Two pagodas for each default, and every other Sorter one; which Fine shall be applied to the Charity School unless otherwise directed by our Honible Masters. And that in case any person has a lawfull excuse, such as sickness,

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 8th Dec., 1725, and 23rd Feb., 1725 [1726].

² The Sorting Godown appears to have been situated in the vicinity of St. Mary's Church.



or that some other business of the Company's shall necessarily hinder his Attendance at the Godowne, he shall Signifie the same to the Warehouse-keeper, who is directed to report to the Board all such as shall break in upon these orders. . . . ' (P.C., vol. lvii., 20th Nov., 1727.)

The customary acceptance by the Governor, Councillors, and other civilians of presents from the Company's Merchants was prohibited by the Directors when the practice came under their notice :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

' These [presents] amount to a vast Summ in the whole. The Merchants at Fort St. Davids have paid about Pagodas Fifty two thousand, and those at Fort St. George above Pagodas Twenty two thousand. These Accounts greatly surprized Us, being what We never heard and knew of before; and now We do, can't but declare Our utmost dislike and disapproval of. . . . Wherefore We declare That We will not allow of any such presents to be paid or received for the future. But those at Fort St. Davids are more notorious and bare faced, and are plainly said to be ffive per Cent paid to the Deputy Governour on the Amount of the Value of every Years Investment there, and One per Cent to the Warehousekeeper. . . . ' (P. from Eng., vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727].)

The Company's former prohibition of gambling having had little effect, a fresh fulmination was discharged in 1728 :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

' We are greatly concern'd to hear that the mischievous Vice of Gaming continues and even encreases amongst our Covenant Servants, Free Merchants and others residing at Our Settlements in India for great Summs of Money, and that the Women are also infected therewith, by which Means many Persons have been ruin'd as well on board Ship as on shore : of this there are several flagrant Instances. By Act of Parliament all Gaming here for above Ten pound value is strictly prohibited under severe Penaltys. That We may do what in Us lyes to prevent the Evils which sooner or later Generally attend all Gamesters, and frequently proves their Ruin, We do hereby peremptorily forbid all Manner of Gaming whatsoever in any of Our Settlements or elsewhere in India to the amount of Ten Pounds or upwards. . . . ' (P. from Eng., vol. xxix., 14th Feb., 1727 [1728].)

Covenanted servants infringing this order were to be summarily dismissed, while women offenders of their families, and free merchants, were to be deported. Any civilian informer was to be given a year's standing in the service.



CHAPTER XVIII

1730—1735

GEORGE MORTON PITT—SURVEY OF MADRAS—FOUNDING OF
CHINTADRI PETTA

GEORGE MORTON PITT.

MACRAE'S successor, George Morton Pitt, was son and heir of John Pitt,¹ who originally served the Old East India Company, and afterwards became President of the New Company at Masulipatam, to the disgust of his cousin Thomas Pitt of Madras. John Pitt married first Mrs. Elizabeth Northey, daughter of Edward Fowle the Engineer. She died in 1688, and four years later the widower was united to Sarah Wavell, widow probably of Thomas Wavell of the Madras Council. George Morton Pitt was born in 1693. Early in 1709 we find him signing a covenant as free merchant at Fort St. George, and in 1715 he sought the assistance of Government in the recovery of his father's estate. Two years later his name appears in the list of seafaring men. In 1724 he was commissioned, while in England, to be Second of Council at Madras, and he arrived and took his seat on the 26th December. In the following year he became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and on the 14th May, 1730, succeeded Macrae at Fort St. George. George Morton Pitt is always called by his full name in the records, probably to avoid any risk of confusion with a George Pitt,² who was commander of the ship *George* in 1729.

Pitt's term of office as Governor, which lasted for nearly five

¹ P.C., vol. xlviil., 16th Dec., 1717.

² Captain Wentworth George Pitt, who is mentioned in August, 1727, as commander of the *Stanhope*, is perhaps identical with the George Pitt of 1729. In 1736 a Thomas Pitt is named among the supercargoes at Madras.



years, was not marked by any striking events. The occurrences worthy of note are the completion of a survey of Madras, the founding of the suburb of Chintadripetta as a weaver's village, the death of Nawab Sa'ādatullah Khān, the building of the Sea Gate colonnade, and the rise of differences with the Mayor and Corporation.

The changes of country government are thus described :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'In these two Years there have been very great Revolutions in the Country round about us. The Nabobs of Cundanoor and Cuddapa are both Dead, And those parts are still in Confusion, the Government being not Yet Settled from Court, especially the latter, where Abdulnabby Cawns Brothers have been at war about the Succession. . . . The Rajah of Tandour¹ died about two years since, and the Present is not yet confirm'd from Court. Those of Trichenopoly and Mysaour are both Dead also, and their Countries in great trouble. . . . We must add that the Morattas having entered these Parts the Last Year and Plundered the Country about Vengalour,² has been a great Detriment to the Sale of the Woolen Goods. . . .

'The 2^d. of October We received advise from Arcot of the Death of our Nabob. One of his Nephews, named Doost Ally Cawn, succeeds him in the Subahship, and an Adopted Son Named Goulam Hussain Cawn is appointed Duan by Chicklice Cawn³. . . .

'We have, under the Head of Goods from Europe,⁴ advised the Deaths of the Subahs of Cuddapa, Condanour, Carnata, and of the titular Kings of Tangher, Trichinopoli and Mysour, and of the Expectation the People here are in of Chicklice Cawns coming this way. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. ix., 13th Jan., 1733 $\frac{3}{4}$.)

Under G. M. Pitt's rule the decline of Madras trade, which had attracted notice in Macrae's time, became a source of some anxiety. In 1732 the Directors despaired of 'ever seeing Madrass retrieve its ancient Glory of sending several thousand Bales of Calicoes in a Season, which was the constant practice for so many years.' Pitt attributed the difficulty of 'carrying on our Investment' partly to the ravages of the Marāthas, but mainly to the scarcity and dearness of grain and consequently of cotton. As the ground rents rise, the cost of manufactures, he said, must increase in proportion. Incidentally he introduced an estimate of the population of Madras :—

¹ *Tandour*, Tanjore.

² *Vengalour*, Bangalore.

³ *Chicklice Cawn*, Chīn Kilich Khān, Nizām-ul-Mulk.

⁴ Surely an inappropriate heading for the intelligence conveyed.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Before this Country was Conquer'd [by the] Mogulls it was Divided into Several Circles under the Government of Particular Rajahs which descended from Father to Son. Their Revenues for the most Part arose from the produce of the Land, and they therefore were always carefull to keep up the Banks of the Tanks or Reservoirs of water, and to cleanse 'em of the Mud, of which they were at the Expence themselves, knowing that the Land wou'd produce more or less according as they had a Quantity of Water. But the Mogulls, who have now the Government of the Country, and are continued in those Governments only during Pleasure, do not think themselves under the same Obligation to be at that Expence for their Successors. By which means, in Process of Time the Tanks are almost Choack'd up, and great Part of the Lands lye uncultivated for want of Water. This alone wou'd Occasion Grain to be scarce, and of Cou[rse] Dear ; To which if we add the Rapacious Dispositions [of] the Mogulls, altogether intent upon making the mo[st] of their Governments while they continue in 'em, We need not seek far for the Reason why even wit[hin] these 10 Years the Lands which are Tenanted are let f[or] more than double for what they were before. Your Honours will easily conceive what Effect it must have upon the Produce of such Lands, and we need not say much more to demonstrate it to you.

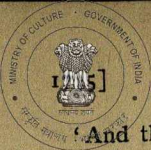
'Certain it is that Paddy at 25 Pagodas the Garce is in these times thought Cheap, whereas 20 Years ago at that Price it was reckon'd a Famine. The Scarcity at Present is so great that it Sells for 40 Pagodas a Garce, and our November Rains failing us this Year gives us a Melancholy Prospect for the next Harvest. We did in April Order the Purchase of 200 Garce, of which in May and June last we [brought] in 115 Garce for the use of the Garrison ; more we did not think fit to Engage in, for it must have been a great Quantity to have Supply'd the whole Place, as we do not reckon the Number of our Inhabitants to be less than One Hundred thousand ; And to them must be Added a great Number of People who Inhabit the Villages in the Country, that come every Morning from thence with Butter, Greens, Wood and many other Necessarys. . . . However, when it shall please God that Grain falls to a tolerable Price, we shall lay in four or five Hundred Garce more than sufficient for the Garrison, to fling into the Market upon Occasion when we Observe the Grain Merchants Endeavouring to make an unreasonable Advantage of the Publick Calamity.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1st Jan., 1734.)

The Governor was the Cashkeeper in fact as well as in name. On the death, in 1731, of the Secretary, Mr. Joseph Walsh,¹ the cash balance was found to be short, and the Directors wrote as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The President is our Cashire, and if he trusts the Key to any body else, he must be answerable for the Consequences. . . . And altho our President took upon himself to make good the deficiency, which was so far very well, yet the Consequence of such an implicit Faith in Mr. Walsh might have been very fatal to him and to Us if he had lived to continue the same evil practices.

¹ Walsh was both preceded and followed as Secretary by George Torriano.



'And therefore, to prevent our suffering as well as your selves, We tell you once for all that We will not permit the Keys of our Cash to be lodged in any other hands but the Governours. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Mr. Richard Benyon, who had resigned the service and gone home, was reappointed in 1733, and sent out as Second of Council to retrieve the trade of Madras and ultimately succeed as Governor. Pitt resigned the Chair to him on the 23rd January, 1735, and sailed for England the same day in the *Mountain*, in company with Major Roach, who was retiring on account of ill-health, and the Rev. Robert Wynch.

SURVEY OF MADRAS.

A map of Madras and its villages, which was drawn in 1733, has hitherto been the only available guide to the early topography of the place. Now that Thomas Pitt's map has been discovered, with the copies of a portion of it which were published by Herman Moll,¹ we are in a better position to appreciate the situation of the buildings, gardens, and fortifications. The map of 1733 is, however, valuable, and would be still more so if the original were accessible. The drawing was formerly preserved in the Public Works Department Secretariat at Madras, and Mr. Talboys Wheeler had it before him in 1861.² Wheeler issued lithographed copies on a scale of 2 inches to one mile, but the original drawing was probably much larger, and it was certainly coloured. The lithograph shows a long strip of coast extending from Triplicane on the south to Ennore on the north, and westward as far as Nungumbaukum and Perambore. Its chief value lies in its indication of the village boundaries and the names of some of the streets and gardens. Its scale is too small to allow details of the buildings in the Fort and town to be represented. Every effort has been made to trace the original map, but without success.

An enlarged plan has, however, been drawn³ for this work to show Madras, Triplicane, Pursewaukum, Egmore, and Nungumbaukum. It is based on the lithograph, but amplified with details from Thomas Pitt's map. It may be regarded as approximately

¹ For his own map of the East Indies, and for Salmon's *Modern History*.

² *Madras in the Olden Time*, preface to vol. iii., Wheeler.

³ By M. R. Ry. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, an Assistant Instructor at the College of Engineering, Madras.



correct. It shows that Europeans like Messrs. Torriano, Drake, Symonds, and Capt. Standard¹ owned houses and gardens outside the town limits; but other residences such as we know to have been built in Egmore a little earlier do not appear.

The survey was made, and the map probably drawn by Mr. John Hoxton:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Repairs of the Fortifications having stood Still a great while, though long since Surveyd and the necessity of the Work Reported, for want of a proper Person to Oversee the same; and there being now here one Mr. John Hoxton who is fit for and willing to undertake the Employ, Agreed that he be entertaind at the Usual Salary, to commence from the time he began the Survey of the Bounds, which was sent the Honble Company this Year.'² (P.C., vol. lxiv., 6th March, 1734.)

The Survey of the fortifications, which is alluded to in the above extract, was made in 1732 by a committee of the Council, consisting of Major Roach and Messrs. Augustus Burton and Francis Rous.³ The survey had for its object the repair of the works of defence, and the Committee submitted their report at the beginning of 1733, with an estimate of Pags. 3,243. They named in succession all works that needed restoration, so that the document furnishes useful topographical details. Unfortunately it contains mistakes. A few of these have been corrected by collation of the Fort St. George and India Office copies of the estimate, but other obvious errors remain. It should be noted that the curtain measurements give the lengths to be repaired, which are not necessarily the full dimensions. Divested of money particulars and other details, the list of works runs as follows:—

Report of the Works Committee.

(P.C., vol. lxiii., 8th Jan., 1734.)

'First we Surveyd the Several out Points built by the following Persons, head of their Casts, which bears their Names, and want Repairing. We have not Calculated the Charge they will come to untill your further Orders.

¹ Mr. Robert Symonds, late Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, died at that place in 1731. Mr. George Drake and Capt. John Standard were free merchants.

² The copy sent home has not been preserved.

³ P.C., vol. lxii., 25th Sept., 1732. Roach, Burton and Rous occupied the positions of Paymaster, Storekeeper, and Rental General and Scavenger respectively. The last, who had long been a free merchant, appears to have lately joined the service as ninth member of Council. He married Margaret Mansell in 1733, and died in 1738.

*Pettah Defences*¹

Colloway Chittees Point.

Colastry's Chittees Point.

Ball Chittees Point.

Sunca Ramahs Point.

Badaraya's Point, which is quite down to the Ground.

Gongaram's Point.

[Black Town Wall and Works]

Block House at the North part of the Black Town by the Sea Side.

A Wall to be made from the Blockhouse Westward to the Sea Side Point,² 420 foot long 6 foot high, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Broad, which formerly was rail'd but now it is quite down.

The Sea Side Point and Gunners Lodgings.

The Curtain from the Sea Side Point to Mootall Petta Gate,³ q^t. 480 foot long and 18 high.

Mootall Petta Gate, the Peons Mettow and Guard.

The Curtain from Mootall Petta Gate to Tondavoodoo Point⁴ to the westward, q^t. 1020 foot long and 18 high.

From Tondavoodoo Point to Tom Clarks Gate and Gaurd house to the Westward.

From Tom Clarks Gate to Peer Point,⁵ 200 foot long and 18 foot high, to the Westward, and a small powder house.

The Curtain from Peer Point to Middle Point to the Westward⁶ 560 foot long and 18 high.

Middle Gate⁷ Gaurd and Gunners Guard house.

From Middle Point Curtain to the Armenian Gate,⁸ 550 foot long and 18 foot high, turning to the Southward.⁹

¹ The order in which the Pettah defences are enumerated is not consecutive. In the map of 1733 all six batteries are represented and, except Colastry Chetty's, named. The work next the sea, which is innominate, is therefore considered to be Colastry's.

² *Sea Side Point*, otherwise called *New Point* and *Fleet Point*. The distance from the bastion to the blockhouse is elsewhere given as 150 to 180 ft. Thomas Pitt's map shows it to be about 200 ft.

³ *Mootall Petta Gate*, called *Mud Point Gate* in Thomas Pitt's map.

⁴ *Tondavoodoo Point*, otherwise called *Mud Point*. The bastion was directed towards the village of Tondavoodoo, Tondavour, or Tandore. The dimension 1,020 ft. is perhaps an error for 120 ft. The distance from Mud Point Gate to Mud Point was about 140 ft.

⁵ *Peer Point* must have been the bastion at the north-west angle of the Black Town.

⁶ *Middle Point* is judged to be the *Cuckolds Point* of Thomas Pitt's map, and the word 'Westward' to indicate the west side of Black Town. The curtain between Cuckold's Point and the bastion at the north-west angle actually measured 560 ft.

⁷ *Middle Gate*: This gate does not appear on Thomas Pitt's map. It was probably constructed at a later date, adjacent to Middle Point.

⁸ *Armenian Gate*, otherwise called Bridge Gate.

⁹ *Turning to the Southward*; the word 'turning' should be elided. The change in direction of the rampart from west to south must have been made at Peer Point, not Middle Point. Thomas Pitt's map shows that the northern and western faces of the rampart each measured about 2,000 feet.

Armenian Gate and Small Choultry for the Peons.

Armenian Gate Bridge to the Patta.

The Curtain from Armenian Gate to Queens Point, 660 foot long and 18 high to the Southward.

Queens Point Gaurd and Gunners Gaurd.

From Queens point to the white town, a Wall of 300 foot long and 18 high towards the Eastward.

The Coopers house and Yard.

[White Town]

Glouster Point¹ to the Westward of the White Town is sunk in the foundation and the walls Cracked ready to fall, which must be pull'd down to the Ground 80 foot in len[g]th.

Gunners Battery.

A Wall from Glouster Point to the Choultry Gate, 210 foot long and 18 high to the Eastward.

Choultry Gate.

From the Choultry Gate to the Middle Gate to the Eastward, 210 foot long the Curtains and 18 high.

The Middle Gate.

From the Middle Gate to York Point² to the Eastward, 270 foot long and 18 high.

York Point.

From York Point to the Gunners Battery 570 foot long to the Southward.

The Gunners Battery.³

The Storekeepers Godowns from the Gunners Battery, 130 foot long to the Sea Gate.

The Sea Gate.

The Saltpetre Godown joining to the Sea Gate to the Southward, and Sea Gate Godowns.

James Battery⁴ to the Southward of the Saltpet[t]re Godowns.

The Half Moon Battery and Saluting Battery⁵ to the Southward.

From the half Moon battery to St. Thomas's Point to the Southward, 400 foot long.

St. Thomas's Point.

Gunners Battery Joining to St. Thomas's Point to the Westward.

St. Thomas's Gate.

From St. Thomas's Point to Charles Point, the Curtains and Godowns all Along of 250 foot long.⁶

Charles Point.

Import Warehouse Godowns to the Northward of Charles's Point.

The New Barracks for the Soldiers.

The Island Bridge and Gate way.

The Hospital and the Doctors lodgings.

¹ *Glouster Point*, formerly called *Caldeva Point*.

² *York Point*, formerly called *Fishing Point*.

³ Otherwise called *Plymouth Battery*.

⁴ Apparently identical with *Dover Battery*.

⁵ The same work seems to have borne both names.

⁶ *Charles Point* had replaced the old *Round Point*. The full length of the south curtain was 350 ft.



Carpenters Yeard to the Northward of the Doctors lodgings. The lodgings of the Under Paymaster and the Place for the Carpenters and Smiths working in are quite down.

The Horse Stables Joining to the Carpenters Yard to the Northward.¹

The Silver Mint to the Northward of the horse Stables.

The Wall on the Outside of the town from the Doctors Lodgings to Gloucester Point, 830 foot² long and 18 high by the river side.

The Sorting Godown.³

The Inward Fort, quite round both Inside and out, the Lodgings, Cookroom and Curtains, &c.

The House in the Inward Fort. . . .

[*Detached Works.*]

The Storekeepers Godown on the Island.

Egmore Redoubt, the House, Curtains, Mote.

The Godowns for Making Gunpowder on the Island are intirely decayed, but there being an Order of Council Already for making another close to the new Powder house, we have Omitted taking any further Account of them.

The Damages of Triplicane Bridge and Island sustained by the late Rains we have not Survey'd until your Honour, &c.'s further Order.

JOHN ROACH

AUGUSTUS BURTON

FRANCIS ROUS.'

A distribution statement of the artillery supplies some alternative names of the Black Town works. The establishment consisted, in 1732, of a Gunner, his first and second Mates, 68 Europeans, 2 Tindals,⁴ and 27 Lascars. The Europeans were disposed as follows :—

'An Account of the Gunroom Crew at their Several Stations, Vizt.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxii., 19th Aug., 1732.)

At the Inner Fort Gunroom	-	-	-	-	8
At the Saluting Battery	-	-	-	-	21
At the New Powder House	-	-	-	-	12
At the Garden Point	-	-	-	-	9
At the Queen's Point	-	-	-	-	6
At the Bridge Gate	-	-	-	-	2
At the Spurr Point	-	-	-	-	2
At the Clarke's Point	-	-	-	-	2
At the Clarke's Gate ⁵	-	-	-	-	2
At Madepollam Point	-	-	-	-	2
At the Fleet Point	-	-	-	-	2
					68'

¹ The Fort St. George copy has 'Southward,' apparently in error.

² Apparently an error for 530 ft.

³ Near the Church.

⁴ *Tindal*, a petty officer of lascars; from Tel. *tandelu*, the head of a gang.

⁵ *The Clarke's Gate*, Tom Clarke's Gate.

Comparison of this Statement with Roach's List enables us to identify *Spurr Point* with *Middle Point*, *Clarke's Point* with *Peer Point*, *Madepollam Point*¹ with *Tondavoodoo Point*, and *Fleet Point* with *Sea Side Point*.²

FOUNDING OF CHINTADRI PETTA.

In order to develop the supply of calico, the shortage of which had been commented on by the Directors, Pitt resolved to encourage manufacture in Madras. The Company's Merchants wrote to Salem and 'Worriapollam' for spinners and weavers; but represented at the same time the necessity of having shade trees for the artificers to work under. Such trees, they said, were deficient in 'Trivitore, Lungumbauk and Waseravally,' and absent from the other Madras villages.³

Pitt cast covetous eyes on Sunku Rāma's⁴ extensive garden, measuring 840 yards by 500, which contained trees of fifteen years' growth, and enjoyed a good supply of water. It occupied a peninsula, formed by a loop of the Triplicane River,⁵ and lay to the west of the Island 'between Conisery Pagoda⁶ and Pundamuly watching Place.'⁷ Sunku Rāma, or as he was now called, Sunku Venkatāchalam, produced his cowle for the ground, which had been granted him by Governor Collet in 1719.⁸ The Government considered the title bad, because the grant was made without the consent of the Council, and because no consideration was paid for it, and they resumed possession.

In October the conditions of settlement proposed by Pitt were debated in Council, and the terms agreed to were in substance as follow⁹:—None but spinners, weavers, painters, washers, and

¹ The *Mud Point* of Thomas Pitt's map. In 1721, however, Madapollam Point appears to have been the designation of the easternmost bastion. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.) If so, the name must have been subsequently transferred to the middle bastion of the north rampart.

² The *New Point* of Thomas Pitt's map.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 7th Jan., 1733.

⁴ Sunku Rāma ceased to be a Chief Merchant in 1731. On his dismissal, his colleague, Tambi Chetṭi, became sole merchant.

⁵ See the map of 1733.

⁶ *Conisery Pagoda*, Kāraṇesvari temple.

⁷ *Pundamuly watching Place*, perhaps Periamett, on the Poonamallee Road.

⁸ *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 12th Aug., 1734.

⁹ *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 21st Oct., 1734. The Consultation, which is quoted almost in full by Wheeler, is much damaged.



cyers, with priests and attendants for the temple, will be admitted to the new village, to be called 'Chindadre Pettah.' All immigrants must be approved by a special officer,¹ who will exclude inhabitants of Madras and its existing villages. This officer will allot ground to selected applicants, and the houses built will be their absolute property. The streets are to be laid out without reference to caste distinctions. The inhabitants shall not be subject to civil prosecution in the Madras Courts, but must settle their disputes by arbitration. Subject to the Company's approval, no taxes shall be levied, except a house tax payable to the Peddannaigue, and the other small customary duties claimed by that functionary. The usual Customs, however, must be paid in Madras on goods manufactured in the village. The Government will lend a sum of Pags. 2,000 to two merchants named 'Chintomby Moodelaire and Vennala Narran Chitty,'² in view to their making building advances to the people. The loan, which is interest free, is repayable in seven years.

Building began in December, but proceeded at first but slowly:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have met with some opposition in building this Petta, the Nabob having been made to believe that it will be a prejudice to the revenues of the Pune melle Country, so that we proceed as yet very slowly therein. . . . The Cause of this opposition we can impute to nothing but the practices of Sunca Vancata Chilum with the Pune melle renters. . . .

'With regard to the spot this Town was to be built on, we found Sunca Vancata Chilum in possession of it as a Garden. . . . On producing the title to it, we were unanimously of opinion that it was a bad one, and it was agreed to resume it into your hands; only Mess^{rs}. Morse and Monson desired the Case might be referred to your Honours, Sunca Vancata Chilum having been at some expence thereon. But we thought his behaviour such as did not deserve any favour from us. . . .

'The objections to the title produced by Sunca Vancata Chilum arise from the Grant itself being given by President Collet alone without either the privity or Consent of the Council, and without any consideration either paid down or reserv'd to your Honours for the same, tho' the Grant is made to him and his heirs for ever. Had we passed this by, we shou'd, as much as in us lay, have given a Sanction to the like practices in future, and your Presidents might by degrees have alienated all your Lands.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 22nd Jan., 1734.)

¹ Mr. Augustus Burton.

² Chinnatambi Mudaliyār and Vennala Nārāyaṇ Cheṭṭi.

In August, 1735, when Benyon had succeeded Pitt as Governor, the Managers, Chinnatambi and Nārāyaṇ, represented that they had expended nearly six thousand pagodas on importing weavers, making cash advances, providing building materials, levelling ground, and transplanting trees from the streets laid out. One hundred houses had then been built. The prevailing famine of the next two years checked refunds by the weavers, and in 1737 the Managers, who had expended Pags. 5,000 of their own in addition to the Government loan of Pags. 2,000, received a further grant of Pags. 1,000.

The Council were disappointed at the delay of the Company in approving Pitt's regulations for the new colony. Writing in January, 1737, Benyon says¹:—‘We wrote Your Honours last Year that 230 Families were settled in Chindadree Pettah, and there are now as many more; and if we could be sure they would be supported in the Priviledges granted them, we might venture to assure Your Honours it would in a very few Years prove a Noble and beneficent thing to this Place and your Interest.’

In March, 1738, it was expected that the village would have 90 bales of calico, or 7,500 pieces, valued at Pags. 13,000, in readiness for the next shipping. The manufactures were chiefly ‘Ginghams, Moore[e]s for Chints, and Long Cloth,’ but ‘Beteelas, Romals Fine, Dimities and Salampores’ were also turned out in small quantities.²

A few years later a mint was established in Chintadripetta, a development which will be referred to on a subsequent page.

In 1744, during Morse's governorship, Paṇḍāram and the other managers of Chintadripetta were called on to explain a deficiency in the supply of goods. They stated that, owing to the death of Nārāyaṇ, the industry required further financing:—

Representation of the Managers.

‘To this they added that Audiapa Narrain, the first promoter and encourager of this Undertaking, had laid out considerable Sums in order to encourage the Weavers and other Manufacturers to fix their Residence there, to which purpose he had Erected a Mahometan Mosque and two Pagan Temples, which Appears by his Accounts to have Cost near Sixteen thousand, 16,000, Pagodas, and which they mention as an instance how much he had the Welfare of the

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 1737.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 4th March, 1738.



Pettah at heart. That by the loss of him the Pettah must greatly Suffer unless it meets with some Support from the Board, the more so as the Estate of Audiapah is looked upon as insolvent, and his Family, if so, render'd incapable of Contributing any more to its benefit and Service.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 12th Sept., 1744.)

The Council found that the balance of expenditure above their advance of Pags. 3,000 was about Pags. 10,000, and resolved to refer the whole question to England.



CHAPTER XIX

1730—1735

THE SEA-GATE COLONNADE—DISPUTES WITH THE MAYOR'S
COURT—INCIDENTS OF G. M. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION

THE SEA-GATE COLONNADE.

THE most noteworthy structure erected by George Morton Pitt was the Sea-Gate Colonnade, an avenue of four rows of pillars covered with terraced roof, which formed a sheltered approach from the Sea-Gate to the Fort Square. This colonnade is interesting from the vicissitudes it has undergone, and curious on account of the misapprehensions to which it has given rise. The thirty-two columns of black Pallāvaram gneiss which formed the approach were carried off by the French in 1746, and set up for the adornment of Pondicherry. After the fall of that place in 1761 they were brought back to Madras and re-erected in their original position. The colonnade, which served for many years as an Exchange, remained an open-sided covered way until some time in the nineteenth century, when it was converted into a closed building by walling up the spaces between those pillars which formed the perimeter of the structure. In later years the edifice, somewhat prolonged to the westward, has been used for the Government Press, and subsequently as a Record room; but in 1910 it was dismantled to make room for a new Council Chamber, in the construction of which the best preserved of the columns have been incorporated.

The appearance of antiquity offered by these historic pillars, hooped as some of them were with iron to check a tendency to split, gave rise in recent times to the theory that the apartment was once devoted to the General Table. Hence the chamber was



commonly known as the *Old Banqueting Hall*.¹ The following extracts reveal the true genesis of the colonnade.² Its transfer to Pondicherry and subsequent restoration will be described in due course. The structure is represented in Daniell's view of the East face of the Fort Square, drawn about 1792:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being now in Cash upwards of one thousand six hundred Pagodas under the head of the Town Conicoplys Duty, it was proposed by the President, and unanimously Approved of, to make a Coverd Walk from the Sea Gate to the Back Gate of the Fort with four Rows of Stone Pillars, as being a thing that would Conduce very much to the Beauty of the Town, the purpose for which the Honble Company have been pleas'd to appropriate this Duty, as well as to the Ease and Conveniency of the Inhabitants, who have hitherto, on any hurry of business, found the Sea Gate very troublesome and inconvenient from the Crouds of People there at Such Times.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxii, 20th Jan., 173½.)

A sum of Pags. 1,000 was accordingly advanced to the Paymaster in February, and Pags. 500 more in May. The Directors viewed the scheme without enthusiasm:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It would afford us a great pleasure to see by the amount of your Customs that the Sea Gate is crouded in such a manner as is represented in . . . your last Letter. We should then very readily consent to the laying out any Sum of Money in repairing it as should be necessary; but the words Commodious and Ornamental are what we dont so well like, and are poor reasons for parting with Sixteen hundred pagodas, especially at a time when the Customs are sunk above ten Thousand Pagodas; and if the Inhabitants are pleased with such showy things, they ought to pay for them themselves.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Seagate is now near Finished, and the Expence of [it] is paid by Subscriptions of the Inhabitants, all but what has been Collected out of the Town [Conicoplys] Duty; and as that is a Revenue which your Honours have been pleas'd to grant us towards repairing and beautifying the Town, and as the Building at The Sea Gate is by farr the greatest ornament of Madrass, We hope you will not think the Mony misapplied.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1st Oct., 1733.)

¹ So strongly rooted was this view that, on the occasion of a not very remote viceregal inspection, an imaginative official is said to have pointed out the identical spot where Writer Robert Clive had his seat! It is needless to say that the General Table was abolished long before Clive saw Madras.

² A somewhat similar colonnade from the Factory to the river may be seen in views of Old Fort William.

The omission to mention the apportionment of the charge between public subscriptions and Town Conicoply's Duty did not escape the observation of the vigilant Directors.

Other buildings renewed or altered during George Morton Pitt's rule were the Banksall or public granary, and the godowns south of the Sea-Gate. The Corporation proposed to restore the Banksall, but the work was ultimately carried out by Government at a lower cost. The Garden House was enlarged by the construction of an additional apartment.

DISPUTES WITH THE MAYOR'S COURT.

A variety of circumstances led to friction between the Government and the Mayor's Court towards the end of G. M. Pitt's term of office. The reservation by the former of the Town Conicoply's Duty left the Corporation short of funds, and they applied the collected court fines to their own purposes. They pointed out in 1733 that they were charged with the maintenance of public works, and represented that a large sum had been expended on the embanking of the Island and repair of its roads, on the sinking of wells in James and Gloucester Streets,¹ and on an annual contribution to the Charity School.²

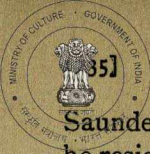
In the following year the Mayor's Court complained that Mr. George Torriano, who was Secretary to Government, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Appeal Court, and Company's Solicitor, had brought a petty suit against Mr. Hugh Naish the Mayor. Torriano and Naish, meeting at a dinner party, made a bet, which Naish lost but refused to pay. Torriano sued him in the Mayor's Court, which ruled that the Mayor was immune from prosecution.³ The Government held that their Secretary had been treated with indignity.

The Council instructed the Mayor's Court not to levy fines except by Sheriff's process, but the Court nevertheless imposed penalties on Messrs. Hart, Tullie, Johnson, Colebrooke, Barlow, Douglas, and Lethuilier for declining to serve as Aldermen. The disinclination to accept office was so great that there was difficulty in obtaining the requisite number of Aldermen. When Mr. John

¹ Both apparently in the northern half of White Town.

² *P.C.*, vol. lx., 31st July, 1730, and vol. lxiii., 31st Dec., 1733.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 8th July, 1734.



Saunders desired leave to Bengal, the Council granted it provided he resigned membership of the Corporation. That body sanctioned absence for six months, but declined to accept his resignation:—

Proceedings of the Mayor's Court.

'The Court . . . will be so far from impeding Mr. Saunders that they are ready to do anything in their Power to accomodate him ; but as it is well known with what difficulty the Court at the last Election perswaded two Gentlemen to accept the Service, while seven in 10 of the Persons on the Ballet were fined for refusal, and such a General [sense] of backwardness for the Service Apparently existing among the Inhabitants that a vacancy for some Months has and does lye open for want of a proper Person to serve, The Bench have great reason to believe, shou'd they permit so Capable and usefull a Member to resign, it woud still more and more embarrass the Court, as well as encrease the Number of Raw and inexperienced Members. . . . JOHN STRATTON, Register.' (P.C., vol. lxiv., 20th Aug., 1734.)

On the subject of fines the Government delivered themselves as follows:—'It was agreed and order'd that the Secretary do acquaint . . . the Mayor and Aldermen that we cannot but be Surpriz'd at the Terms and Manner wherein they express themselves with regard to fines and imprisonment, the rather because they cannot be ignorant that to inflict Pains and Penaltys wou'd be Assumeing a Power for which they have not the least Shadow of Authority by the Charter.'¹ On the same date the Mayor's Court, in reply to earlier communications, said:—

Letter from the Mayor's Court.

'The Court thought their Silence to be more decent than a Reply, in regard to the Station you Enjoy in the United East India Companys Service. But since you'l in a manner Extort it from them, they for Answer say—

'The Court always endeavour'd to the best of their Capacitys to Act Agreeable to the Tenour and true meaning of the Royal Charter, nor will they be convinced that they have deviated therefrom till they are inform'd by an Authority Well Versed in the Laws of England, which the Court have hitherto found no Reason to think are the Governor and Council ; nor can you direct them in the discharge of their Office, they being accountable Only to a Power Superiour to You. Sign'd, by Order of the Honble the Mayor's Court of Madrasspatnam, by JOHN STRATTON, Register.' (P.C., vol. lxiv., 5th Aug., 1734.)

On the 20th December, 1734, the Government appointed Torriano Sheriff in succession to Monson. The Corporation re-elected Naish as Mayor, but the President refused to administer the oath

¹ P.C., vol. lxiv., 5th Aug., 1734.

on the ground that the Charter did not recognize a re-election. The whole question of conflict of authority was then referred home :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

‘This Charter is a novelty which, by dividing the authority of the Government, has occasion’d a like division in the obedience of the People. The Effects thereof have been gradually known, but are too sensibly felt in the Confusion and Disorders of the Place. Discord and Faction have so disturbed the tranquility of the Settlement that the natives, heretofore used to a different way of thinking from their education and the Principles of their Religion, are now, by the new doctrines which are broach’d and inculcated among them, become exceeding slack and loose in their dependance, and we have too much reason to be convinced the Curb and Reins of the Government are too weak to keep them within the bounds of their duty, and to prevent their ingaging in Schemes that aim at little less than involving the place in blood and ruin, Attempts new and unheard of till these latter days, and which will require great application to prevent their taking effect. If our resentment has not been equal to what such crimes deserve, It has proceeded from a Defect in our Constitution which checks us in our resolutions of making any obey us, and very often obliges us to dissemble with those who do so.

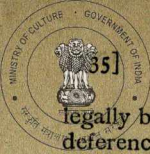
‘The rise and spring of these disorders we must impute to the disputes we have had with the Mayors Court—Disputes that have occasion’d much Scandal, which with it’s hidden poyson has had a great Effect upon the minds of the ignorant and unreasoning people : nor have there been wanting those who have been indefatigable in their endeavours to invalidate our authority, both acting and talking with the utmost contempt of it. . . .

‘We know not what resolution Your Honours may come to with regard to the Charter. If it must still subsist in the form and manner it does at present, we shall be under a necessity of compiling a set of By laws, that we believe will be very voluminous and perhaps at last difficult to execute, The Customs, Manners and Constitution of the People, the nature of your trade, and the Clashing of the Powers of the Country Government being all obstacles to a strict observance of any Laws that can be devised. Add besides, that as no By Laws must have any force or Effect till they have been approved in England, it is very probable few of them will ever have any Effect at all, as the best heads we have here may not be sufficient to provide against all the arts and subtelties that may be contriv’d and thôt of to evade them. Many things are submitted to at present rather from the force of Custom and the order of Sallabad than any real obedience to the Authority of the Government, an authority that will still be less regarded and complied with till they are made more sensible of the Strength of it from England.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 22nd Jan., 1734.)

The Directors obtained the opinion of their Standing Counsel, and then wrote as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘We must say that it too plainly appears to Us from the past Conduct of the Mayors Court that they are too apt to assume a greater power than does



legally belong to or become them ; and that they have been wanting in a due deference and respect to You their Superiours, in that Awe and Reverence for the Company, and Concern for the Welfare of the Settlement which We expect from all who reside under Our protection. And We hereby acquaint them once for all that, in case any such like cause of Complaint in future is given us from that Quarter, now their duty is so plainly laid before them, We shall not suffer those who disregard the wholesome Advice which is given them to Trade within Our Limits.

'At the same time We expect that you on your parts will do nothing to obstruct the regular course of Justice, or discountenance those who have a Seat on the Bench while they behave prudently and uprightly in the said Station, and keep within the due bounds prescribed in the Charter. . . .'
(*P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 6th Feb., 1735 [1736].)

INCIDENTS OF G. M. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

In April and May, 1731, protracted debates took place in Council¹ on a complaint by Captain Peter Eckman, Commander of the Main Guard, of the conduct of Messrs. Charles Peers, Member of Council, Paul Foxley, Senior Merchant, and Henry Salomon, a free merchant. Peers and Foxley had been dining with Salomon, and their host undertook to see them home. The three revellers squeezed themselves into one palanquin at two o'clock in the morning. They passed by the guard at the Middle Gate and entered the Choultry Gate, when, just as they 'turn'd the Corner in order to go up the Street towards the fort,' the palanquin pole broke under the unaccustomed strain, and they were deposited on the roadway. The accident occasioned some merriment and much noise, and Ensign George Peele, commanding the Choultry Guard, came out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. Uncomplimentary remarks were exchanged, and the roysterers went on to the Main Guard, knocked at the gate of the Fort Square, and summoned the Commander of the Guard. Captain Eckman 'came down from his room'² to the parade, when Peers reported that the Ensign was drunk, and demanded that he should be confined. Eckman promised to enquire into the matter, but finding Peele sober, he concluded that no more would be heard of the matter. In the course of the day, however, Peers pressed for punishment, so Eckman reported the facts to the Governor.

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 27th April to 10th May, 1731.

² The Commander of the Guard had quarters over the Gate, which in later years were occupied by the Town Major.



The Council, having recorded many depositions, suspended Peers and Foxley, and directed Salomon to prepare for passage to Europe. Two years later, under instructions from home, the penalties were revoked on receipt from the offenders of suitable apologies, and the two civil servants were reinstated. In 1734, however, Peers again incurred the wrath of his superiors, and was ordered to England for engaging in illicit trade with Europe by way of Tranquebar.

Pitt seems to have made an attempt to improve the policing of Black Town. Whether the constables mentioned in the following consultation were to be Peddanaigue's talliards or Government peons does not appear:—'It being represented in a former presentment of the Grand jury as very requisite that Constables should be Appointed in the several quarters of the Town¹ for the better preserving peace and good order amongst the Inhabitants, Ordered that the Rental General Canton the Town into proper districts for that purpose.'²

In 1733 the Directors advocated the re-establishment of the General Table as a measure calculated to check extravagance and promote discipline among the junior civil servants. Pitt, however, pointed out that the cost to the Company would be prohibitive, and no action was taken:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have taken into Consideration the extravagance in living which, by all accounts, our Servants in the several parts of India have fallen into of late years, for the support of which no doubt several have engaged in desperate Undertakings, the natural consequence of Luxury. This Evil has arisen in part, as we now apprehend, from laying aside the general Table, for, while that was continued, our Servants were kept in decorum, and behaved suitably to their Superiours; but, since the disuse of it, We have too much reason to think they have neglected our business, which ill Consequence was unforeseen. And therefore We leave it to your Consideration whether reestablishing the General Table would not be of Service to the Company: and in case you should think fit to revive the same as being agreeable to our Servants in general, and capable with good management of very valuable purposes, it behoves you to put it on as frugal a Footing as possible, because our profits in Trade are every year so considerably diminished.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 6th Feb., 1732[1733].)

¹ A marginal note shows that Black Town was meant.

² *P.C.*, vol. lx., 29th June, 1730.

*Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.*

'With regard to the allowance to your President for his table, He assures your Honours, thô he has always kept it within those bounds which decency required of a Person in his Station, Yet he could never bring the expence of it within the Compass of the Allowance received from you on that account when at the largest, and that an addition of five Company's Servants this year will make it fall yet mu[ch] Shorter. . . . This allowance for diet was, by an express order from your Honours, settled at Seven thousand pagodas per Annum in the year 1722 in the room of the General Table, which cost you above thirteen thousand pagodas per annum. Your Honours will therefore easily conclude that sum could not be equal to the expence. However, as the then President and Council were obliged to follow the directions they had received, they Settled an allowance of ten Pagodas per Month to the Council and eight to the under Servants; and since your Honours fixed your Charge at Seven thousand, the President was obliged to accept of the remainder, thô Short of the expence he must necessarily be at. Since that time the price of all manner of Provisions is raised to almost double what it then was; and therefore, if the allowances were then so small, your Honours will easily conclude both your President and other Servants must be at considerable expence on this Account themselves.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 31st Aug., 1734.)

Among the *Letters to Fort St. George* of 1730 is found an account of an engagement with Angria's fleet off the island of Colaba, a few miles south of Bombay:—

'A Relation of a Sea-fight between the Bombay Cruizers and Angria's Grabs,¹ the 25th November, 1730, off Colabbo.

'The Victor[i]a Friggat, Bombay and Bengall Gallies,² well fitted and mann'd, being order'd to lye off Colabbo to prevent Angria's Grabs from getting out of that Port, the said Grabs, full of Men, with fifteen Gallivatts³ at break of Day the 25th of this Instant push'd out of Colabbo with the Land Wind, and with Uncommon Resolution bore down and attack'd the two Gallies—Two Grabs and a Number of Gallivatts to each Galley—the Victoria having unfortunately the Night before given Chace to a Ship in the offing, and in the morning was at too great a Distance to give any Assistance before it was too late. There being little or no Wind, the Grabbs lay astern of the Gallies, battering them with their Proe Guns, the Gallies having no Stern Chace or any other Defence but their small Arms, which they ply'd very briskly. Notwithstanding which, the Enemy attempted several Times to lash their Grabbs to the Gallies Quarter, and Board, and were as often repuls'd and beat off with great Loss.

'An unlucky Shot from the Enemy set fire to two Chest of Powder flasks

¹ *Grab*, a two-masted, square-rigged vessel, with low, sharp, projecting bow; from Ar. *ghorāb*, a raven.

² The two galleys were named the *Bombay* and *Bengal*.

³ *Gallivatt*, from Port. *galeota*, a galley; a light, swift vessel, with one, sometimes two, masts, and 40 or 50 oars.



that stood on the Bombay Gallies Quarterdeck, which mortally wounded Capt. Campbell, and hurt several of his People ; yet he clear'd his Vessell tho' four Times boarded. But the Bengall Galley was carried the third Attack, the Captain and most of his Men being Kill'd and Wounded. The smallest of the Grabs, with the Gallivats, took the Bengall in Tow, and carry'd her to Colabbo before the Victoria could come to her Rescue ; but in going in, the Galley struck, and 'tis hop'd she is lost. The other three Grabs stood to the Southward to join, as 'tis supposed, Sambajee.¹ Angria's Squadron at Giriah consisting of two Grabbs and two Galliot taken from the Portugeeze, and fourteen Gallivats, so that both together He will have a Considerable and formidable fleet, and elated with this Success, will doubtless attack any Vessells he meets. It therefore behoves all Ships bound to the Northward to be upon their Guard, and use the necessary precaution for their safety till the Bombay Squadron is Reinforc'd and goes in quest of the Enemy, which will be done with all Convenient Speed.' (*Lett. to F. St. G.*, vol. xx., 13th Dec., 1730.)

At this period we first hear of Dupleix and de la Bourdonnais, who were destined to play so important a part in Madras affairs. An entry in the Fort St. George Diary of 1731 runs :—' Ship Vierge D'Grace Came in from Pondecherry, having Mons^r. Dupleix on board Going Directore to Bengall.'² And in a consultation two years later we find :—'The President Acquainted the board that he had received advice that one Mons^r. Le Bourdenai in a French Ship had carried from Porto Novo between four and five hundred bales for the Ostenders to Goa.'³

¹ *Sambajee*, Sambhaji Angria.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 22nd July, 1731.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxii., 1st May, 1732. The *Ostend* Company was incorporated in 1722 by the Holy Roman Emperor, but in 1727 its charter was suspended for seven years. Madras was consequently justified in treating as an interloper a ship belonging to the 'Ostenders' which arrived on the Coast in 1731.



CHAPTER XX

1735—1744

GOVERNOR BENYON—THE MAYOR'S COURT—CONCERNING
THE CARNATIC

GOVERNOR BENYON.

RICHARD BENYON joined the Service as Writer on the 6th July, 1710,¹ and entered Council eight years later. Deeming in 1725 that he lacked the confidence of the Directors, he resigned at the end of that year and went to England. Late in 1732 he was re-appointed to Fort St. George as Second of Council in view of succeeding G. M. Pitt as Governor, and he arrived at Madras in the following year:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘Richard Benyon, Esq^r.’, having resided at your place several years and behaved in the several Branches of our business committed to his care entirely to our Satisfaction, having a general good Character all over India as a Merchant; and being persuaded that he is thoroughly capable to assist you in retrieving the Trade of Madras, which has fallen to decay so much of late years, We have thought fit to appoint him Second of Council at your place, and to succeed to the Presidency whenever Mr. Pitt shall think fit to resign the same. . . .’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Benyon filled the office of Governor from Pitt’s resignation on the 23rd January, 1735, for the unusual period of nine years. His term of office was marked by such important events as the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh, the violent death of three Nawabs of the Carnatic, the hostile advance of the Marāthas, and

¹ Bernard Benyon, who appears to have been Richard’s brother, died Third of Council in February, 1715, after four years’ service in Madras. His son, Edward, came out in 1733, and was appointed Factor in the following year.

the acquisition by the British of additional territory near Madras. The Marātha incursion rendered the period one of activity in the improvement and development of the defences of the city. These and some other matters of local importance are discussed in the following pages.

Benyon's Council comprised, at the outset, Randall Fowke, Nicholas Morse, Francis Rous, William Monson, and George Torriano. Rous¹ died in 1738, and Torriano three years later, while Fowke, though remaining a Councillor, was superseded in position on account of advancing age. In 1744 the Council consisted of Nicholas Morse, William Monson, John Hinde, Randall Fowke, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, William Johnson, and John Savage.

Benyon resigned the Governorship to Morse on the 17th January, 1744, and sailed for England the same day. No complaints were made against him in any quarter. He was a capable administrator who enjoyed the complete confidence of the Company throughout his long term of office. He was not unmindful of the dignity of his position, and the following estimates afford some idea of the pomp and circumstance attending the Governor's state appearances :—

*'Extraordinary Expenditure.'*²

'Two Flags to carry before the Governour, vizt.

Taffety, 2 pieces -	-	-	-	-	-	4-27,,
Dying blue, 5 fanams ; Silk for Tossels and Border,						
6 Seer, Pags 6 ; Cooly 12 fanams -	-	-	-	-	-	6-17,,
					Pags.	11-8,,

'Making a New Kittasol.

Broad Cloth, Scarlet, 1½ Yard -	-	-	-	-	-	3-21,,
Gurrahs for Lining, fa. 13-40 ; Silk, 4 Seer, Pags 4 ;						
Tossels, Pags. 2-18 -	-	-	-	-	-	6-31-40
Bambo, 5 fan ^s . ; Thread, 4 fan ^s . Oil, 1 fa. 20 ca. ;						
Cooly, 8 fan ^s . -	-	-	-	-	-	,,-18-20
					Pags.	10-34-60

¹ Francis Rous was brother to Sir William Rous, Chairman of the Directors in 1740.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 17th March, 1734.

'Refitting the Governours Palankeen.¹

Green Velvet, 8 yards	-	-	-	-	-	21-20-,,
Scarlet Cloth, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	-	-	-	-	-	13-29-25
Green Padusoy, 1 piece	-	-	-	-	-	13-,,-,,
Gold Lace, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ounces	-	-	-	-	-	31-21-,,
Green Silk Tassels, Strings and Gold Thread	-	-	-	-	-	47-18-,,
Gingham, Coarse Cloth, Taylor's Work, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	10-19-60

Pags. - 137-35-5

'Refitting the Seconds Pallenkeen.²

Silver, 3 oz. 9 dw.	-	-	-	-	-	2-27-,,
Broad Cloth, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ yds.	-	-	-	-	-	12-24-20
Gingham for the Bulker, 5 pieces	-	-	-	-	-	3-35-,,
Silk for Lining the Pingery, and Silk Lace	-	-	-	-	-	4-29-60
Workmanship, &c. Smaller articles	-	-	-	-	-	[3-20-50]

Pags. - 27-28-50'

Benyon was twice married at Fort St. George, first in 1724 to Mary Fleetwood, daughter of Edward and Mary Fleetwood, and, secondly, in 1738, to Frances Davis, daughter of Richard Horden, and widow of Sandys Davis, Chief of Vizagapatam, who died at that station in 1734. After his return to England, Benyon acquired Gidea Hall, Essex, and married, thirdly, the widow of Powlett Wrighte, of Englefield, Berks, by whom he left one son. Benyon died in 1774 at the age of seventy-seven. Margaretting Church contains a monument to his memory.³

THE MAYOR'S COURT.

It will be remembered that G. M. Pitt, just before his departure, had refused to accept the re-election of Mr. Hugh Naish as Mayor. On the 30th January, 1735, the Corporation chose Mr. John Saunders, a free merchant, and he was duly sworn in. Naish, as an Alderman, was able, however, to exert a factious influence, and friction continued between the Government and the Mayor's Court.

The Court imposed a fine on Mr. Torriano, in his capacity of Sheriff, for inserting in the Bill of Sale of a house a fee paid to the Choultry Justice for certifying the sale. Such fees had been authorized from Master's time, but had not of late been claimed.

¹ P.C., vol. lxvi., 14th Feb., 173 $\frac{5}{8}$.

² P.C., vol. lxvii., 17th Jan., 173 $\frac{9}{8}$.

³ *Antiquities of Essex*, Suckling, 1845. Communicated by Mr. William Foster.

On appeal by the Sheriff, the President remarked that the system of alternative registration before the Mayor's Court or at the Choultry opened a door to the fraudulent conveyance of property. The Council considered that the Company's Standing Orders could not be overridden by the Charter, and resolved to establish a single registration office, maintaining separate books for the town, each of the pettahs, and the villages. They nominated two of the Justices of the Peace to certify conveyances, and appointed Mr. Ralph Mansell to be Registrar. A notification was published that all persons should within six months produce their title to lands and houses, failing which the Company as 'Proprietors of the Soil' would resume possession.¹

In a suit brought by the Company against Sunku Rāma for breach of contract, the Court of Appeal had enjoined the Mayor's Court to issue a warrant of execution. The Mayor's Court delayed action, and displayed a deference towards Sunku Rāma which 'brings the Government into derision by the Inhabitants and by the Country Government.' The Council resolved that 'pursuant to the directions in the Charter, he [the Company's Solicitor] do prefer a complaint to this Board against the Mayor and each of the Aldermen for disobeying the Injunctions sent them from the Court of Appeals.'² They then turned their attention to Sunku Rāma :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'After which the President remark'd to the Board the Conduct of Sunca Rama during the progress of this cause in the Mayor's Court, Arrogantly as well as insolently defying the Company's authority, and impudently preaching in the Black town that, as his friends in the Mayor's Court had given their words to stand by him, he did not value any other Power. The President also reminded the Board of Sunca Rama's practices in relation to Chindadre Petta, and the other uses he made of the liberty of coming into the White Town, extremely prejudicial to the Company's Affairs and the English Government. . . . Add besides the Scandalous use he makes of his daily visits to the leading Members of the Court, which is so notorious and so Shamefull a Prostitution of the justice of the place that ought not to be Suffer'd in any civil Government. For which reasons, and to shew a proper and necessary resentment, the President propos'd that Sunca Rama might now be forbid coming into the White Town without particular leave, which was Agreed to.' (P.C., vol. lxx., 11th June, 1735.)

¹ P.C., vol. lxx., 26th May and 11th June, 1735.

² P.C., vol. lxx., 11th June, 1735.



Sunku Rāma died in 1736, greatly to Benyon's relief.

In the meantime Mr. John Savage, the Company's Solicitor, drew up separate complaints against 'John Saunders, Esq^r., Mayor of the town of Madrasspatnam, Hugh Naish, Holland Goddard, Robert Allen, Thomas App[^l]eby and Edward Mitchell, Aldermen of the said Town,' charging them with actions tending to the detriment of the Company, and contrary to the administration of justice and to the rules of the Charter.¹ The Mayor and Aldermen put in a demurrer pleading that the members of the Court of Appeal were also President and Council, and therefore interested parties. The records are silent as to further progress in the case.

The next trouble occurred in April, 1736, when the President reported the arrest, by the Mayor's Court Serjeant, of a Poligar 'in Trivitash,² a Village not two Miles from the Fort, but out of the Company's bounds; upon which I told the Mayor³ and the Serjeant that, though the Charter did say the Jurisdiction of the Court should extend ten Miles, yet I supposed it was to be understood and provided that the Company's Bounds had the same Extent; but, however that might be, I was sure the Moors would not suffer the Mayor's Warrants to pass in their Territories, and therefore they [the Mayor's Court] would do well to confine their Jurisdiction within that of the Company.' The Poligar, who had surveillance over twenty-five villages, including Cattawauk and Sātangād, had been assaulted and imprisoned. Benyon informed the Mayor that Poligars were held exempt from arrest, and the man was then liberated and compensated:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The ill Consequences which may ensue from the breach of the Old Rules of the Place establish'd for many and very good reasons, induced the Board to come to the following resolution thereupon:—

'Order'd that no Sheriff do serve any Warrant of Arrest or Execution upon the Person of the Poligar of Madrass,⁴ or any of the Poligars of the Villages, nor upon their dwelling Houses where they keep their Prisoners, nor upon any of the Duties due and payable to them for the Guard and Safety of the Town and Villages.' (P.C., vol. lxvi., 19th April, 1736.)

¹ P.C., vol. lxv., 16th June, 1735.

² *Trivitash*, Tiruvatiswarampet, 1½ miles from the Fort. It lay west of Triplicane, and south of the new village of Chintadripetta.

³ *The Mayor*, Mr. Holland Goddard.

⁴ *The Poligar of Madrass*, the Peddanaigue.



Before the end of 1736 there was open rupture:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

‘The 28th September the President was surpriz’d to see a great Croud of People enter the Fort, Merchants and others, who came with a Complaint that the Mayors Court had committed to Jail two Merchants named Perrima Moodalare and Ram Chundree for no other Reason but that they had refused to take certain Oaths which, they alledged, were contrary to their Religion and the Rules of their Cast. The Crowd and Clamour was so great, and some of them calling out that if such a Power was tolerated they would not continue longer in the Bounds; and knowing besides there was nothing about which these People are so tenacious as that which affects their religious Rites and Ceremonies, the President thought himself under an absolute Necessity of doing something immediately which might pacify and make them easy. Accordingly he sent for the Mayor and the Sheriff. The first owned to him that the said two Merchants were only imprison’d because they had refused to take certain Oaths at Trivlicane Pagoda. . . . The President having talked some time with the Mayor . . ., told him in the End . . . that he shou’d be very ready to join with the Court in any measures which they shou’d propose that the regular Course of Justice might not be obstructed, provided a due regard was had for Consciences truly scrupulous, and that the Natives might not be disturbed in their religious Rites and Ceremonies; but in the meantime he must desire Mr. Sheriff to release the two Merchants upon their Parole, which he accordingly did; and then the people being satisfied, they dispersed.

‘The President acquainted the Council the next Day with what he had done, with his Reasons for the same, who approved thereof; but we avoided to mention it upon our Consultations, being unwilling to record anything which might reflect upon the Gentlemen of the Mayors Court, and hoping also they wou’d have consider’d it again, and have had the Prudence either to drop it or propose some Method not liable to be attended with the Mischiefs this might have been.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 1738.)

On the 5th October, Naish, Saunders, Appleby, and Mitchell resigned, leaving only the Mayor and Edward Fowke on the Bench. The Court was thus paralyzed and unable to sit until Allen could be brought up from St. David at the end of December. The three, acting in their corporate capacity, then filled up the vacancies.

In January, 1744, directly after Benyon had left, the Mayor’s Court represented by their Registrar, Noah Casamajor, that, their income failing to meet expenditure, they had appropriated Pags. 357–27–30 from the Estates deposited in Court. They asked for the refund of this sum, and offered to resign their revenues if Government would meet the cost of the Court. The Council declined to repay the excess, but consented, subject to the approval of the Home authority, to resume the Weighing, Measuring, and

Banksall duties, and to allow Pags. 50 a month for the service of the Court.¹ The dues comprised:—

Banksall Duty on paddy brought to the Granary.

Banksall Measuring Duty on grain other than paddy sold at the Granary.

Choultry Banksall Duty } on grain other than paddy sold at
Choultry Measuring Duty } the Choultry.

Choultry Weighing Duty, on goods weighed at the Choultry.

Sea Gate Weighing Duty, on goods weighed at the Sea Gate.

In 1745 Government sanctioned a special seal for the use of the Sheriff, and directed 'that the Device of it be The Maces crossed on the Sword in a Mashle, with *Sheriff of Madrasspatnam* in a Circle round it.'²

CONCERNING THE CARNATIC.

At this period the British were brought into such close relations with the Carnatic, and the government of the province became so confused and disordered, that it seems necessary to give some account of the conditions prevailing. The following relation, which is made as succinct as is compatible with an understanding of the measures adopted at Fort St. George, is derived from the records, supplemented by papers³ which are preserved among the Orme manuscripts at the India Office:—

In 1715 Nawab Sa'adatullah Khān headed an expedition to Gingee, slew Sarūp Singh in battle, and reconquered his territory. He then reduced Tanjore to the condition of a tributary state. From the period of the Kutb Shāhs of Golconda the rulers of the Carnatic had invariably obtained office by selection: Sa'adatullah aimed at the retention of the government in his own family. Having no children, he adopted a nephew named Dost 'Alī, whom he nominated his successor, obtaining the private consent of the Mogul, but omitting to secure the approval of his immediate superior Nizām-ul-Mulk. Sa'adatullah ruled with

¹ P.C., vol. lxxiv., 23rd and 26th Jan., 1744.

² P.C., vol. lxxv., 12th Oct., 1745. Mashle, a net in Heraldry. 'A Mascle in Armory is a representation of the mash of a net.'

³ *History of the Carnatic to 1749*, by Paupa Bramin (Orme MSS., India, vol. i., 51), and *Succession of the Nabobs in the Carnatic Province since the Year 1710* (Orme MSS., vol. xxv., p. 7).

moderation and success, and his death in 1732 was generally lamented.

Dost 'Alī, who succeeded as Nawab, though without the sanction of the Nizam, had two sons, Şafdar 'Alī and Ḥasan 'Alī, and several daughters. One of the daughters was married to Chanda Şāḥib and another to Murtaẓā 'Alī, both kinsmen of the Nawab. Within three years of his accession, Dost 'Alī had devoted himself to the life religious, leaving the details of government to Şafdar 'Alī and Chanda Şāḥib. Governor Benyon, on the advice of 'our Old Friend at Arcot, Imaum Saheb,'¹ made presents to these two nobles when they visited San Thomé in 1735.² On the death of the Rajah of Trichinopoly in 1736, the Nawab sent Şafdar 'Alī and Chanda Şāḥib with an army to watch his interests on the spot. They seized Trichinopoly from its widowed Rāni. Chanda Şāḥib was installed as viceroy of that state, while Şafdar 'Alī returned to Arcot to become virtual ruler of the Carnatic.

Following a long period of scarcity, the rains of 1736 failed entirely. Hungry vagrants crowded into Madras, and the Council apprehended 'a Famine that we have reason to fear will be more cruel than any we have felt yet.'³ The Nawab was living near Pondicherry, 'very negligent and inattentive to all Affairs, and of Course little regarded':—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Army has been at so great a Distance, and the Nabob absent from his Capital, [that] it has given rise to many Disorders in the Province. There have been frequent Robberys in the Great Towns as well as in the Roads, and the Exactions of the Havildars has been so vexatious and intolerable to the Natives that several Towns and Villages have been deserted by the Inhabitants. In a word the Confusion and Disorder of the Country is exceeding great, and the Merchants know not where to trust their Money for purchase of the Manufactures of the Country.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 1737.)

Nizām-ul-Mulk, always hostile to Dost 'Alī, instigated the Marāthas to overrun his territory. In 1738 they broke into the Carnatic. Şafdar 'Alī went to meet them with an insignificant force. He bought them off,⁴ but this course afforded only a

¹ *Imaun Sahib* was an officer of State under Dost 'Alī.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 7th July, 11th Oct., and 18th Nov., 1735.

³ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 1737.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 8th to 17th July, 1738.



temporary respite. The ruler of the Marāthas was Sāhu, son of Sambhājī and grandson of Sivājī. He had been taken prisoner by Aurangzīb soon after Sambhājī's execution in 1689. During the years of his incarceration his uncle, Rām Rājā, acted as regent, and from the fortress of Gingee kept Zu,lfikār, Dā,ūd Khān and Kām Baksh at bay. When released in 1708, Sāhu selected Satārā as his capital, and allowed the ship of state to be guided by his eminent Peishwas Bālājī and Bājī Rau, father and son. Among his most capable generals were, Rāghojī Bhonsla who founded the Nagpore State, and Fath Singh Bhonsla.

The sack of Delhi by the Persian Nādir Shāh, news of which reached Madras in 1739, is thus laconically recorded by Governor Benyon:—‘The President lays before the Board a translate of some Advices from the Country sent hither by Imaum Sahib, importing Shaw Nadir's having conquered Dilly and taken possession of the Mogul Empire, which is ordered to be entered in the Country Letter Book under No. 5.’¹

More nearly was Fort St. George affected by other tidings received from Imām Ṣāhib by Petrus Uscau four months later, that the ‘Sou Raja’ was about to invade the Carnatic afresh with an army of 50,000 men, under the command of the Peishwa Bājī Rau.² The measures of defence which Benyon adopted are described on another page. The threatened invasion took effect in the following year. Nawab Dost ‘Alī hurried to the frontier in person, but he was hemmed in near Ambūr, on the 9th May, 1740, his army routed, and himself and his younger son, Ḥasan ‘Alī, slain. Ṣāfdar ‘Alī, who was advancing to join his father, escaped to Vellore and proclaimed himself Nawab.³ Hordes of Marāthas spread over the province, plundered Arcot, which was ‘no Wall'd City,’ Conjeveram and even Trivellore, a few miles west of Madras.⁴ The new Nawab bought them off by a promise of payment of 32 lakhs of rupees by instalments.

Chanda Ṣāhib had quarrelled with Ṣāfdar ‘Alī over the Trichinopoly share of the Carnatic indemnity. The Nawab winked at, if he did not suggest, an attack by the Marāthas on that territory. In November, 1740, Rāghojī Bhonsla swooped

¹ P.C., vol. lxix., 9th April, 1739.

² P.C., vol. lxix., 13th Aug., 1739.

³ P.C., vol. lxx., 12th May, 1740.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxx., 15th and 22nd May, 1740.

down on Trichinopoly. Incidentally, a party of 5,000 horse burst into the bounds of Fort St. David and plundered the village of Manjikuppam. On the 13th March, 1741, Chanda Şāhib surrendered, and was carried prisoner to Satārā, escorted by 40,000 horse. A force of 30,000 remained at Trichinopoly under Morārī Khudābetā,¹ afterwards known as Morārī Rau. Meanwhile Rāghojī Bhonsla had opened friendly communications with Forts St. George and St. David. Presents were sent him through Petrus Uscau, and, in return, cowles 'both for Chennapatam and Tevenapatam' were issued by the generals 'Rajah Phutta Sing and Rajah Rahgojee Bosalla.'²

Şafdar 'Alī had not been confirmed by Nizām-ul-Mulk, who was as hostile to him as he had been to his father before him. For the sake of security, the Nawab resolved to send his family to Madras.³ The Fort St. George Council hired houses for him in the Black Town, and on the 22nd September, 1741, he made his entry:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The 21st at Midnight the Nabob sent into Town his Mother, his Lady, and his Son, who is about four Years old. Their Female Attendance are very Numerous, which has given us much Trouble to find room for them. We sent our Poligar⁴ with Two hundred Peons and our Country Musick to meet them at Triplicane. The Guard which the Nabob sent with them returned back from thence, except about Twenty Horse that came into Town with them. The Nabob having sent Notice that he intended to come into Town next Afternoon, Mr. Monson and Captain Hollond, the Polligar with Two Hundred Peons and our Country Musick met him at the Edge of the Bounds. When he came to Triplicane Bridge he Stopt there and sent all his Force back to St. Thomē⁵ except about Thirty Horse and One hundred Peons; but he was met by many thousands of our Inhabitants, who attended him from Triplicane to the Foot of the Island Bridge. The Governour, attended by the Council, met him at the Fort Gate, when the Guns from the Ramparts began to Fire; and we conducted him up to the Consultation Room where, after having Stayed about half an Hour, we waited upon him again to the Fort Gate, and he proceeded to the House which was prepared for his Reception in the Black Town. The Fort had saluted him with Sixty one Guns, and the four

¹ P.C., vol. lxxi., 23rd Jan., 1741, and 16th April, 1741. Also P. to Eng., vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.

² P.C., vol. lxxi., 24th April, 1741.

³ According to Paupa Braminy the younger, Şafdar 'Alī, with the idea of favourably impressing the Nizam, gave out that he would make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thereafter live in retirement. He accordingly conducted his family to Madras, as if in readiness for embarkation.

⁴ Our Polligar, the Peddanaigue.

This spelling, instead of St. Thoma, is here first used.



Europe Ships with Twenty one each. The F[ort] fired twenty one more when he reached his own H[ouse]. . . . The Governors of the Towns to the Northward of this place, that are under his province, come in daily to pay their respects to him. 'Tis a great concern to Us that we were not better prepared for his reception and Accommodation ; but he makes it as easy for Us as he can, having but very few of his own Attendants about him, and those are extremely quiet.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The Nawab's family, consisting of his mother, wife, and young son, Šāhib Jadda, remained in Madras as guests of the Company, but Šafdar 'Alī himself proceeded to the fort of Vellore, of which his cousin and brother-in-law, Murtaẓā 'Alī, was Killedar.¹ The Nawab made several visits, however, to Madras, the last being in August, 1742. Presents were made him from time to time. Among the articles offered were 74 pairs of 'Gilt Sneakers with Moorish Characters.'²

During the stay in Black Town of the members of the Nawab's family, a visit was paid them by Mrs. Benyon and other ladies. An account written home by one of the party was afterwards published under the title of '*A Letter from a Lady at Madrass to her Friends in London: giving An Account of a Visit made by the Governor of that Place, with his Lady and others, to the Nabob (prime Minister to the Great Mogul) and his Lady, &c., in which their Persons, and amazing Richness of Dress, are particularly described. . . . London: Printed for and sold by H. Piers, Bookseller, opposite to a great Tin-Shop near the Bull and Gate, High Holborn, 1743.*' A manuscript copy of the letter, preserved in the British Museum, shows that the account was written by Jane Smart to her son in England.³ From the Fort St. George records it appears that this lady, with two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane Smart, came to Madras in 1740, and resided there three years. The mother's name occurs in the lists of 'Married Women,' while the daughters are shown as 'Young Women Unmarried.'⁴ The letter runs as follows:—

¹ Killedar, the commander of a fortress; from Pers. *kil'a*, a fort.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 22nd Feb., 174½. Sneakers were drinking cups.

³ Communicated by Mr. G. F. Barwick.

⁴ From the Brit. Mus. Catalogue and House of Lords Appeals, it seems that Jane Smart became, in 1703, the second wife of John Allardice, merchant, of Aberdeen, by whom she had nine children. On the death of Allardice, in 1718, his son by his first marriage, who benefited to the extent of '10,000 Merks Scots,' disputed his father's will, and the case was carried on appeal to the House of Lords in 1722, when the respondent is described as 'Jane Smart, Widow.'

'You must know we have a great Man call'd the *Nabob*, who is the next Person in Dignity to the Great *Mogul*, who came to visit the Governor ; who, with the Council and all the Head-Gentlemen of *Madraſs*, went in great State to meet him. His Lady, with all her Women-Attendants, came the Night before him. All the Guns round the Fort fired on her Arrival as well as his. He and she are *Moors*, whose Women are never seen by any Man upon Earth except their Husbands. He stay'd here about a Fortnight, but his Lady remains in the *Black Town* ; his Attendants consisted of many Thousands of People. The Governor waited on him at his House in the *Black Town*, and he return'd the Visit to the Governor. All the Ladies in the Town went to see him go. It was a fine Procession of *Palanquins*, and he a fine Man in Person. The Richness of his Dress with Pearls and Diamonds is beyond Description. He sent the Governor a fine Present, which was put into a large Philligree Silver-box, placed upon the Back of a fine *Moor* Horse, which are large fine Creatures. It was adorn'd with all manner of fine Gold and Velvet Trappings ; and I believe there was a thousand Horse and Foot People to attend it.

'After he left *Madraſs*, Mrs. *B.*, the Governor's Lady, went to visit his Lady. The Governor was so obliging as to write to me over Night, to invite myself and your Sisters to go with Mrs. *B.* next Morning to visit this great Lady. We dress'd ourselves in the very best of every thing we had, and went to the Governor, where we breakfasted. We found Mrs. *B.* as fine as a Queen, and the Governor made Tea for us, that we might not put ourselves out of Form. Mrs. *Beard*¹ and her eldest Daughter made up the rest of the Company. We had all the Governor's Attendants as well as his Lady's, and his Musick playing before us all the Way, and Thousands of People looking at us in our Way thither. We had about a Mile to go.

'When we arriv'd, Mrs. *B.* was handed by a Lady, who was to introduce her, through two Halls, which brought us into a large Garden, and a Pavilion at the End of it, where the *Nabob's* Lady was seated. A grand *Moor*-Lady of her Acquaintance came to receive Mrs. *B.* in the Middle of the Garden, and presented her to the *Nabob's* Lady, who was seated in the Middle of the Pavilion upon a Settee cover'd with rich Embroidery upon Crimson Velvet : an embroider'd Carpet hung over it, which went all round her Feet. She received our Governness with the utmost Gentility and good Breeding, and paid her proper Compliments to us.

'I must now give you a Description of her Person and Dress. Her Person was thin, genteel, and middle sized ; her Complexion tawny, as the *Moors* all are ; her Eyes as black as possible, large and fine, and painted at the Edges, which is what most of the *Moors* do ; her Lips painted red ; and between every Tooth, which was fine and regular, she was painted black, that they might look like Ebony. All her Attendants, which were about thirty Ladies, were the same. Her face was done over, like frosted Work, with Leaf-gold ; the Nails of her Fingers and Toes, for they were bare-footed, were painted red, and likewise the Middle of her Hands.

'You will perhaps think this is a strange Description, but I assure you it is literally true. And now for her Dress.

'Her Hair was black as Jet, very long and thick, which was comb'd back

¹ Mrs. Elizabeth Beard was the wife of Charles Beard, of Madras, a supercargo. Their daughters Mary and Elizabeth, were at this time 'Young Women Unmarried.'

neatly, and then braided ; it hung a great deal below her Waist ; she had a Fillet of Diamonds round her Head, edged with Pearls of a large size. Her Ear-rings were as broad as my Hand, made of Diamonds and Pearls, so that they almost cover'd each Side of her Face ; then she had a Nose-Jewel that went through her left Nostril. Round her Neck she had twenty Rows of Pearls, none smaller than a Pea, but a great Number of them as large as the End of my little Finger. From her Necklace there hung a great Number of Rows of large Pearls, which came down below her Waist, at the End of which hung an Emerald as large as my Hand, and as thick. Her Coat which she had on was made of fine Gold-Muslin, made close to her, and a slash'd Sleeve : A Gold-Veil, which she hung carelessly over her Head, and went over her Body, all the Front Part of it was trim'd with a Row of large Pearls : she had a Girdle, or rather a Hoop, made of Diamonds, which went round the Bottom of her Waist, which hung down almost to her Knees, and great Knots of Pearls at the end of them ; ten Rows of large Pearls round her Waist, and ten Rows round her Arms a little above her Elbow, and her Fingers every one of them adorn'd with rich Rings of all Sorts and Sizes : Her Feet and Ancles were, if possible, richer and more adorn'd than her Hands and Arms. In short, Mrs. *Beard* and myself computed she had many more Diamonds and Pearls about her than would fill a Peck-Measure.

'Some of the Ladies that attended her were near as fine as herself. She had her little Son brought in to see us, the Richness of whose Dress, were I to describe it, you would imagine I was telling you some Fairy Story. But in short he was loaded with Gold, Pearls, and Diamonds. The very Fan that was carried to keep the Sun off him, and in Make like a fine [? fire] Screen, only four times as large, was Crimson-Velvet, all set in Figures with Pearls and Diamonds. I own I thought myself in a Dream the whole Time I was there.

'I must not omit giving you a Description of the Pavilion. It was very large and spacious, all the bottom cover'd with fine Carpets, and entirely hung round with Muslin Valens ; at one End there stood the Bed, or Cott (as we call it), the Frame-Work and Pillars of which were of solid Gold, and Gold Gauze Curtains, with a rich Counterpane ; and several fine Dressing-Tables with large Philligree Candlesticks upon them.

'At the Entrance of the Pavilion there was a long embroidered Carpet, with a Pillow of the same Work at each End, which was opposite to the Settee the Ladies sat upon, for us to walk over ; there was something like an Arning, made of Crimson Silk, which went all on the outside of the Pavilion, and was supported with Pillars of Gold. We had two Gold Censors of Incense and Sandal Wood, that almost suffocated us with the Perfume.

'Our Entertainment was Tea, which seem'd to be made with Rose-Water and Cinnamon. Every thing was in Plate. Then we had Beetel brought us in fine Philligree Boxes made of Gold, upon large scollop'd Silver Waiters, which we liked much better than what was in them, for the Beetel is a large Green Leaf, which the *Indians* chew, of an intoxicating Nature, and very Disagreeable to the *English* ; but we were forced to comply with that out of Compliment.

'After all this was over, we saw a large Silver Board brought, covered with a work'd Carpet, which was presented to Mrs. *B.* When uncovered there was a fine *Moor's* Coat, with a couple of rich Gold-Veils ; then a Present was given to each of us, which was a Gold Veil and a *Moor's* Coat. The *Nabob's* Lady

put Mrs. B.'s Veil upon her ; so we in Compliment put on ours, which she was pleased at, and we came back to the Governor's in them, where we dined and spent the Evening. The *Nabob's* Lady sent an Entertainment after us, which consisted of 60 Dishes, all under Silver Covers, and put up in Scarlet Cloth Bags made for that Purpose. The Governor's Lady made a Present of one Hundred *Pagodas* to her Attendants.

'The *Nabob's* Lady and her Attendants admir'd us all, but thought our Dress very odd. Two of the Lady's examin'd my Dress till they came to my Hoop-Petticoat, which they were very much astonished at ; they much admir'd my Tweezer¹ and the Trinkets in it. To end all, we were the first *English* Women they had ever seen, and I doubt not that we appeared as odd to them as they did to us. Their numerous Riches are all the Enjoyment they have, for she is not suffered to go out all the Year round ; and when obliged to travel, is covered up in her *Palanquin* in such a Manner that no Mortal can see her, and it would be Death to any Man to attempt to see a *Moor's* Lady.'

On the 5th October, 1742, Benyon was awakened at two o'clock in the morning by an express from the Havaldar of Poonamallee, announcing that the Nawab had been assassinated at Vellore by Murtaẓā 'Alī, governor of that fort.² The guards at Madras were immediately doubled. The Nawab's family enquired the reason, 'but nobody Cared to tell them the News.' By midday, however, they heard details of the tragedy from Vellore. It appeared that Mīr Asad, the Dewan, had demanded of the Killedar the portion of the Marātha indemnity in which he was assessed, and the Nawab intimated that his cousin, in default of payment, must resign the fort and jaghire. Murtaẓā 'Alī then determined to kill the Nawab, and secure the succession. During the feast of Shab-i-Barāt, when leave had been granted to the guards, he executed his villainous purpose, causing Şafdar 'Alī to be murdered in his bedroom, but sparing Mīr Asad. Ten days later, he proclaimed himself Nawab at Arcot. The army, however, proved dissatisfied ; Morārī Rau and the Marāthas sided with the family of the murdered man, and Murtaẓā 'Alī fled to Vellore disguised in female attire. The army immediately proclaimed Şahib Jadda Nawab under the name of Muḥammad Sa'īd. Word was sent to Madras, where the boy's elevation was announced with due ceremony at the Garden House, a great procession attending him thither, and back to his residence in Black Town.³

¹ Tweezer, tweeze, a case, sheath ; from Fr. *étui*.

² P.C., vol. lxxii., 6th Oct., 1742. Murtaẓā 'Alī was son of Bākar 'Alī, who, like Dost 'Alī, was nephew and adopted son of Nawab Sa'ādatullah Khān.

³ P.C., vol. lxxii., 27th Dec., 1742, and *Succession of the Nabobs in the Carnatic Province since the Year 1710* (Orme MSS.).



The young Nawab recompensed the Governor and Council for the hospitality shown him by granting them as a gift¹ the five villages of 'Ernavore, Saudian Copang, Vapery, Perambore and Poodupauk,'² and by the grant of 'Liberty of Coining Arcot Rupees and Pagodas according to the Usage and Practice of the Country Mints' in a mint to be set up in Chintadripetta. Some minor privileges relating to Chintadripetta were accorded by three other grants of the same date.

Nizām-ul-Mulk was not displeased to hear of Şafdar 'Alī's death, and condoning Murtaẓā 'Alī's iniquity, he resolved, with the advice of Imām Şāhib,³ to visit the Carnatic. In company with his son, Nāşir Jang, he arrived at Arcot in February, 1743, at the head of an army of 120,000 men. The young Nawab, who had moved from Madras to Wandewash, visited his suzerain, by whom he was virtually made a State prisoner. The Nizam promised, it is true, to consider his claims when he reached man's estate, but in the meantime appointed General Khwājah 'Abdullah Khān to be Nawab of Arcot. The army then advanced on Trichinopoly to attack the Marāthas under Morārī Rau.

Governor Benyon saw an opportunity here of obtaining confirmation of the recent grant of villages. With the aid of 'Coja Petrus and Hodjee Addy'⁴ a supply of valuables was procured, and an embassy, consisting of Messrs. Thomas Eyre and Samuel Harrison, with Lieut. Holland and a numerous retinue, was deputed to carry the present. The party started on the 8th March by way of Conjeveram to Gingee, and ultimately to Trichinopoly. The present, which cost about Pags. 13,000, was duly delivered, but the Nizam would make no definite promises.⁵ Eyre returned to Madras on the 1st May, and submitted a diary of his doings which has been transcribed by Wheeler in *Madras in the Olden Time*. Meanwhile negotiations were carried on with Imām

¹ The grant was probably authorized by Nawab Şafdar 'Alī, though it was not actually made until a month after his death.

² Ernavore and Sadiankuppam are contiguous to Trivatore and south of Ennore. The other three villages are within the present municipal limits of the city. Vepery lies between Peddanaikpetta and Egmore; Perambore is north of Pursewaukum, and Poodoopauk west of Triplicane.

³ On the death of Nawab Dost 'Alī, Imām Şāhib went to Golconda, where he became one of the Nizam's favourite courtiers.

⁴ Merchants of Madras; the former an Armenian, the latter a Moslem.

⁵ P.C., vol. lxxiii., 5th Feb. to 2nd May, 1743.

Ṣahib at Arcot about the new villages and Chintadripetta mint.¹

The Nizam had reasons of his own for not pressing the siege. After sitting before Trichinopoly for six months, terms were arranged by which Morārī Rau surrendered the place to Khwājah 'Abdullah. Nizām-ul-Mulk returned to Arcot, and in December visited San Thomé, when a further present was made him by the Council of Fort St. George.² He remained in the province, distributing appointments, until March, 1744, when he returned to Golconda, followed by Khwājah 'Abdullah, who left his son Ni'matullah Khān behind as Deputy Nawab. Then a quick change occurred. Khwājah 'Abdullah's public confirmation as Nawab was immediately followed by his sudden death. According to the veracious Pāpaiya Brāhman, the younger:—

*Pāpaiya Brāhman's Account.*³

'Soon after this Man [Abdullah] returned to his House and was preparing to march away to Arcot, he was surprisingly dead by the pain in his Belly,⁴ which gave a different turn to the Affair next Morning; that some friend of Anwar a dean Cawn—who have been the Nabob of Yelore and Raja Maheadrums Countrys⁵ for great many years, and who attended the Nizam's Person sometime since for favour, and have been Ordered by him (at the time of his leaving Golconda) to overlook and watch the City of Golconda in his absence—took advantage of that favourable Opportunity to intercede for him with Nizam; and upon agreeing to stand to all the Engagements which were agreed and promised by Coja Abdulla Cawn deceased, they prevailed upon Nizam al Mulack to appoint Anwaradean Cawn in his Stead, which was granted accordingly by constituting Anwaradean Cawn Nabob of the Province of Arcot; Mahaphoose Cawn⁶ his Eldest Son, Deputy Nabob, and to succeed his Father in case of Death; Mahomud Ally Khan,⁷ the second Son, Vice Roy of Tritchenopoly; and Lollah Sawpatrove,⁸ Divan.'

¹ P.C., vol. lxxiii., 20th June, 1743.

² P.C., vol. lxxiii., 29th Aug. and 26th Dec., 1743.

³ *History of the Carnatic to 1749*, by Paupa Bramin (Orme MSS.).

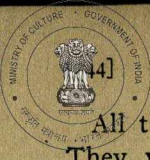
⁴ Another account attributes his death to apoplexy, a cause which seems inconsistent with the symptoms.

⁵ Anwār-ud-dīn, founder of the second Carnatic dynasty, was the son of Anwār, a commoner learned in ecclesiastical law, who, after making a pilgrimage to Mecca, was ennobled by Aurangzib. Anwār-ud-dīn, the son, after service at Surat under Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, was appointed governor of Ellore and Rajahmundry in 1725 by Ghāzī's son and successor, Nizām-ul-Mulk. He was an old man when raised to be Nawab of the Carnatic. (*Military Transactions*, Orme.)

⁶ Maḥfūz Khān, eldest son of Anwār-ud-dīn.

⁷ Afterwards the celebrated Nawab Walajah.

⁸ Lālā Sampāti Rau.



All these persons proceeded to Arcot to assume their duties. They were accompanied by the boy Šāhib Jadda, who was specially recommended to Anwār-ud-dīn's protection by the Nizam. Murtaẓā 'Alī, still hoping for the government, concocted a plot to murder both the Nawab and his ward. The scheme failed as regards the former, but Šāhib Jadda was assassinated in June, 1744, when attending a wedding in the fort of Arcot. Anwār-ud-dīn's complicity in the crime has been generally suspected, but the following extract goes far to absolve him from guilty knowledge:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Anawardee Cawn . . . came to Arcot the beginning of April, bringing with him Saib Judda, the late Nabob's Son. . . . The family and Relations of the late Nabob were very much chagrined at this Appointment, having been a long time amused with the repeated promises of Nizam that Saib Judda should have his Father's post ; but all they could now obtain was that, when he had attain'd the Age of Manhood, it should then be given him, that the present Nabob should educate him, and that he should be in a particular manner recommended to his Care and patronage. This young Lad had lived with Nizam now upwards of a Year, who seem'd much delighted with him, and express'd a concern at parting not usual with that Great Man. . . . Soon After, Moortas Alli Khan, the person through whose Instigation the late Nabob was killed, hired fourteen persons of the Patan Cast to Assassinate the Nabob, Saib Judda and some others, intending to Seize upon the Government. To compass which design, they waited Several days, but a slight indisposition kept the Nabob at home, and the day he was to have gone to the Mosque where they lay in wait for him, his time hap'n'd to be taken up in receiving the present we had sent him, so that he providentially escaped their hands. But the next day they had an Opportunity of entering the Fort at Arcot and Murdering the Killedar, Saib Judda, and Six more of his Relations. Twelve of the Assassins were instantly cut to pieces, and the two others were taken, and in the Turband of One was found an Obligatory Note Signed and Sealed by Moortas Alli Khan for two hundred thousand Rupees to be paid them on their executing this piece of wickedness. These were also put to death ; and since then there has been Another Attempt on the Nabob's Life which miscarried also.

'The death of this unfortunate young Lad and the manner of it has greatly afflicted our Nabob, as he was Sensible it would Occasion Nizam's great displeasure for his not having taken more care of him ; and had not his Age¹ and Services pleaded strong in his favour, he certainly had lost his post. His Negligence was interpreted at first by Nizam as a design in favour of his own Son ; but after he had read the Note of Moortas Alli Khan in which the Nabob's Name was mentioned as one they had marked out for a Victim, it Soften'd him a good deal : nevertheless he did not fail to reproach him

¹ Anwār-ud-dīn was then 85 years of age. (P.C., vol. lxxiv., 11th June, 1744.)

severely in all his Letters for his great Negligence towards the Lad, and upbraiding him with his not performing his promise when he committed him to his Charge.

‘Since this Accident has hap’ned, and that the Old Family have now no hopes of having the Management of Affairs in this province, from whom we might have expected some Advantages, we are glad to find a person of so good a disposition placed at Arcot. As he was pretty much a Stranger to Europeans, having lived most part of his Life in the Inland Countries, we thought it highly proper to send a person thither to him, who might discourse with him on such Matters as would most concern our Interests, and the establishing of a good opinion of Us with him, as well as to prevent his receiving any Impressions of Us to our disadvantage. This we obtain’d of Hodjee Addee to undertake for Us, and which commission he has executed with great fidelity. He is at present at Arcot in high favour and Confidence with the Nabob, and we beleive will take up his Residence there, the Nabob being so very fond of his conversation that he is generally with him the greatest part of the day ; and he has so good an Opinion of his Abilities that he is consulted on all important Occasions. By this we have fortunately a very good Friend to Assist Us in our Affairs there.’ (P. to Eng., vol. xiv., 5th Sept., 1744.)

Pāpaiya Brāhman held the new *régime* in little estimation. He says, ‘Anwaradean Khan, his Sons and Ministers, by their Administration of the Government of the Country proved to be the most spiritless, covetous, severe and unjust People among all the late Governors of Carnatica, that the whole body of Superior, Inferior and meaner Rank of Subjects in the Province continually lamented for having so bad a Government over them.’



CHAPTER XXI

1735—1744

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS—MILITARY MEASURES—
GARDENS AND BUILDINGS

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS.

THE five hamlets presented to Fort St. George by the boy Nawab, Muḥammad Sa'īd, formed the third batch of suburban villages granted to the British. The 'three old towns' of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were assigned by the Vizier Asad Khān in 1693 to Governor Higginson, and the 'five new villages' of Nungumbaukum, Vasalavāda, Trivatore, Sātangādu and Catawauk by Dā,ūd Khān to Governor Pitt in 1708. The grant, in 1742, of Vepery, Perambore, Poodoopauk, and two other hamlets near Trivatore, was made in the following terms :—

'Translate of Sunod¹ dated 4th November, 1742.

(P.C., vol. lxxiii., 11th Jan., 1743.)

'That the Vakiel of the said Governour [Benyon] having represented that his Master desires the five following Villages which are near Chinapatam, They be granted to him as a present, Vizt.

Ernavore, near Trivatore, produces every year	- -	Pags. 205 ³ ₁₈
Sadiamgoopam	Do. - -	215 ⁶ ₁₈
Vepcery, near Egmore, (except that Ground which belongs to the Mettah ² Custom house of the Surcar) ³	- - - - -	25 ³ ₁₈
Perambore, near Do.	- - - - -	114 ¹³ ₁₈
Poodupauk, ⁴ Do.	- - - - -	105 ³ ₁₈
		Pags. 665 ¹⁴ ₁₈

¹ *Sunod*, a deed of grant; from Ar. *sanad*.

² *The Mettah Custom house* at Periamett, under native control.

³ *Surcar*, sirkar, circar, the Government; from Pers. *sar-kār*, head of affairs.

⁴ In 1744 the revenues of only four villages were coming in, Poodoopauk not having yet been handed over by the Killedar of Poonamallee.

On an earlier page was given an extract from an 'Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras or Chinna-patam, from a Mharatta Paper MS. translated by C. V. Boria in 1802,' preserved among the Mackenzie Manuscripts.¹ That extract carried the narrative down to the acquisition of Triplicane. The remainder of the paper is here quoted:—

Historical Account.

'In the Fusly² 1095 and Achaya Cycle year (A.D. 1685 or 1686) Zoolfakar Cawn (distinguished by the title of *Cawn Bahauder*) advancing into the Country with an immense Force, continued for 12 years employed on the Expedition and Siege of Gingee. At last, having reduced that Fortress, he appointed Davood Cawn to govern the Carnatic. During his management the English Company, cultivating friendship with him, obtained his permission to Coin Silver Rupees. They also, about this time, got the following Villages from the District of the Aumildar³ of Poonamelle.

Caumill.⁴

1	Mounza. ⁵	Agamoor [Egmore]	-	-	-	Pags. 325-,, -,,
2	Do.	Parsewauk [Pursewaukum]	-	-	-	180- 5-,,
3	Do.	Tandeyawaud [Tondiarpett]	-	-	-	400-10-,, ⁶

'In the Fusly of 1127 (A.D. 1717),⁷ the English Company, with the consent of *Sadatoola Cawn* the *Soobadar*, and the Aumildar of Poonamelle, received the following Villages of the Poonamelle District, viz.

Caumill.

1	Mounza.	Trivatore	-	-	-	Pags. 200-6-,,
2	Do.	Saatkaud [Sātangādu]	-	-	-	232-6-,,
3	Do.	Connevauk [Catawauk]	-	-	-	100-3-,,
4	Do.	Salvara [Vasalavāda]	-	-	-	93-8-,,
5	Do.	Loongombauk [Numgumbaukum]	-	-	-	260-8-,, ⁸

¹ Captain Mackenzie noted that the paper was 'communicated by one of the Maratta Bramins employed in a respectable Office in the Accountants or Canoongoe Department of the Revenue under the Arcot Circar' (*Mackenzie MSS., Translations*, etc., xi. 1). A somewhat similar account is found in *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1,

² *Fusly*, the harvest year; from Hind. *faḡlī*.

³ *Aumildar*, a renter, collector of revenue; from Hind. 'amildār.

⁴ *Caumill*, gross revenue; from Hind. *kāmil*.

⁵ *Mounza*, village, land about a village; from Hind. *mānjhā*, *munjha*

⁶ In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the corresponding entries are:

'Egmore	...	...	...	at	325 Pags. per Annum
Poonushpauk	...	...	...	...	180½ Do.
Tundeoued	...	...	...	...	450 Do.'

⁷ The grant was made in 1708, but the villages were resumed in 1711, and were not recovered until 1717 under the Mogul's *farmān*.

⁸ In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the entries are:

'Trivatore	...	...	...	at	201½ Pags. per Annum
Shautunkad	...	...	...	at	222½ Do.
Cannuwauk	...	...	...	at	100-,, -2 Do.
Shalwurrah	...	...	...	at	83½ Do.
Nungumbauk	...	...	...	at	260½ Do.



'In the Fusly of 1149 (A.D. 1739), in the Management of *Sufdar Ally Cawn*,¹ the English Company got the following Villages from the *Poonamelle* District, viz.

						Caumill,
' 1	Mounza.	Brumapore	[Perambore]	-	-	[Pags.] 114-12-,,
2	Do.	Sat Coopom	[Sādiānkuppam]	-	-	125- 6-,,
3	Do.	Adayāvaram	[? Ernavore]	-	-	205- 6-,,
4	Do.	Poodpauk	-	-	-	105- 3-,,
5	Do.	Vepary	-	-	-	25- 3-,, ²

'These 5 Villages were granted to the English Company during the Government of Mr. Mongom,³ Governor of Madras. At the same time the above Cawn granted a Village called *Coodpauk* (now called Chintadrypetta) as a Jageer to the Governor's Interpreter, which he enjoyed during life, when his *Jageer* was assumed by the Company.'

The remainder of the *Account*, though relating to a subsequent period, is inserted here to avoid further subdivision of the document :—

'In the Fusly 1157 (A.D. 1747) the French came with an Armament and captured the Fort from the Company; after which, in the Fusly 1158 (A.D. 1748), the English Company brought troops and recaptured their own Fort, defeating the Enemy and obliging them to fly.⁴ During the troubles of these Captures, the Company lost their Vouchers and *Perwannas* for the Grants or *Jageers*, being plundered by the Enemy.

'Afterwards the *Nabob Shahamut Jung Bahauder*⁵ and *Sampat Row* granted *Mylapore*⁶ and some other Villages together with the Customs and *Sayar*,⁷ viz.

¹ The grant was made in 1742 under the government of Muḥammad Sa'īd, but it may have been authorized by Saḍdar 'Alī before his death.

² Comparison with the *Sanād* shows the figure under Sādiānkuppam to be 215⁶/₁₆. Each sixteenth of a pagoda in the *Sanād* has been taken equivalent to one fanam in the 'Account.' In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the entries are:

' Brummapam ...	...	...	at	114	Pags. per annum
Shatoocoopum ...	...	...	at	125	do.
Yedeaverly ..	...	...	at	205	do.
Poodepauk ...	...	...	at	105	do.
Vipery ...	...	...	at	25- ³ / ₄	do.'

³ *Mr. Mongom*: In the other account we find 'Governor Maghan.' Benyon is meant.

⁴ This sentence contains more than one inaccuracy. Madras was taken by the French in 1746, and was recovered in 1749, not by force of arms, but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748.

⁵ Ṣalābāt Jang, son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, who was proclaimed Nizam in 1750 in succession to Nāṣir Jang.

⁶ The grant of Mylapore was actually made in October, 1749, by Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī, whose Dewan was Sampāti Rau.

⁷ *Sayar*, all sources of revenue other than land-tax, such as customs, licences, etc.; from Hind. *sā,īr*, Tel. *sāyaru*.

						Caumill.
1	Mounza.	Mylapore	-	-	-	241- 8 -
2	Do.	Mamalon	-	-	-	710- „ -
3	Do.	Alatore	-	-	-	113-14 -
4	Do.	Nundombauk ¹	-	-	-	126- 4 -
5	Do.	Pallagarum	-	-	-	668- 3½ -
6	Do.	Chennamongol ² with the Customs				
		Revenue of the Village	-	138- 6 -	}	2265 ½ -
		Customs of the Mount	-	2136-10½ -	}	
7	Do.	Settee Cuddee	-	-	-	14- 4 -

'In the Fusly 1160 (A.D. 1750), in the time of Governor Chanderson,³ when *Nasar Jung* advanced into this Country, the *Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn* bestowed the whole District of *Poonamelle* in *Jageer* on the English Company.

'During the Fusly 1166 (A.D. 1756), during the Government of Lord Pigot,⁴ *Mahomed Ally Cawn*, having granted the *Naubat*⁵ to the English Company, also ceded the District of *Saat Maganum*.⁶

'In the Fusly 1173 (A.D. 1763) and in the Month of Alphissee, by the advice of *Meer Hassadoolla Cawn*, *Mahomed Ally Cawn* granted in *Jageer* the District of *Conchee*⁷ and some other *Purgunnas*⁸ amounting to four Lacs of Pagodas.'

MILITARY MEASURES.

When Governor Benyon assumed charge in 1735, Captain David Wilson was the senior officer of the garrison, which consisted of two companies. He received the rank of Major in June, 1737, and died in the following January. Captain Peter Eckman then succeeded to the command. The Chief Gunner was John Goulding, originally G. M. Pitt's private secretary. Dying in 1738,⁹ he was followed by William Percival,¹⁰ a supercargo, who joined the civil service in 1743, when John Waters¹¹ became Chief Gunner.

¹ *Nundombauk* is not the same village as *Nungumbaukum* by Madras.

² In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, we find 'Chinamungalum and Fringy Condah,' or Hill of the Europeans—i.e., St. Thomas Mount.

³ Governor Chanderson, Governor Thomas Saunders.

⁴ Lord Pigot, then Mr. George Pigot.

⁵ 'The privilege of using the highest Distinction of Military Music.' (Note in original.)

⁶ *Saat Maganum*, the Seven *māgānam*s of Tripassore; from Tam. *māgānam*, a revenue sub-district of about six villages.

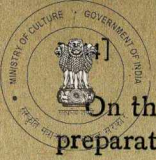
⁷ *Conchee*, Conjeveram.

⁸ *Purgunna*, a tract of country comprising many villages; from Hind. *pargana*.

⁹ A long Latin inscription on a stone in the pavement by St. Mary's Church shows that Goulding's tomb was provided at the joint expense of Pitt and Benyon.

¹⁰ William Percival married in 1730 Cornelia Horden, daughter of Richard and Cornelia Horden.

¹¹ John Waters came out in 1741 to be Gunner of Anjengo, but he was permitted to remain at Madras.



On the receipt, in 1739, of Imām Ṣāhib's warning of Marāṭha preparations, the President and Council made an inspection of the fortifications. In Black Town they found a gap of 100 yards in the wall between Caldera Point¹ and Queen's Point, and noted that the opening of 60 yards between New Point and the Blockhouse, about which there had been discussion in 1722, had still to be made good. Orders were given to build up these breaches and remove obstructions from the neighbourhood of the walls.²

When the Marāṭha invasion took place in May, 1740, it was found that the garrison was insufficient to man the outposts. The guards were accordingly withdrawn from Egmore and the line of Choultries, and the guns there were 'nailed up.'³ The militia was embodied under Mr. William Monson as Captain, and a marine detachment was sent ashore from the ships in the roads. The wet ditch on the north and west faces of Black Town, from Queen's Point round to the sea, having become choked up, its re-excavation was put in hand.⁴ On the walls and bastions of the White and Black Towns were mounted upwards of 200 guns, but the force to serve them was miserably inadequate, the 'Gunner's Crew not being above one Man to two Guns.' The following extract discloses the nature and distribution of the armament :—

'A List shewing how all the Guns of Fort St. George are placed, with the weight of their Shot.'

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
14	At Caldera Point	{ 1 Culverin 11 Demi Culverins	18 Pound 9 Do.
6	At Caldera Curtain	{ 2 Sakers Sakers	5 Do. 6 Pound
3	At Choultry Gate and Street	Sakers	5 Pound
3	On Choultry Curtain	Sakers	5 Pound
2	At Middle Gate		
	On the Gate	1 Saker	5 Pound
	In the Street	1 Demi Cannon	24 Do.
10	On Fishing Curtain	{ 2 Demi Culverins 8 Sakers	9 Pound 5 Do.

¹ This bastion was also known as Mint Point. (P.C., vol. lxviii., 13th March, 1738.)

² P.C., vol. lxix., 14th and 15th Aug., 1739.

³ Nailed up, spiked.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxx., 12th to 30th May, 1740.

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
9	On Fishing Point	{ 5 Culverins	18 Pound
4	On Plimouth Battery	{ 4 Demi Culverins	9 Do.
4	At the Sea Gate	{ 3 Demi Cannon	9 Pound
6	On Dover Battery	{ 1 Culverin	24 Pound
12	On the Half Moon	{ 1 Demi Cannon	18 Do.
12	On Marlborough Point	{ 8 Culverins	9 Pound
4	On St. Thomé Curtain	{ 3 Demi Culverins	18 Pound
1	At the Gate, in the Street	{ Sakers	24 Pound
12	On Charles Point	{ 2 Demi Cannon	18 Do.
2	At Mr. Harrison's ¹	{ 8 Culverin	6 Do.
2	At Mr. Cradocks	{ 2 long Sakers	3 Pound
2	At Mr. Bartons ²	{ Small Minions	3 Do.
2	At Mr. Carvalhos	{ Do.	3 Do.
6	In the Fort	{ 4 Small Minions	3 Do.
3	At Garden Point	{ 2 Falcons, Brass	2 Do.
4	At Queens Point	{ 2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
5	On Ditto Curtain	{ 1 long Saker	6 Do.
3	On Bridge foot Gate	{ Sakers	5 Pound
1	At the Gate in the Street	{ Small Minions	3 Do.
6	On the Curtain	{ Demi Culverin	9 Do.
3	On Spear Point ³	{ Small Minions	3 Do.
6	On Ditto Curtain	{ Demi Culverins	12 Pound
5	On Clarke's Point	{ 5 Sakers	5 Do.
3	On Ditto Curtain	{ 1 Small Minion	3 Do.
4	On Clarke's Gate	{ 3 Demi Culverins	12 Pound
1	At the Gate in the Street	{ 2 Ditto	9 Do.
10	On Attapollam Curtain	{ Sakers	5 Do.
3	On Attapollam Point ⁴	{ Sakers	5 Pound
4	At the River Battery ⁵	{ Demi Culverin	9 Do.
1	In the Street at Mud Point	{ 1 Demi Cannon	24 Pound
3	On New Point Curtain	{ 3 Culverins	18 Do.
6	On the New Point	{ Saker	5 Pound
6	On the New Wall ⁶	{ Sakers	5 Pound
		{ 2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
		{ 2 long Sakers	6 Do.
		{ 2 Sakers	5 Do.
		{ 2 Sakers	5 Pound
		{ 4 Small Minions	3 Do.

¹ These eight small guns were probably mounted on the river wharf at the back of the houses in Charles Street.

² *Mr. Bartons*, perhaps an error for *Mr. Burton's*.

³ Elsewhere called *Spur Point* and *Middle Point*.

⁴ Formerly called *Mud Point*. Attapollam lay between the two pettabs.

⁵ This item is out of order. It should have been entered after the 8 guns on the west front near Charles' Point.

⁶ A new wall constructed on the sea front of Black Town.

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
193	Guns in all for Present Service		
	31 in the half Moon for Salutes	{ 11 Sakers	5 Pound
	4 At Egmore nailed up	{ 20 Small Minions	3 Do.
		Minions, Small	3 Do.
	11 At all the out Batteries	{ 2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
46	— nailed up	{ 2 long Sakers	6 Do.
		6 Sakers	5 Do.
		1 Minion, small	3 Do.
239	Guns		

'Number of Men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunners Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 Topasses, 1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. Total 188 Persons.' (P.C., vol. lxx., 30th May, 1740.)

The largest type of gun was the 24 pr. or Demi Cannon. A solitary 48 pr. had been lately discarded on account of damage received in Harrison's time through the fall of one of the Inner Fort bastions. Among the ordnance and small-arm stores mentioned at this period are 'Granade guns, Fuzees or Granadoes, Mortuwan Jars,¹ Green Glass Granadoes, Wall pieces, Musque-toons, Blunderbusses, Buchaneer pieces, Bayonet Pieces, Halberds and Partizans.'²

When the Marāthas made their second incursion at the end of 1740, not only the English civilians, but also the Portuguese and Armenians, were called on to take up arms. The Council resolved to clear a field of fire 200 yards wide on the west and north sides of the Black Town, and to carry a rampart along its eastern face.³

Fort St. George Consultation.

'A debate ensued relating to the condition of our Fortifications and the Number of Men we have to defend them, concerning which there has lately appeared an exceeding uneasiness among all Sorts of People, and particularly great Clamours among the European Inhabitants, that the Walls of the Black Town are so inclosed by houses and Gardens that it would be impossible for the Guns to be of any service against any enemy that should attack it.

'The Officers of the Garrison, being sent for, declared it their opinion that the Black Town in the present condition was very unsafe, and that it was next to impossible to defend it without the Houses and Gardens were pulled down

¹ *Mortuwan Jars*, Martaban Jars, glazed pottery vessels of great size made in Pegu.

² *Partizan*, a halberd, pole-axe.

³ P.C., vol. lxxi., 19th and 23rd Jan., 1741.

for at least two hundred Yards ; that some other and better Fence ought to be erected for the present towards the Sea by new Point, and, if there was time for it, that a Wall or Intrenchment ought to be raised all along the Sea Side from New Point to Fishing Point, with two Batteries erected between those two Points. That it was the more necessary to take this care of the Black Town because, if that should fall into an Enemy's hands, the Guns and Ammunition they would probably be possessed of by that means would greatly endanger the safety of the White Town, the Guns from which would not be able to do them any great mischief, there being hardly the breadth of a Street between the Walls and the Houses in the Black Town.' (P.C., vol. lxxi, 19th Jan., 1749.)

These views were accepted by the Council, and the work was put in hand. Benyon, moreover, represented to England the necessity for a regular curtain on the west front of the White Town, with 'batteries and points all along it.' In the meantime, as the portion from Charles Point to the Cloth Godowns in Charles Street, a distance of nearly 150 yards, was devoid of rampart, a wall 12 feet high and 2 feet thick was built on the river wharf as a temporary protection to the houses from musketry fire.¹ The nearest source of good water being two miles from the Fort,² all available casks were purchased, and cisterns of timber and masonry were constructed in the White Town. Defying the most elementary principles of hygiene, the Council directed the Scavenger to transport the water in his conservancy carts, but no one seems to have died except the Scavenger ! Barracks were begun at New Point for a detachment of fifty soldiers and ten gunners, and quarters for two officers.³ By September considerable progress had been made with the new works. The details are of interest because they throw light on the condition of the Fort when it was called on to resist a European enemy in 1746 :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have made a Ditch from the North west to the North East point of the Black Town two thousand and eighty feet long, Forty broad, and from twelve to twenty feet deep as the ground would permit. It is all faced with Brick, but as we could not in this Short Space procure such a quantity of Chinam as it required, we could only lay great part of the Bricks in Clay to prevent the Sides from falling in, the Ground being Chiefly Sandy ; which must be done

¹ P.C., vol. lxx., 9th Dec., 1740.

² The wells in the north-west part of Peddanaikpetta.

³ P.C., vol. lxxi., 8th and 23rd Feb., 1749, and 5th May, 1741.

with Chinam hereafter to make it more durable, . . . and it has now Water in several Feet deep.

'On the East side of the Black Town, which was wholly Exposed, we have laid the Foundations of a Wall, designed to be ten feet thick, from the North East point to Fishing point, being two thousand four hundred and fifty seven feet. The Wall is carried up twelve feet high and Six feet thick two thirds of the way, on which there is a Parapet to be raised, and one of the two Bastions, in it is compleated, and Sixteen Guns Mounted, which will Secure that side.

'On the Alarm of the Morattas we erected a Battery with Coconut Trees, close by the Sea in a line with New Point, to prevent any Number of Horse entering that way into the Black Town, which, as we said before, lay entirely open on that Side. We have also began to rebuild Queen's Point, which was so far decayed that it became useless.

'It was the end of January before we entered on these Works, and we hope it will give Your Honours some Satisfaction that we have been able in this Space to do so much, and that the Town is now so much more capable of Defence, The thoughts of which have afforded matter of great Joy to our Inhabitants whose possessions were lodged therein. . . .

'Mons^r. Dumas, the Present Governour at Pondicherry, returns to France this month, and is to be succeeded by Mons^r. Duplex, the present Directore in Bengall, who is expected up in January. . . .

'The 16th Instant Mons^r. Labourdinier arrived at Pondicherry with three Ships belonging to his Squadron, and five more are expected there every day. The French give out that these three Ships have twelve hundred Soldiers on board; that their intention in coming upon the Coast was to releive Pondicherry in Case it should have been attacked by the Morattas; that they will sail shortly to the Malabar Coast to oblige the Natives to conclude a Peace with their Settlement at Mayhie. We don't suppose they were sent out for either of these purposes, but what further Designs they have is kept very secret.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The 'Garden called John Feireiras,¹ and the Companys little Garden commonly called Maira Pois's,' were allotted for building purposes to the four hundred inhabitants who had been dispossessed of their dwellings by the formation of the clearing round Black Town.² The old bricks were utilized for the revetment of the ditch, and Messrs. Morse, Eyre, and Johnson were constituted a Committee of Compensation. They settled rates varying from 9 to 13½ fanams per Gentu foot of 60 English square feet³ for the ground,

¹ *John Feireira*, John Pereira.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 15th June, 1741. The cleared space was known as the 'Moratta Ground.' It is shown on the map of 1755.

³ The petitioners said the ground had 'Cost them 2½, 2 and 1½ Pagodas for the foot.' This foot must be regarded as a unit of area equivalent to 60 English square feet. Some twenty years later, ground in the Fort was sold 'at the rate of 2½ pagodas for 60 Gentue Feet, reckoning 115 Gentue to 100 English Feet' (*P.C.*, vol. xci., 16th June and 7th July, 1761). The unit area has thus been changed from 60 English square feet to 115 of that area.

and refunded the value of the bricks. The total amount paid was Pags. 16,788. In October, 1742, the Paymaster was directed to 'set up six Stone Pillars to the Northward and Westward of the Black Town at the extent of Six hundred feet from the Walls, to prevent any Incroachment hereafter.'¹

New rules for the Garrison, which had been drawn up in England, were considered by the Council in 1741. 'As to the first regulation, directing the Governour to reside at the Fort or Garden House, that is known to be strictly complied with; and whoever is Governour here will find he has little leisure for Tours in the Country.' In compliance with another rule, commissions signed by the Governor and Council, instead of the Governor alone, were issued to Lieuts. Peter Eckman, John Holland,² and William Southby³ as commanders of companies. A regulation forbidding soldiers to keep public houses was modified, so as to render such employment permissible whenever European shipping was in the roads. At such times the men were nevertheless to appear for drill as usual. On the departure of the ships their extra-regimental work ceased.

A provision for the appointment of an Adjutant to the Governor was suspended, as likely to impair the authority of the company commanders. The duties of the Captain of the Guard and the Ensigns of the White and Black Towns are set forth in detail. Drill was provided for as follows:—

'The Duty of Military Officers and Soldiers, as daily practised in this Garrison of Fort St. George, 1741.

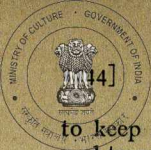
* * * * *

'Exercise.—The Company that comes off Guard on Monday Morning to be called together by beat of Drum about five the same Evening on the Parade against the Main Guard, there to be Regulated by the Serjeants, and to receive their Powder. From thence they are marched upon the Island by two Ensigns that are off Guard. One Ensign Each Monday takes his turn, according to Seniority, to give the word of Command to Exercise the Company. Beginning with the Manual Exercise, so the Evolutions and Platoon, or any other different Firing as he shall see most Convenient. The Men are

¹ P.C., vol. lxxii., 25th Oct., 1742, and vol. lxxiv., 3rd Jan., 1744.

² John Holland arrived from England in 1727, when he was appointed Ensign.

³ William Henry Southby came out in 1740. He had previously served as a lieutenant through two campaigns under Count Munich. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlv., 21st March, 1739 [1740].) He married in 1741 Mary, daughter of Daniel Gyfford, and widow of James Berriman.



to keep a profound Silence, to hearken diligently to the Word of Command, and to perform all their Motions with Life together. No Officer is to give any Orders on the Island but him whose turn it is to exercise the Men.

'Mounting the Companies is in this manner :—that Company that comes off Guard one Morning mounts in the White Town next Day, and the day after mount in the Black Town, and the next day come off again ; So that two Companies are continually on Guard and One off alternately.' (P.C., vol. lxxi., 1st June, 1741.)

Of the troops the Council wrote as follows :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We must however take leave to mention to your Honours the few Europeans We have in Garrison, which [bear so] small a proportion to the Black Soldiers¹ th[at We] are ashamed to turn out our Guards at [a time] when the Great Men of the Country come [here, which] gives them a very mean opinion of our Strength. Add besides that the Black Soldiers are such poor Creatures that We are afraid they are little to be depended on in Case of Action ; and as there is not a great deal of difference between their Pay and an European's, We submit it to your consideration whether it might not be proper to have the most part of our Standing Garrison Europeans. Considering how far We are from home, We are sure it would add much to our Strength ; for if any troubles should induce us to think it necessary to List any Blacks as Soldiers, it would add much to their Spirits to have a few more Europeans mixed with them than We are able to furnish at present.

'Now We are upon this Subject, We must beg the favour you will be pleased to give particular Orders that the Recruits sent Us may be good Men. It is not uncommon to have them out of Newgate, as several have confessed : however, those We can keep pretty well in order ; but of late We have had some out of Bedlam, and this year We have received some Blacks, which, if they were designed only for our Defence, certainly your Honours have not any occasion to be at the Expence of sending them hither.' (P. to Eng., vol. xiii., 4th Feb., 1744.)

When Benyon wrote home about the improvement of the west front of the White Town, he appears to have revived the idea of the extension of the place to the Island which originated with Elihu Yale. The Directors replied in the following terms :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have Perused all that you write concerning Our Fortifications, and the several Consultations relating thereto. Mr. Hugonin, formerly your Gunner, was so kind as to give Us his Advice and Assistance as We went along, having Three different Plans before Us ; and upon the whole We entirely approve of the several Measures and Steps taken for securing the Settlement against any Attempts of the Morattas ; and are of Opinion, and accordingly direct that you strengthen the West Part of the Old Town in the best manner with good

¹ The Black Soldiers ; probably the Topazes are alluded to.



strong Walls; and as you say there are not Bastions to Flank it, Build such Bastions thereon as you may Judge necessary.

'Strengthen the Black Town also as much as you can, and if you have Closed it in, or shall think it fit so to do, Erect a Good Bastion at Blockhouse Point to Flank it, making Breaks in the Wall at proper Distances, the better to defend it with Patteraroes and small Arms.

'Considering and Weighing the Badness of the Ground upon your Island, with the Difficulties and ill Consequences that may attend the Turning of the River, We therefore adhere to the Strengthening the West Side of the Town in the manner abovementioned, and cannot agree to the Enlarging it as proposed.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlvi., 20th Jan., 1741 [1742].)

At the very time when Benyon was drawing attention to the weakness of his garrison, the Directors were arranging to strengthen it. They wrote :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have Judged it necessary for the Security of Our Estate to Encrease your Garrison to Six hundred Europeans, which must be divided into Four Companys. And that they may be rendered more effectually Serviceable, We have Judged fit to send You out Major Charles Knipe, an able and Experienced Officer, who has Served upwards of Thirty Years in the Army, abroad and at home, and is well recommended to Us to Serve Us in that Quality, in which he is to have the Command of all our Military, subject nevertheless to your Orders and Directions. One of the Companys must be Assigned to Him; and Mr. Rodolph de Gingins We have Appointed to be his Lieutenant on the usual Terms, who, upon the first Vacancy, is to have one of the other Companys.

'This Gentleman, Major Knipe, offers also to serve Us in carrying on the Works that shall be Judged necessary for the further Securing your Fortifications, in which We have reason to believe he may be very useful, as he has been Employed in that Way in Flanders; and therefore You will do well to Advise with him, and give Us your Opinion what Services of that kind he may do Us, according to which We may further Consider him.

'We have sent also Mr. Moses Stephen Hollard as an Ensign on the usual Terms, who has Applied himself very particularly to the Study of Fortifications, and We have Supplied him with all the Instruments he desires for that Work, as per List enclosed, for which he is accountable to You. Inform Us also of his Services that way, We having promised to consider him accordingly, as We are not able to Judge of his Skill until We have your account of his Performances.

'The End aimed at by Us in all these large Expences We put ourselves to (next to the Security of Our Estate) is to encourage Numbers of People to Resort under our Protection, Where, on finding safety, a mild and equitable Government, with Security to their Persons and Estates, they will doubtless continue with You to the great encrease of the Trade and Revenues of Our Settlement.

'The Major's Pay We have Settled at the Salary of Two hundred and fifty Pounds per Annum. . . . ' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlvi., 26th March, 1742.)



Major Knipe arrived in the *Walpole* on the 11th January, 1743, by way of Fort Marlborough and Bengal. He was accompanied by his daughter and her chaperon, Mrs. Elizabeth Murray. De Gingens followed in February, but Ensign Hollard died at Calcutta. The scientific instruments entrusted to the latter, which comprised 'A Plain table, Twelve Inch Theodolite,¹ Level with a Long Telescope, Reflecting Telescope,' and various surveying and drawing implements, never reached Madras. A collection of Vauban's treatises on Fortification was, however, delivered.

The Major, to whom Ensign Clarke was attached as Adjutant, lost no time in examining the defences of the White Town. Within a fortnight, he reported in favour of turning the course of the river, filling up the old bed, and advancing the west front to the Island. In so doing, he took the first step towards bringing Fort St. George to its present outline:—

Report of Major Charles Knipe.

'In obedience to Your Honours Commands, I have taken a Survey of your City of Madrasspatnam from Charles's Point to the Queen's Point, being that part of the Fortification, as it is called, which faces towards the Island. But I must take the liberty to Assure you 'tis no Fortification at all, but rather an Offensive than defensive Wall to your Garrison. Was it not for the Support it has from the several Outhouses of the Inhabitants, which are all built against it through the whole extent abovementioned, it could not Stand; Nor was it more than sufficient for a Garden Wall when first erected. As to the River which runs by it, That neither is any Addition to the Strength of your Works, but rather a Nuisance to the Town, for I observe in every part of it 'tis continually forded at less than two foot deep.

'The Plan laid down for enlarging your City and carrying a New Fortification cross the Island from Charles's Point to the Queen's Point abovementioned, I have, by Your Honours direction, very carefully examined in regard to a Foundation by making small Wells a considerable depth from the Surface, and by boring several Foot deeper in the bottom of each of them, the whole extent of the intended Fortification; And find the Soil is Clay and Sand, capable of Sustaining any Weight, especially if assisted with a Few Wells under the Foundation, near the River side, where 'tis a little Spungy. As to the River, I will engage to turn that quite of[f] from your Town at a very small expence, and supply it's place with a much better Fossee, by which the whole Island will be drain'd, and become a very firm and Solid tract of Land. CHARLES KNIPE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 24th Jan., 1743.)

Major Knipe died on the 5th May after less than four months' residence at Fort St. George. Had he been spared a few years,

¹ The dimension probably relates to the length of the instrument's telescope, not to the diameter of its graduated circle.



his wide experience as a soldier, and remarkable energy as an Engineer, would doubtless have inspired a stubborn resistance to the French attack of 1746, and the events of Madras history might have been other than they were. The command of the Garrison devolved on the ancient Eckman, who had had no recent experience of warfare. The other company commanders were Holland, Southby, and de Gingsen.

The Directors accepted Major Knipe's recommendations :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We are pleased to find, by the Advices before Us, that the Black Town is entirely secured, although the Expençe amounts to Thirty One Thousand Pagodas, relying on the Assurances you give Us that the Works are Substantial and well performed.

As to your Proposal of Enlarging and Making the White square with the Black Town, and turning the Course of the River by digging a Trench North and South and damming across from Queen's Point to the Island, instead of complying with Our directions, anno 1741, by strength'ning the West Side of the Town, We have considered the same; and as you are sincerely of opinion there will be but little difference in the cost of fortifying either way, and Major Knipe is of opinion that the River may be turned at a very small Expençe, and the Ground cross the Island is Clay, capable of sustaining any Weight, We say that, in case the Situation of Affairs on the Coast should give you good reason to think that carrying on any further Works will be for Our Service, We leave it to you on the Spot to execute them in such manner as, upon consulting the Major, shall be judged best for the Security of the Place.' (P. from Eng., vol. xlviii., 21st March, 1743 [1744].)

GARDENS AND BUILDINGS.

From the Paymaster's accounts for repairs done to the tanks and wells in the *Old Garden* and *Maria Pois's Garden*, sometimes called at this period the Company's 'Great Garden' and 'Little Garden' respectively, it appears that both were situated in 'Tom Clarke's Walk.'¹ The position of Pois's Garden has elsewhere been indicated² as next north of Manucci's, so that *Tom Clarke's Walk* must have been the avenue running north from Clarke's Gate and Manucci's Garden. The 'Company's Fruit Garden' marked on Thomas Pitt's map was probably the *Old Garden*, or a part of it. This ground was, in 1736, still leased to Mahādeva Āṇḍi, but by 1740 it had passed to other hands at a rental of Pags. 326. Two years

¹ P.C., vol. lxvi., 21st June and 17th July, 1736.

² Maria Pois's Garden was also known as Dorai Mūrtiyappa's or the Elephant Garden.



After there was difficulty in reletting it, and in 1743 the Paymaster, Mr. Charles Norris, reported¹ that it contained some 800 'Coco Nutt trees,' besides 'Palmeiras, Guavers, Mango and Tamarind.' The rest of the ground was 'Cultivated with Brill Jolls,² Yams, and other like Vegetables.' It contained four brick tanks, three wells of brackish water, and a building near the entrance, 'formerly a Billiard Room.' The garden was ultimately farmed to one Ravanappa at a rental of Pags. 250.

The *Company's Little Garden*, lately Maria Pois's, was, in 1741, handed over for building purposes to those inhabitants whose dwellings had been demolished to make the clearing round Black Town. This clearing, 200 yards wide, must have involved the demolition of Manucci's house, besides sweeping away a mass of buildings at the south end of Muthialpetta. The map of 1755 shows that the walls of the Armenian and Portuguese burying-grounds escaped destruction.

John Pereira's Garden in Peddanaikpetta, which was rented to Antonha de Carvalho at Pags. 24 was also allotted for compensation purposes.³ It contained a house occupied by this lady, who was the great-granddaughter of John Pereira. In consideration of the long period during which the rent of the garden had been paid by her and her family, she petitioned⁴ that the house might be given her in perpetuity. The Council felt unable to alienate the Company's property, but granted the use of the building to her and her daughter, Josepha de Silveira, during their lives.

Frequent complaints were made 'that the Town is so much infested with Snakes and other Pernicious Vermin as to become dangerous and offensive to the Inhabitants, which is chiefly ascribed to the Company's redwood Lying in the White Town.' The Government accordingly resumed possession of the enclosure on the Island which had been leased, in 1725, to Hendrik Johnson, and by him to Mr. John Stratton, and utilized it as a store for the redwood, as well as for the spare guns and anchors which lay rusting under the Fort walls.⁵

A lease of ground near the Spur Tank in Egmore, measuring

¹ P.C., vol. lxxiii., 27th Oct., 1743.

² *Brill Jolls*, brinjaul, from Port. *bringella*, the egg-plant (*Solanum Melongena*).

³ P.C., vol. lxi., 21st Aug., 1739. and vol. lxxi., 15th June, 1741.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxxiii., 12th Dec., 1743.

⁵ P.C., vol. lxvi., 3rd and 17th Sept., 1736.

about 200 yards square, was, with the consent of the Renters, granted to Mr. Matthew Empson,¹ Senior Merchant, in view to his forming a garden there.² Empson also rented part of the *Three Brothers Garden*.³ Messrs. Burton and Saunders⁴ were given small strips in the White Town between their houses on the east front and the Town Wall, and Mr. John Hammond⁵ received a portion in the 'Copang,' or fishing village.⁶

A mode of finding funds for the repair of the bridges next the Fort and Triplicane was the subject of anxious debate in 1735. The methods of assessment and tolls were rejected as unsuitable, and ultimately Government provided the money.⁷ Two years later the following solution was arrived at :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed to open a new head upon our Books, to be called *Town Duty*, and that the Town Conicoply's duty as it is collected, and the Surplus of the Scavengers Duty be annually carried to the Credit of the said new head ; and thô both together is but a small Sum, yet it is hoped they will defray all necessary Repairs, and that the Savings will in Time be sufficient to rebuild any of the Bridges if, as has sometimes happened, any of them shou'd be broke down by the Freshes : and by this Method we also hope to prevent all uneasiness and Complaints from the Inhabitants and Natives.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxvii., 17th Nov., 1737.)

It may be asked how, considering the notorious unsavouriness of the native quarters of the city, there could be any surplus from the Scavenger's duty. It is, nevertheless, a fact that, when George Torriano became Scavenger in 1735, the total cost of his establishment, which included thirteen conservancy carts, and double that number of buffaloes and attendants, was only Pags. 550 per annum, though the dues collected were just twice

¹ *Matthew Empson*, jun., son of Matthew Empson, entered the civil service in 1718. He married in 1740 Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumbe, a seafaring man.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 10th Nov., 1740.

³ Consultation of the 21st February, 1794, shows that the *Three Brothers Garden* was adjacent to the Kachāleswarar Pagoda, and consequently to the Company's Old Garden. It was probably identical with the *Four Brothers Garden* marked on Thomas Pitt's map.

⁴ *Augustus Burton*, then Third of Council, entered the civil service in 1709. *John Saunders* was a free merchant.

⁵ *John Hammond*, a civil servant, dating from 1726.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 13th March, 1737, and vol. lxx., 6th March, 1740, and 26th March, 1740.

⁷ *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 26th Nov., 1735.



as much. Torriano represented the necessity for increasing the number of carts to twenty, and his views were accepted.¹

The iron-stone or laterite² used for building was procured from a village in the vicinity. Governor Harrison had, in 1711, obtained liberty from the head-men to quarry the stone for twenty years, and in 1736 the permission was renewed on receipt of a present of English cloth :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘The President acquaints the Board that the present Owner of Pullee³ (the Country where the Iron Stone grows) had refus’d our people the Liberty of Cutting it as usual, on pretence that the Cowle granted to Governour Harrison in September 1711 for twenty years was Long since Expired, and that he refuses to renew the said grant but on Receiving the Like present that was then made to his Predecessor, of which a List is produc’d to the Board Extracted from the Translators Diaries . . . ; which the Board, having duly Consider’d of, agreed to, there being a great want of Iron Stone at present for repairing the Bridges, and many other Necessary Uses.’ (P.C., vol. lxvi., 12th July, 1736.)

‘Translate of an agreement given by the Subscribers, Inhabitants of Pullee, to the Honble Company, Dated the 17th November, 1736.

‘From this Day, whatever quantity of Iron stones is wanted for the Company, they may send their People to our Country, and Cut and Carry them away, which Liberty we give for twenty years, during which time the said Business may be Carry’d on without any Neglect or hindrance. . . . PULLEE CHETTEAPA’ [and others]. (P.C., vol. lxvi., 29th Nov., 1736.)

On either side of the Sea Gate was a range of terraced godowns about 130 feet in length. The structure on the south side, comprising the Saltpetre Godown and Sea Customer’s Warehouse, was rebuilt with a vaulted roof during G. M. Pitt’s term of office. The corresponding range on the north side, used by the Store-keeper and Warehousekeeper, was similarly reconstructed in 1737. The Weighing Room next the Gate was dealt with at the same time, and the total cost of the alterations was Pags. 6,000.⁴

Although a new and costly ‘Powder House’ was under construction on the Island from 1728 to 1732, it appears to have been employed as a magazine, the old building shown on

¹ P.C., vol. lxv., 30th April, 1735.

² The use in Madras of this material is now limited to road-making. Laterite gravel yields a smooth but not very durable road surface.

³ Pullee, a village at the Redhills. Cf. *Book of Grants of Ground*, No. 268, 22nd Sept., 1798.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxvii., 28th Feb., 1738, and 21st April, 1737.

Thomas Pitt's map continuing to be utilized for manufacture. In 1738 the latter structure was reported to be past repair, and Government resolved to erect a new powder-mill at a greater distance from the Fort:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board having met . . . to Survey the damage done by the late rains to the old powder-house, and being attended by the head Carpenters and Bricklayers, found the whole to be in a very decayed Condition . . . ; The Walls of the Beating places, refining places, and the several godowns for keeping and mixing the Saltpetre, Brimstone, and other materials, which have for many years been supported by several Buttresses, fallen down in many places, and the rest so water soaken, cracked and swelled that they must fall very shortly . . . ; The Doors and Windows quite decayed and Shatter'd with Age, and the Tank filled up, insomuch That no part of the Building is any longer serviceable.

'The Condition of the said Building being taken into Consideration, it was agreed to be necessary to pull the whole down in order to save what few of the materials may be serviceable again, and to rebuild the same. Whereupon the Paymaster and Storekeeper were directed to form a Plan for a new one, and to make an Estimate of the Expence thereof. And since it must be rebuilt, and that the present Situation of it, being very near the Town and between the only two roads that lead to it¹ which are continually full of people passing to and fro, makes it very unsafe, they were directed to look out for some other Spot which might be less liable to accidents and less dangerous to the people.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 6th Nov., 1738.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster and Storekeeper report to the Board that they have pitched upon a Spot of ground for erecting the new Buildings necessary for the powdermaker, which lies in the North West Corner of the Island between the roads leading to Egmore and Chindadre petta,² but at a considerable distance from each road, so that nobody need go near the said Buildings but the persons employed, and, in case of an accident, the Passengers will be out of the reach of danger. They also deliver in a plan for erecting the same, taking up the space of 180 feet in length and 144 in breadth. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 13th Nov., 1738.)

The cost was estimated at Pags. 2,456, and the Paymaster was ordered to set about the construction of a factory consisting of twenty separate chambers and open areas for storing, refining, weighing, and mixing the ingredients, and for corning and drying

¹ These two roads led from the Island Bridge, one to Garden Bridge, and the other to Triplicane Bridge.

² Beyond Casamaijor's house on the Island, the second of the two roads mentioned in the preceding note forked, one branch leading to Egmore Bridge, the other to Triplicane Bridge and so to Chintadripetta.



the powder. The new buildings appear on Apperley's plan of 1749 as the 'Powder Mills,' with the remark that they were destroyed by the French in 1746. The same plan shows a 'Powder Grainary' on the site of the 'Magazine' which is depicted on the map of 1733. The powder-mill built in 1738 must be regarded as the fourth erected in Madras. The earliest was situated in old Black Town, while the other three were in different parts of the Island. Later mills found place in Egmore, in modern Black Town, and finally near Perambore.

The Land Customer reported in 1739 that 'seven of the thirteen Mettahs, or out Choultrys, where the Peons and Conicoplys are placed to take Account of the Goods brought into Town from the several passages, are fallen down.' The Council demurred to expending Pags. 575, 'merely for sheltering the Watching Peons from the Sun and Weather,' until it was pointed out that this was 'not the only use of these Mettahs, for that Goods which come into the Bounds too late to be carried to the Choultry are kept there all night, and sometimes, in rainy weather, some days.' The names of the Mettahs to be rebuilt were, 'Mundal, Oppiah, Mutapilla, St. Thomas, St. Thomas Point, New Point and Mud Point' Mettahs, and of those to be repaired 'Gongaram's, Suncka Ramah's, Ball Chitty's, Collastry Chitty's, Armenian Gate, and Tomby Chitty's' Mettahs.¹

Certain residents of Charles Street petitioned, in 1740, for the gift of a strip of land 560 feet long and 34 feet wide, which they had reclaimed from the river by building a wharf at the back of their houses; and their request was granted:—

'The Humble Petition of Samuel Harrison, Christopher Craddock, William Percival, Nazar Jacob Jan, Francisco Carvalho,² Sheweth

'That the River washing the Town Wall to the Westward not only endangered the said Wall and the adjacent Buildings, but, by the Ebbing and flowing of the said River, left shallow Grounds and low Swamps which, by the heat of the Sun, became a Nuisance to the Town. Your Petitioners, at a very great Expence and trouble, have effectually prevented and remedied these mischiefs by building a Wharf Wall upon a foundation of Brick Wells, sunk

¹ P.C., vol. lxix., 29th Oct. and 10th Nov., 1739.

² Samuel Harrison joined the service as Factor in 1731. Christopher Craddock, jun., son of Capt. Christopher Craddock, was a supercargo. He married in 1736 Grace, daughter of Thomas Cooke. William Percival and Francisco Carvalho were free merchants.

and filled up with lime Stones and other materials for Cement. Your Petitioners have also faced the said Warf-Wall with Iron Stone, and raised thereon Brick Pallisadoes, to the great Ornament of the River and Beautifying the Prospect of the Town. . . . (P.C., vol. lxx., 6th March, 1740.)

From the above extract it appears that Armenians were now gaining admission to the White Town. There is good reason for believing that the house of Nazar Jacob Jan was the fine building which now accommodates the Accountant General's Office. In 1741 Petrus Uscan was allowed to purchase¹ the godowns known as Gongaram's in Choultry Gate Street which had originally been placed at the disposal of Sunku Rāma. Two years later, however, the Council resolved that, 'considering how large a part of the White Town is already in the possession of Foreigners,' no persons other than 'the Natural Subjects of the King of Great Britain' should in future acquire property within the walls, except with the permission of Government.² Steps were also taken to discourage the settlement of Mussalmans in the Black Town.³

¹ P.C., vol. lxxi., 26th and 30th June, 1741.

² P.C., vol. lxxiii., 22nd Aug., 1743.

³ P.C., vol. lxxiii., 17th Oct., 1743.



CHAPTER XXII

1735—1744

THE CURRENCY—SOME MADRAS NAMES

THE CURRENCY.

INCONVENIENCE due to the debasement of the gold coinage had long been felt. It began in the time of Macrae, when heavily alloyed pagodas bearing the Negapatam stamp were introduced from China. In 1730 G. M. Pitt coined a new pagoda to supersede all other varieties in the Company's receipts and payments, save only in the Northern Settlements, where the old Madras pagoda remained current. The new coins resembled the Negapatam pagoda in all respects except that the letter M was stamped right and left of the image of the Hindu deity. They were known as MM. pagodas,¹ and they proved a conspicuous failure because they were not accepted at the Nawab's Treasury. When the Council made payments, they had to purchase current pagodas and mint them into MM. pagodas, which carried a premium. In due course the coins reached the Shroffs, who had them reminted into current money. Thus the MM. pagodas spent their lives in the fire. After a trial of five years the Government resolved to give them up :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The rents of the Province and all other payments into the Nabobs Treasury are paid in a pagoda coin different from all the rest,² which yet the Nabob has not aim'd at making Currant because he wou'd reap the advantage of a double coinage. . . .³

'It is further to be remark'd here that, before the Country Government tasted the Sweets of coining the Money, the Pagodas generally Currant were the

¹ P.C., vol. lx., 5th Sept., 1730.

² The Arnee pagoda.

³ Double coinage—i.e., twice minting.

Tevenapatam pagoda coin'd at ffort St. David, the Allumgeer¹ pagoda coin'd here, the Pulicat and Negapatam pagodas. The three first are not now met with in any of our Payments, and the Negapatam are very scarce, and, when wanted to send to the Southward, bear a Batty² equal to the MM pagodas. But at other times those, as well as the MM pagodas, are consider'd by the Shroffs only as so much Gold, bought by them as such, and coin'd into the Old Madrass pagoda, or else into the Allumbrum,³ St. Thomé, or Trivilore pagodas, these last being now the Currant Coin which prevails in the Country, doubtless fix'd at the Standard they are now, and coin'd in the Country Mints with intention to destroy the Mints in the European Settlements. . . . In short, it is without reason the Europeans value themselves upon having obtain'd the priviledge of Mints, because those coins which they had a grant for are not now Current, and therefore the charge of coinage is a dead Loss to them. . . .

'It was then consider'd, if we shou'd lay aside the MM pagodas, what others we shou'd fix upon as the Currant Money of the place ; and the most knowing and eminent Shroffs being consulted upon the occasion, it was put to them whether to order all payments and receipts to be made in the Arnee pagoda of 84 $\frac{3}{4}$ Matt⁴ instead of the Allumbrum, St. Thomé, and Trivilore pagodas of 83 Matt, the Arnee pagoda only being paid into the Nabobs treasury. To this they replied that we should still be Subject to the Inconvenience of a Batta in the same manner as we were now with the MM pagodas, except the Nabob shou'd make them Currant in all payments at Arcot and all other parts of the province, which it is not likely he will do so long as he has the advantage of a double coinage, first in that all the Gold is coin'd in his Mints in the common Currant pagoda, and afterwards recoin'd into the Arnee pagoda when paid into his treasury. They added it was their advice, upon the whole, to fix upon that Standard which was in most General use and acceptation in all Parts of the Country ; which agreeing also with our own Sentiments, and prudence also Suggesting that we shou'd Submit to the irresistible force of those Effects which proceed from the nature of commerce in General, and not vainly attempt to introduce noveltys that we have neither power or influence to go through with, it was unanimously Agreed to lay aside the MM pagodas and to receive the common Currant Pagoda in all payments.' (P.C., vol. lxxv., 28th July, 1735.)

In 1736 the coinage of the Country mints deteriorated. The premium on the old Madras pagoda used in the Northern Settlements, which was formerly 3 per cent., rose to 8 per cent. The Council found they were losing on the coral trade, and resolved that bills on England for the sums realized by the sale of coral should be paid for in Madras pagodas, which were 3 per cent. better than the 'old Currant or Negapatam Pagoda.'⁵ The debasement extended to the gold mohurs. The Madras shroffs

¹ Allumgeer, 'Ālamgīr, Aurangzīb.

² Batty, premium.

³ Allumbrum, Ālamparai, a coast village midway between Chingleput and Pondicherry.

⁴ Matt, percentage of fineness.

⁵ P.C., vol. lxxvi., 13th Dec., 1736.



offered to send gold to the Fort St. George mint to be coined into 'Mohurs of Ninety five Touch.' The Council doubted their own powers, but evidence was obtained from the records that coins of this type were struck in 1703 and 1704. Moreover the 'Braminy' searched the firmans, and discovered one from Asad Khān of 1692 which conferred the right.¹

The Assaymaster, Sidney Foxall, reported that the current pagodas coined in the Country mints varied much in fineness. He had found them of 74, 70 and even as low as 50 touch.² The feeling of insecurity among the people grew so strong that the custom arose among the shroffs of sealing up sound pagodas of not less than 80½ touch in bags of a thousand, a hundred, and even of ten and five pagodas. The bags, which were rarely opened, passed current without question, and there was little loose gold in circulation. The shroffs, who alone saw the coin, had ample opportunity for fraud, and three of them succumbed to temptation. They were ultimately detected, committed prisoners to the Choultry, and sentenced to transportation to the West Coast of Sumatra.³ The heads of the Right and Left hand castes interceded for the criminals, and offered to pay a fine of Pags. 2,500 for the Company's shroff Visvanātha, and as much for the two Bazar shroffs if the sentence were commuted to one of simple banishment. The Council accepted the offer in regard to the Bazar shroffs, but decided that the offence of Visvanātha was too heinous to admit of reduction of punishment.⁴ The heads of castes then offered Pags. 3,500 to be expended on the improvement of Black Town and the repair of bridges. Benyon considered this a practical method of making good the losses sustained by the inhabitants generally through the fraud of the culprits, and having regard to the circumstances that 'since the Moors have been in Town the Streets have become exceeding Dirty and Filthy, and that the Bridges are much worn and out of Repair by the Number of Hackaries and other Carriages which are constantly passing over them,' he acceded to the proposal.⁵

The MM. pagodas were replaced by the famous Star pagodas, which remained the standard coin of Southern India until the

¹ P.C., vol. lxx., 25th Feb., 1740.

³ P.C., vol. lxxi., 9th April, 1741.

⁵ P.C., vol. lxxii., 21st May, 1742.

² P.C., vol. lxx., 11th Sept., 1740.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxxii., 18th Jan., 1742.

early part of the nineteenth century.¹ They are first mentioned under that name in June, 1741, when a quantity of pagodas in the Company's cash was recoined into 'our New Star Money.'² They are probably referred to in the Consultation of the 9th April preceding, which provides that 'no other pagodas than such as are coined in the Honble Company's Mint of 80 Touch, every hundred Pagodas to weigh ten Ounces Nineteen pennyweights, should from henceforth be deemed the current money of this place.'

The coining of the old Madras pagoda³ for the use of the Northern Settlements still continued, and the Assaymaster pointed out the risk of confusion between the gold 'bullets' intended for Star pagodas and Madras pagodas respectively. A native Surveyor was accordingly appointed to attend solely to the melting and working of the gold coinage.⁴

The records are not explicit as to the reasons for establishing the Chintadripetta Mint. It appears, however, that, in an effort to reform the currency, Nawab Dost 'Alī closed his mints at San Thomé and Covelong, and permitted the transfer of the Poona-mallee mint to Chintadripetta, where gold mohurs and Arcot rupees were struck. When the Nizam came into the Carnatic after the death of Dost 'Alī, Governor Benyon negotiated with Imām Šāhib, through Petrus Uscau, for a confirmation of the grants made by the young Nawab Muḥammad Sa'īd. Imām Šāhib, personally interested in the San Thomé mint, which had been reopened, was opposed to the competing establishment in Chintadripetta. Although no definite prohibition was issued, Benyon determined to suspend the coinage of silver there, and to strike the Arcot rupees required for Calcutta in the Fort St. George mint.⁵ In 1743 one hundred and fourteen chests of silver were coined into about ten lakhs of Arcot rupees.⁶ The Mint 'undertaker,' Linga Chetṭi, claimed a larger allowance for Arcot rupees, which demanded at least two meltings, whereas Madras rupees

¹ The coin bore a star on the reverse in place of the simple granulation. To this day Counsel's briefs in Madras are marked in Star pagodas.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 4th June, 1741.

³ *The old Madras pagoda*. This was 'our pagoda of Three Images, called the Madrass' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 6th Oct., 1745). It bore figures of Vishnu and his two wives on the obverse, and had a granulated reverse.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 14th Dec., 1741.

⁵ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 20th June, 1743.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 7th Nov., 1743.