

needed only one.¹ The British mints were thus coining Star pagodas, Madras pagodas, Madras gold mohurs and Arcot gold mohurs in gold, and Madras rupees and Arcot rupees in silver, besides the coins of smaller denominations under each standard.

The authorized rate of exchange with England for remittances from India was 8s. the pagoda, but sterling salaries were paid in pagodas at 9s.² Exchange between Madras and Bengal was Rs. 3 per pagoda.³

SOME MADRAS NAMES.

As the names of several Madras residents of this period recur in the local history of later times, it will be convenient to insert here a few particulars gleaned from the records⁴ regarding certain members of the families of Fowke, Powney, Casamaijor, Torriano, Gyfford, Boddam, Barnevall, Wynch, Turing, Walsh, Mackay, De Morgan, Stratton, Halyburton, and Westcott.

Fowke.—Randall Fowke, whose early service has been already alluded to, was Second of Council during the greater part of Benyon's administration. Three others of his name were in Madras at the same time, viz., his sons Edward and Joseph, of the civil service, who will be mentioned in the sequel, and Francis Fowke, free merchant, who was probably another son. In 1743 Randall Fowke, then an old man, was superseded in the Council, under orders from England, by Morse, Monson, and Hinde. At the end of the year he applied to be relieved of duty and pensioned:—

Petition of Mr. Randall Fowke.

'Having had the honour to Sit among you many years—Somany that I begin to think I can not perform my duty with that Satisfaction to my Superiours I have hitherto done—It is upon this consideration that I now humbly request you'll be so kind and generous to continue to me the usual Allowances to enable me to live up to the Character I have hitherto bore, without which my Circumstances will not yield the Comforts of Life I have

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 30th June, 1743. Linga Chetty Street, in Muthialpetta, probably takes its name from this individual.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 31st Aug., 1734; and *P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 6th Feb., 1735.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxvii., 29th Jan., 1733 [1734].

⁴ Supplemented from Mrs. Penny's annotated transcript of *Marriages at Fort St. George*, Canon Malden's *List of Burials at Madras*, Mr. Prinsep's *Record of Services of the H.E.I.C.'s Civil Servants*, Mr. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, and other sources.



and shall be glad to enjoy without further Care and Fatigue, from which if Your Honour, &c., will please to excuse by permitting me to Quit all Employs and Attendance, then will I sit down with my Hearty thanks to God, my Hon'ble Masters, and all my Benefactors, ever remaining Theirs and your Truly faithfull, Obliged, Obedient Servant, RANDALL FOWKE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 29th Dec., 1743.)

The Council acceded to his request. He survived until the 2nd October, 1745, when he passed away at the age of 72. He evidently made no fortune, notwithstanding the opportunities afforded by his long service and high position, and this fact may perhaps have inspired the statement recorded on his tombstone in St. Mary's churchyard that he spent his life 'with the character of an honest man.'

Powney.—The earliest representatives of this family in Madras were John and Henry Powney. The latter, who belonged to the ship *Colchester*, appears to have been employed temporarily in the Fort St. George Gunroom, for he was discharged from the garrison in 1703 to enable him to rejoin his ship. John Powney, born in 1683, was, in 1702, Purser of the 'Pembroke Frigot,' Capt. George Weoley, when that vessel fell into the hands of the pirates of Mayotta. Under the style of Capt. Powney he afterwards became a 'constant inhabitant' of Madras, and for many years occupied a house on the east side of St. Thomas Street. He went to England in 1730 for the benefit of his health, but returned to Madras in the following year, and died in 1740, aged 57. He lies buried in the Powney vault in the old Burial-ground, which was built under the directions of his will. A copy of the will has been discovered among the ancient records preserved in the Madras High Court. The following is an extract:—

Will of Capt. John Powney.

'In the Name of God, Amen. I, John Powney of Fort St. George, Merchant, being in perfect and sound memory of Mind, do make this my last Will and Testament in terms and form following. . . . I Will that my Body be Interred in the Burying Ground of St. Mary's Church, near my three Children that lye Buried there,¹ and that a Vault be built and their Coffins be put in with mine. Let the Vault be made large, and a large Tombstone be put over me, and a Monument of Iron Stone be put over the Vault 30 foot high,² which I reckon

¹ Joseph Powney died in 1725, aged 2 years; George Powney in 1732, aged 25; and James Powney died 1734 in infancy. George Powney came out as a Midshipman in 1726.

² This canopy or obelisk, if ever built, has been removed.



will cost about 700 Pagodas ; and what Estate God has been pleased to give me I dispose of as follows. . . .

'Item, I give unto my wellbeloved Wife, Mary Powney, my two Dwelling Houses, the one situated in Saint Thomas's street, Fort St. George, the other at St. Thomas's Mount, with all the furniture thereto belonging. Likewise the Jewells she has in wear, and all my Silver and Gold plate now in Use, with all my Slaves except two, with my Horses, Chaise and Pallanqueens, and the sum of 10,000 Pag^s. in money.

'Item I Give unto my beloved Daughter, Elizabeth Hubbard, 500 Pags.; . . . unto my beloved Daughter, Rebecca Casamajor, 1,000 Pags.; . . . Son, Henry Powney, 1,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Heron Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Mary Powney,¹ 2,500 Pags.; Son, Thomas Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Charles Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Ann Powney,² 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Richard Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, William Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Eleanor Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Robin Powney, 2,500 Pags. . . .

'I give my Slave Paul his Liberty and 10 Pags.; my Slave Alice I give to my Son Henry Powney for three years, and at the Expiration of that time he is to have his Liberty and 20 Pags to be paid him. . . .' (*Will Book*, 1735-1744.)

The will is dated 14th August, 1740. The testator died on the 10th September, and the will was proved before the Mayor's Court six days later. The executors were Mary Powney, Nicholas Morse, and Henry Powney. The widow continued to reside at Fort St. George until her death in 1780. Of the sons, Henry Powney entered the civil service in 1736, and rose to be Sixth of Council at Fort St. George in 1754. In a list of 1760 he appears as a private resident. Thomas Powney, another son, came to India as a free merchant in 1750, married Catherine de la Metrie in 1761, and was still following his vocation in 1776. Four years later George Powney and Henry Saverne Powney, who must have belonged to the next generation, came out together to the civil service. The former was Resident in Travancore in 1789 and Collector of Ramnād in 1796. C. L. S. Powney joined the Madras Artillery in 1786, and was transferred to the King's service in 1789. Edward Powney became a Writer in 1799, and was Judge at Kumbhakonam in 1822.

Casamajor.—Noah Casamajor³ is mentioned as a supercargo at Madras in 1732. Two years later he was appointed in that

¹ *Mary Powney* was married to Cornelius Goodwin of the civil service, and died in 1742.

² *Ann Powney* became in 1744 the wife of John Savage of the civil service.

³ The name was sometimes spelt *Casamayor* and *Casamajor*, but in documents of the Mayor's Court Noah's signature is copied *Casamajor*.

capacity to the *Narcissus*, a ship fitted out at Madras by a syndicate of civil servants for a voyage to 'Mocho in the Red Sea.' In 1741 he was posted Assistant in the Accountant's office at Fort St. George, 'not only as being a good Accountant, but also as understanding the Dutch and French Languages, the President having been much put to it in his Correspondence with those Nations since the Death of Mr. Torriano.' Two years later he was confirmed as Factor, his securities being Francis Salvador and John Casamajor, both of London. He subsequently succeeded John Stratton as Registrar of the Mayor's Court. Noah Casamajor died on the 4th September, 1746,¹ at the age of 45, as testified by his tombstone in the pavement outside St. Mary's Church. He married Rebecca, daughter of Capt. John Powney. Their son, James Henry Casamajor, joined the civil service as Writer in 1762, and rose to be Second of Council in 1789. After a long period spent in England, he returned to Madras in 1806, and four years later held office as Fourth of Council and Chief Judge of the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut at Madras.² He died in England in 1815. His daughter, Amelia, became the wife, in 1809, of the Hon. John Elliot, son of Lord Minto. In the next generation the family gave three of its members to the civil service, viz., John Casamajor, who joined in 1792 and was a member of the Board of Trade in 1810; George James Casamajor, who entered in 1812 and died near Ootacamund in 1849; and James A. Casamajor, who joined in 1802 and was for many years Collector of Seringapatam. The last two members of the family modified the spelling of their name.

Torriano.—George Torriano, son of Nathaniel the supercargo, has been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding pages. He came out in 1719, served as Secretary to Government, was admitted to Council on Benyon's accession, and assumed the duties of Rental General and Scavenger. In 1736 he resigned the Secretaryship to Mr. John Savage. In April, 1741, Torriano was appointed Chief of Vizagapatam, but he expired on the 16th May before he could take charge. His widow, Susanna, *née* de Dorpère, whom he had married in 1725, survived him only four months. Their tombstone is in the pavement by St. Mary's Church. His father,

¹ The day the French landed at Madras.

² *Madras Almanack* for 1811.



Nathaniel Torriano, perhaps survived him, for a bill of exchange in that name was made out in January, 1741.¹ George Torriano's garden house in Egmore is shown in the map of 1733. It must have been near the residence now known as 'Ottershaw' in Marshall's Road. William Harcourt Torriano joined the civil service in 1766, and married Lydia Frazier in 1772. In 1791 he was Paymaster at Vellore, and in 1800 he retired. Lionel Torriano, a Writer of 1769, became Factor in 1774, and died about two years later. In 1756 Charles Torriano, perhaps a son of George, was serving in the Madras Artillery.

Gyfford.—Mrs. Katherine Gyfford of Anjengo renown, who accompanied Commodore Matthews to England, was back in Madras in 1743, and in such narrow circumstances that she appealed to the Government for assistance :—

Petition of Mrs. Katherine Gyfford.

'The many Instances of Charitable Benevolence The Hoñble Company are continually Pleased to Distinguish themselves by to their Unfortunate Servants and their Families have encouraged me to trouble your Honour, &c., with this Petition, humbly Shewing that your Petitioner's Father,² after having Served the Hoñble Company many Years, died in that Service, and that Your Petitioner has been three times married to Gentlemen of Station³ in the Service, and that since the death of her last Husband, who was at the head of the Hoñble Company's Affairs at their Settlement at Anjengo, and was there unfortunately killed in an Expedition up the Country, She has been but barely able to Support her self, and is now reduced to want a Subsistance, and that at a time of Life when she is in most need of Help, and is, by unavoidable Accidents and Misfortunes, deprived of any Relief from such a[s] could heretofore Assist her. Which Mallancholly Circumstances your Petitioner humbly Requests your Honour, &c., will take into Your Serious Consideration, and out of Your Usual Goodness give some Relief to KATHERINE GYFFORD.' (P.C., vol. lxxiii., 30th Nov., 1743.)

Benyon complied with Mrs. Gyfford's application because, in 1721, 'when she was not in such indigent Circumstances, She avoided putting the Company to an Expence of Twenty five, 25, Pagodas a month which was offered her.' Mrs. Gyfford died at Madras in 1745.

Boddam.—Charles Boddam was born in 1680 at the Scottish village of Boddam. Joining the Company's marine service, he is

¹ Another bill of the same date was drawn in favour of Mr. Charles Lockyer.

² Captain Gerrard Cooke, Gunner of Fort William.

³ Messrs. John Harvey, Thomas Chown, and William Gyfford.

mentioned in 1710 as master of the ship *Charlton*. From time to time he was a temporary resident of Madras, and in 1716 he married Mary Hart, daughter of Rawson Hart, for many years free merchant of Fort St. George. From 1724 to 1736 Capt. Boddam commanded the Company's ship *Walpole* trading to China. His eldest son, Charles, was, in the year last mentioned, allowed to accompany his father from England to Canton, and thence 'to take up his residence in Madrass, it being the place of his Nativity.' Charles Boddam, jun., was admitted to the civil service, rose to be a member of Council, and ultimately became a Director of the East India Company. He married in 1754 Frances, daughter of Nicholas Morse. Rawson Hart Boddam, second son of Capt. Boddam, became Governor of Bombay, and was the great-grandfather of the late Mr. H. T. Boddam, a puisne judge of the Madras High Court, who died in 1908.

Barnevall.—The name of Barnevall, originally De Barnaval,¹ which became conspicuous when Madras fell to the French, is first met with in the records of 1715. Antony Coyle De Barnaval, as his name appears on a tombstone by St. Mary's Church, a man of Irish descent, was in that year commander of the ship *Colloway Chitty*, trading between Madras and Manila. He married Antonia de Carvalho, obtained the Council's permission in 1724 to send his son, Francis, to Europe for education, and died in the following year. In 1736 we find Francis Barnevall a supercargo at Madras, living with his sister, Catherine. Francis married Mdlle. Vincens, daughter of Madame Dupleix by her first husband, and Catherine Barnevall became the wife of a French supercargo named de la Metrie, who subsequently resided at Fort St. George. Both Barnevall and de la Metrie were penally dealt with, as the sequel will show, for carrying on treasonable correspondence with the enemy when hostilities with France were in progress. Francis Barnevall pursued the avocation of free merchant at Fort St. George from 1754 to 1773, after which his name disappears from the lists.

Wynch.—The Rev. Robert Wynch, Chaplain of Fort St. George, who went home with G. M. Pitt in 1735, soon obtained permission to return to Madras. In 1739 he married Margaret, widow of the Councillor Francis Rous, and in 1743 he was,

¹ The name is variously spelt Barnewalle, Barnevall, Barnival, and De Barnaval.



at his own request, transferred to Bengal. Alexander Wynch, who was perhaps a nephew of the chaplain, is first mentioned in August, 1738, when he was entertained as a monthly writer after serving four years as unpaid assistant to the Secretary. In 1740 he was brought on the permanent list, and in the following January he named as his security 'Mr. William Wynch, who, he hopes, will be able to engage some other person to stand with him in England, from whence he came so young as to have no acquaintance there of whom to ask that favour.'¹ Alexander Wynch was admitted to the Council of Fort St. David in 1744, and in 1758, when that place was given up to the French, he was officiating Deputy Governor. Wynch was made prisoner of war, resigned the service, and went to England; but in 1768 he was reappointed, and became Chief at Masulipatam. From 1773 to 1775 he served as Governor of Fort St. George. He married, first, Sophia,² daughter of Edward Croke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, and, secondly, in 1754, Florentia Cradock, daughter probably of Christopher Cradock, jun. The lady known for many years in Calcutta society as 'Begum Johnson' was a sister of the first Mrs. Wynch. Alexander Wynch, who died in Harley Street in May, 1781,³ gave three sons, William, George, and John, to the Madras Civil Service. William Wynch joined in 1766, and in 1784 was a Commissioner of the Board of Accounts. George Wynch became a Writer in 1773, was Collector of Kārūr in 1791, and appears to have retired in 1798. John Wynch, first a free merchant, was appointed to the service in 1775, and in 1797 was Paymaster at Vellore. Alexander Wynch, who is believed to have been another son of the Governor, entered the Madras Army in 1768, rose to the rank of Colonel, and retired in 1800. The next generation saw a John Wynch in the Madras Artillery. He entered in 1814, and held the rank of Captain in 1825. The Wynch family is still represented in the Indian Civil Service in the Southern Presidency.

Turing.—In 1729 Mr. Robert Turing was appointed Surgeon's mate at Fort St. David. He was, perhaps, brother of Dr. John Turing,

¹ P.C., vol. lxxi., 3rd Jan., 1741. In January, 1742, we find the Rev. Robert Wynch remitting £100 to William Wynch. It is conjectured that the latter was Alexander's father and Robert's brother.

² She died in 1754, and her tombstone is in St. Mary's pavement.

³ *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 76, dated 22nd Feb., 1785.

Surgeon of the Company's ship *Greenwich*, who was at Madras in that year. In 1737 Robert Turing, then mate at Fort St. George, went down to Fort St. David to act as Surgeon for Dr. Andrew Munro, who had been summoned to Arcot to treat Bākār 'Alī Khān, Governor of Vellore. Turing became Surgeon of Vizagapatam in 1741, but was ultimately transferred to Madras, where he served as one of the Presidency Surgeons from about 1753 to 1762 or later. In 1755 he married Mary, widow of Thomas Taylor, and daughter of Capt. John De Morgan. During the siege of Madras frequent references are made to Turing's house, which appears to have been situated near the present Harris Bridge.

John and William Turing, who were probably connected with Dr. Robert, entered the civil service in 1762 and 1769 respectively. The former was in Council from 1782 to 1789. The latter is lost sight of after 1780. To their generation belonged Captain James Turing and Major Robert Turing of the Madras Army, the former of whom died in the Salem District in 1793, and the latter at Madras in 1801. Another John Turing arrived as a Writer in 1795, and died at Vizagapatam in 1809. The epitaph on his tombstone describes him as son of Sir Robert Turing, Bart. The name of Turing is still represented in the Indian Civil Service in the Southern Presidency.

Walsh.—No particulars of the early years of Joseph Walsh, son of Enoch Walsh¹ of the Madras Civil Service, have been traced; but in 1725 or 1726 he was dismissed from the post of Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough in Sumatra. Arriving at Madras in 1729, he was classed as a Senior Merchant, and appointed Secretary to Government in succession to George Torriano. He died in June, 1731, and his tombstone may be seen in the pavement around St. Mary's Church. He married in 1721 Elizabeth Maskelyne, aunt of the Margaret Maskelyne who afterwards became the wife of Robert Clive. Joseph Walsh's daughter Elizabeth was married in 1750 to Joseph Fowke.

John Walsh, probably a brother of Joseph, appears in the Madras lists of 1723 as a seafaring man of the Bengal marine service. John Walsh, jun., son of Joseph Walsh, was born at Fort Marlborough in 1726. Appointed a Writer by the Madras Government in 1743, he was a contemporary of Clive. During

¹ Enoch Walsh, a Writer at Fort St. George in 1688, married Elizabeth Child in 1690.



the French occupation of Madras he escaped to, or was permitted to reach, Fort St. David. On the rendition in 1749 he came to Fort St. George as junior member of Richard Prince's Council. Two years later he was Rental General and Scavenger, and by 1754 had become a Senior Merchant and Under Searcher at the Sea Gate. In 1756 or 1757 he went to Bengal as Private Secretary to Colonel Clive, and he finally left India in 1759.

Mackay.—George Mackay came out as a free merchant in 1738 at the age of twenty, and pursued his vocation for eight and twenty years. In 1766 he joined the Company's service as Assaymaster, and was shortly afterwards admitted to Council, with the proviso that he should always remain its junior member. He took part in the proceedings which culminated in the deposition of Lord Pigot in 1776, and his action led to his recall to England. He married in 1756 Sarah, daughter of John Stratton. George Mackay's name is preserved in the designation of the house which he built by the Mount Road, known as Mackay's Gardens.

Hector Mackay and Donald Mackay, of the military service, appear to have been sons of George Mackay. The former was Cornet of the troop of horse in 1764; the latter, a Captain of artillery in 1770, died in 1783 when holding the rank of Major. Besides these officers, no less than ten others of the name appear in Dodwell and Miles's Army List as receiving commissions in the Madras service before the end of the century. One of them, Robert Mackay, who joined in 1775, rose to the rank of Lieut.-General in 1821, and died in France in 1835. There was also a Surgeon Edward Mackay, who died at Mangalore in 1810 at the age of 43.

De Morgan.—John Morgan or De Morgan came to Madras as a soldier in 1710, and five years later received a commission as Ensign. He was commanding at Fort St. David in 1746 when Madras fell to the French. De Morgan retired in 1748 after a long and honourable service, and became a private resident of Madras. He died in 1760 at Pulicat, and was buried in the Dutch cemetery of that place as John Morgan. He married first, in 1717, Sarah, widow of Peter des Pommare, and, secondly, Mrs. Tivill, a widow. The latter was probably connected with John Tivill, sometime Chief of Masulipatam, whose suit against William Jearsey was heard in 1678.

William De Morgan was an Ensign at Fort St. George at the time of its surrender to the French. Augustus De Morgan, son of John De Morgan, was appointed Writer in the year of his father's death, but he was shortly afterwards transferred to the Artillery. He was killed at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778. He married Christina, daughter of the Rev. G. Hüttemann of Tranquebar.

George Augustus De Morgan, eldest son of the preceding, was born in 1771. He joined the Madras cavalry, and was killed in action against Tippoo Sultan at Ambūr in 1792. John De Morgan, second son of Augustus, also entered the Madras Army. He became the father of Augustus De Morgan the mathematician.

Stratton.—John Stratton, son of Peter Stratton of Shrivenham, entered the civil service in 1721, and for several years served as Registrar of the Mayor's Court. He married Mary Houghton in 1729, and appears to have died about 1750, leaving two sons, George and William, and a daughter, Sarah, who became the wife of George Mackay.¹

George Stratton, eldest son of John Stratton, was appointed Writer in 1751. In 1764 he was in Council, and nine years later was serving as Chief of Vizagapatam. In 1775 he was Second of Council at Fort St. George, and in the following year usurped the Government, an act which led to his recall. George Stratton, jun., probably son of the usurper, joined the civil service in 1794. In 1803 he was Collector of North Arcot, and in 1822 Chief Judge of the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut at Madras.

Halyburton.—Born in 1717, John Halyburton or Hallyburton entered the civil service at the age of nineteen. In 1743 and 1744 he was Resident at Madapollam, and in 1746 served at Fort St. George. An accomplished linguist, he took part in the negotiations with de la Bourdonnais, and ultimately found his way to Fort St. David. During Boscawen's attack on Pondicherry he volunteered for military service, in the course of which he was murdered in 1748 by a mutinous sepoy. His tomb may be seen in the cemetery in Sonaga Street, Cuddalore Old Town.

David Haliburton was appointed Writer in 1770. From 1782 to 1784 he was Persian Translator and a member of the Committee of Assigned Revenue. His name is preserved in Haliburton's Gardens, Pantheon Road.

¹ *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 16, dated 1st Sept., 1758.



Westcott.—Foss Westcott, son of Capt. George Westcott, master-mariner, joined the civil service in 1740, and three years later married Ann Pye and became a member of the Vizagapatam Council. In 1749, when serving at Fort St. David, he was appointed one of the three Commissaries to receive Madras from the French. In 1754 he was Resident at Ingeram, and he appears to have left the service two years afterwards.

George Westcott, son of Foss Westcott, was appointed Writer in 1764. From 1776 to 1782 he appears to have been Paymaster at Ellore, but towards the end of the century he remained for some years without employment. In 1803 he was serving as senior member of the Board of Revenue, and he died at Madras in 1809 at the age of 61. He gave his name to Westcott's Road, Royapetta, where he owned property. George Westcott, jun., son of the last-named, entered the army, and in 1807 was serving as Captain in the 67th Regiment at Trichinopoly.



CHAPTER XXIII

1735—1744

VARIETIES—MADRAS DIALOGUES

VARIETIES.

FROM a proclamation issued by the Directors in 1734 we learn the nature of the goods in which the commanders of ships were permitted to trade, and also the commodities monopolized by the Company. They include the undermentioned items:—

Goods reserved for the Company's Trade.

‘Muslins, Callicoes, and all Sorts of Goods and Merchandizes made or mixed with Cotton or Silk or Herba¹ of what Denomination soever, Carmania Wool, Coffee, Cotton Wool, Cotton Yarn, Cowries, Pepper, Raw Silk, Saltpetre, Redwood, Tea, Turmeric.

Commodities in which Commanders may trade.

‘Aggats, Ambergreece,² Bezoar stones,³ Cambogium,⁴ Camphire,⁵ China Root,⁶ Cordivants⁷ of all Sorts of Leather, Cotch,⁸ Diamonds, Pearls and all Precious Stones, Gallinal,⁹ Goa Stones,¹⁰ Olibanum,¹¹ Oppoponax,¹² Rangoes,¹³ Roman

¹ *Herba*, grass cloth; whence ‘Herba Taffeties, Herba Longees.’

² *Ambergreece*, ambergris, a product of the whale, used in perfumery.

³ *Bezoar stone*, an animal concretion, employed medicinally; from Pers. *pāzahr*, antidote to poison.

⁴ *Cambogium*, gamboge, a gum-resin from Cambodia, used in medicine and as a pigment.

⁵ *Camphire*, camphor.

⁶ *China Root*, the root of the *Smilax China*, akin to sarsaparilla, used in medicine.

⁷ *Cordivant*, originally goat-leather from Cordova; afterwards applied to horse-leather, etc.

⁸ *Cotch*, catechu, derived from the *Acacia catechu*, and used for tanning sails and nets; from Malay *kachu*.

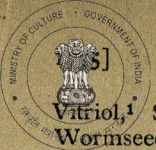
⁹ *Gallinal*, ginger; from Ar. *khalanjān*.

¹⁰ *Goa Stone*, an artificial bezoar stone, used medicinally.

¹¹ *Olibanum*, an aromatic gum-resin, used for incense; perhaps from *oleum Libani*.

¹² *Oppoponax*, opopanax, a gum-resin employed in medicine.

¹³ *Rangoes*, long beads, used in barter with the natives of Madagascar and the Cape.



Vitriol,¹ Safflower,² Sanguis Draconis,³ Scamony,⁴ Spikenard,⁵ Tutenague,⁶ Wormseeds.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 15th Nov., 1734.)

The extravagant mode of life at Madras, which had been repeatedly condemned by the Directors, seems to have changed under Benyon's influence, combined with depression in trade and the rise of prices due to several years of scarcity:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'As to the other two Articles in our Expence, which Your Honours are pleased to distinguish by Wages and Allowances, and Servants Wages and Allowances, . . . we trust Your Honours will not think we deserve less than our Predecessors; and will also consider the Superiour Advantages they had in Trade, as well as that Provisions and all Necessaries are increased to double the prices they were at twenty Years ago, and oblige every one of us to be at a considerable Expence beside, even in our Servants Wages and those other Articles that your Honours had designed fully to provide for by your Allowances. And yet we may assure Your Honours, and we believe those who come Home will confirm the same, that we are far from running into Pomp and Show or any needless Expence. Frugality is become very necessary, and is so generally practised that we believe there never was fewer Instances of Extravagance among Your Servants and the Inhabitants of the Place than at Present. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 1734.)

Notwithstanding the perennial high temperature of Madras, wigs in some variety were considered indispensable articles of the wardrobe. From the accounts of sales of deceased persons' effects the following are extracted:—

'Account Sale of a Box of Necessaries belonging to the Estate of John Innes deceased, put up at publick Outcry.'⁷

'A Ramillie Perriwigg and Rose -	-	-	Pags.	4-18-	„
A Drop Perriwigg and Rose -	-	-		4-55-	„
A Sheath with 6 Razors -	-	-		1- 9-	„
The Box -	-	-		„- 2-40	
				10-28-40	
			Paid the Cryer	„-18-	„
				Pags.	10-10-40'

¹ *Roman Vitriol*, copper sulphate, known in India as *mor-tuttiā*. 'Motoota or Romin Vittriall . . . it is a Decan commodity' (*O.C.*, 1808, 17th Jan., 1643).

² *Safflower*, the flower of the *Carthamus tinctorius*, used as a dye, and for making rouge.

³ *Sanguis Draconis*, dragon's blood, a bright red gum-resin.

⁴ *Scamony*, scammony, a gum-resin used in medicine.

⁵ *Spikenard*, a fragrant oil derived from several plants.

⁶ *Tutenague*, a Chinese alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel.

⁷ *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 25th May, 1739.



'Account Sale of a Box of Wiggs belonging to the Estate of William Gibson, late Surgeon at Vizagapatam, deceased, Sold at Outcry at the Sea Gate.¹

' 1 single drop Wigg	-	-	-	-	-	Pags.	3- 5- "
1 Do.	-	-	-	-	-		3- 5- "
1 double Do.	-	-	-	-	-		4-19- "
1 Ramillie Do.	-	-	-	-	-		3- 1- "
The Box	-	-	-	-	-		" - 3- "
							<u>13-33- "</u>
Paid the Cryer							<u>" -18- "</u>
							<u>13 15 "</u>

The total revenue of Madras city amounted, in 1737, to Pags. 77,362, of which Sea Customs accounted for upwards of Pags. 45,000, and Land Customs for Pags. 8,000. Among the items are one of Pags. 800 for 'Ruby Brokerage,' and one of half that amount for 'Butteca Rent and Shroff Duty.' These were the proceeds of licences farmed out, and their nature will be understood from the following extracts:—

Petition of the Ruby Brokers.

'Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioners having had the great Honour of being by your Honour, &c., appointed Sole Brokers for the selling of Rubies, Pearls, Saphires and all other Precious Stones (Diamonds excepted), Allowing them to receive for Brokerage One per Cent from the Buyer and two per Cent from the Seller, as per Cowle granted them; And your Petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to Your Honour, &c., that, for these two years running, here have been out of Pegue but a few Ships Arrived, and very small Importation of Rubies: at the same time the Invasion the Country Government greatly suffer'd by the Potent Enemy Marattas hath occasion'd the utter obstruction to the Jewelling Trade of Rubies, &c., and thereby Your Petitioners came to be unemploy'd by the Country Merchants and others, which indeed has render'd them unable to pay the Honourable Company this Year's Rent; Therefore Your Petitioners humbly Submit this their unfortunate Case to Your Wisdom, and pray for such Relief as to your Honour, &c., shall seem meet.' (P.C., vol. lxxi., 19th Oct., 1741.)

An offer from the two brokers to pay Pags. 500 per annum for the future was accepted.

'Petition from the Farmer of the Buttecas and Shroff Duty.

'Sheweth That in May 1738 Your Honour, &c., were pleased to grant Your Petitioner a Cowle to farm all such Rents and Shroff Duty as should arise from the Hon'ble Company's Buttecas, Shops and Sheds standing in and about the

¹ P.C., vol. lxx., 8th Aug., 1740.



SL

Town of Madrasspatnam and the Liberties thereof, for the Term of Five Years. . . .

'That when Your Petitioner took this Cowle, there were no less than 180 Shroffs who paid him a duty of 1 Fanam a Month each, by which your Petitioner received a Revenue of 15 Pagodas a quarter. . . . But since then, somany Shroffs have betaken themselves to other Occupations that Your Petitioner has not received above $7\frac{1}{2}$ Pagodas per Quarter. . . .

'That when Your Petitioner took his Cowle, the Butteca Rent brought him in Eleven Pagodas a Quarter . . . , but the pulling down of no fewer than 150 Buttecas, Shops and Sheds in the Black Town and Pettahs has occasioned Your Petitioner to receive no more for these two Years than seven Pagodas a Quarter. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th Oct., 1741.)

The demolition of the buttecas was due to military considerations. The principal range left standing was under the north wall of the White Town on its Black Town side. The Government subsequently built a new range¹ along the south margin of Muthialpetta, partly for the convenience of the inhabitants, and partly to prevent encroachment on the strip of clearing.

In 1741 communications were opened with Ceylon in view to obtaining the release of some unfortunate shipwrecked mariners, who had been held prisoners by the King of Kandy for seventeen years :—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Sometime in this Year a Gomastah² belonging to one of our Merchants came hither from the Court of the King of Candia on the Island Ceyloan, and put a Cadjan³ into the Hands of the Captain of the Guard, on which was wrote in very legible Characters—"The Ship Josias from Bengall, Charles Williams, Master, cast on Shore on the Island Ceyloan. Now remaining Robert Pearson, Second Mate, Ellis Chamberlain, Gunner, with four Seamen." There is also in Town a Native of Candia, who with our Merchants Gomastah is going back thither, and we are trying, by the Assistance of these two Men, if we can procure the liberty of those unfortunate Men who were cast away in the said Ship Josias in the Year 1724.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The President sent a gift worth about Pags. 200 to the King of Kandy, and in the course of eighteen months the following communications were received. The Chief Merchant, Tomby Chitty,⁴ was then informed that a sum of Pags. 150 would be paid to him as soon as the men were released from captivity :—

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 20th Feb., 1743.

² Gomastah, a clerk; from Pers. *gumashtah*, delegated.

³ Cadjan, a strip of palm-leaf used for writing on with a style; from Malay *kajang*, palm-leaves.

⁴ This merchant gave his name to Tambi Chetti Street in Muthialpetta.



'Translate of a Letter from the Prime Minister to King of Condé at the Capitol City of Nagree on the Island of Ceylon, to Tomby Chitty, Merchant at Madrass, dated the 27th November, 1742.

(P.C., vol. lxxiii., 14th March, 1743.)

'The Letter and Presents that You sent by Audeapa Chitty to Our King came safe to hand, which I deliver'd myself to his Majesty, who Accepted of them very kindly.

'You wrote in Your Letter concerning the Europeans that were in the Ship that was cast away here, which his Majesty being Advised off, immediately order'd them away ; but as they had been some Years in the Place, and had married and got Children, they were loath to leave them Unless a Special Order from the King himself, which will very shortly be Order'd.'

The Captives to Captain Eckman.

'Sir, We heartily thank you for the great favour You have done us concerning our redemption out of our long Captivity, which we hope in God will not dure much longer, since Your Worship has taken it in hand ; which we understand has been a great Charge, for which We return hearty thanks, Wishing his Worship Health, Wealth, Long Life and prosperity. ROBERT PEARSON, ELLIS CHAMBERLAIN. December 6th 1742.'

In 1743, after an interval of nineteen years, Dāmarla Venkata-pati Naik paid the President another visit. He received the usual present of gold chains and provisions¹:—'The President acquainting the Board that one Damerla Vencatapanaick, Grandson to Damerla Chinapanaick, the Person who gave us the Grant of this Place, intended him a Visit in a day or two, It's agreed that he be tashariffed as when he was last here in 1724.'²

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was active in Southern India. In 1736 it had three missionaries, Schultze, Sartorius, and Geister at Madras. In the following year the Company sanctioned passage to 'Godfried William Obuch, John Christian Wiedebrock, and [Jo]han Balthazar Kohlhoff, Protestant Missionaries for Fort St. George,' and in 1740 to the 'Rev. Mess^{rs}. Zacharius Kirnander, Johannes Philippus Fabritius, and David Zeglin.' The Directors desired the Council to allot them such ground as they might require for building purposes.

¹ In the Paymaster's accounts he is called 'Damerla Vencaty Puty Naik,' as in March, 1724.

² P.C., vol. lxxiii., 4th July, 1743.



MADRAS DIALOGUES.

A curious book was published at Halle in 1750, consisting of a series of dialogues bearing on the mode of life of Europeans and natives in Madras. Originally written in Telugu, probably between 1740 and 1745, and in connexion with the Danish Mission, which employed workers, like Schultze and Fabricius, who were graduates of Halle, it was translated into both German and English. The English translation is not very competently made, and the manners described appear to be those of a social grade removed from the highest. The dialogues, however, contain some useful information, and a few extracts are accordingly given. The full title of the work is:—

'The Large and Renowned Town of the English Nation in the East-Indies upon the Coast of Coromandel, MADRAS or Fort St. George, representing the Genius, the Manners, the Carriage, the Behaviour, and the very Character of the Natives; likewise their Trade and Housekeeping; the Product of the Country and Usefulness of the Gardens, by Way of Thirty familiar Dialogues. Written originally in the Waruga¹ or Gentou Language, but afterwards translated into the English Tongue for the Benefit of some curious Readers by B.S. At Hall in Saxony, printed for the Orphan-House, MDCCL.

'THE FIRST DIALOGUE. Between one Gentleman that has been a good While ago in this Country, and the other that came newly hither, meeting one another. . . .

Charles. What is the Name of your Ship?

Jack. Our Ships Name is called King George.

C. Who is your Captain?

J. The Commander on our Board is Townlord. . . .

J. How many Houses are in the black Town?

Ch. Sir, In the black Town are eight thousand seven hundred Houses.

J. But how many Houses are in the white Town?

Ch. Sir, In the white Town are eighty-five Houses.

J. How many Streets are in the black Town?

Ch. Together with the Lanes there are three hundred sixty six Streets. . . .

'THE SECOND DIALOGUE. The same two Gentlemen take a Walk abroad, and view everywhere the Town. . . .

Charles. Through what Gate shall we pass?

Jack. We will go through the Bridge-Gate.²

¹ Waruga, Vadugu or Telugu.

² Bridge Gate was the customary designation of the Armenian Gate on the west side of Black Town, but in the text the Water Gate of the White Town is evidently indicated.

Ch. When we go through the Bridge-Gate, we shall see in the first Place the Charity-School,¹ further the Company-Garden,² and afterwards we shall come to the new Powder-House.³

J. We have passed over two stone-Bridges;⁴ are there some Bridges more?

Ch. Yes, there are two more;⁵ one You will see when we go to Ekkimore Castle, and the other upon the Road to Trepplekane. . . .

'THE THIRD DIALOGUE. *The Master talks with his Tupas⁶ about procuring of a Pallaquin. . . .*

Master. How many Pallaquin-Boys must I keep?

Tupas. Sir, You must keep six Pallaquin-Boys.

M. What is their Wages a Month?

T. Sir, According to the Companys Order You must pay five Pagodas a Month.

M. What is the Wages for the Rondell-Boy (Bearer of the Umbrello)?

T. Sir, The Wages for the Bearer of the Boon-Grace⁷ is twenty four Fannams. . . .

'THE FOURTH DIALOGUE. *Between a Master and his Tupas about a Banket. . . .*⁸

Tupas. Is there no Occasion for a little Pork?

Master. No, We eat that almost every Day. . . .

T. What do you please, Sir, to drink during the Dinner-Time?

M. What Liquor is there in the Cellar?

T. There is Beer four Bottles, Claret-Wine twelve Bottles, and Madera one hundred Bottles.

M. When shall the Dinner be ready?

T. As it is customary, at twelve a Clock all will be ready.

'THE SIXTH DIALOGUE. *The Master talks with the Cook.*

Master. What is the best Sort of Water here?

Cook. Sir, We have two Sorts of Water here. Some People drinks the mountain Water⁹ and some People drinks the Water fetched out of the Padrys-Garden.

¹ The Charity School was situated near the west end of the Island Bridge, so that it would be in full view from the Water Gate. As the school was pulled down in 1746, the Dialogues must have been written at an earlier date.

² The Company Garden was the Company's New Garden in Peddanaikpetta, on the site of the present General Hospital.

³ The new Powder House, built in 1738 in the north-west part of the Island.

⁴ Two stone Bridges, Island Bridge and Garden House Bridge.

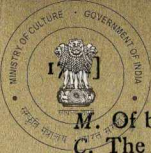
⁵ Two more, Egmore Bridge and Triplicane Bridge.

⁶ Tupas, dubash.

⁷ Boon-Grace, Bongrace, a sunshade. The term was often applied to a projecting bonnet or broad-brimmed hat.

⁸ Banket, banquet.

⁹ Mountain Water could scarcely have been fetched from St. Thomas Mount, and if it were, the cost of transport would be more than double that for water from the 'Padrys-Garden,' which appears to have been near the Company's Garden. The best drinking-water was brought from wells in the north-west of Peddanaikpetta, and it may have been called 'mountain water' on account of its cool and sparkling character.



M. Of both which is best ?

C. The mountain Water is surely better ; but one Pot cost four *Duddas*.¹

M. What cost an Pot Water out de *Padrys*-Garden ?

C. Every Pot cost two *Duddas*.

M. Very well ! But must we buy it once a Month, or must we buy it every Day ?

C. We don't want to buy it every Day, but it is far better to buy it once a Month.

M. How will that be ?

C. We keep somewhere on Purpose an earthen large Vessel, and when we fill that up with twenty Pots of Water, it will be enough for a Month. . . .

'THE ELEVENTH DIALOGUE. A Mistress talks with a Laundress.

Mistress. You ! Are you the Washer-Woman ?

Laundress. Yes, Madam. . . .

M. Take Heed not to lend out my Cloths to any Body upon Pawn.

L. Madam, I never shall do such a Thing.

M. But I have heard that some People among you put out the Linnen upon Interest.

L. Madam, Let it be sayd as it will ; I assure You Your Cloths will never be lend out to any Body ; but Gentlemens Linnen will meet with such an Accident² as to be lent away some Times to this Country - Portuguese People. . . .

'THE FIFTEENTH DIALOGUE. The Master talks with the Cook, and orders what he desires to eat every Day in the Week. . . .'

The menu, described at great length, is here reduced to tabular form :—

Day.	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday -	Bread, butter, cheese, chocolate.	Beef, wild fowl, turkey.	Remains of dinner, fish.
Monday -	Bread, butter, cheese, coffee.	Two ducks, one 'Goos.'	Remains of dinner, dried fish roasted.
Tuesday -	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Tea-water.'	Pease, pork, and pudding.	Remains of dinner, rice, milk, and sugar.
Wednesday	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Bambou-Rice-Broth.'	Hare, venison, 'Sallet.' ³	Remains of dinner, <i>Saugou</i> -Broth. ⁴
Thursday -	Bread, butter, cheese, rice-broth.	Fowls boiled and 'roast Cabbage.'	Remains of dinner, rice-pudding.
Friday -	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Tea-water.'	Roast kid (or shoulder of mutton).	Remains of dinner, plum-pudding.
Saturday -	Bread, butter, cheese, coffee.	Veal, partridge, pigeons.	Remains of dinner, eggs, plantain-cakes.

¹ *Duddas*, doodies, copper coins of ten cash.

² Accidents of this nature are not unknown at the present day.

³ *Sallet*, salad.

⁴ *Saugou*, sago.

Being informed that on Saturday morning *café noir* will be provided, the master says, 'For what reason shall I not drink milk?' His servant replies, 'Because You bath yourself on this Morning, and having washed all over your Head, it is observ'd not to be wholesom then to drink Milk.' It is inferred that, the climate notwithstanding, a certain degree of restraint was exercised in regard to the tub.

'THE EIGHTEENTH DIALOGUE. *The Master talks with the TUPASS about the ordinary Sort of Coins in this Country.* . . .

Master. Sell these Rixdollars, and bring me fifteen *Pagodas*, three *Rupees*, thirty *Fannams* ; for four *Fannams*, *Douddas* ; and for two *Fannams*, *Kash*.

Muttu. Sir, Here it lies all accounted. . . .

Mas. In what Town are these *Pagodas* stamped ?

Mu. They are coined in *Nagapatnam*, *Pullicatty*, *Shenshe*,¹ *Arkatt*, *Aarany*,² *Seerootanapple*,³ *Tanshour*, *Tranquebar* and at *Fort St. George*.

Mas. Among so many different Sorts of *Pagodas* which are the best ?

Mu. The best are those which they mint at *Nagapatnam* and *Pullicatty*.

Mas. What is the mark upon the *Pagodas* ?

Mu. Upon the *Pagodas* and *Fannams* is the Figure of *Wankkadesern*.⁴

Mas. Who is this *Wankkadesern* ? Is it a Wife or Man ?

Mu. *Wankkadesern* is the Idol of the *Gentou*-People.

Mas. For what do they print the Shape thereof upon the *Pagodas* and *Fannams* ?

Mu. Sir, Indeed I don't know ; About this matter I must ask the *Bramanes*.

Mas. Well ! Ask 'em, and tell me afterwards. But what is the Writ upon the *Rupees* ?

Mu. Sir, They are some *Persian* Characters.

Mas. Where do they stamp the *Rupees* ?

Mu. The *Rupees* are coined at *Fort St. George*, *Mailappur*, *Nagapatnam*, *Arkatt*, *Suratta*, and *Bombaya*.

Mas. How many *Rupees* do they sell for one *Pagoda* ?

Mu. Sir, Some Times they will sell three *Rupees* ; some Times three and a half, some Times three *Rupees* and three *Fannams*, . . . and so on. . . .

Mas. How many *Fannams* is valued one *Pagoda* ?

Mu. Sir, One *Pagodas* Price is thirty-six *Fannams*, but some Times is the *Agio*⁵ two *Douddas*, Some Times three, and some Times four *Douddas*, and thus further.

Mas. But How many *Douddas* makes one *Fannam* ?

Mu. Sir, one *Fannam* makes eight *Douddas*.

'THE SIX AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *A Suit at Law in the Maiors Court between a Demandant and his Debtor.* . . .

¹ *Shenshe*, Gingee.

² *Aarany*, Arnee.

³ *Seerootanapple*, Trichinopoly.

⁴ *Wankkadesern*, Venkatesan—i.e., Vishnu.

⁵ *Agio*, money-changer's commission ; from It. *agio*, convenience.



Rangappa the Complainant states that his father lent money to the Defendant Ārumugam. Rangappa, whose father is now dead, holds the receipt, which Ārumugam repudiates as a forgery, denying the debt. After much prevarication by the principals and their witnesses, the Judge orders Ārumugam to repeat the following oath. Ārumugam breaks down at the word 'cows,' and acknowledges the debt :—

'The Oath : Almighty God in Heaven, If I have taken Money upon Usury of Rengappens Fathers Hands, and do now denie this, thou wilt certainly kill all my Cows, cut them in little Slices, and make me and my Wife and my Children to eat them without Salt or any other Spices till we die.'

'THE SEVEN AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. The Master takes a Walk on Foot in the Suburbs of the black Town, and talks on the Way with his Boy about the Burying of this Country-People. . . .

Master. I see some School-boys sitting on the Ground, which seem to write Characters with their Fingers into the Sand, and besides these I observe other School-Boys which endeavour to write upon black wooden-Tables with a Stone-Pin.

Boy. Sir, All the School-Boys that write upon black-wooden-Tables with a Stone-Pin are *Gentou*-Boys ; but those which sit on the Ground and write with their fingers in the Sand are *Malabarian*-Boys.

M. How many Schools are in this Town ?

B. Sir, I believe there are ninety five Heathen-Schools. . . .

M. You Boy ! What does this great many Folks ? Is there any Wedding-Feast ?

B. Sir, It is not a Wedding-Feast, but the Obsequies made in Order to interr a dead Body.

M. What are they doing with the Corps ? Will they lay it under the Ground, or will they burn it with Fire to Ashes ?

B. Sir, the *Gentou*-People use to burn their Corps.

M. What signifies this great Pomp ? For what is the Fire-Work ? Why do they keep along the Musicians ?

B. It is but to shew their Greatness ?

M. Whose Burial is this ?

B. Sir, This Man was one of the Company's black Merchants.

M. How ! They do fire nine great Guns for him ?

B. Sir, Such great a Honour the Lords will shew to us.

M. I never have seen before in my Life such a tumultuous Procession : Their horrible Sound, the Gingle of their Musicians, the Creacking of short Guns, the Noise of the Fire-Arms, the Clapping and Flapping of their Engine, Which makes a dismal and tedious Tintamar : all this seems to be able to awake the dead Body again.

B. Sir, The Man that is dead heares nothing of all their Noise. . . .

'THE EIGHT AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. Two Sea-faring Brothers do encounter one with the other at unawares on the Sea-shore to Madras.

John. What sort of Wine have You here in this Country ?



Peter. We have several Sorts of Wine, and, as I think, the same is cheap enough.

J. Pray, Tell me the Names of these Wines.

P. That I may do without any great Trouble. In the first Place You must know that we have four and more Sorts of French-Wine; likewise so many Sorts of Wine from the Cape of good Hope. Further there is to be had white-Wine, red-Wine, claret-Wine, Rhenish-Wine, Moselle-Wine, Spanish-Wine or Sack, Malaga-Wine, Canar-Wine, Muscadel-Wine, Malmsey-Wine, Mudera-Wine, Palma-Wine and Persia-Wine.

J. I wonder at the large Specification of so many Sorts of Wine; but which is the best in this Country?

P. Dear Brother John, They are all together very good; but the Madera-Wine gives the best Tast when drunken with Water.

J. What, good Brother Peter, is this to say: Drink with Water? I don't understand what you mean.

P. Very well, I'll tell You presently the Meaning thereof. If any Body is dry and calls for Drink, he fills the Glass up with three Parts of Water and one Part of Madera-Wine, and then it is very savoury to quench the Thirst. . . .

John is surprised that no wine is made in the country, and is informed that grapes cannot be grown on account of the destruction wrought by squirrels:—

'*P.* In this Country we have almost every Year a small Number of Clusters of Grapes as the greatest Rarity. . . .

J. Where about is then to be found this Rarity of Grapes every year?

P. Very near, and that is a Place about two English Miles distant off from *Fort St. George*, namely at *Mailepour*.

J. Who is the Gentleman that contrives such a pleasing Play?

P. The Landlord is a Portuguese which did plant such a little Vineyard some Years ago, keeping therein two or three Dozen Vines; but as soon as the Grapes begin to ripen, casting up a sweet Smell, he is forced at the Number of Clusters of Grapes to procure so many leathern Bags in order to keep off the Biting of the Squirrels that flock together to feed upon [them]. . . .

J. Don't You make Use of Beer in this Country?

P. Yes, We have small Beer and strong Beer, all which is brought hither from England and Germany. . . .

J. Pray, What costes one Pipe or Hogshead of English Beer?

P. I have payed for one Pipe thirty Rixdollars. But we buy rather whole Chests with Beer filled up in Quart Bottles, which does keep far better in this hot Country. . . .

'THE NINE AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *The two Brothers, Peter and John, are discoursing about Food and the Kind of Victuals in the East Indies.* . . .

John. What is it that You do commonly eat with Meat?

Peter. We do eat Bread, Wheaten-Bread, White-Bread and Fine-mached-Bread, but Rice only as often as we have a Mind thereto. . . .

J. What Sort of Meat is to be had here?

P. We have Goose, Fowls, Capon, Ducks, Pigeons, Teals, Woodcocks, Snipe and many Sorts of little Birds. Besides this we don't want Mutton and



Pork, Venison too, as Hares, Stag, Roe and Boar. Likewise we meet now and then with Beef and Veal.'

J. But what Provision is here for Fish ?

P. The best Fishes we may wish for are here to be had in Abundance ; but I can't tell their Names except one and another Sort, as Cod-fish, Whiting, Eel, Dolphin and the like. Further, we have Oysters, Crab, Cray-Fish and Shrimp.

J. Pray, Sir, have You here also Herbs and Roots ?

P. Yes, We have Turneps, Carrots, Cabbage, Cucumbers, Melons, Colewort, Parsley, Onion, Salled, Sparagrass, Beans, French Beans and Pease.

J. Pray what Fruits have you here ?

P. We have Abundance thereof, although their Shape and Tast entirely differs from those of Europa. For You will find here Fig-trees, Dates, Oranges, Lemons, Googaves, Mangoes, Plantains or Pisangs, and Pomegranates, &c. . . .

J. You have Milk, Butter and Cheese in Plenty ?

P. Yes, But the Cheese which they do shape here and at Bengall don't come in any Comparison with our Cheese or that of Holland. For they are as dry as a Flint and without any Tast and Smell. . . .'



CHAPTER XXIV

1744—1746

GOVERNMENT OF NICHOLAS MORSE—PREPARATIONS FOR
WAR—MADRAS DEFENCES

GOVERNMENT OF NICHOLAS MORSE.

NICHOLAS MORSE, a descendant of Oliver Cromwell through the Protector's daughter Bridget Ireton,¹ entered the Company's service as Writer in 1718 at the age of eighteen. Promoted to Council ten years later, he was shortly afterwards appointed Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough. He remained in Sumatra about a year and a half, and before the end of 1729 rejoined the Fort St. George Council. In 1743 Morse was advanced to be Second Member, and he succeeded Benyon as Governor on the 17th January, 1744.

Morse's administration was signalized by the outbreak of war between France and England, the beginning of the great struggle between the two nations for supremacy in India. His rule, which endured only two years and a half, was abruptly terminated by the capitulation of Madras to Mahé de la Bourdonnais after a moderately severe bombardment. On the repudiation by Dupleix, two months later, of the treaty of capitulation, Morse was carried prisoner to Pondicherry. Ultimately released by exchange, he was summoned to England to render account to the Company of his proceedings. He eventually returned to Madras, where he lived many years in retirement. He died on the 8th May, 1772, and lies buried in St. Mary's new cemetery on the Island. His tombstone bears the simple inscription, 'Nicholas Morse, Esq^r., once Governor of Fort St. George, aged 72 years.' He married Jane Goddard in 1730 and had several children. Henry Vansit-

¹ *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments*, J. J. Cotton.



tart and Charles Boddam the younger married two of his daughters.

Before the events which led up to the capture of Madras are described, mention must be made of one or two minor incidents of Morse's rule. The arrival of the ship *Winchester*, which brought Robert Clive to Madras, is thus announced in the Fort St. George Diary for the 31st May, 1744:—'About 7 this evening Anchored in our Road the Honble Company's Ship Winchester, Captain Gabriel Steward, from England, last from the Coast of Brasil.'¹ In the list of Covenanted Servants for that year we find the entry, 'Robert Clive, Time of Arrival 31 May 1744. Station at Arrival, Writer. Salary at Arrival, £5 per annum. Present Employment, Under the Secretary. Age 19.' On the 25th September, Clive drew the sum of Pags. 3, fa. 19, ca. 53, the equivalent of £1-11-11, being his salary for three months and twenty-five days from the 1st June. The *Winchester* was delayed for several months in Brazil, but Clive, notwithstanding his late arrival, took rank among the other Writers who had been appointed at the same time as himself, all of whom reached Madras nearly a year in advance of him. Their order in the List of 1744 is as follows:—

William Smith King	...	...	arrived 20 June, 1743.
Robert Clive	...	...	„ 31 May, 1744.
Samuel Banks	...	...	„ 28 June, 1743.
Henry Cope	...	...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Walsh	...	...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John William Speck	...	...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Andrews	...	...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Pybus	...	...	„ 28 June, 1743.

Pybus, whose name will be mentioned later, and Banks were overcarried to Masulipatam, and had to find their way to Madras by land. Walsh and Andrews were engaged locally. In April, 1746, Clive was transferred from the Secretary's to the Accountant's office.

Since the death of Father Thomas in April, 1742, Father Severini had acted as Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew, though without particular authorization by Govern-

¹ P.C., vol. lxxiv., 31st May, 1744.



ment. Early in 1744 a decree arrived from France nominating Father René or Renatus, a Frenchman and the junior of Severini, as 'Apostolick Missionary and Vice Guardian of the Missions in the Indies and Persia.' The Council regarded this action of the ecclesiastical authorities as an infringement of prerogative. They refused to recognize it, and formally appointed Father Severini as Superior. The latter duly read himself in, and Renatus, after displaying his commission, bowed to the decision.¹

Two years later² Father Severini deposited with Government a sum of Pags. 6,000 at 6 per cent. 'towards the Support and Maintenance of the Roman Catholick Female Orphanage in this Town,' and offered to pay in a further sum of nearly Pags. 15,000, which had been left by the late Mr. Luis de Medeiros for the benefit of the same Charity.³ The Council recommended to the Company the acceptance of the bequest on the ground that it 'will conduce to render that Church more concerned for your Interest, and probably prevent their employing it at Pondicherry hereafter to your Prejudice.'

The Government were in need of money about this period, and borrowed freely at 8 per cent. In 1745 they accepted Pags. 25,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000 from Mr. Luis de Madeiros, Pags. 10,000 from Mr. Edward Fowke for himself, his father and brother, Arcot Rs. 30,000 from Mr. Salomons, and Pags. 15,000 from Coja Sultan David.

Regarding this Armenian there was considerable correspondence with Bombay. Coja Nazar Jacob Jan, an inhabitant of Madras since 1702, who is mentioned in 1740⁴ as the owner of a house in Charles Street, died leaving his estate to Coja Sultan David. The latter, whose wife was in Persia, sent his son Shawmier from Madras to Ispahan to look after part of the estate. Shawmier and his mother, Anem, were seized by the 'Calantar of Julpha' and 'inhumanly beaten' until they consented to the revocation of Jacob Jan's will. The Calender suffered for his conduct, as he was haled before the magistrate, lost his ears, and 'dyed a miserable death.' Anem, acting apparently under pressure, drew bills

¹ P.C., vol. lxxiv., 10th and 15th Feb., 1744, and 28th April, 1744.

² P. to Eng., vol. xv., 31st Jan., 1748, and P.C., vol. lxxvi., 17th Feb., 1748.

³ The earliest reference to the Roman Catholic Orphans' Fund occurs in 1689. (P.C., vol. xv., 5th Aug., 1689.)

⁴ P.C., vol. lxx., 6th March, 1748.



on her husband for large sums, and forwarded them to Madras through the Chief and Council of Gombroon and the Government of Bombay, together with a Power of Attorney to enable the Government of Madras to enforce acceptance. Sultan David, however, protested the bills, and the Council supported him.¹ The matter is alluded to here because Sultan David's house in Charles Street, which was doubtless the building owned by Jacob Jan,² is an historic edifice. At a subsequent date it was occupied by Clive. As the Admiralty House, it eventually became the town residence of the Governor of Madras and the scene of many public entertainments. It is now the office of the Accountant General.

A political officer was appointed to Ganjam with the duties of facilitating the transport of the overland post to Bengal, and inquiring into the industrial resources of the town of Berhampore:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President observes to the Board that, as there are Tappies now laid on the road as far as Ganjam for the Carrying Advices to and from Bengal, it will be highly necessary to have some person to reside at that place, as there are frequent Stoppages of the Cossids in those parts, occasioned by disputes between the Moors and Gentues; that by a proper Application to the respective Governments on such Occasions, means may be found to obtain a passage for the Peons who are charged with the Letters, so as to prevent their being detained in the Road. . . . It is therefore agreed to nominate Mr. Andrews for that Service, and that he proceed thither as soon as he can with Convenience. And as we are informed there is, near that place, a very large City named Brampore, where there are a great number of Weavers, some said to want Employ, that he will make it his business to enquire particularly into the State and condition of that City and People. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 5th Oct., 1744.)

The records of certain sales of property about this period lead to the conclusion that the designation *James Street*, which in Thomas Pitt's map is assigned to the thoroughfare lying east of Middle Gate Street in the northern half of the White Town, had been transferred to the street in the southern half which is marked *Church Street* in both Thomas Pitt's map and the map of 1733. The Council resolved to acquire 'the House and Godown in Charles Street' belonging to the estate of the late Randall Fowke because of its propinquity to the Sorting Godown;³ and they

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 24th and 27th June and 8th July, 1745.

² *Cf. P.C.*, vol. lxx., 6th March, 1744.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 20th Dec., 1745, and vol. lxxvi., 26th Feb., 1746.



[1744]

further decided to buy from Samuel Troutback¹ a plot of ground with godowns 'in James Street, directly fronting the Entrance to the Sorting Godown,' in view to avoiding risk of fire 'to the Cloth godowns.' Now the Sorting, or Calico Godowns in charge of the Export Warehousekeeper are believed to have been near the Church; while the Cloth godowns under the Import Warehousekeeper were situated in Charles Street. The words quoted above imply that the James Street of 1745 was identical with the Church Street of 1733.

The Fort St. George Consultation Book for 1746 terminates with the record of the Council meeting of the 30th April. The remaining consultations down to the time of the repudiation of the treaty of capitulation, when they must have ceased altogether, are missing. Copies of the consultations from the 1st February to the 16th June, 1746,² were, however, sent home after the rendition of Madras, and they reached England by the *Royal George* on the 16th May, 1750. These are preserved at the India Office. Such of them as relate to the period 1st May to 16th June, 1746, contain little of importance. They deal mainly with the case of Mr. Humffries Cole, who left Bengal in defiance of the Governor's veto, and established himself, first at Fort St. David and then at Madras. The Company had claims against Cole; but Morse, while directing him to return to Calcutta, took no vigorous measures to compel obedience. The matter is alluded to here because Cole was in Madras at the time of the capitulation, and wrote an account of it which will be referred to later.

Of the *Letters to England*, the last from Fort St. George is dated the 31st January, 1745. The next subsequent is from Fort St. David of the 17th October, 1746.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

The declaration of war by France against England was made in March, 1744, and news of it reached Madras in September.

¹ Troutback was a private resident. Shipwrecked at Sadras many years earlier, he had established himself as a merchant at Fort St. George. He married Susanna Morgan in 1726, and died in 1785.

² On the recovery of the records from the French, it was found that the Fort St. George Consultations for 1746 'were brought up no further than June.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 20th Oct., 1749.)



The Council at once arranged for the observation of Pondicherry, and the establishment of rapid communication overland with Bengal. They placed orders in Bombay for the building of two swift despatch-boats. The soldier servants of the military officers were relegated to duty, money equivalents for their service being granted to the officers.¹ M. Dupleix wrote on the 23rd November, proposing that peace should be preserved eastward of the Cape by mutual agreement, but Morse replied that he was not authorized to enter into any such compact.² In this action the Governor of Madras was justified, for the Company in England had represented to the First Commissioner of the Admiralty the urgent need of a naval force in Eastern waters. Lord Winchelsea responded promptly. Little more than a month after the declaration of war, a squadron was secretly despatched under the command of Commodore Curtis Barnett,³ a brave and capable officer. It consisted of the *Deptford*, 60, Captain John Moore, flagship of the Commodore; *Medway*, 60, Captain Edward Peyton; *Preston*, 50, Captain the Earl of Northesk; and *Dolphin*, 20, Captain Ray (afterwards commanded by Captain Nathaniel Stevens). The ships proceeded first to Malacca and Sumatra, where several French merchantmen were taken, including the *Favorite*, which was converted into the *Medway's Prize*, 40, Captain Thomas Griffin. With the squadron were the privateers *Fame*, 56, Captain Cummings, and *Winchelsea*, 40, Captain Gerald.⁴ In October, 1744, the *Lively*, 20, Captain Elliot (afterwards commanded by Captain Henry Roswell), was despatched from England, and in the following February the *Harwich*, 50, Captain Philip Carteret, and the *Winchester*, 50, Captain Lord Thomas Bertie, were sent out to replace the *Deptford* and *Dolphin*.⁵

On hearing of the despatch of the squadron, the Madras Council fitted up the Granary on the Island as a naval hospital, ordered in supplies of provisions, and appointed Peter Dencker and James Calvineer Victuallers for the fleet.⁶ Barnett arrived at Fort St. David on the 22nd July, 1745, and came on to Madras on the

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 5th to 24th Sept., 1744.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 26th Nov., 1744.

³ *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 25th July, 1745.

⁵ *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 1st Jan and 25th Feb., 1745.



30th August. Mr. Eyre and Lieut. De Gingens went off to receive him, and the President and Council met him on landing, and conducted him to the Company's Garden House, which was placed at his disposal. The naval captains were accommodated ashore and dined, the Council following the practice observed when Commodore Matthews visited Madras in 1722.¹

Meanwhile preparations at Pondicherry, which were really designed for an expedition to Karikāl, were thought to bode attack on Fort St. David. The Madras militia were embodied under the command of Mr. Monson, and 200 peons were engaged from the Poligars in the vicinity.² The Nawab was alarmed at the prospect of war, and wrote to Madras to forbid hostilities with the French. His letter and Governor Morse's reply are subjoined:—

'From Nabob Anwaradean Cawn Bahauder, Subah at Arcot.

Received July 14th, 1745.

(P.C., vol. lxxv., 15th July, 1745.)

'I am informed that since the War broke out between the English and French in Europe, they are preparing to Committ hostilities against each other in all the places upon the Coasts of Indostan where those Nations are Settled, and that they also expect Ships of Warr from Europe for that Purpose, which greatly alarms those of his Majesty's³ Subjects who live in Chinapatam and Pondicherry. . . . As all the Sea port Towns are the Great Mogulls, and some of them only were entrusted to the care of the Europeans in Expectation that they would Behave themselves peaceable and Quietly in Indostan, You will Consider of it thoroughly and Seriously, and take care not to raise any disturbance on Shore; for You shall be called to an Account for it hereafter in case you do. Pray Observe this as a Strict Taukeed.⁴

'To his Excellency Nabob Anwaradean Cawn Bahauder, Subah of Arcot. July 16th, 1745.

'I have received your Excellencys Peruwanah. . . . Your Excellency must be sensible from your long Experience in Affairs of Warr that all Precaution is not only prudent but necessary in such times, and to be no less prepared to act than one's Enemy. However, since it is not your pleasure that any Hostilities should be Committed on the Land, as you imagine they may be the cause of disturbance to the Peace of your Government, I beg leave to say that for my self I shall not be the first to disobey your Commands in this Respect, provided there is the same deference paid to them by the French.

¹ P.C., vol. lxxv., 30th Aug. and 2nd Sept., 1745.

² P.C., vol. lxxv., 10th and 12th June, 1745.

³ *His Majesty*, the Mogul.

⁴ *Taukeed*, from Ar. *tākiḍ*, order, injunction.



Otherwise, I may presume it is not your Excellency's design to put any restraint upon me to my Diservice and to the Advantage of the Enemy.

'As I have already Acquainted Your Excellency that the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships are not under my Direction, I cannot oblige myself to Answer for their Conduct.'

When Commodore Barnett¹ arrived at Fort St. David, the Nawab repeated his injunction to the Governor of Madras, and received a reply to the same effect as before.² Anwār-ud-dīn then came to San Thomé, accompanied by one of his sons, 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, and 'by his Dewan Sampāti Rau. He was saluted from Fort St. George with sixty-one guns, and Messrs. Thomas Eyre and Edward Fowke waited on him with presents valued at Pags. 2,000. The Councillors were received in a friendly manner, but there is no record that any conversation on the political situation was held.³ Barnett, influenced by Morse's desire to remain on good terms with the Nawab, refrained from attacking Pondicherry, though he might have done so with every prospect of success; and on the approach of the north-east monsoon he sailed for 'Mergy.'⁴

In January, 1746, Dupleix made a demonstration against Fort St. David. The opportune appearance of four ships of the squadron caused him to beat a hasty retreat to Pondicherry.⁵ Morse wrote to the Nawab on the 17th March, showing how he had held to his engagement notwithstanding French provocation, and the Nawab replied as follows on the 1st April:—

'From Nabob Anawardeen Cawn Bahauder at Arcot.

'I received your agreeable Letter acquainting me that you and the Governour of Tevenapatam pay a great regard to my Orders, and have made use of no Hostilities to his Majesty's Sea Port Towns, and desiring that the Governour of Pondicherry may be enjoined also to behave in like manner. This pleases me highly, and I assure you that your Behaviour in every respect is very satisfactory to me. You may depend upon it that the Governour of Pondicherry shall not be suffered to behave in a different manner. I have sent him my Taukeed in such a way as is necessary upon this occasion. Pray believe me to be your Friend, and let me have the pleasure of hearing frequently of your Welfare.' (P.C., vol. lxxvi., 3rd April, 1746.)

¹ Barnett: This spelling appears to have been used by the Commodore himself. (P.C., vol. lxxvi., 6th April, 1746.)

² P.C., vol. lxxv., 11th Aug., 1745.

³ P.C., vol. lxxv., 19th Aug., 1745.

⁴ Mergy, Mergui. (P. to Eng., vol. xv., 31st Jan., 1745.)

⁵ P. to Eng., vol. xv., 31st Jan., 1745.



A great misfortune befell the British on the 29th April, when Commodore Barnett died of fever at Fort St. David after a few days' illness.¹ But for this calamity the fortunes of Madras might have been other than they were. The command of the squadron devolved on Captain Edward Peyton, whose qualifications were far inferior to those of his predecessor.

When M. Dupleix first heard of the approach of the British squadron, he sent an urgent message for help to M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.² M. de la Bourdonnais had ruled the Islands for ten years. His energy and ability had accomplished wonders. He developed cultivation of the soil, built houses, docks, ships, and an arsenal, and constructed fortifications. He promptly responded to the appeal of Dupleix. With a nucleus of one vessel of war, and four merchantmen which had arrived from the mother-country, he equipped a fleet consisting of the *Achille*, 70, *Phénix*, 38, *Bourbon*, 34, *Neptune*, 30, *Saint Louis*, 26, *Lys*, 24, *Duc d'Orléans*, 24, *Renommée*, 24, and *Insulaire*, 20.³ This squadron, carrying 3,300 men, of whom one-fourth were Africans, sailed at the end of May, 1746, and within a month encountered the British squadron off Negapatam.

Peyton was on his way to Trincomallee to refit, when, at daybreak on the 25th June, the French ships were descried. The wind was light, and the squadrons did not meet till the afternoon, when an engagement commenced which lasted till dark. Peyton, with six ships against nine, had heavier if fewer guns, but possessed only half his opponent's strength in men. On the following day he summoned a council of war, and decided, in view of the leaky condition of the flagship *Medway*, to sail to Trincomallee.⁴ De la Bourdonnais proceeded to Pondicherry, where he was received with open arms. Differences with

¹ *F. St. G. Cons.*, 2nd May, and *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 5th May, 1746.

² *The Isles of France and Bourbon* lie to the east of Madagascar. The Isle of France was discovered in 1507 by the Portuguese, who named it Cerné, but made no settlement. In 1598 it was taken by the Dutch, and called Mauritius after Count Maurice of Nassau. Abandoned by them in 1710, it was appropriated by the French East India Company about 1715. Bourbon, now called Réunion, was sometimes known as Mascareigne, after its reputed discoverer, Mascarenhas, and indeed the name of Mascarene Islands is still applied to the whole archipelago.

³ *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, 1750.

⁴ *F. St. D. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746.



Dupleix, however, soon arose, due to divided authority. Dupleix was Governor of all the French Settlements in India, but the Isles of France and Bourbon were outside the sphere of his rule. De la Bourdonnais admitted no authority over the fleet but his own. He would receive advice, but not orders.

A period of hesitation ensued. De la Bourdonnais feared to attack Madras until the English squadron had been crippled; but Peyton, who returned to the Coast on the 6th August, avoided an engagement. On the 18th, the French ships made an experimental demonstration under M. de la Porte Barré, entering the Madras Roads, and firing on the Company's ship, *Princess Mary*, which lay there at anchor. Not only were they not interrupted by Peyton, but news arrived on the 24th that the British squadron had been seen off Pulicat standing to the northward.¹ Peyton had in fact deserted the coast, abandoning Madras to its fate. De la Bourdonnais decided that a real attack on Fort St. George might be hazarded, and his fleet appeared before it on the 3rd September. Before describing its proceedings we must examine what had been done for the defence of the doomed fortress.

MADRAS DEFENCES.

After the death, in May, 1743, of Major Knipe, the commandant of the garrison, nearly four years elapsed before the Company engaged Major Stringer Lawrence as his successor. Meanwhile Lieut. Peter Eckman, styled Captain by courtesy, took charge of the troops as senior company officer. Mr. William Percival,² the Gunner, was, on transfer to the civil service, followed by Mr. John Waters, who died within a year. The Madras Council then applied to Bombay for a capable artillery officer, and Mr. Joseph

¹ *F. St. D. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746. Orme states that, prior to the demonstration, the Madras Council drew the Nawab's attention to the French preparations, but omitted to make him a present, and that the Nawab consequently took no notice of the communication. Presents were due when a complimentary visit was made, but it was not the practice to send an offering with every letter that passed. The Nawab's delay in taking action was probably due to disbelief in the truth of the information.

² *William Percival* is named in 1730 in the list of 'Constant Inhabitants,' and in 1736 in that of 'Supra Cargoes and Pursers.' He was appointed Chief Gunner in 1738, and five years later was, by the Company's orders, admitted to the civil service as a Factor (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlviii., 21st March, 1742 [1743]). He rose to be Second of Council in February, 1759, but died within a month of his promotion.



Smith¹ was transferred thence to Madras in September, 1744, in the capacity of 'Bombardier and Engineer' on a salary of Rs. 140 per month.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'As by Mr. Waters's death we lost the only Bombardeir we had in the Garrison, our Governour wrote immediately to the Governour of Bombay, advising of the Accident that had happened to Us, and desiring, if he could possibly furnish Us with a person Skilled in that business, to send him on the Augusta hither. As Mr. Wake was sensible of the necessity we were under, and the great Service such a person might be of to Us, he has been so obliging as to spare Us Mr. Joseph Smith, who was sent out by Your Honours to Bombay in the Character of Bombardier, and who is recommended by him as a person very capable and deserving, and who has also some knowledge of Engineering, in which he will be usefull to Us also, and in which and what relates to Gunnery we shall, if necessary, make Use of him till we receive your further Orders.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 5th Sept., 1744.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Joseph Smith being sent for and attending, was desired to give the Board his Sentiments on the State of our Fortifications, and to let us know what he judged most immediately wanting and necessary to the better defence of the Place in Case of any Attempt from an Enemy. He told us the Short time he had been here would not admit of His digesting his particular remarks into proper Order to lay before Us, But that he judged it absolutely necessary immediately to build a Bomb proof Magazine in some convenient part of the White Town for holding our general Store of Powder, That upon the Island being too far off on any Emergency, and not properly Commanded by Our Guns, and the Smaller Magazines in Town at present used for keeping the Powder when brought in from the Island . . . were rendered very insecure and liable to Accidents from the insufficient thickness of their Walls. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 12th Sept., 1744.)

The spot selected for the new magazine was 'the open Space between the Portuguese Church and the North Wall of the inner Fort.'² The building, which was completed by December, 1745, measured 70 feet by 40 feet externally, had walls and roof 10 feet thick, and was surrounded by an outer wall at 20 feet distance. This magazine existed until the nineteenth century.

The Company had given a qualified approval in their letter of the 21st March, 1744, of the adoption of Major Knipe's design for reforming the West front of the White Town ; but, in the absence of an Engineer, nothing could be done until Smith arrived. After

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 17th Oct., 1744. Mr. Joseph Smith was father of the future General Joseph Smith.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 17th Sept., 1744.



a careful examination of the ground, that officer submitted two alternative designs in June, 1745 :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘M^r. Smith has been employed several Months in examining the Ground and the proper Space for the several Works, and to prepare a Plan to lay before the Board. And he now attending, delivers in Two Plans,¹ One of a Horn Work² to be Erected at the end of the Bridge, The other of Two Bastions and to take in the Circumference on the Island so as to Answer in a Line of Defence from the Mint Point³ to Charles Point, Adding thereby all the Space within to the White Town. And the Large Plan⁴ sent to the Company was also called for. Accordingly, the several Plans being Examined and duly considered of, and after having discoursed with M^r. Smith a long time in order to be Satisfied which of the Three it might be best to fix our choice on, It appeared to Us the Second was the most preferable for the following reasons :—

‘That from Charles’s Bastion to the Water Gate Bridge, as it now Stands, the Compound Walls of all the Dwelling Houses join in a Line with the Face of the Bastion, which prevents the Fire of that Flank⁵ defending the Passage of the River ; and that if the First Plan with the Horn Work is accepted, there must be a Rampart joining the Flanks to the Bridge, which must be laid in the River on Wells and in bad Ground 970 Feet, as must likewise the Rampart be carried on from the Bridge to the inner part of the Mint Bastion 752 Feet, in the River likewise on Wells,⁶ by which means Part of the Silver Mint would be taken away and rendered Useless for the Working in. And the Inhabitants would also expect a Compensation for the damage done to their Houses and Compounds, which would be pretty considerable ; besides which there would be no enlargement of the Town for the building Storehouses, Granarys, &c., which are greatly wanting. And that whatsoever New Works are thought Proper, the very bad condition of both Charles and Mint Points render them so Unfit for Service that there is an absolute necessity of rebuilding them.

‘As to the large Plan, it is judged much too extensive, considering the Number of Men allowed for this Garrison ; and the Expence would be very large in erecting somany Bastions and such a length of Rampart, with the Ditch.

‘The advantages of the other are that it will allow a very good Space for the necessary Buildings for the Service of the Garrison, as well as to erect many

¹ Not preserved.

² *Horn Work*, a large outwork, having a re-entering angle in front and two parallel flanks.

³ *Mint Point*, otherwise called Gloucester Point or Caldera Point.

⁴ *The Large Plan* ; Major Knipe’s design for a new front, extending from Charles Point to Queen’s Point. This plan is not found among the India Office records, nor is a copy preserved at Madras.

⁵ *That Flank* ; the short side of the bastion facing north was inside, instead of outside, the curtain.

⁶ The Hornwork would have been a large outwork on the Island. The actual distance from the south face of the Mint Bastion to the Bridge was 752 feet, and from the Bridge to the north face of Charles’ Bastion was 970 feet.

others, and be a very considerable Addition to the Town ; That it will be compact and Seperate from the Black Town, and thereby much Stronger and more defensible than when joined to the other, as must have been in the large Plan ; That this will cost little more than even the Horn Work ; and though the Ground on the Island cannot be said to be good, yet it's better than that in the River. And in the whole, that the Town will in this method be exceedingly well secured on that Side, be much enlarged and very commodious, and the only building in the way is the Charity School ; but as the Materials of that are fresh and good, they will sell for near as much as their first Cost, since the Prices are risen so considerably since the erecting of that Building ; and the number of Children being reduced to twenty for many Years past, and the Present Stock not more than sufficient to provide for them, a Smaller House will very well do for the Purpose, so that their removal will not be attended with any inconveniency.

'The Board, for the above reasons, and also as it is agreeable to the opinion of Mr. Smith that this Second Plan will Answer best in every respect, do therefore, from the liberty Our Honourable Masters are pleased to give Us, determine on that for the Fortifying the West Side of the White Town ; and as the State of the Country and other Circumstances make it highly requisite they should be compleated as soon as possible, that the Paymaster do forthwith set about them as soon as Mr. Smith has lined out the Works according to the said Plan.' (P.C., vol. lxxv., 4th June, 1745.)

On Smith's return from Fort St. David, whither he was deputed to report on the defences, the works at Madras were begun. The rainy season, however, allowed of little progress being made before the new year. Plans¹ of both Fort St. George and Fort St. David were sent home with the Council's letter of the 31st January, 1746. Morse promised an estimate of cost in September. He announced that the work would be very expensive, but assured the Company it was indispensable. The Charity School and old Paddy Bank-sall were pulled down about May to make room for a new bastion, and compensation was duly awarded. The Trustees of the School bought one house and hired a second pending the erection of a new building.²

Smith's design for the West front consisted of three new faces, each about 200 yards in length, fronting roughly north-west, west, and south-west, with as many large bastions. The northernmost bastion was 200 yards from Mint Point, and the southernmost was on the river-bank opposite Charles Point. The whole constituted a line convex towards the west. It was covered by a wet ditch of considerable width, which was intended to carry the water of

¹ P.C., vol. lxxvi., 20th Jan., 1745, and P. to Eng. vol. xv., 31st Jan., 1745. These plans cannot be found at the India Office.

² F. St. G. Cons., 7th May, 1746.



the river when the original bed had been filled up. At the time of the French attack in September, only the ditch with its escarp and counterscarp walls had been finished; but the original design was eventually completed¹ after the rendition of Madras in 1749 and before Lally's siege of 1759. Although Smith's plans are lost, the nature of the work will be understood from drawings of 1749, which have been reproduced for this book.

When the Directors received Smith's plan they consulted Mr. Richard Benyon, whose memorandum on the design is preserved at the India Office.² His views were accepted by them, and his observations were repeated almost verbatim in their letter of the 15th August, 1746. From this communication it appears that certain alterations on the east front were also contemplated :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

' Having Inspected the Plan of the Fortifications carrying on for your place, and considered your Advices and Consultations thereupon, We approve of proper Works being Erected and carried on towards the Land, and would have you go on with the same, provided sufficient care be taken to carry off the Back Water so as to prevent any Damage to the Walls.

' But with respect to Works towards the Sea, We cannot see any necessity for them. However, in case that the Wall can be made more defenceable by any Alterations or small Additions, We have no Objection thereto.

' These are Our Sentiments in General; and having consulted with Mr. Benyon, who Resided so many Years on the Spot, We are enabled to make the following particular Remarks to which you must pay all due Regard.

' By the drawing of the Yellow Lines in the Plan cross the River, We take it for granted so much as is enclosed within those Lines is intended to be filled up, and for that purpose the Earth which comes out of the Moat that seems to be designed will be useful; but otherwise the making such Moat will be attended with some Inconveniences, and, all Circumstances considered, namely the loose Soil upon which the Town stands, and the Country it is in, may not be altogether so useful and necessary as elsewhere.

' It does not appear by the plan, or from any thing that is said of it elsewhere, whether it be intended to turn the Course of the River through the Moat, or into some other Channel. If this last be designed, it will be much facilitated by the great Flux of Water that comes out of the Country in the time of the Freshes, and which in the loose Soil to the West of the Town will, with the Expence of very little help, open a sufficient Bed for itself. But if it be intended to turn it through the Moat, We apprehend there is more danger of the Walls being Undermined by the Freshes than by an Enemy, especially

¹ With the modification that the river was provided with a channel other than the ditch.

² *Correspondence Memoranda*, vol. xii.

If the Moat be Confined within the usual limits of those things, and the exterior Slope thereof be Fenced with Brick; and without such Fence, any Slope would soon be Washed into the Moat by the heavy rains, or carried away by the Freshes.

'We admit that the Old Works to the West of the Town were every Season Washed by the River, and that they have been very little hurt thereby, although they are not near so Substantial as the New are intended. But then it is to be considered that a small resistance was sufficient to prevent the Effects of its Rapidity on One side when it met with no Opposition on the other but a loose Sand, of which it has carried away so much that it has made a very broad Channel; and that did greatly facilitate its Passage by the Town without hurt to the Walls. But if a regular Moat be intended of the Common Size, the Water will be so much Confined that great Damage may be apprehended on both sides thereof.

'The Danger of the Moat described in the Plan is more to be apprehended to the North and South of the Town, as it does not appear by the Plan that any Liziere or Space is intended between the Foot of the Rampart and the Moat; and the Foundations of those Walls are not, We believe, laid so deep as We suppose the Moat is designed.

'We cannot form any probable Conjecture what is intended by the Narrow Channels which run East towards the Sea from the Two Ends of the Moat, North and South of the Town. We are unwilling to suppose they are intended to carry off the Surplus Water that runs down from the Countrey, yet We do not see any other Channel in the Plan designed for it. Such an Experiment would, We think, be attended with the greatest danger; therefore We hope will never be attempted. For whoever has observed the great Quantity of Water which comes out of the Country in the Rainy Season, the Rapidity of the Stream, and the wide and deep Channel which it makes immediately after it has got Vent upon opening the Bar, must be of opinion that those two small Canals are far from being wide [enough] to carry off so large and rapid a body of Water; and yet, if it should get Vent there, it will carry everything before it, and make itself so wide and deep a Passage that it is not easy to say how far the Mischief may spread.

'As little do We suppose they were intended to let in the Water from the Sea in the dry Season, because, after the Rains are over and the Southerly Monsoon sets in, the Sea flings up a great Bank of Sand, which Shuts up the Bar and will as certainly choak up these two Canals.

'Such a Flux of Water as comes from the Country in the rainy Season is not easily confined within such narrow Limits as seem to be intended: therefore, if Proximity to the River be desired, the safer way would be to turn its Course so as to pass by the Wall on the Outside in the same manner it does now, without being Confined by any other exterior Bank than the common Soil. Or, if a regular Moat be insisted on, the River might be turned off at some Reasonable Distance from the Town, and a small Canal might be made from it to communicate with the Moat, yet so as only to Replenish it or carry off the Waste Water into the River, the Main Course of which should not be through the Moat, but have a different Channel into the Sea.¹

'Nothing is said in the General Letter about the Fortifications next the Sea; therefore We suppose the Yellow Line on that side is intended by the

¹ This idea was carried out at a later period.



Draughtsman rather for the Regularity of the Plan, and to shew how it ought to have been, than any Design at present to alter what is done.

'The present Walls are so near the Sea that more than once in Mr. Benyon's time the Foundations have been laid bare by the Surff in a Spring Tide and Hard Gales in the Northerly Monsoon; and as the New are lined out to be nearer the Sea, they will consequently be more exposed to that Risque than the Old. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlix., 15th Aug., 1746.)

The following statement of the Garrison at the time of the French attack is taken from the *East Indian Chronologist*, a work published anonymously at Calcutta in 1802¹ :—

'Muster-Roll Madras Garrison, September 1, 1746.

'Muster Rolls, Sept. 1, 1746 - - - - - 300
Deduct

Portuguese sentinels, vagabond deserters from the military and ships at Goa, the worst men in the world for the service at that time - - - - -	23
Lewis Caldorra, a sentinel, a country Portuguese - - -	1
Anthony De Cruze, Rollier, ² a ditto - - - - -	1
Jacob De Rovaria and Michael De Rozario, two drummers, slave boys - - - - -	2
Hanibal Julian, a black, sent from England - - - -	1
Luke Schields, a Fleming, in prison for corresponding with the French and assisting the prisoners to escape - - - - -	1
Adrian Miller, deserted - - - - -	1
Serjeants upon the rolls not in the service - - - -	3
Sentinel, ditto - - - - -	1
In the hospital, as by the surgeon's monthly report of Sept 1, and his certificate - - - - -	34
Men who ought to have been there, old men and boys, at least - - - - -	32

100

Remains (exclusive of the twenty-three Portuguese first mentioned) Europeans, supposed to be good and effective, British subjects and foreigners, Protestants and Catholics, including commissioned officers - - - - - 200

'Lieutenants 3, Ensigns 7, Drums 6, Serjeants, corporals and sentinels 184.
Total 200.

'First Lieutenant, Peter Eckman, an ignorant superannuated Swede, was a common soldier fifty years ago;³ became afterwards a serjeant at Fort

¹ The dedication is initialed 'H.' and authorship is attributed to Thomas Hickey, the painter.

² *Rollier*, probably a junior non-commissioned officer, corresponding to the earlier 'rounder,' who called the roll.

³ According to his own account, Eckman had served 56 years, of which upwards of 40 were under the Company.



St. David, and for certain services got an Ensign's commission, then a Lieutenant's; and by length of life became the first.

'Second Lieutenant, John Holland, a gentleman about 40 years of age, of great honour and spirit, and many other amiable qualities, but never saw any other service than upon the (hitherto) peaceable parades of Madras and St. David.

[Note] 'This Gentleman commanded as Major at Calcutta, and died there before the attack on that place by Surajah Dowlah.

'Third Lieutenant, Rudolphus Gingen, a Swiss Gentleman, and as brave a one I believe as any of his nation, of great honour and some experience, having seen actions in the service of the Princes of Europe.

[Note] 'Gingen served on the coast with great credit, as Orme testifies.

'One Ensign was a serjeant in the troops here, came out from the Company six or seven years ago as an Ensign, and I believe may be a good garrison officer.

'Three Ensigns were, a few years ago, common soldiers, rose to be serjeants, and were chosen out of that rank as vacancies fell, but never saw other service than that of relieving the guards.

'One Ensign had been sent to England since the loss of Madras on suspicion of having correspondence with the enemy.¹

'One Ensign had been a common soldier many years back, under the Duke of Marlborough, and since in India, quite superannuated.

'One Ensign, a very promising youth.

[Note] 'Afterwards General Joseph Smith, a most gallant officer.

'The serjeants and corporals cannot be supposed to be very well qualified, since the second and third Lieutenants have often complained that they could scarce pick a man out of their companies fit for either trust.

'The topasses, of which the major part of the garrison consisted, every one that knows Madras knows to be a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their ancestors, lazy, idle and vicious withal, and for the most part as weak and feeble in body as base in mind. Not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary requisites of a soldier.'

In this strongly-worded statement no mention is made of the Gunroom crew, which numbered about a hundred, inclusive of lascars, nor of the militia, nor of the peons. When full allowance, however, for these omissions has been made, it is evident that Madras, abandoned by the British squadron and deprived of a military commander of energy and experience, was not in a condition to cope successfully with the force of some 3,400 men, which M. de la Bourdonnais was able to bring against it.

¹ Ensign Van Franken 'was very busy among the French after the Surrendry of Madrass, and did certainly give Monsieur De La Bourdonnais a Plan of the Town.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 15th May, 1747.)



CHAPTER XXV

1746

SURRENDER OF MADRAS

IN the absence of any record of the Fort St. George Consultations after the middle of June, 1746, it becomes necessary to rely on other sources for particulars of the French attack, the capitulation of Madras, and the events which followed. Among State documents we have the Fort St. David Consultations and Letters to England, and the papers¹ relating to an enquiry held by the Company into the conduct of the President and Council. There are available also short reports from Calcutta² and Tellicherry,³ as well as the French Government archives preserved at Pondicherry.⁴ Several contemporary writers have supplied full or partial narratives. De la Bourdonnais' memoir⁵ is replete with details which are supported by copies of original documents. Orme's account,⁶ which is brief and deficient in particulars, appears to have been derived mainly from the journal of John Hallyburton.⁷ Humffries Cole, an eye-witness, wrote a narrative, which was published anonymously in the *London Magazine*. That prolific author, Thomas Salmon, provided two relations in his *Universal Traveller*, one being based on de la Bourdonnais' memoir, while the other is Mr. Cole's story.⁸ Ranga Pillai, dubash to M. Dupleix, embodied many details in his private

¹ *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii.

² *Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. v., 15th Oct., 1746.

³ *Tellicherry Factory Diary*, vol. vi., 28th Sept., 1746.

⁴ Certain extracts have been furnished by the Conservator, M. Bourgoïn, with the permission of H.E. the Governor of the French Settlements in India.

⁵ *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, 1750 (attributed to P. de Gennes).

⁶ *History of the Military Transactions in Indostan*, vol. i.; Orme, 1763.

⁷ A copy of the journal is preserved among the Orme MSS. at the India Office.

⁸ *The Universal Traveller*, vol. i.; Salmon, 1752.

diary, now in course of translation and publication.¹ From these different sources the following narrative is compiled² :—

On learning that the British squadron had sailed northward, de la Bourdonnais resolved to make a swift descent on Madras. Leaving Pondicherry on the night of the 1st September with nine ships and two bomb-vessels, he found himself at daybreak on the 3rd in sight of St. Thomas's Mount. A detachment of 600 men landed at Trevembore, a few miles south of San Thomé, and marched along the shore, the fleet keeping pace with them. At noon, when the ships were opposite Mile End³ House, one mile south of the Fort, the disembarkation of the rest of the troops was begun. The force encamped on the east side of the Triplicane temple, where an entrenched camp was formed for the protection of the ammunition and stores. A reconnaissance having been made, a battery for five mortars was thrown up on the beach at the south end of the river bar. The Fort fired on the camp, but without much effect, the shot generally falling short.

At dead of night Mr. Barnevall, free merchant of Madras and husband of Mme. Dupleix's daughter, left the Fort and presented himself at Triplicane with a verbal request from Governor Morse that the women might leave the White Town.⁴ De la Bourdonnais refused permission, save to Mrs. Morse, Mrs. Barnevall, and a female companion to be selected by each. Those ladies, however, declined a privilege which was not extended to the other beleaguered members of their sex. The women and children were lodged in the Church of St. Andrew as the safest spot in the town, one end of the building being reserved for them, while the other was appropriated to Drs. Nathaniel Barlow and Andrew Munro with their surgical instruments and appliances.

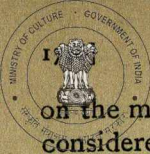
The Madras Council consisted of six members besides the President, Nicholas Morse, viz., William Monson, John Stratton, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, John Savage, and Edward Fowke. Morse summoned the military officers, and invited their opinions

¹ *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. ii. Edited by Sir Frederick Price, 1907.

² All dates are given as heretofore according to the Old Style.

³ See the map of 1733 for Mile End, Chepauk.

⁴ At the time of Porte-Barré's demonstration in August, the women and children were sent to Pulicat, but the Dutch Chief, Wouten de Jongh, refusing them protection, they returned to Madras. (*Hallyburton's Journal*, Orme MSS.)



on the measures to be adopted. All, excepting Captain Eckman, considered the Garrison too weak to attempt more than the defence of the White Town. The guns on the walls and bastions of Black Town were accordingly spiked, and the guards withdrawn. Eckman at a later date explained his position in a letter written from Sadras to the Chairman of the Company in England:—

Lieut. Peter Eckman to Henry Gough, Esq.

‘I understand that by my Enemys I’ve been principally accused of the Loss of Madrass by not keeping my proper Complement of effective men, concordant to the Companys order, for which I’ve taken the liberty to write a few lines to you, Sir, in defence of my character, which is maliciously and wrongfully aspers’d.

‘When Mr. Morse came to be Governour of Madrass, he gave Commissions in his name, and desir’d me to keep always the just complement of effective men in the place . . . , which I answered was impossible for me to do, as my Commission as eldest Lieutenant was of no greater force than that of the youngest; but at the same time said that, if he’d be pleased to give a superiour Commission to any of us who were then on an equality, it might be observ’d in all the companys. And for myself I said that I had learnt the first duty of a soldier (to obey), having carried arms above 56 years, forty odd of which I’ve serv’d the Honourable Company. . . .

‘I likewise understand that I’ve been accused of mutiny, so far from which that, when the Governour sent for the Lieutenants to consult with them about dismantling the Black Town on the approach of the Enemy, my stiff opinion was that it ought to be defended to the last, as the walls of it join’d those of the White Town, which wou’d be of dangerous consequence if the Enemy made a lodgement in it, as our best water and provisions was there. But what I said was opposed by Captains Holland and De Gingins, and Mr. Smith the Gunner, and forthwith the Black Town was dismantled. I further propos’d that a plat-form should be immediately rais’d before Queen’s Point, which was then in ruin, and would soon be demolish’d if the Enemy should begin to batter it . . . ; but all I said was in vain: for which, seeing myself and my counsel despis’d, I left the Company, sorely griev’d at their proceedings; and when I came where the Gentlemen kept guard in the Fort, I took my sword and threw it on the ground, saying, Damn the sword as I have not leave to defend the place with it. Mr. Monson was one of the Gentlemen who heard it, and I refer to your impartial judgement whether the expression can be termed mutiny.

‘Next morning I ask’d Captain De Gingins if he had ever seen a garrison dismantled when there was an apprehension of the Enemy’s coming against it. He said, No; to which I reply’d that he should have said so before the Gentlemen the day before. He made no further reply, but went and told what I had said to Captain Holland, who in the afternoon came to the Parade where I was walking, and in a huff told me that I was very valliant; and my reply was that it seem’d to be high time I should, when the Town was likely to be given up without firing a shot in its defence. Some time after, I sent to the Gunner for some hand granades for the use of the guards, but could get none; and seeing



SL

him go to the Governour, I follow'd him there, and made my report to the Governour of the same. The Gunner took me up short, and said that he ne'er knew there was any use for granades till a breach was made in the walls. Upon which I told him that he knew nothing at all, then; wherefore he took the liberty to abuse me before the Governour, calling me an old idle fellow; to which I reply'd that, if he and I were together on the Island, I would not be an idle fellow, as he termed me, for asking of him what was necessary for the defence of the garrison. The Governour then spoke to me, saying it was no time to dispute among ourselves, but didn't say a word to the Gunner; wherefore I took my leave, saying I might go home, as there was no call for idle fellows at that juncture. . . .

'Now, Sir, after forty odd years servitude to the Honourable Company, during which time I've on many occasions shown myself to be a man, and have often in sundry places risk'd my life in their service, it grieves me to the very heart to be despis'd, disbanded, and even deny'd the liberty to live at Fort St. David . . .; which has oblig'd me to abide at Sadrass, a Dutch settlement on this coast, where I and my family live in extreme penury and want, having laid out all that I sav'd during my servitude to the Company in tenements and houses at Madrass, and am by the fall thereof reduc'd to the lowest state of indigency, with the epithet of old scoundrel; which I hope, Sir, you'll be graciously pleas'd to consider, and have me put into bread again for the little time I have to live in this world. . . .

'As I'm so unfortunate as not to be known to you, Sir, the Honourable Richard Benyon can satisfy you as to my former conduct and behaviour. PETER ECKMAN.' (*Misc. Let. Recd.*, vol. xxxiv., 11th Feb., 1748.)

The Company ultimately granted Eckman a pension of Pags. 160 per annum,¹ which he enjoyed until his death in 1758. He must then have been upwards of eighty years of age.

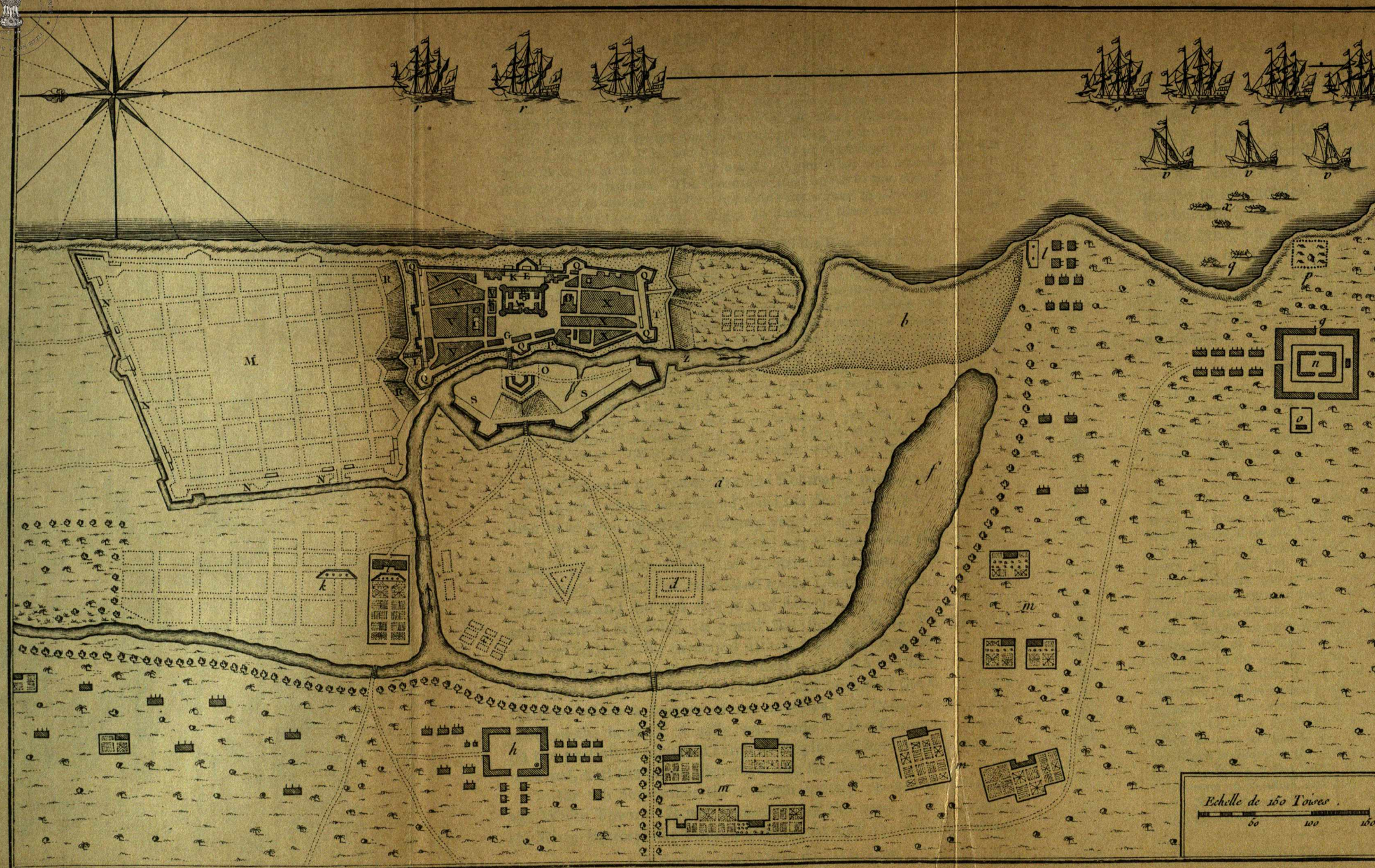
To return to de la Bourdonnais' expedition:—On the 4th September the disembarkation of troops and landing of stores was completed. The force numbered about 1,800, of whom 1,000 were Europeans and the rest sepoys and Africans. Some 1,700 sailors and marines remained on board the fleet. De la Bourdonnais resolved to make the principal attack from the west, and accordingly transferred his camp and stores on the 5th to Chintadripetta. The next day the French advanced, and occupied the Company's Garden, where a battery of ten mortars was constructed under cover of the house. A sally was made by the Company's peons on the partially evacuated camp in Triplicane, but it was promptly repulsed, and the peons dispersed into the country.

On the 7th September the western battery opened shell fire on the White Town. It was replied to by the guns on Mint Point, the River Battery, and Charles Point. At dusk the *Achille*, *Phénix*,

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].



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PLAN DE MADRAS

ET DU FORT S^T GEORGES

Pris par les François le 21 Septembre 1746.

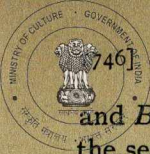
Renvoy

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Fort S ^t Georges | a. Plaine de Gazon |
| B. Gouvernement | b. Sables |
| C. les Capucins | c. Hôpital détruit par les François |
| D. Eglise des Anglois | d. Poudrière détruite par les Fr ^s |
| E. la Douane | e. Maisons brûlées par les Anglois |
| F. Magasin à Poudre | a l'arrivée des François |
| G. Porte Royale | f. Espece de Lac |
| H. Porte S ^t Thomé | g. Premier Camp des François |
| I. Porte de la Chaudière | h. Second Camp des François |
| K. Porte de la Mer | i. Maison de Plaisance du Gouverneur |
| L. Batt. de la Mer faite à neuf par les François | ou l'on avoit placé 6 Mort ^s |
| M. Ville Noire entièrement détruite et les fossés comblés par ordre de M ^r Duplex | k. Autre Batterie de 4 Mortiers |
| N. Enceinte de la Ville Noire | l. Batterie de deux Mortiers |
| O. Contregarde bâtie par les Fr ^s | m. Maisons de Campagne des Habitans de Madras |
| P. Batteries et Courtines bâties à neuf par les François | n. Etang |
| Q. Bastions rétablis par les Fr ^s | o. Grand Pagode |
| R. Contrascarpe et fossé fait à neuf | p. Retranchement pour recevoir les munitions des Assegeans |
| S. Projet des Anglois exécuté par eux jusqu'au niveau du terrain | q. Lieu où on fit la décente |
| T. Fossé fait à neuf par les Fr ^s | r. Trow Vaisseaux François le Phoenix l'Achille et le Bourbon. |
| V. Maisons des Habitans | s. M. de la Porte Barré Commandant en l'absence de M ^r de la Bourdonnais |
| X. Magasins de la Compagnie | t. V ^x qui fournissoient ce dont on avoit besoin pour le Siège. |
| Y. Maisons brûlées par les Anglois a l'arrivée des François. | v. Petites Embarcations |
| Z. Rivière de Mataron | x. Cheling ou petits batim ^s du Pays. |

Echelle de 150 Toises
50 100 150

Rough Sketch Plan of Madras in 1746, after Paradis.

(from Prevost d'Exiles)



and *Bourbon* took post opposite the Fort, and cannonaded it from the sea. During the night a message reached the French from Dupleix, stating that several ships had been despatched from Pondicherry. De la Bourdonnais' apprehension of Peyton's return was so great that he contemplated the re-embarkation of his stores. He was reassured by a second letter announcing that the vessels proved to be harmless country craft. He then resolved to press the bombardment with vigour, and prepare for an early assault.

The firing continued throughout the 8th. It was concentrated, as before, on the White Town, and especially the Fort Square, into which shells were dropped with precision. Judging from the following portion of Cole's account, the fire had a demoralizing effect, not only on the civil population, but also on the undisciplined garrison :—

Extract from Mr. Cole's Narrative.¹

'It has already been said that the *French* Squadron fired on the Town on the 18th of August, and so returned to *Pondicherry*. From that Day the *English* Gentlemen, without Exception, were raised in the Nature of the Militia under Mr. *Monson*, the second of Council and their Captain. The Gentlemen submitted to stand Centry and do all the common Duty of Soldiers on one common View, to save and keep fresh their Soldiers for Action ; also thirty-five Men and their Officers from on board the *Princess Mary* did common Duty. All the Natives that were able to bear Arms, such as the *Portuguese* and *Armenians*, were also trained in the Militia, and served in the White Town. The Soldiers were quartered on the Points and Batteries of the Black Town, and were daily fed with good Provisions, and Arrack given them for Punch, besides Drums every Day ; and yet, notwithstanding the most favourable Treatment, the *English* Soldiers were every Day more insolent, and threatened to mutiny. One Instance may be proper to insert here, viz, As Mr. *Monson* was passing the main Guard Gate, then in Guard of the Militia, two of the Soldiers in the rudest Manner complained that the Dram Cup was not large enough, and then taking hold of the Cuff of Mr. *Monson's* Sleeve, would needs carry him cross the Street to the new Barracks to see their Dram Cup and how they were used. Such was the general Tenor of their Behaviour, and so drunken and mutinous that their Officers declared against sallying out of the Town against the Enemy because the Officers could not trust to their Men, who did not amount in Number to 200 or 250 *English* and *Dutch*. For it must be observed that all the Black Jentooes left the Town ; and so also, on the first Day of Bombarding, all the Black Soldiers, to the Number of 400 to 500, leaped or let themselves down from the Walls in the Night, and fled. So also the House Servants of all the Gentlemen and Ladies, and most of their Slaves, leaped down from the Walls in the Night, insomuch that the Gentlemen and Ladies could not get Servants to kill and dress any Victuals, or bring them Water to drink ; every one, as he

¹ Quoted by Thomas Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*, i. 232.

could best be spared, at Times going to his House to feed and get clean Cloaths.

'Add to this the constant Alarms of Bombs falling caused every Man to leave Victuals, Drink, Cloaths, Sleep and every Thing else to run into the open Air and see which Way to avoid the Bombs then falling. These Alarms, so repeated from two *French* Batteries aforesaid, bearing fifteen Mortars, in the Space of every half Hour, had so harrassed, and fatigued, the Gentlemen that they were ready to die for want of Sleep the third Day. The Ladies were equally fatigued, and Mrs. *Morse* and all of them were constantly employed in sewing Cloth for Cartridges for the Great Guns. Many of the Cannon were dismantled or rendered useless by the breaking of the Gun Carriages, and in particular the Axletrees of the Gun Carriages being made for Cheapness of Red-wood alias Logwood, the Iron Bolt split the Log-wood upon the second or third Firing.

'Captain Eckman, the Commandant of the Military, had formerly been in the Wars in *Flanders*, but now superannuated and unable to bear the Fatigue. Captain *Holland* and Captain *Zengen* of the Military were very active, and kept a vigorous Fire from the respective Batteries. Captain Smith of the Gun-Room Crew died the first Day of the Siege of the Fatigue he had undergone from the Arrival of the French.

'The Garrison Stores were very much out of Order, and the Gunner's People being composed of Mustees or *Portuguese*, they, like the Black Soldiers, all deserted upon the first Day of Bombarding the Town. For it must be owned, though these *Portuguese* Men and half Cast may fight and do very well against the *Moors* and other Enemies Natives of the Country, yet they will not face or stand the Fire of an *European* Enemy, though the *Caffrie* Cast, and others on the *Malay* Coast must be exempted from this Charge. On the other hand the *French* Gunners proved themselves greatly expert, for they threw above 100 Bombs within the Compass of the inner Fort, and so in proportion on the *English* Batteries; and it is observed that of 1,100 to 1,200 Bombs that the *French* fired, not above a Dozen fell in the Black Town; So that, though there were but few died of their Wounds, yet the Houses and all Parts of the Town have suffered greatly.'

On the evening of the 8th September,¹ when the bombardment had lasted two days and a night, a letter written by Mrs. Barnevall on behalf of the Governor² was brought to the French camp. Its purport was to ask whether terms would be considered. It appears to have been sent at the solicitation of the inhabitants and with the consent of the Council. De la Bourdonnais, whose aim was to occupy the town at the earliest possible moment, and

¹ The following narrative of events of the period 8th to 10th September is derived mainly from a French account attributed to de la Bourdonnais' Secretary, P. de Gennes, and quoted by Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*, i. 203.

² It was rumoured at Pondicherry that Morse was suffering from mental strain, and that Mr. Stratton was officiating for him. Morse was probably nervous, but there is no ground for the belief that he was superseded. Moreover, Monson was the next senior, not Stratton.



before he could be interrupted by the British squadron, joyfully assented, and agreed to suspend hostilities from six to eight o'clock on the following morning.

Accordingly, at dawn of the 9th, Mr. William Monson, the Second Member of Council, accompanied by Mr. John Hallyburton, lately Chief of Madapollam, who was proficient in the French language, arrived at the camp. They asked what indemnity would purchase the withdrawal of the French, but de la Bourdonnais insisted that his possession of the place must be the basis of negotiations. The Deputies objected that their mission was simply to offer ransom, and that, if the proposal was rejected, the garrison would fight to the last. De la Bourdonnais represented the futility of resistance, and showed them a breaching battery of eighteen 24-pounder guns which was to prepare the way for assault. He then said, 'Gentlemen, you'll give up your Town and all within it, and I promise you, upon my Honour, to put you in Possession of it again upon paying the Ransom,' and he added that his terms would be reasonable. The Deputies wanted a more precise assurance, whereupon de la Bourdonnais took up the hat of one of them and remarked, 'I suppose this Hat is worth six Rupees; you shall give me three or four for it.'

The Deputies desired that articles of capitulation should be drawn up, and the ransom definitely fixed, before the town was surrendered; but the French commander had the fear of the squadron in his heart, and would admit nothing which would provoke discussion and involve delay. Monson and Hallyburton then left to confer with the Governor on the terms offered. They were also the bearers of a letter to Morse, in which de la Bourdonnais portrayed in vivid colours the horrors of an assault. The bombardment was resumed, and it continued till the afternoon, when the Deputies were expected. In the meantime de la Bourdonnais personally examined the walls of the Black Town in view to possible assault.

In the evening a Eurasian of indifferent reputation named Francisco Pereira,¹ who had practised medicine for many years at Arcot, presented himself at the camp with a message from the Governor. Morse stated that no decision had yet been made, and asked that the armistice might be renewed till the next morning.

¹ Pereira died on the 26th September. (*Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.*)



In declining this request, de la Bourdonnais announced that, unless a definite reply was forthcoming at daybreak, no further proposals would be entertained. A furious bombardment then began and continued throughout the night from the ships and land batteries. It was received by the Fort in silence. On the morning of the 10th Monson and Hallyburton arrived, and agreed to deliver Madras, provided the right to ransom the place was fully recognized.

Conditions of capitulation were drafted forthwith, and carried by Hallyburton to the Fort for approval. Morse sent him back to point out that the Governor and Council, if prisoners of war, would not have power to treat for ransom. De la Bourdonnais told the Deputies that he would formally release the Governor and Council directly the terms of ransom were agreed on, and, at Monson's request, he inserted a proviso to this effect in the terms of capitulation. With the approval of the Council, Morse then signed the document. Before the Deputies finally left the camp they asked de la Bourdonnais for his solemn word in corroboration of the promise of ransom.

'Yes, Gentlemen,' was his response, 'I renew to you the Promise which I made to you Yesterday of restoring you your Town upon paying a Ransom that shall be amicably agreed upon, and to be reasonable as to the Conditions you give us.'

'Then,' rejoined the Deputies, 'your Parole of Honour?'

'Yes,' said he, 'I give it you, and you may look upon it as inviolable.'

'Very well,' replied the Englishmen, 'here is the Capitulation signed by the Governor. You are Masters of the Town and may enter it whenever you please.'

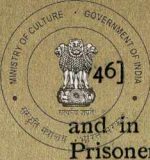
'Immediately,' said M. de la Bourdonnais, and ordered the drums to beat the assembly.

The following were the chief terms of surrender :—

Terms of Capitulation.¹

'Fort St. George and the Town of Madras with their Dependencies shall Today, the 10th of September, at two o'clock in the Afternoon, be put into the hands of M. de la Bourdonnais. All the Garrison, Officers, Soldiers, Council,

¹ Extracted from a French account ascribed to de la Bourdonnais' Secretary, P. de Gennes, and quoted by Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*.



and in general all the *English* who are in the Fort and Town shall remain Prisoners of War. All the Councillors, Officers, Clerks, and other *English* Gentlemen of superior Rank shall be at Liberty upon their Parole to go and come wherever they please, even into *Europe*, provided they shall not carry Arms against *France*. . . .

'In order to facilitate to the *English* the Ransom of their Town, and to render valid the Acts which shall pass in Consequence thereof, the Governor and his Council shall cease to be Prisoners of War the Moment they shall enter into Deliberation ; and M. de la Bourdonnais obliges himself to give them an authentick Act¹ of this four and twenty Hours before their first Sitting. The Articles of Capitulation being signed, those of the Ransom of the Place shall be amicably adjusted by M. de la Bourdonnais and by the *English* Governor, or his Deputies, who shall oblige themselves to deliver faithfully to the *French* all the Effects, Merchandizes received of Merchants or to be received, Books of Accompts, Magazines, Arsenal, Vessels, Warlike Stores, Provisions, and all the Goods belonging to the *English* Company, without any manner of Reservation, besides Materials of gold and silver, Merchandizes, Moveables and other Effects whatsoever within the Town, Fort or Suburbs, to whatever Persons they belong, without excepting any, according to the Right of War.

'The Garrison shall be conducted to *Fort St. David* Prisoners of War ; and if the Town of *Madras* be restored by Ransom, the *English* shall be free to take possession again of their Garrison, in order to defend themselves against the People of the Country. For this Purpose there shall be released to the *French* by the *English* an equal Number of Prisoners ; and if they have not enough at present, the first *Frenchmen* who shall be made Prisoners after the Capitulation shall be set at Liberty till the Number of their Garrison be compleated. . . .

¹ The Act was given on the 28th September in the following terms (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 21st June, 1749) :

'BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

'We, Francis Mahé De La Bourdonnaye, Knight of the Military order of St. Lewis, Governour General of the Islands of France and of Bourbon, President of the Superiour Councils established there, Captain of a Frigate in the Marine of France, Commander General for the King of the French Ships in the Indies,

'Do Declare unto all whom it may concern that, in the Capitulation granted to the Town of *Madras* on the 10th September 1746 in the Persons of Messieurs Monson and Hallyburton, deputed by Mr. Morse, Governour, and his Council, to treat of the Conditions upon which he was to surrender up the Place, it is mentioned that, in order to facilitate to the *English* Gentlemen the Ransom of their place and validate the Acts which are to be passed consequential thereto, the Governour and his Council shall cease to be Prisoners of War the moment they shall enter into Negotiation, and that Monsieur La Bourdonnaye obliges himself to grant them an Authentick Act thereof Twenty Four Hours before the First Settings.

'And that therefore Messieurs Morse, Governour, Monson, Stratton, Eyre, Harris, Savage, Councillors, are and remain free, and by these Presents they enter into all their Rights, Power of Acting, and Administrations.

'In Witness whereof We have signed these Presents to Serve and avail where need shall require.

'Given at *Madras* the 9th October 1746 [28th September, O.S.]

'MAHÉ DE LA BOURDONNAYE.'

'Upon these Conditions the Gate of *Watreguel*¹ shall be given up to M. de la Bourdonnais at Two in the Afternoon. The Posts in the Place shall be relieved by his Troops. The Mines, Countermine and other Places underground charged with Powder shall be shewn to M. de la Bourdonnais.

'Made and ratified in the *French Camp* the 10th of *September* 1746.

'Signed, N. MORSE.
WILLIAM MONSON.
J. HALYBURTON.

'A Copy received, signed *Despresmesnil, Mahé de la Villebague, G. Desjardins.*'

As soon as the French troops had assembled, orders were issued forbidding pillage on pain of death. The force then marched across the Island to the western gate of the White Town. As de la Bourdonnais approached the river, Governor Morse advanced to the bridge before the Water Gate and presented his sword, which the French commander at once returned. The troops then marched in, the cross of St. George was hauled down, the white flag of France was hoisted under a royal salute, and Madras became for a time a French possession.

The testimony of Mr. John Hallyburton, being that of an eye-witness of, and actor in, the drama, is valuable, recording as it does several additional particulars. His Journal has not, it is believed, been hitherto published.

Journal of Mr. John Hallyburton.

'September 2nd. The French with the 8 Ships,² two Sloops, a Yanam Brigantine and 25 Mussoolas sailed for Madras; the 3rd landed 500 Men and two field Pieces about 15 Miles to the Southward, and came to Triplicane Pagoda.

'September 4th. Landed more men at St. Thomé; formed a Camp on the Beach, and their head quarters in the Square³ at Chindatree Pettah. Most of the Blacks had left us. A resolution taken to quit the Black Town and nail its Guns; But Capt. Gingsens with 200 men and 300 Peons were to be at the bridge foot; ⁴ Capt. Holland with about 150 men on the South Curtain of the White Town; As many more on the North Curtain; the rest in the Barracks for a Picket. The Sea Side was left to the Gunroom Crew with the Bastions, and were assisted by the Princess Mary's Men, who all came a

¹ *Watreguel*. In de la Bourdonnais' memoir the word is spelt *Watre-guel*. Probably the final *l* is a printer's error for *t*, the word being the French phonetic rendering of *Water Gate*.

² *Achille*, ship of the line of 70 guns, *Bourbon*, *Duc d'Orléans*, *Neptune*, *St. Louis*, *Lis*, and *Phénix*, East Indiamen, and *Renommée*, country ship.

³ French plans show it as the Market-place.

⁴ The Armenian Bridge of Old Black Town, leading to the Garden House.



CSL



H. Fontaines del.

1746
REDDITION DE LA VILLE DE MADRAS.

Morel Sculp.

Surrender of Fort St. George in 1746.



shore on certain Conditions that were agreed to by the Council ; the Ship with everything in her was left in the Road, not a Soul in her.

'September 7th. They began to Bombard the Town from over the Barr with 5 Mortars of 13 Inches, and from behind the Garden House with 10 of Six and Seven Inches. Mr. Hallyburton was ordered, with some Inhabitants, and assisted by 13 of the Sailors, to guard the Line of Guns by Mr. Harrison's House quite to the broad Cloth Godowns.¹ We seldom saw the Enemy near enough, but some few Men by the Garden, and they were fired at warmly. Our Peons had desired to sally out the day before, and Skirmished some time at a Distance, but seeing about 20 or 30 Men the French had mounted on Horseback, they all walked off (saving Capt. Gingers 300), and carried our fire arms with them. We had no good water ready, and few other things proper to resist such an attempt. Our Boatfellows, Cooleys and other workmen disappeared. Mr. Smith, our Gunner, Having by that time discovered that he was ill used by his Wife, and likewise that much would be laid to his Charge for having hardly any thing that belonged to his province in that readiness which had all along been expected from him, dyed the day the Enemy landed. The Shells, of which about 1,000 fell in the town, thô they killed but Six persons, yet kept the Garrison from sleeping day or night, and some bursting all the Doors of the Houses they fell into, gave the lower sort of People an opportunity of getting drunk. Some Sailors and others got over the walls into the black Town, and fell to plundering.

'September 9th. It was determined in Council—this had been proposed the day after their landing, but having weighed that it would discover the weakness of the Garrison, of which, by the way, the Enemy were thoroughly apprized, it was justly deferred till now—that Mr. Monson should be sent to Mons^r. Delabourdonnais to demand his reasons for attacking the English in the Mogul's Territories, seeing Mr. Barnett never had offered to molest the French, even when he could have made himself Master of Pondichery. Mr. Hallyburton was ordered to accompany him in quality of an Interpreter. They were conducted by a Detachment of the Enemy from the Garden to Cheendatree Pettah, when Mr. Monson proposed Terms of accommodation, and Mons^r. Delabourdonnais demanding if he was impower'd to treat by any Letter or Paper, answered No, he was desired to go, and return between 3 and 6 P.M. during when hostilities should cease ; but at 2 Francisco Perreira came in and said he was sent by Mr. Delabourdonnais—and much more, too long to repeat, save that Mr. Delabourdonnais had promis'd a Cessation of Arms all Night. All this proved false : at Seven at night the bombardment began, and the Ships from the Road cannonaded the town. They made an Attack most part of the night on Capt. Gingers's Post with fire arms and field pieces. At 10 o'Clock at Night it was agreed to get the Articles drawn up against next morning.

'September 10th. Mr. Monson was sent out : when he shewed the Articles, none of them were agreed to, but that the Garrison must surrender prisoners of War. The Town was in confusion and Uproar. Many of the Souldiers and Sailors, hearing the town was to be delivered up, got drunk ; and all of them, drunk or sober, were for defending it. When Mr. Hallyburton (who accompanied Mr. Monson) returned and told the Gentlemen what Mons^r. Delabourdonnais had said, Mr. Morse said, What could he do, he could not help it.

¹ On the west front.



Mons^r. Delabourdonnais drew out Articles of Surrender with Mr. Monson, which he signed, and Mr. Hallyburton witnessed under him. At this Interview Mons^r. Delabourdonnais talked of nothing but ransoming the Place for a Sum of money, and said it was ridiculous to think the French would keep both it and Pondichery ; but that, knowing his own Strength and our weakness, he would never give up a point in the Capitulation.' (*Orme MSS., India, vol. i., 101.*)

The remainder of Hallyburton's Journal, dealing with events following the capitulation, is quoted on subsequent pages.



CHAPTER XXVI

1746

THE TREATY OF RANSOM—ITS REPUDIATION

THE TREATY OF RANSOM.

DE LA BOURDONNAIS' first step after entering Fort St. George was to post guards in person. His next was to visit the Capuchin Church, assure the ladies who had taken refuge there that they had nothing to fear, and beg them to return to their homes. A French officer was quartered in every house to secure the safety of its inmates. The General next assumed charge of the government, receiving the keys of the treasury and warehouses, and placing them in the hands of MM. d'Espréménil and Bonneau. A *Te Deum* was sung in the Church of St. Andrew, and a report of the surrender despatched to M. Dupleix. The inhabitants were disarmed, the garrison sent on board the fleet, and during the night the town was patrolled, de la Bourdonnais himself accompanying the rounds.

Arrangements were made without delay to carry out the terms of the capitulation. The Commissaries d'Espréménil and Bonneau took possession of all gold and silver, while Desjardins and de la Villebague received the merchandise, provisions, and warlike stores, with instructions to send as much as possible on board the ships. De la Bourdonnais resolved to settle the question of ransom speedily, and evacuate the place by the end of the month.

On the night of the 12th September a letter was received, in which Dupleix stated that, on the fall of Madras, he had promised to deliver the place to the Nawab. De la Bourdonnais placed no faith, however, in the sincerity of Dupleix's assurance, and hurried on the conferences with Morse relating to the definitive treaty of ransom. On the 15th the indemnity for both the White and

Black Towns was settled at Pags. 1,100,000, equivalent to £481,250, and the following letter was despatched to Duplex :—

M. de la Bourdonnais to M. Duplex.¹

'Sir, I have been with the *English* Governor, with whom I have just concluded almost every Thing relating to the Ransom. There remain no more Differences to determine but as to the Terms of Payment, and the Place where it should be made. I am for the *Indies*, and he is for *Europe*: one Day more will put an End to every Thing. Besides an Account of the different Effects which I have shipped on board, besides the Artillery and the Rigging, I have agreed with him for Eleven Lacs of Pagodas, on Condition that I do not touch the Black Town. This I take to be the best Stroke that could have been struck in the *Indies*, and the most advantageous for the *French* Company. I only write you a Word or two, for I am just a going to resume the Conferences.

'MAHÉ DE LA BOURDONNAIS.'

A treaty of seventeen articles was drawn up. It is too long to transcribe here in full, but its substance was as follows²:—

I. The Roman Catholics to enjoy the same privileges as heretofore.

II. The warlike stores to be equally divided between French and English. The division to be made at leisure, and delivery effected in January.

III. De la Bourdonnais to take such of the naval stores as he requires, and the remainder to be shared equally by French and English.

IV. De la Bourdonnais to have such provisions as he needs, and leave the rest to the English.

V. All the merchandise of the English Company to become the property of the French Company.

VI. Property acquired by the French may be shipped after, as well as before, the evacuation of the town.

VII. Three French Commissaries to remain in the place to secure the property to be handed over.

VIII. The ransom to be Pags. 1,100,000, to be paid as follows :— Pags. 500,000 in Europe by five bills of exchange, at four, five, six, seven, and eight months' sight respectively. The remaining Pags. 600,000 to be paid in India in six equal instalments,

¹ *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais* [P. de Gennes]. The translation here given is by Salmon.

² A précis of the French account which is quoted by Salmon.



falling due in January and September of 1747, 1748, and 1749. Failing payment, the town to be restored to the French.

IX. Hostages to be given for the security of the ransom—viz., Nicholas and Elizabeth Morse, children of the Governor; two Councillors, Stratton and Harris, and their wives; two other civil servants, Starke and Walsh; and two Armenians, Cojas Johannes and Michael.

X. All the prisoners taken in Madras to be set at liberty, on the understanding that an equal number of French prisoners be released at the same time, or as soon after as possible.

XI. The Fort and Town and all that belonged to the English, with the exceptions stated above, to be restored to the English.

XII. Restitution to be made to the English of private effects and merchandise.

XIII. The ransom does not cover the moveables, effects, and houses of the English. These were exempted from pillage through the generosity of the French.

XIV. The Fort and Town shall not be attacked by the French unless the English fail to fulfil their treaty engagements.

XV. The place shall be evacuated between the 29th September and 4th October, the hostages being delivered one day earlier.

XVI. At the time of evacuation, the Governor and Council shall give their word of honour to abide by the treaty.

XVII. The English shall endeavour to secure and restore French deserters.

This treaty was not signed until the 10th October, and then with certain additions detailed below. The delay was due chiefly to the action of Dupleix, who was altogether opposed to the rendition of Madras. The Governor of Pondicherry having appointed MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and Barthélemy as Councillors to assist de la Bourdonnais, their first act was to protest against the draft treaty. On the 21st September a Commission arrived from Pondicherry, consisting of Major-General de Bury and MM. Bruyère and Paradis, who were the bearers of a declaration appointing d'Espréménil to supersede de la Bourdonnais as Commandant at Madras. The declaration was read in the Fort House in the presence of a large assembly. De la Bourdonnais rejoined that he recognized no authority superior to his own. On the 23rd he effected the embarkation of the Pondi-

cherry troops, and being thus master of the situation, arrested the three Councillors. He then instructed Paradis to ascertain whether Dupleix would assent to the treaty if the evacuation were deferred until January. To this proposal Dupleix agreed on the 26th September. On the 1st October de la Bourdonnais transmitted to Pondicherry a draft of five additional treaty articles, the substance of which was as follows¹:—

I. The Council of Pondicherry engage to observe the articles of the treaty of which de la Bourdonnais has supplied a copy, as long as the English observe their part.

II. They engage to evacuate the Fort and Town as soon as the French Company's effects have been removed, or by the end of January, 1747, at latest. The fortifications to remain as at present.

III. Though the place is occupied by French troops, the Governor, Council, and civil servants may carry on commercial business as usual.

IV. The hostages, as well as the bills of exchange for the ransom, to be delivered to Dupleix six days before the evacuation of the place. The Madras troops, which have been sent prisoners on parole to Cuddalore, may then return.

V. The roadstead to be safe for both French and English vessels until the evacuation.

The Superior Council of Pondicherry agreed to de la Bourdonnais' conditions on the 2nd October, but the next day they raised objection to the time limit fixed for the departure of the French, and insisted on d'Espréménil being appointed Governor when de la Bourdonnais left.

On the night of the 2nd October² a cyclonic storm caused grievous havoc among the ships in the roadstead. The *Phénix* and *Duc d'Orléans* were lost, and four other vessels were blown out to sea and dismasted. Two, which had sailed earlier with spoils of Madras, reached Pondicherry in safety. De la Bourdonnais resolved to collect the scattered remnants of his fleet, and leave the Coast. The modification of the original conditions of rendition was accepted unwillingly by the British, and on the 10th October the treaty of seventeen articles and five subsidiary articles was signed

¹ A précis of the French account which is quoted by Salmon.

² According to Hallyburton, on 1st October.



by de la Bourdonnais, Morse, Monson, Stratton, Eyre, Harris, and Savage. De la Bourdonnais sent the treaty to the Council at Pondicherry with a letter couched in the following terms :—

*M. de la Bourdonnais to the Council at Pondicherry.*¹

‘Gentlemen, This is the Capitulation which I thought proper to make with the *English* for the Ransom of their Town and its Dependencies, the Evacuation of which must be at the farthest in *January* next. You will answer in your own Names for the Contraventions committed against it by the *French*, and consequently for the Default of Payment of the Bills of 500,000 Pagodas therein drawn for Europe . . . , as in the 600,000 Pagodas payable at Pondicherry. And moreover you will answer to the King for failing in a Capitulation.

‘Signed and concluded at Madrass, the 10th of October 1746.

‘MAHÉ DE LA BOURDONNAIS.’

Three packets of bills of exchange, one for each of the years 1747, 1748, and 1749 were then sealed by de la Bourdonnais, and handed to Morse to be sent to Pondicherry six days prior to evacuation. Each packet was impressed with the King’s seal, and with de la Bourdonnais’ official and private seals.

Besides the ransom of Pags. 1,100,000 payable to the French East India Company, de la Bourdonnais stipulated for a sum of Pags. 100,000 to be handed to himself. Of that sum he actually received Pags. 88,000, which was paid before the treaty was signed. The funds required for this purpose, as well as for the salaries of the civil servants and pay of the garrison, were raised by bonds on the Company. The principal lenders were Solomon Salomons, Pags. 40,000; George Jones and Levy Moses, Pags. 15,000; Moses Heyman, Pags. 10,000; Nicholas Morse, Pags. 10,000; Edward and Joseph Fowke, Pags. 5,400; Joseph Fowke as Mayor, for the Corporation, Pags. 4,369; Peter Boileau (or Bailleu), Pags. 5,000; Samuel Bennett, Pags. 3,000; Henry Powney as Churchwarden, Pags. 2,000; and Sidney Foxall, Pags. 1,400. The subsequent presentation of the bonds led to an enquiry by the Company between 1749 and 1752 into the circumstances of the capitulation. Messrs. Morse, Monson, Stratton, Fowke, and others were examined on oath, and as the evidence throws light on the acceptance by de la Bourdonnais of a private consideration, extracts are here given from Mr. Morse’s replies to interrogatories :—

¹ Extracted from the French account quoted by Salmon.

Mr. Morse's Evidence.

'That some days after 10th September Mr. Monson and Deputy . . . treated with Monsieur De La Bourdonnais for the Ransom of the Town and Private Property, and seventeen Articles were prepared, one being that the English should pay the French 1,100,000 Pagodas. . . .

'That the Treaty not being signed, when advis'd that three French ships were arrived at Pondicherry from Europe, Monsieur De La Bourdonnais pretended he had fresh Instructions; and a storm soon after disabling his ships, he added five New Articles to the Treaty; but being the best terms that could be obtained, they were agreed to and Executed, and Confirmed by the Governour of Pondicherry. . . .

'That he and Mr. Monson having afterwards heard from Mr. De La Bourdonnais that they must pay him down 100,000 Pagodas, if they Expected performance of the Agreements, he communicated such his Information to the Council, who, after Deliberation, agreed to pay it; but says this money was not Demanded for granting the 15th and 16th Articles. . . .¹

'That Monsieur De La Bourdonnais being to leave the place, he (Deponent) Intimated to him that he might be Exposed to Hazard if the Pretensions of Pondicherry were left undecided, and therefore obtained a Ratification of the Treaty from Pondicherry.

'Says the value of 88,000 Pagodas was paid in money, Diamonds, Pearl and Gold by himself, Mr. Monson, Mr. Hallyburton and Mr. Samuel Peaks, being part of the money raised by the Bonds. . . . Says it was all paid before 12th October 1746. . . . Could not avoid paying, before the Execution of the Treaty of 17 Articles, part of the money to be paid privately to obtain it, and a further sum was necessary to be paid before signing the Treaty of 10th October, making together 88,000 Pagodas.

'That no receipt was taken or required for the money privately paid, nor could any be insisted on in such a Transaction; nor was any Agreement made for returning the 88,000 Pagodas in case the Treaty was Rejected by the Governour and Council of Pondicherry. . . . ' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiv., 17th March, 1752.)

This evidence, being confirmed by other witnesses, was accepted by the Company as proof of the payment by Mr. Morse of Pags. 88,000 secret service money.

On the 12th October de la Bourdonnais made over the command of Madras to d'Espréménil, and embarked for Pondicherry, whence part of his fleet made for Acheen, while he himself with the remainder sailed for the Isle of France. From there he proceeded to the Cape, and so in a Dutch ship to Europe. The vessel put into Falmouth through stress of weather, where her distinguished passenger was recognized and made prisoner by Captain Bladwell of H.M.S. *Mercury*.² De la Bourdonnais was

¹ The Articles previously numbered XII. and XIII. appear, from the evidence, to be indicated.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].



Mahé de la Bourdonnais



permitted to go to France on parole, but was arrested there on various charges, and thrown into the Bastille, where he remained three years. He eventually established his innocence, but did not long survive release. He died in 1753. The portrait of Mahé de la Bourdonnais which hangs in Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius, has been reproduced for this volume.¹

Hallyburton's Journal, which has already been quoted in regard to the attack of Madras, thus recounts the events following capitulation :—

Journal of Mr. John Hallyburton.

'September 11th. From this to the 28th was spent in making Articles of Ransom, too long to be inserted here ; but the Substance was that for Eleven Lack of Pagodas, five to be paid in England in Eight months after Sight, and Six to be paid in India within two years after the arrival of the first Europe Shipping, half the Artillery, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, and all the naval Stores of the Town to be delivered to the English, with all their Men, and the French to evacuate it by the 12th of October N.S. For Security, two Councillors with their families, Mr. Morse's two Children, two senior Merchants, and two Armenians were to go as Hostages. But Mons^r. Dupleix protested against all this, and that Mons^r. Delabourdonnais had no power to make any further Terms than those of the Surrender, commanding all the Pondichery Officers and military that were then in Madras not to quit their Posts or evacuate the Town. Matters came to that Pitch that the Islanders² and they were determined to stick to their Leaders at the hazard of a Civil War ; but Mons^r. Delabourdonnais, desiring a conference with all the Officers, immediately arrested the Pondichery ones, and then sent off their troops on board ; and his Colonel and principal Officers gave him in publicly a Writing as their Opinion that, having given his Parole to sign and observe the Articles of Ransom, he was bound to do so nevertheless.

'September 28th. Arrived the Pacquets that came from France by the Centaur, being the fellow to the Achilles, and the Mars and Brilliant, two of their India Men, when immediately Mons^r. Delabourdonnais came over to Mr. Dupleix's Measures of keeping possession of the Town till the middle of January, when they would be able to take out of the Place what was agreed on. Mons^r. Dupleix did not sign to these new Articles, but he and his Council wrote Mr. Delabourdonnais a Letter in which they declared they would accede to them. A Copy of it was attested by the 'principal Officers and Mons^r. Lamettrie, and annexed to these Articles.

'October 1st. Arose a hard Gale of Wind at 11 at Night that Veer'd round the Compass. Their Squadron cut their Cables in the Night, and were not seen all next day. At length we found the Duc D'Orleans and Yanam Vessel, who had on board Bombs and Mortars destined against St. David's, were lost, as also the Phoenix ; the Bourbon rendered useless, and all the rest unman-

¹ From a negative which has been kindly placed at the writer's disposal by Colonel J. Biddulph.

² *Islanders*, the troops from the Isles of France and Bourbon.

save the St. Louis and Le Lis, who had been sent to Pondichery some days before, where the Gale did not reach. They lost about 1,200 Men in this Storm.

'October 12th. Mons^r. Delabourdonnais went off in the Achilles with Jury Masts.

'October 15th. The Moors came against Madrass, and told the French to return it to the English. Mons^r. Paradis set out with about 200 men from Pondichery, and the 24th defeated them at St. Thomè.

'November 4th. Mons^r. Paradis, made Commandant at Madrass, declared all treaties with Mr. Delabourdonnais were void, and ordered the English to quit the Town with their household furniture and Apparel.

'December 9th. The French came to Fort St. David with about 1,000 Europeans. Mr. Hinde and the Council sent Mr. Hallyburton out to accompany the Moors that for sometime past were encamped there to Assist us, and tho the French fired their cannon and threw their Shells pretty thick, yet with the help of 2,000 Peons that Mr. Hinde kept in pay, they were forced to retire, and left behind all their Baggage and Ammunition.' (*Orme MSS., India*, vol. i., 101.)

REPUDIATION OF THE TREATY.

It has been already stated that, prior to de la Porte Barré's demonstration of the 18th August, 1746, Governor Morse had drawn the Nawab's attention to the hostile attitude of the French. Orme observes that the Nawab took no action because the Governor's representation was not accompanied by a present. Ranga Pillai's Diary shows, however, that Anwār-ud-dīn had no intention of permitting French aggression. The octogenarian Nawab had anxieties of his own. He had been summoned by his septuagenarian¹ suzerain, the Nizam, to resist a threatened Marātha incursion, but his health compelled him to relinquish the command of his army to his eldest son Maḥfūz Khān. When he heard of the French demonstration, he despatched to Pondicherry the following curt note, which was received by Dupleix on the 28th August:—'In spite of our explicit instruction that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have despatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondicherry to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds: this is improper.'² Dupleix replied that the English had

¹ According to Orme, Nizām-ul-Mulk was 104 years of age at his death in 1748. Mr. William Irvine has shown, however, that his date of birth was the 11th Aug., 1671 (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. lxvii., 1898). The age he attained therefore was 77.

² *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, ii. 291. Edited by Sir Frederick Price.



not only seized French ships, but also a vessel flying the Mogul's colours, and that the Nawab was therefore bound to assist him in executing the orders of the King of France to take Madras. A similar communication was forwarded to the Nizam.

On hearing of de la Bourdonnais' attack, the Nawab sent an urgent letter to Pondicherry, which was received on the 8th September, expressing surprise at the French Governor's defiance of his orders. Dupleix appears to have assured Anwār-ud-dīn that Madras should, when taken, be delivered over to him. He certainly informed de la Bourdonnais that he had given such an assurance, but the General doubted the sincerity of the promise. Directly after the fall of Madras, Maḥfūẓ Khān wrote to de la Bourdonnais demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities, and threatening to use force if his instructions were not obeyed.

As soon as de la Bourdonnais left the Coast, the threat was carried out. The Nawab's army assembled at the Mount and San Thomé. On the 15th October a party of reconnoitring cavalry arrived at Triplicane bridge, which had been broken down by the English when de la Bourdonnais first landed, and plundered the house of Mrs. Madeiros.¹ MM. Gosse and De Kerjean, who were sent to remonstrate, were seized, with their escort, and roughly handled. D'Espréménil then embarked for Pondicherry to confer with Dupleix on the situation; and M. Barthélemy took charge at Madras, having MM. Bruyère, Desjardin and de la Villebague as Councillors.

Barthélemy re-armed the walls of Black Town, and prepared to defend the place. The Nawab's troops, copying the French plan of attack, established themselves at Triplicane and Egmore Fort, and afterwards took possession of the Company's Garden, where they mounted a battery. They then spread round to the northward, completely investing Madras. The force was joined by the Peddanaigue with his peons and a body of Poligars. Barthélemy had orders from Pondicherry to remain on the defensive, but when his water supply was cut off he found himself forced to act. On the 22nd October, a sally was made by 400 men under de la Tour into Peddanaikpetta. The Moslems in that quarter were

¹ *Pondicherry Records*, 15th Oct., 1746. This extract shows that Mrs. Madeiros's house, which afterwards became the nucleus of the present Government House was in existence in 1746.



dispersed and their camp destroyed. Maḥfūẓ Khān then retired to Egmore, and the next day to San Thomé.

Dupleix sent up a detachment of 400 men under Paradis, an officer of Engineers, to Barthélemy's assistance. The reinforcement was expected to reach San Thomé on the morning of the 24th, and a body of equal strength, commanded by de la Tour, was ordered to march from Madras to co-operate. Paradis arrived at the bank of the Adyar at the appointed time, and found the Nawab's army of 10,000 men drawn up to dispute the passage. The river forms a backwater behind the bar, and it flowed at that time in two channels embracing a large area now called Quibble Island. The bar is open only during the rains, and the river's mouth is not always found in the same position.¹ Orme states that the 'river ran into the sea from the west about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maḥfūẓ Khān took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.' It would thus appear that he lay with his left on the sea, and occupied the northern bank of the northern channel, with San Thomé immediately in his rear. The point at which Paradis crossed has not been determined, but his detachment forded the river in the face of artillery fire, and fell on the enemy with the bayonet. The Nawab's line broke, and after a brief resistance in San Thomé, the whole army fled to the westward. De la Tour's detachment from the Fort arrived too late to take part in the action. It ruthlessly pillaged San Thomé, while the victorious Paradis advanced to Madras. Maḥfūẓ Khān with his brother, Muḥammad 'Alī, proceeded to Fort St. David to assist the British.

The Nawab being thus disposed of, Dupleix resolved to annul the treaty of ransom which had been made by de la Bourdonnais and ratified by himself. Barthélemy, refusing to be a party to such a breach of faith, was superseded by Paradis, who was notoriously hostile to de la Bourdonnais and all his works. On the 30th October, Paradis formally declared that the treaty was void, and that Madras was the property of the French East India Company for the King of France. Dupleix thus justified his

¹ At the present day the mouth forms at the south end of the bar. In 1798 it was at the middle; in 1814 at the northern end, close to San Thomé.

patronymic; and this is not the only instance of duplicity in his public career which can be indicated. Morse was prostrated by this fresh calamity. At his desire, Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, a civil servant, wrote from the Mount on the 5th November to Mr. Hinde at Fort St. David, detailing the conditions forced on the English at Madras :—

Cornelius Goodwin¹ to the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

‘On my leaving Madrass, I was desired by Mr. Morse to acquaint you with the proceedings of Mr. Paradis by order of Mr. Duplex, &c. Council of Pondicherry, which is that, the 30th past, he declared (at the head of the troops) the Capitulation made with Monsieur De La Bourdonnais to be void; and in Consequence thereof obliged the Inhabitants to evacuate the Town on the following terms :—

‘All those who could prevail with themselves to take an oath of fidelity to his most Christian Majesty might have the liberty of continuing in Madrass, and carry on their commerce as formerly. All such as would not take the above oath, and were inclined to go to Pondicherry, were permitted to have passports, and to be indulged with the favour of having four days allowed them to prepare for the Journey; but all those who did not choose to go to Pondicherry might have passports to go where they pleased upon their Parole, but have only two days allowed, and should be further prohibited of residing at any such places as either of the Mounts or Cattawack.²

‘By this unhappy turn of affairs, Mr. Morse told me he lookt upon himself as perfectly disqualified of acting as formerly, and declared that, in his opinion, you was the person invested with the principal authority to manage the Business of the Coast, and issue out such orders to the Northern Factories as you shall esteem most for the advantage of the Company. . . . It may possibly be a little surprising that he should not rather have chose to have wrote you all these things himself,³ but I assure you he seems to be so confounded and weighed down by what has happened as to be intirely incapable of doing it. . . .

‘In the morning, after the publication of what I have before mentioned, Mr. Morse (with the rest of the Council) delivered Mr. Paradis a protest to all the proceedings of him and the Superiour Council of Pondicherry. . . . However, conformable to what has been delivered, Mr. Morse, &c., are determined to submit themselves as Prisoners rather than acknowledge the Power which has been exercised over us contrary to the Articles of Capitulation as well as the Law of Nations.

‘By my having the good fortune to be exchanged by Monsieur De La Bourdonnais, the same is confirmed to me by Mr. Paradis, and in consequence thereof do look upon myself to have the liberty of residing where I may think

¹ Cornelius Goodwin, a Senior Merchant in 1746, joined the service ten years earlier. In 1741 he married Mary Powney daughter of Capt. John Powney.

² St. Thomas Mount, the Little Mount, and Cattawauk by Ennore.

³ The essentials of this letter were confirmed by Morse and Council on the 8th November. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, 29th Nov., 1746.)



most convenient, and am therefore determined not to quit this place for some time, which will give me an opportunity of forwarding anything from hence as you may think proper to entrust me with.

'Major part of the French Officers seem to shew great concern for the treatment we are obliged to submit to, and make no scruple of saying that Mr. Dupleix's actions will be undoubtedly condemned by their Sovereign. . . . CORNELIUS GOODWIN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, vol. v., 5th Nov., 1746.)

The rigorous conditions imposed on Madras caused the utmost consternation among the English. The military officers and several of the civil servants, including Clive, escaped from the place and found their way to Fort St. David, declaring that the breach of the treaty absolved them from their parole not to serve against the French. Morse and his wife, Monson, the Barnevals, and others were sent under escort to Pondicherry. They were four days on the journey, arriving on the 20th November. Dupleix met them outside the town, received them with courtesy, and conducted them to his house. His entry into Pondicherry, however, had the appearance of the triumphal progress of a victor leading home captives.

In January, 1747, Morse, Monson, Stratton, and Savage were still at Pondicherry, Eyre and Harris at Fort St. David, and Edward Fowke at Pulicat. The first two were shortly afterwards permitted to go to Tranquebar, whence Monson sailed for England. Stratton and Fowke followed him. By the middle of August, Morse, who had been exchanged for M. Le Ris, Governor of Mahé, was at Fort St. David,¹ where he remained until he was summoned to England 'to give an Account of his Conduct at Madrass from the time the French took possession of the Place.'²

Of what occurred at Fort St. George after the expulsion of the English little is known. Certain facts have been elicited from the Pondicherry records,³ and more may perchance lie buried among the archives preserved in France. When the British resumed possession in 1749 under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they found no great change in the White Town, but about half the Black Town, the whole of its fortifications, and the Company's

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 10th Jan., 2nd May, and 19th Aug., 1747.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. lii., 27th Jan., 1748 [1749].

³ Through the kindness of M. Bourgoïn, and with the permission of H.E. the Governor of the French Settlements in India.

Garden House had been demolished. The destruction was ordered for the better security of the White Town.

On the 3rd November, 1746, Paradis¹ reported that he had closed all the posterns of the White Town, blocked one of the two gateways² into the Black Town, and was about to blow up the Garden House. On the 26th January following, d'Espréménil, who had again become Governor, stated that the native quarters were being repopulated, and that he was issuing a proclamation to induce the return of the Tamil merchants. On the 20th July Dulaurens announced that the fortifications of the Black Town were completely levelled. Finally, on the recommendation of M. Sornay, the Engineer officer in charge, all houses in the Black Town lying within 60 toises of the White Town were razed to the ground.³ Certain additions made to the fortifications of the White Town will be mentioned later.

The British regarded their treatment by the French as needlessly harsh :—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'The Proceedings of the French both at Madrass and Pondicherry have in General been so Cruel and Inhumane that they seem rather to imitate a Persecution than a War. They have refus'd . . . to Exchange a Single Prisoner, notwithstanding the Several they Owe Us, and We have some of theirs ; and on a Sudden drove away all the Women and Children that had Liberty to stay at the Mount, plundering them of everything they had, and afterwards set Fire to their houses ; and this at a time when they were preparing to come against this Place.

'They have been very busy in fortifying the White Town in Madrass, and have nearly destroy'd the Black.

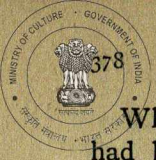
'From the best Accounts We learn from their own People that have deserted here, they have 1300 Europeans in Garrison at Pondicherry, and about 400 in Madrass, besides a large Number of Peons and Coffrees⁴ at each Place. . . . (P. to Eng., vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.)

¹ This officer made a survey of the White Town, which was employed as the basis of a map published in the *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*. In this plan the environs of the town, which are admittedly drawn from memory, are incorrectly depicted. The map was afterwards reproduced with all its errors by many publishers, both French and English. A copy has been prepared for this work.

² The Middle Gate was the one closed. (P.C., vol. lxxviii., 2nd March, 1748.)

³ *Pondicherry Records*, 3rd Nov., 1746, to 2nd Nov., 1747. The width then cleared was about 120 yards. Further demolition must have taken place before 1749, when the clearance extended to nearly 400 yards.

⁴ *Coffrees*, natives of Africa or Madagascar ; from Ar. *kāfir*, an infidel.



When Mr. Morse reached England in May, 1751, an enquiry had been in progress for two years. In the first instance the Court of Directors reported to a General Court of the Company what had been done for the protection of Fort St. George in regard to its fortifications and garrison, as well as the steps taken to obtain the aid of the King's naval forces. The report concludes thus:—

Extract from the Report of the Directors.

'On the 20th of the same Month [April, 1747] the disagreeable and Unexpected Advices were received of the Loss of Madrass, which were the more so as it was not or could be suspected that the Country Government would have suffered any Acts of Hostility on shore; and it was well known there was a sufficient Naval Force in India not only to have defended the place, but to have acted offensively against the Enemy had the Commanding Officer done his Duty.' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.)

The General Court resolved that there had been no neglect on the part of the Directors.

After taking legal advice on the evidence of Mr. Morse and others, it was decided that the Governor and Council of Madras had capacity to bind the Company for the payment of the bonds issued, in spite of the French being in possession of Fort St. George; and that the Company were consequently liable.¹ No adverse reflections were made on Morse's conduct.

Notwithstanding the General Court's absolution, the Directors must be held responsible for undue delay in filling Major Knipe's place, and for neglect to supply a sufficiency of soldiers for the garrison. Morse's desire to remain on good terms with the Nawab, and Barnett's consequent abstention from the attack of Pondicherry, were probably justified by circumstances; but had Barnett assumed the offensive, there can be little doubt that the conditions would have been reversed, and that Pondicherry would have fallen instead of Madras. The immediate cause of the loss of the British possession was Peyton's desertion of the place in the hour of its need. The presence of the fleet near Madras would have prevented de la Bourdonnais' landing and bombardment, and the unseaworthiness of the *Medway* was an inadequate reason for taking the whole squadron to the Hugli. Commodore Thomas Griffin, who came out to succeed Barnett,

¹ *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiv., 3rd March, 1752.

reached the Bay with two ships in December, 1746. Peyton was sent home under arrest, but no charges were preferred against him.

The conduct of the other principal actors in the crisis cannot be regarded as entirely commendable. Morse might have shown a more determined front, though his position was certainly an unenviable one. His chief military officer, who must have been upwards of seventy years of age, was unfitted for active command; the troops were few and ill-disciplined, and the enemy's force was overwhelming. Morse seems to have been justified in assenting to the not unfavourable terms offered by de la Bourdonnais. Had the compact been kept, the safety of Madras would have been purchased for eleven or twelve lakhs of pagodas.

De la Bourdonnais has been severely blamed for assenting to terms of ransom and for accepting a private consideration, as it has been assumed that the actions stood to each other in the relation of effect and cause. This was not the case, for the question of gratification was not mooted until after surrender had been made. To de la Bourdonnais, when conferring with the Deputies, instant entry appeared all-important. The sudden arrival of Peyton would mean the loss of the French fleet; and though de la Bourdonnais judged that an assault on the Black Town would be successful, the subsequent storming of the White Town might cause him heavy loss. These considerations made him willing to grant easy conditions in return for peaceable and immediate possession. How far the gift may have influenced the French commander when the definitive treaty was drawn up, it is not easy to decide. The acceptance of a gratification was reprehensible, but the sentiment of the time would hardly condemn it as flagitious.

Dupleix, on the other hand, had no personal interest to serve. He was animated solely by patriotic motives. But could such motives justify him in repudiating the terms made by his colleague? By virtue of his commission de la Bourdonnais held an independent command during the month of September. Dupleix had authority over all the French settlements in India, but Madras was not a French settlement until the white flag was hoisted, so that de la Bourdonnais alone had power to settle the preliminary terms of capitulation. At the beginning of October



REPUDIATION OF THE TREATY

[1746]

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fresh orders arrived from France placing de la Bourdonnais under the control of the Superior Council of Pondicherry. On becoming supreme, Dupleix was surely bound to observe agreements which had been made by de la Bourdonnais as the holder of independent command, and which, indeed, Dupleix had himself accepted. Dupleix's action in repudiating the treaty must be held to be wholly unjustifiable.



CHAPTER XXVII

1746—1749

FORT ST. DAVID AFFAIRS

FOR nearly three years from the 30th October, 1746, the date of the repudiation of the treaty of ransom, interest centres at Fort St. David. The story of that place lies outside the scope of this work, but a slight sketch of its affairs at this period must be given so as to permit of transition being made to Madras in 1749 without breach of continuity.

The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David learned no details of the fall of Madras until the early days of October, 1746. On the 17th they sent a letter¹ to England by the sloop *Portobello*, Walter Hook, master, which sailed from Negapatam on the 22nd, reporting the loss of Fort St. George. This despatch, which detailed all the facts then known, was received in England on the 20th April, 1747. Rumours which had arrived earlier from Paris were discredited. The *Gentleman's Magazine*² published an article on the resources of Madras, derived apparently from Salmon's *Modern History*, and concluded with these words:—

Extract from the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

'It is not easy therefore to conceive that there can be any truth in a flying report we have from *Paris* in relation to the *French* making themselves masters of this settlement. The only place they have on this coast, or indeed of any consequence in the *East Indies*, is *Pondicherry*, which lies seventy miles south of *Fort St. George*, so that this could be no surprize; nor was it ever suspected that the *French* had either a land or naval force in those parts capable of reducing a place of such consequence, and every way so well provided.'

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746. A facsimile of this letter will be found in *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, Birdwood and Foster, 1909.

² The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvii., 1747.



The *London Magazine*¹ gave a description of Fort St. George, condensed from Lockyer's account, and illustrated with Fryer's plan! This was followed by Cole's narrative of the surrender, and Salmon's description of the place with Moll's map, none of the authorities being acknowledged.

The Company wrote as follows to Fort St. David :—

The Company to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David.

'On the 20th of April the Porto Bello Sloop brought Us your Advices of the 17th October 1746, and by Letters from Bombay received Overland We learn with great Satisfaction that you had Repulsed the French and Continued in Possession of the Place in December last.

'Having taken the same into Serious Consideration, We have Judged it proper, upon such a surprizing Revolution in our Affairs as the loss of Madrass, to Constitute Fort St. David our Head Settlement, and to Appoint John Hinde, Esquire, to be President and Governour of Fort St. David and all our Settlements and Affairs on the Choromandell, Orixá and Sumatra Coasts, with the Advice and Concurrence of Edward Croke, Stringer Lawrence, Charles Floyer, William Holt, Alexander Wynch and Thomas Cooke, junior, as his Council, and a Commission is accordingly enclosed under Our Seal in the Ship Porto Bello's Packet.

'Major Stringer Lawrence took Passage last Season on the Ship Winchelsea, with Directions to be Entertained as Major of Our Garrison at Fort St. George. Upon his Arrival, he must be Employed as such at your Place, and constantly remain as Third of Council. Some Military Officers accompanied him, who must Act in your Garrison according to their respective Commissions.

'Enclosed is a Copy of a Resolution come to by the Company in General Court Assembled on the many Astonishing Reports of the Capitulation and Ransom of Madrass. We positively forbid you to Enter into any Treaty with the Country Government or any other Power relating to the Payment of any Sum of Money for the Ransom or for the Re Delivery of that Place.

'And in case the Nabob should give Us Possession of Madrass again, the Effects that We may have there must be Removed to Fort St. David, keeping only a bare Possession of Madrass.

'Although Our late Servants at Madrass Ceased to be so on the Loss of the Place, yet We permit you to take in such of them as, from their Behaviour, you may think proper, and to allow a Reasonable Subsistence to the rest, if they apply for it. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 24th July, 1747.)

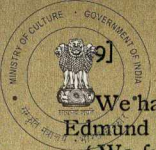
Major Lawrence had sailed in the preceding February :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Stringer Lawrence, Esq^r., is Entertained by Us to be Major of our Garrison at Fort St. George upon the same Terms as Major Knipe, vizt., Two hundred fifty Pounds Sterling p. Annum, and one of the Companies.²

¹ The *London Magazine*, vol. xvi., 1747.

² The Fort St. David Council professed themselves unable, in consequence of the loss of the Madras records, to verify the rate allowed to Knipe. They resolved to



We have also appointed James Cope, William Keene, Lawrence Donaldson, Edmund Pascall and John Brooke to be Ensigns of your Garrison. . . .

‘We further direct that the Major have the same Diet Money allowed him as one of the Council, being Ten Pagodas a Month, and that each Lieutenant and each Ensign have the like Diet Money as our Factors, being Eight Pagodas a Month, and that the Amount be carried to the Head of Garrison Charges.

‘We likewise direct that the Major and Lieutenants have the Cloathing of their respective Companys in the like manner that hath hitherto been enjoyed by the Paymaster.

‘Lieutenant John Hollond must remove to Bengal, We having determined that he shall have the Command of a Company at Fort William.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. I., 18th Feb., 1746 [1747].)

Recognizing at last the need for a qualified military Engineer, the Company despatched Captain Alexander Delavaux ‘to be Chief Engineer of all Our Settlements, and Captain of the Train of Artillery thereunto belonging, at the Salary of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling per annum.’¹ Delavaux arrived at Fort St. David in June, 1748, and took over charge from Mr. George Jones.

Several land attacks were made by Dupleix on Fort St. David. The first occurred on the 8th December, 1746, when the French, after seizing the Company’s Garden House at Manjikuppam, were repulsed with loss.² The Nawab kept his army, under his sons Maḥfūẓ Khān and Muḥammad ‘Alī, in the vicinity of Fort St. David for three months, after which he made terms with the French and withdrew. The most important attack was delivered on the 1st and 2nd March, 1747. The British were hard pressed, but Commodore Griffin’s squadron of eight ships arrived from the Bay at the most opportune moment, and the enemy fell back.³ In May the British received reinforcements from Bombay and Tellicherry. On the 16th June, 1748, during the temporary absence of the squadron, the French made an attack in force on Cuddalore, but they were again repulsed with loss.⁴

Commodore Griffin, on his first arrival, opened negotiations with the Nizam regarding Madras. The following letter from Nāsir Jang, the Nizam’s son, illustrates native opinion of the surrender of Madras :—

pay Lawrence £300 per annum, and Pags. 50 per mensem allowances. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 13th Feb., 1747.)

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 10th Feb., 1747 [1748].

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 10th Jan., 1747.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., 2nd Sept., 1748.

'From Nabob Nauzir Jung to the Commodore of the English Men of War. Received the 6th June, 1747.

'The Contents of your Letter explain'd to me that You had once wrote me before, and that the French, who possess'd Chinapatam, are troublesome, &c. This was occasion'd by the Carelessness and Want of Diligence of the Deputy of that Fort, who, notwithstanding He had a considerable Quantity of warlike Stores and other Implements, and provisions enough to support against a Siege, surrender'd so strong a Fort, and has been the occasion of the universal Destruction, Loss and Misfortune of the Inhabitants in General. He was the Cause of all the Merchants and other Tradesmen being plunder'd of all their Money and Effects, and the means of all the Disturbances. . . .

'Now, by the help of God Almighty's Blessings, the victorious Ensigns of my most potent Army, which destroys all Enemys and advances the Beauty of Riches and Glory, are marching towards the Kingdom of Carnatica for settling affairs there. And as it is unalterably his Excellency's most just and lawful Sentiments to do justice to the whole Empire by punishing the oppressors and protecting and aiding the oppressed, and is what I am also delightful in, I have now, and once before, wrote to my Friend Anawardean Cawn Behauder (who is worthy and trusty among the Servants) to cause that the lawful Proprietors are Righted, and dispossess the Usurpers ; and by the Almighty's Grace the said Cawn Behauder will put the Orders in Execution, agreeable to his Duty which requires him so to do. . . .' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xv., 31st Aug., 1747.)

These promises were not fulfilled.

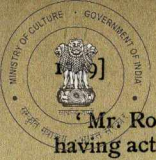
In the actions at Fort St. David, the officers and men of the garrison, including the greater part of the former Madras force, distinguished themselves, as did several of the civilians. The senior officers were John de Morgan,¹ John Holland,² John Crompton, and Rodolph de Gingers, with Philip Baker as Gunner, and George Jones as Engineer. Holland and de Gingers did specially good service. Among the ex-civilians who received favourable mention were John Hallyburton, Robert Clive, Philip Bulkley, and Edmund Maskelyne, all of whom held commissions. The following extracts relate to Clive :—

'Mr. Robert Clive having behaved as a Voluntier in the late Engagement, and requesting to be entertained as Ensign, The same is granted him, and a Commission Ordered to be drawn out accordingly.³

¹ Captain John de Morgan retired on account of infirmity in October, 1748, after thirty-eight years' service. Ensign William de Morgan, who escaped with a detachment from Madras after the surrender, reached Fort St. David from Vizagapatam in June, 1747.

² John Holland, who came out as an Ensign in 1727, married Sophia Fowke, daughter of Randall Fowke, in 1741.

³ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xv., 16th March, 1747.



‘Mr. Robert Clive, Writer in the Service, being of a Martial Disposition, and having acted as a Volunteer in Our late Engagement, We have Granted him an Ensign’s Commission upon his Application for the same.¹

‘As the Lieutenants on the Fort St. George Establishment did not forfeit their Honour by its Loss, and on Your continuing the Officers in their former Commissions, the Lieutenants behaved very well in the Two Actions with the Enemy, We leave it to You to grant Captains Commissions to such of them as you judge proper. Be sure to encourage Ensign Clive in His Martial Pursuits. According to His Merit, any Improvement he shall make therein shall be duly regarded by Us.’²

In January, 1749, Clive was appointed Quartermaster, and in the following month the consultations are occupied with a dispute between him and the Chaplain. The Rev. Francis Fordyce, who had lately come to Fort St. David from Bencoolen, was given to abusing his associates behind their backs. Dining one day with his friends, Captain John Dalton and Lieut. John Worth, at Bandipollam, Clive was told that Fordyce had made insulting remarks about him. In the afternoon he met Fordyce in Cuddalore, reproached him with his conduct, and struck him. The Chaplain retaliated. Dalton and Worth, who were driving past at the moment, ‘saw Mr. Fordyce and Mr. Clive Cudjelling each other in the Street.’ Fordyce preferred a complaint, which the Council investigated:—

‘Mr. Clive’s Deposition Concerning that Affair.’

‘That being at Dinner with Mess^{rs}. Dalton and Worth on or about the 16th day of February at Bandipollam, they told him Mr. Fordyce had said to a Gentleman in publick Company that he was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane over him in the presence of Mr. Levy Moses. Mr. Clive further says that, some time before this, he had been informd by Captain Cope that Mr. Fordyce did in Conversation with him threaten to break every Bone in his Skin; and he says that these repeated abuses so irritated him that he could not forbear, on meeting Mr. Fordyce in Cuddalore, to reproach him with his Behaviour, which he told him was so injurious he could bear it no longer, and thereupon struck him two or three times with his Cane; which at last Mr. Fordyce return’d, and then clos’d in with him, but that they were presently parted by Captain Lucas, who happen’d to be by.

‘Mr. Clive further Observes that he is not the only Person who has been abus’d and calumniated by Mr. Fordyce, who had also aspers’d the Character of Mr. Joseph Fowke by saying he was a dark designing Villain, that he would slit his Nose the first time he met him, and that he had knock’d him under the Table at the Governours. He further says Mr. Fordyce had told Captain

¹ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].



Dalton at Mr. Belsches's¹ that if everybody would discourse the Governour in the manner he had done, it would alter Affairs greatly, and that he had talk'd to him till he made him quake or shake in his Shoes, or words to that effect.

'Mr. Clive also says Mr. Lindsay told him he had heard Mr. Fordyce say that Mr. Bulkley was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane at him as he had done at Mr. Clive. Mr. Clive further says he threaten'd to thrash Mr. Bouchier,² and that he had declar'd to several people he had taken away Gentlemen's Swords before now, and would pull off his Canonicals at any time to do himself Justice. And lastly, Mr. Clive says Mr. Lennox told him that Mr. Fordyce was generally shunn'd and detested both at St. Helena and the West Coast on Account of his meddling Disposition, which rendered him disagreeable and Obnoxious to every One. ROBERT CLIVE.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 3rd March, 1748.)

Fordyce disputed the authority of the Council to dispose of the matter. He was accordingly dismissed summarily for insubordination. In reporting the case to England, the Council remarked:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'It is not to be doubted but Mr. Fordyce will set forth his own Story to your Honours, and least the same should be to Mr. Clive's Prejudice, We think it not improper to assure You that he is Generally Esteem'd a very quiet Person, and no ways guilty of Disturbances.

'After the Dismission of Mr. Fordyce, as we were then without any Chaplain, We thought proper to entertain the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk³ who has been many Years Chaplain to Mr. Boscawen, and was strenuously Recommended by him.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Mr. John Hinde, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, died on the 14th April, 1747. The senior councillor, Edward Croke, withdrew his claims in favour of Charles Floyer, who succeeded as Deputy Governor, becoming President and Governor on the receipt of the Company's orders of the 24th July, 1747.

Major Stringer Lawrence, an experienced officer, fifty years of age, who had seen service in Spain, Flanders, and the Highland rising of 1745, arrived in January, 1748, after a voyage lasting eleven months. He assumed charge from Captain George Gibson, a naval officer lent by Griffin to command the garrison. To

¹ Dr. William Belsches, Surgeon of the Naval Hospital at Fort St. David, and Agent for the Squadron. When Surgeon of the Company's ship *Winchester* he lost a leg by an accident at Canton. In 1740 Fort St. George was desired to find shore duty for him. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlv., 21st March, 1748.)

² Mr. Charles Bouchier, a Factor, afterwards Governor of Fort St. George, 1767-1770.

³ The Rev. Robert Palk, afterwards Governor of Fort St. George, 1763-1767.

Lawrence's skill and ability was mainly due the repulse of the French from Cuddalore in the following June.

Commodore Griffin boldly remained on the coast throughout the north-east monsoon of 1747, in order to protect Fort St. David. He was relieved¹ by Admiral Boscawen² at the end of July, 1748. With characteristic energy, Boscawen at once assumed the offensive. He sailed to attack Pondicherry on the 4th August, Lawrence co-operating by land. The early days of the siege were marked by two misfortunes. Lawrence was taken prisoner, and Hallyburton was killed by one of his own men:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'As soon as our Forces were landed from the Fleet, they immediately encamped to the Eastward of the Garden house, where they continued till all the Baggage and the Train was landed, when your Honours Troops, under the Command of Major Lawrence, joined them, and the 8 Ultimo they set out for Pondicherry, but were obliged to make very short marches on account of their Baggage, [so] that it was the 12 before they got to a small Fort of the Enemys named Areacopang, about three miles to the Southward of Pondicherry, which was so well fortified by fascine Batteries and other works they had thrown up there, that it was the 19 before they got possession thereof.

'Whilst they were before this place, the Enemy one morning attack'd our Trenches, upon which our people gave way, and very unfortunately our brave Major and one Captain Bruce of the Independent Companies, by their people leaving them, were made prisoners; and we should have suffered considerably had not Captain Hollond (from whom we are afraid we shall have no more service this season, as he has received a musket shot in his Shoulder) with a great deal of briskness rallied our people, who, upon giving one smart fire, drove the Enemy quite away, and took several Prisoners. We have since received a letter from the Major, who says he received no hurt in the action, and that they meet with extream good treatment.

'We have also been so unfortunate as to lose Mr. John Hallyburton, to whom, as we before acquainted your Honours, we had given a Commission to be Lieutenant of the Troop of Horse, and of which he was very deserving, for he took infinite trouble in disciplining the Troop, and shewed himself very active in the field. It was by one of our own Seapoys that he had the misfortune to be killed, who shot him upon his reprimanding him for some offence, of which the

¹ Griffin sailed for England in January, 1749, and on arrival was charged by one of his captains with neglect of duty in not bringing the French fleet to action on the 10th June, 1748. Griffin was tried by court-martial, found guilty of negligence, and suspended from rank and employment. He was reinstated in 1752, and died in 1771, after some years spent in retirement.

² The Hon. Edward Boscawen, son of Lord Falmouth, was born in 1711, and entered the navy at the age of fifteen. He saw active service in the West Indies in 1739, and was with Vernon at Porto Bello. In 1747 he attained flag rank, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of both sea and land forces in the East Indies. He sailed for India in November with six ships of the line and four smaller vessels.



poor Gentleman died the next day ; and the Villain did not live so long, for his Comrades that stood by him cut him to peices immediately.

‘When we had got possession of Areacopang, after a stay there of a few days, they marched round to the westward, and are since gone to the Northward, where they are landing their heavy Artillery and carrying on their Approaches.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 2nd Sept., 1748.)

The siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen proved abortive, and in October, on the approach of the monsoon, it was raised. In the following month news arrived from England that preliminaries of peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 19th April, 1748, and instructions were received to cease hostilities in India six months after that date. On the 28th November Lawrence was released, and Holland, who had been acting for him, soon after left for Bengal.

In the Lists of Civil Servants and Inhabitants of Fort St. David at the end of 1748, we find the following Madras names :—

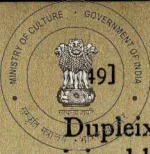
Civil Servants.—Matthew Empson, Richard Starke, Charles Bouchier, William Smythe King, John Pybus, Hugh Norris, John Trenwith.

Inhabitants.—Nicholas Morse, Cornelius Goodwin, Joseph Fowke, Charles Boddam, Henry Powney, Samuel Greenhaugh, Andrew Munro, Rev. Mr. Kiernander, Rev. Mr. Breithaupt, Robert Sloper, Charles Hopkins, Solomon Salomons, Levy Moses, Moses Hupman (or Heyman), Ephraim Isaacs.

Married Women.—Jane Morse, Phyllis Hopkins, Mary Munro, Grace Kiernander.

Widows.—Hannah Greenhaugh, Ann Savage.

Before passing to the rendition of Madras, we must allude to changes which had taken place among the native rulers of the country. The Mogul, Muḥammad Shāh, died in April, 1748. Two months later Nizām-ul-Mulk, formerly known as Chīn Kilich Khān, expired. The latter’s son, Nāṣir Jang, was proclaimed Subahdar of the Deccan, but a grandson, named Muẓaffar Jang, had also strong claims. The English recognized the former ; the French the latter. The two European governments also took sides in the Carnatic. The English supported Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn, while the French were in favour of the dynasty of Dost ‘Alī and Ṣāfdar ‘Alī. The last representative of the old family was Chanda Ṣāhib, a prisoner in the hands of the Marāthas at Satārā.



Dupleix paid his ransom and secured his release. Chanda Şāhib joined hands with Muẓaffar Jang, and, assisted by a French force under d'Auteuil and Bussy, fought Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn at Ambūr in August, 1749. The venerable Nawab¹ was slain in single combat, and his eldest son, Maḥfūz Khān, made prisoner, while the second son, Muḥammad 'Alī, escaped to Trichinopoly.² Arcot was taken, and Muẓaffar appointed Chanda Şāhib to be Nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix recognized him as such, but the British supported the claims of Muḥammad 'Alī. Thus there were rival Nizams and rival Nawabs. In the long war which ensued, the active assistance rendered by both English and French to their nominees resulted in the continuance of hostilities in India between two nations which were nominally at peace.

¹ Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn was 90 years of age.

² The analogy to the battle in which Dost 'Alī Khān met his death is striking. The scene is the same, and in each case the Nawab of the Carnatic is killed, while a son escapes.



CHAPTER XXVIII

1749—1750

RENDITION OF MADRAS—ACQUISITION OF SAN THOMÉ—
REHABILITATION OF MADRAS

RENDITION OF MADRAS.

ORDERS from the Company nominated Major Lawrence, Mr. William Holt, and Mr. Alexander Wynch, all members of the Fort St. David Council, to be Commissaries for receiving possession of Madras under the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of the 7th October, 1748. Holt having been suspended, Mr. Foss Westcott, the junior Councillor, was appointed in his place. The Commissaries proceeded to Pondicherry, and conferred with Governor Dupleix as to the date of evacuation and the forms to be observed¹:—

Fort St. David Consultation.

‘The Commissary’s now lay before the Board the Articles agreed on between the Gentlemen at Pondicherry and themselves concerning the Evacuation of Madras, transcribed in both Languages. . . . And by the 1st. and 2^d. Articles it being Agreed that they shall sett out with all Convenient Expedition to take an Inventory of what is to be delivered over to them; as soon as which is finish’d, to Transmit a copy thereof to Mr. Boscawen, as are the French Commissarys to their Superiours at Pondicherry. Monsieur Dupleix and the General² are then to appoint a Day for taking Possession thereof. And in Consequence of which It’s Agreed that Our Commissarys sett out for Madras on Monday next on His Majesty’s Ship the Tartar, as Mr. Boscawen acquaints the Board he will Order her thither purposely on that Account.’ (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 4th Aug., 1749.)

The first and second articles provided that the French Commissaries should be M. Barthélemy, Commandant of Madras, and

¹ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 24th July, 1749, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.

² *The General*, Boscawen.



Moreau, and that the Commissaries on both sides should advise their respective superiors when the inventory was ready, in view to the date of evacuation being fixed. Two other articles relating to the mode of rendition ran as follows:—

Third and Fourth Articles.

'3. After Mr. Boscawen and Mr. Dupleix have Agreed upon the Day of the Evacuation, the Orders shall be given in Consequence thereof. The English Troops shall be carried thither by Sea ; and, to avoid the least Disorders, the French Troops shall March out by the Sea Gate while the English go in by St. Thomas's. And, that the several Posts shall not remain without Guards, the English are to send a Sufficient number of Centinels Agreed upon by the Town Major as necessary to take the Posts which the French did Possess.

'4. As soon as the French Troops are Embarqued on Board the Chelingas,¹ Mr. Barthelemy, Commander of the Place, shall give the Keys of all the Magazines to the English Commissaries, and those of the Town to Mr. Boscawen or to any Person or Persons appointed by him to receive the same. . . .'

The Commissaries then proceeded to Madras, accompanied by Clive in his capacity of Quartermaster. The consequent association of Major Lawrence with his young subordinate led to great results in the future. The Consultation books are silent as to the actual details of evacuation, but the rendition on the 21st August, 1749, is described in general terms in the following letters to England:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'As we imagine an Address by way of Bussorah may possibly reach your honours before any of the Shipping that will proceed for Europe next Month, we therefore now dispatch this to Bombay to be forwarded from thence by the first Opportunity ; and have the great satisfaction to acquaint your Honours that General Boscawen took possession of Fort St. George on the 21 instant, which occasions Universal Joy among the late Inhabitants of that place, who throng'd there in great numbers immediately on hoisting the English Flag, Tho' all the Art the French made use of could not induce them to return while they were in Possession, and the Attachment they now shew to the English gives them no little Mortification. The Condition we have receiv'd it in is indeed very indifferent,² the French having Undermined the

¹ *Chelingas*, lighters, small country craft.

² Orme writes as follows:—'The English received it [Madras] in a condition very different from that in which they had left it. The buildings within the White Town had suffered no alteration, but the bastions and batteries of this quarter had been enlarged and improved.' Every subsequent writer has taken these words to imply a general development of the defences. Orme had no personal knowledge of the state of the fortifications on the rendition of the place, and the records prove that the impression he conveys is erroneous. In a letter to England the Council stated that



Fortifications and Rifled it of all the usefull and valuable Stores, the particulars of which we shall transmitt your Honours with Our next advices.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 30th Aug., 1749.)

Fort St. David to the Company.

'Your Honours have been already Inform'd, in an Address we made you Overland the 30 August, that your Settlement of Fort St. George was restor'd to us on the 21 of that Month. We have therefore here only to acquaint you that the Condition in which it was deliver'd was so Extreemly Bad that We apprehend it will require to be Entirely New Fortified, all the Walls and Bastions being Undermined in such a manner that they must in all probability fall down in the Ensuing Monsoon; and It is represented by His Majesty's Engineers¹ and all the Bricklayers that they are no ways to be repaired. Neither are they in the least Capable of bearing any Cannon upon them, on which last Circumstance We have been oblig'd so far to deviate from your directions as to Permitt a Platform² that was begun by the French to be finish'd, as we are inform'd it tends greatly to the present Security of the Place; and We hope your Honours will not be displeas'd thereat, as we conceiv'd it to be absolutely necessary. As our Engineer is gone,³ We cannot at this time send you a Plan thereof, but will Endeavour to get one prepar'd, with an Estimate of the expence, in readiness to send You by the January ship.

'The foregoing Reason has likewise oblig'd Us to omit for the Present sending You a General Plan of that Place; but in case your Honours should have any imediate Occasion for it, We take Liberty to request your Application to Admiral Boscawen, who acquainted Us he had a very Exact one in his Possession, and that he will readily Oblige You with a sight of it; to whom we must also take leave to refer You for the Plan of Devy Cotta,⁴ neither of which have we been able to prepare as yet from the want of a Capable Person for so doing.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Admiral Boscawen's 'General Plan' has not been traced with certainty, but it may have been one of two drawings which are now preserved at the War Office. Both have been reproduced

'The Ruinous Condition we found this place in has allowed but little time for additions to the Fortifications. Those at St. David advance as fast as Workmen and materials will allow' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 12th July, 1752).

¹ Leonard Bickerstaff, John Apperley, etc., Engineers employed under Boscawen.

² The platform was a bridge-head 'on the Edge of the new Ditch.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 8th Sept., 1749.)

³ Captain Delavaux deserted in May to Pondicherry. The Council attributed his action 'to the unhappy Accident that had happen'd to him In having been the Death of one of His Majesty's Subjects, which may be suppos'd he could never reflect on without much Uneasiness' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749). There were also charges of misappropriation of funds (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 24th May, 1749).

⁴ *Devy Cotta*, Devikota, a Marātha fort near the mouth of the Coleroon, in the possession of the Rajah of Tanjore, had been promised to the British by Sāhu Rājā. It was stormed and taken from the Rajah of Tanjore by a force under Major Lawrence in 1749.



for this work.¹ The first, a survey by 'John Apperley, Engineer,' dated the 28th August, 1749, shows the fortifications of the White Town and the remains of the Black Town, besides part of Peddanaikpetta and the Island. It is not very accurate, the Burial-ground and the Gentoo Pagoda being undoubtedly misplaced. A French Burial-ground is shown between the English cemetery and the Bridge Gate. John Apperley, who was successively a Matross and Cadet Engineer in 1747, appears to have been engaged in India as Engineer in that year by Boscawen.² The other plan, which depicts the fortifications and buildings of the White Town on a larger scale, was drawn in September, 1749, probably by Leonard Bickerstaff, and was sent home in the following year. It is inscribed, 'Received with Mr. Bickerstaff's Letter dated 17th May 1750.' Leonard Bickerstaff, a Practitioner Engineer in the King's service in 1729, was selected, in 1747, to be principal Engineer accompanying Boscawen's expedition. He got into trouble during the siege of Pondicherry, but continued to serve until 1751, when he was superannuated.³ The two drawings prove conclusively that the additions made to the fortifications by the French were limited to (a) glacis on the north and south fronts; (b) a small bridge-head with glacis on the Island opposite the Water Gate; (c) a slight realignment of those portions of the western wall which lay next to Charles and Gloucester Points.

The plans in Boscawen's possession were lent to the Company in 1750, copied by John Apperley, who was then living 'at Mr. Smiths, a Pewterer in the Minories,' and returned to the Admiral in January, 1751:—

'List of sundry draughts received from the Honble. Admiral Boscawen for the use of the East India Company.'

'A. A Plan of Madrass in the state it was in when restored, with a view of the several Mines made by the French for Blowing up the Works. The Mines are on a Separate Sheet with reference to the Plan.

'B. A Plan of Madrass on a Larger scale than that Markt A, with the profil of the Works taken at Different Places with reference to the Plan. The Profils are on a different Sheet.

¹ By the courtesy of Major-General R. M. Ruck, C.B., late Director of Fortifications and Works, and Brigadier-General F. Rainsford Hannay, C.B.

² In 1750 and 1751 Apperley was serving in England. He died about 1757. (Conolly MS. Papers.)

³ Conolly MS. Papers.



‘C. A Plan proposed for a new Town, or rather for a Large Citadel and Town adjoining, which might be built so as to Inclose Addison’s Well with the Citadel. . . .’ (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, 29th Sept., 1750.)

The list includes plans of Fort St. David, Devikota, Pondicherry, and Ariankuppam. The employment of Apperley as copyist seems to have been connected with the following petition to the Directors :—

‘The Memorial of John Apperley, Engineer.’

‘Humbly sheweth That he was appointed one of the engineers on the expedition to the East Indies under the command of the Honble Rear Admiral Boscawen, and having, by his orders, taken plans of Madras and of the attacks of Davicott and Pondichery, which he has laid before Your Honours, and hopes you will be pleased to take it into consideration, and grant him such allowance for the same as Your Honours, in your great wisdom and judgment, shall think he deserves.’ (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, Sept., 1750.)

One of the first questions dealt with by the Commissaries Lawrence, Wynch, and Westcott was the attitude to be adopted towards the Catholic priests and others who were believed to have played a treacherous part at the time of the surrender of Madras to the French. The Commissaries reported as follows on the 29th August :—

The Commissaries to the Hon. Edward Boscawen.

‘As you yesterday desired Us to give you our Sentiments in Writing in regard to the Romish Church and Inhabitants of Fort. St. George, We are of opinion the Church ought to be Confiscated, as likewise the properties of those persons who, since the Capture of Fort St. George, have lived under the Protection of the French ; But as to sending either them or the Priests to Europe, We do not think Ourselves sufficiently Empowered. As to the rest of that persuasion who could not be prevail’d by the French to reside among them, and as most of Our Boat people are of that Communion, We think that allowing them to Dwell in some part of our Bounds, and to have a small Church with a priest, a native of Portugal, cannot be of any Great Detriment to the Company’s Affairs. We are likewise of Opinion that Mrs. Madeiros and Coja Petrus, as they have been very serviceable to the Company by lending them large Sums in time of Necessity, ought to enjoy their properties as formerly. STRINGER LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER WYNCH, FOSS WESTCOTT.’ (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Sept., 1749.)

Boscawen transmitted this letter with his own remarks to Fort St. David :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

‘The Purport of the Letter from Mr. Boscawen is as follows . . . : That he is for sending to Europe all those who have been Traitors to the Company’s



APPERLEY'S PLAN OF FORT ST. GEORGE AND ENVIRONS IN AUGUST 1749.

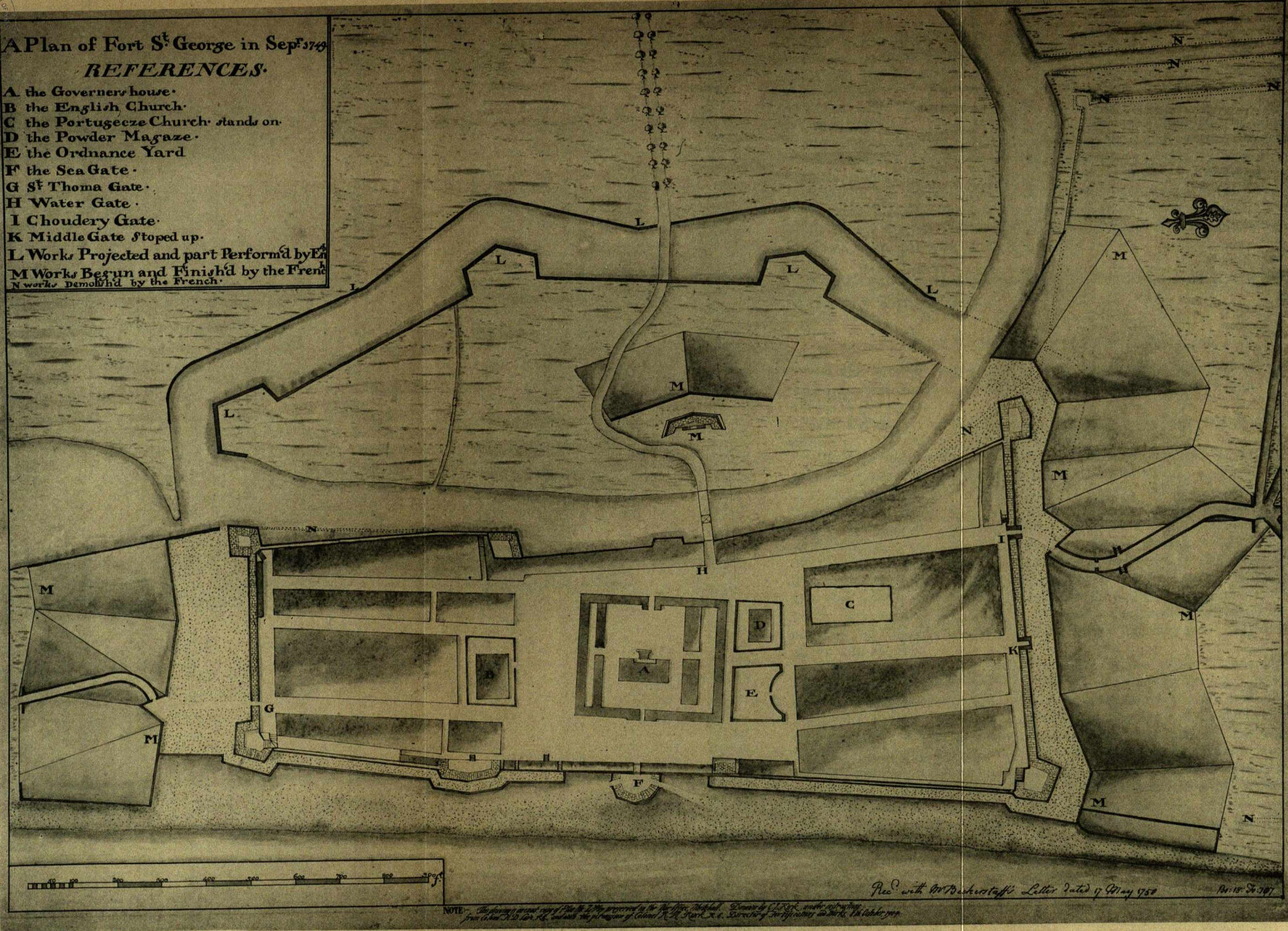


CSL

A Plan of Fort St George in Sep^r 1749

REFERENCES.

- A the Govern^r house.
B the English Church.
C the Portugeeze Church stands on.
D the Powder Magaze.
E the Ordnance Yard
F the Sea Gate.
G St Thoma Gate.
H Water Gate.
I Choudery Gate.
K Middle Gate Stopped up.
L Works Projected and part Perform'd by En.
M Works Begun and Finish'd by the French.
N works Demolish'd by the French.



FORT ST. GEORGE IN SEPTEMBER 1749.

Interests, particularly the four Priests of the Great Church in the White Town, Monsieur La Metrie and Mr. Barneval, as it is evident the Company have no where had greater Enemies. That, as to the Priests, no Man doubts of their Affection and Good will to the French, and their having had Liberty to build two large Churches¹ in the Bounds is a proof of the good Understanding between them . . . That as to Mr. La Metrie, his residing so long amongst the French both at Madras and Pondicherry at a time when we were in actual War declares him a Traitor ; and Mr. Barneval's acting as Quarter Master, together with the Behaviour of his Wife, is more than sufficient to Condemn him. . . .

'That he has certain proof of Mr. Dupleix has wrote to Goa desiring the Portuguese Vice Roy to send the padre Antonio² a Commission as Governour of St. Thomé and its Dependancies, and a Supply of Men and Money. . . . (F. St. D. Cons., vol. xvii., 2nd Sept., 1749.)

The Council's resolutions were conveyed to Boscawen in a letter of the 3rd September :—

Fort St. David to Admiral Boscawen.

'To the Honble Edward Boscawen, Esq^r., Rear Admiral of the White Squadron, and General and Commander in Chief of all His Britannic Majesty's Forces in the Indies.

'Our President having this day laid before us Your Letter of the 29th ultimo . . ., We are of the following Opinion :

'That the Houses, &c., belonging to those who remained under the French protection shall be Confiscated to the Company ; and as there are others of that persuasion who have Houses, &c., in the said Town, and did not put themselves under the French protection, that they shall be paid the Value of their properties, but not be permitted to reside within the White Town, with an Exception to Mrs. Antonia DeMadeiros, who We consent shall Enjoy during her Life (or till the Company's pleasure is known) her House in the White Town, in Consideration of her having been not only an old Inhabitant, but also very assisting to the Company by lending them a large Sum of Money³ when they were much in want of it, and which, with the Interest thereon, remains yet Unpaid ; but that on her Decease her Heirs be obliged to dispose of the said House.

'That no Armenian be suffered to Live in the White Town, nor be ever permitted to make any purchase of Houses or Godowns therein. And although there are several that have at this time possessions therein that did not live under the French protection, and consequently are not liable to Censure on that account, yet that they be obliged forthwith to dispose of their said properties, excepting Coja Petrus Usan, to whose enjoying his present House in the White Town We consent, as he has been so great a Sufferer already by having upwards of Forty Houses destroyed by the French that were Situated to the

¹ Two large Churches ; probably those at Chepauk and in the Parchery of Peddanaikpetta.

² Padre Antonio de la Purification was arrested and deported to Europe. (P. Count. Cor., vol. iii., 26th Oct., 1749.)

³ The sums lent by Mrs. Madeiros in the middle of 1745 were Pags. 40,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000. (P. from Eng., vol. li., 10th Feb., 1747 [1748].)

Northward of the White Town, and he has always appeared greatly Attach'd to the Company's Interest : But that at his decease the said House be immediately disposed of.

'That no Foreigner of any Nation whatever be permitted to make any Purchases in the White Town, or to Live in it.

'That a proper place be appointed for the Armenians to Live in, and such others as may be thought Serviceable to remain under Our protection.

'That in regard to the Four priests, as We have no Directions from the Honble Company further than to Dismiss them from Our Limits, We look upon the sending them to Europe to be a Point of too much Consequence for Us to take upon Ourselves. But as Your Power may be, and We hope it is, more Extensive than Ours, We should be heartily glad to see it put in Execution. Though are of Opinion that, notwithstanding these should be sent to Europe, there would never be wanting a Sufficient number of that Profession to supply that Settlement at St. Thomé should it ever be Reestablished.

'As to Mess^{rs}. La Metrie and Burneval, as it is Evident they have Acted a very Ungenerous, not to say Traiterous part by Our Company, We entirely concur with You in Opinion that it is proper they be sent to Europe.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 3rd Sept., 1749.)

The Council's resolution regarding the priests was based on instructions from home :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Having suffered greatly by the Number of Priests and Popish Inhabitants at Madrass, who have acted a very Treacherous Part to Us continually in that place, especially when it was attacked, therefore We strictly forbid your suffering any Romish Church within Our Bounds, Or any of their Priests to dwell among you, or that Religion to be openly professed. And in case any Papists have crept into places of Trust in Our Service, they must be immediately dismissed. You are not to deem this Order to affect the Armenians of the Greek Persuasion.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748]).

Boscawen explained that he had no quarrel with the priesthood in general, but wished Fathers Severini and René¹ removed because they were 'Suspected of giving the French (before the Attack of Madras) Intelligence of the Strength and Condition of the Garrison.' He added :—

Admiral Boscawen to Fort St. David.

'That there has been a Church Built to the Northward² of the Town since the French were in possession of it, which he proposes should be given to the

¹ It was afterwards proved that Severini had remained loyal throughout. René was deported to England.

² The church alluded to was probably one in the Parcherry of Peddanaikpetta. The edifice handed over to the missionaries, however, was a chapel which had been built by Petrus Uscan at Vepery, north-west of the White Town.



Danish Missionaries ; and that the Church at the Luce¹ (which has been much enlarged and repaired) should be left to the present Possessors, first because Our Boatmen are all Settled near it, and lastly because it is so very close to the Edge of our Bounds that it is barely within them. . . . ' (F. St. D. Cons., vol. xvii., 11th Sept., 1749.)

A month later Boscawen advised that Father de la Purification of San Thomé should also be deported, as treasonable papers had been found in his house.

The Council's decision regarding the Roman churches of Madras may have been influenced by a letter received some months earlier from the Missionaries Fabricius and Breithaupt, who were then at Pulicat. Part of their intolerant communication is here transcribed, as it furnishes some topographical details:—

The Madras Missionaries to Fort St. David.

(Let. to F. St. D., vol. iii., 17th May, 1749.)

'It is also notorious what great Power and Liberty the French Padres formerly have got and hitherto usurped in Madrass, where they have built a Church near the Castle in the White Town, and (besides Some lesser Idol-houses) three other Churches without the Town upon the Company's bounds, One to the North in Parratsheri,² one to the South in Sepakam,³ and another, A new one, to the West near Woepéri⁴; that in the Town having been Appointed Also for the Use of the Black Garrison, which was under their Ecclesiastical Care. . . .

'After the Loss of Madrass, no body remembring the high favours the French Priests and Roman-Catholicks had enjoyed So many Years since under a Protestant Government, (1) the English Church, besides loosing its Bell and many other things,⁵ hath been dishonoured and profaned excessively for a Considerable time, Serving for a Store-house and for a Reserver of Water, &c. ; and now only a short time since they repair and cleanse it again, thinking that that will be all enough to gain them the former Love and Leberties ; (2) the Protestant English Mission's Buildings in the Black Town, with all that belonged to them, have been entirely razed and demolish'd. . . .

¹ The Admiral seems to confuse the Luz Church, which was far outside the Madras bounds, with the church at Chepauk.

² Parratsheri, the Parchery or Pariah quarter in the northern part of Peddanaikpetta. The edifice appears to have been the present Church of the Assumption in Portuguese Church Street. The building carries the date 1642 on its front, but this must relate to the establishment of the Capuchin mission, not the erection of the church.

³ Sepakam, Chepauk, the northern portion of Triplicane, extending from the sea to the Mount Road. The church stands some 300 yards east of the Amir Mahāl.

⁴ Woepéri, Vepery. The chapel was built by Petrus Usan.

⁵ Such as the organ, the Governor's pew, etc.



The Missionaries then suggest that, if the retention by the priests of one place of worship be considered desirable, the church preserved to them should be :—

‘Not that to the North in Parratsheri, because there Always dwell the Most part of the black Soldiers and the Palanquin-boys, &c. ; neither that on the West near Waperi, which would not serve to that purpose, being too far off, and besides that, it would not be Advisable to have them on the Land-side betwixt Madrass and the Country ; but that at the South of Madrass, in Sepakam, on the other Side of the Island, the way to St. Thomé. . . .’

They point out that :—

‘The English Mission’s Buildings (wherein we had both Church, Schools and Dwelling), together with the houses of our Catechists and Several other Mission’s Servants, have been made even with the Ground, and that the One Missionary being then in Madrass hath been driven out, together with his people and Orphans, and within these 2 Years and a half been Obligated to live at the Northern side of Policate, like as in an Exile, continuing there his Ministry, Church and Schools, and Suffering with his dispersed flock all the time long a great Deal of hardships. . . .’

The Missionaries ask that the churches may be delivered over to themselves :—

‘Especially to turn the Portugeez Town Church of the French Padres, that hath been hitherto a Popish Black-Garrison’s Church, into a Protestant one by giving the Care of it to us the English Missionaries. . . . JOHN PHILIP FABRICIUS, JOHN CHRISTIAN BREITHAUPT.’

ACQUISITION OF SAN THOMÉ.

Admiral Boscawen, learning that ‘Mr. Dupleix is determin’d to have St. Thomé,’ announced to Fort St. David that he proposed to take possession of the town on behalf of Muḥammad ‘Alī. The Council assented :—

Fort St. David to Admiral Boscawen.

‘Our President having laid before us your Letter to him of the 22nd Instant, which just now came to hand, acquainting him with Mr. Dupleix’s Intention to have St. Thomé, and that the Padre is to return with a Detachment of French Troops to build the Fort he has already began ; We have maturely Considered the same ; and as their Vicinity, we apprehend, will be greatly prejudicial to the Interest of Our Honble Masters, we are therefore to Request You will put in Execution what you have proposed of taking Possession thereof for Mahomud Ally Cawn, and putting in a Havildar in his Name ; which We are of Opinion with You, Sir, is the best Thing that can be done, And concerning which the President will write to Mahomud Ally Cawn directly.’
(*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 25th Sept., 1749.)

*From President Floyer to Muhammad 'Alī Khān.*

'I have just now received Advice that the French intended to keep Possession of St. Thomé, and have actually begun to build a Fort there. In a few Days they design to send a strong European force for that Purpose. As this Step will be greatly detrimental to the Circar's Interest, and Also greatly prejudice Our Affairs at Madrass, General Boscawen is Determin'd to take Possession of that Place in your Name; and for which I make no Doubt but you will Approve, and that we may be able to keep it by as much right as the French Pretend to it. I hope your excellency will favour us immediately with a Phirmaund for that Place. This will engage the English Strictly to Adhear to your Interest, and we shall not be unmindfull of such a favour. Pray be speedy in it. I will write you shortly further. I wish you Health. What can I say more?' (P. Count. Cor., vol. iii., 21st Sept., 1749.)

'Translate of a Phirmaund under the Seal of Nabob Mahomud Ally Cawn. Dated the 1st of Moon Zeacada, Hegra 1162, answering the 2nd of October, Anno 1749 O.S.

'Whereas Milapore, alias St. Thomé, belonging to the Pain Gaut Country¹ under the Government of Golcondah, was delivered up to the English at Madras and Fort St. David . . . on Condition they come and join Us with a Force and other necessary's whenever they may be called for upon the Circar's Business; they may therefore be perfectly easy, and continue in their Duty and Obedience, and be ready to serve the Circar.

'Dasamokeys, Dasapondeys, Mokedems,² Inhabitants belonging to the said Town, are hereby Required to pay due Alleigance to the English, on whom the Affairs of the said Town depend; and they are likewise required to look upon them as Persons of such Authority as what may be said by them concerning them, whether they be good or bad, will be Deem'd by Us Authentick; and they are Strictly enjoin'd to Act agreeable to this Writing' (F. St. D. Cons., vol. xvii., 7th Oct., 1749.)

Boscawen hoisted English colours at San Thomé on the 11th October, 1749. The Council communicated to England the following particulars of Dupleix's intentions with regard to the town:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'When We took Possession of the Place, there was a Priest under the Name of Father Antonio D'Purification that had resided there for sometime, and for whom Monsieur Dupleix had procur'd a Phirmaund from Sunda Soib for him

¹ Pain Gaut Country, the territory below the ghauts; from Pers. *pā, in*, below, and Hind. *ghāt*, a range of hills.

² Dasamokeys, Dasapondeys, Mokedems, were revenue officials. The *desmukh* exercised police and revenue authority over a district or a group of villages: the *despāndyā* was revenue accountant for a similar area. The offices of both were hereditary. The *mukaddam*, or head-man of a village, was charged with the general management of its affairs, including the collection of revenue.



to act as Havaladar : Thō in reality to be a Spy over our Actions at Fort St. George, as it appear'd afterwards by the Papers that wer[e] seizd belonging to Him, wherein was discovered such a Correspondence to have been carried on between him and Monsieur Dupleix as will Evidently make appear to your Honours that our Suspicions of him was not without sufficient Ground. These Letters and Papers are all in the Admiral's Possession, and he promis'd Us to give your Honours a Sight of them.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Major Stringer Lawrence to Fort St. David.

'A Moore Man was with me to shew me Chunda Saib's grant to him of St. Thome. My answer to him was that the English Company had a grant of it, and their Colours were hoisted there, and that I should fire upon any one who disturbed the inhabitants of that place. He is the Poligar of the Mettaw between this and Egmore. Mr. Morse tells me the Dutys rais'd there belongs to the Nabob of Arcott. Unless he commits any act of Hostility, I shall not dislodge him till I receive Your Honour, &c.'s Orders. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*Lett. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th Oct., 1749.)

The Portuguese also made a claim on San Thomé :—

The Viceroy at Goa to Fort St. David.

'To the much Noble Commander and Counsellors of the Honble English Company in the Government of Madrass or of Fort St. David in Cuddalore.

'When I received Advice that a Detachment from the British Garrison of Madrass went for to Seize upon, and to take out of the City of St. Thomé, Father Francisco Antonio [de la] Purification, a Portugeze Franciscan Fryar, I imagined [that some] private affair with the [said] Fryar might have been [the cause of] such like an Insult, and that it might have been committed by some Passionate Officer without his having orders from his Superiours. But being since [re] presented to me that Admiral Boscawen will send the said Fryar to London in One of his Ships, and that, immediately after the said imprisonment, Joseph Coelho de Campos presenting the said Mr. Boscawen the Patent which I dispatched from this City of Goa, and which was then arrived at St. Thomé, by which I appointed the Said Francisco Antonio as Attorney for the Portugeze Natives of the City of St. Thomé untill such Time that I should appoint a Governour ; and that the said Mr. Boscawen paid no attention to an Instrument so Authentick, but even went so far as to order the said Campos to withdraw himself from the said City of St. Thomé and from its district ; and that He went Personally and Committed in the said City great Insults to the Flag [s] of the King my Master, which were then Flying or Hoisted, by placing in their room those of the Brittish Nation. . . . ;

'I cannot but represent and Protest to the much Noble Commander and Councillors . . . that I hope for the Restitution of the said City of St. Thomé to its former State as the Dominion of the King my Master, replacing in it his Royal Flag as it was at the Time when the said Insult was committed ; that by this Means the Consequences that may attend it may be avoided. Against which I do protest on the Part of the King my Master, and of this his Dominions of which he has been pleased to give me Charge. MARQUEZ D'ALORNA.' (*Lett. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 5th Feb., 1750.)

*Fort St. David to the Viceroy at Goa.*

'To His Excellency The Marquess D'Allorna, Vice Roy for His Majesty of Portugall at Goa.

'We have the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordship, Under date the 5th February last, which we should have answered sooner, but Two of our Gentlemen who were at Madrass when General Boscawen took Possession of St. Thomé, and had some knowledge of that Affair, being Absent, We waited for their Return. From them We learn that, when General Boscawen took Possession of that Place, there were no Portuguese Colours flying; And what Induced him to that Action was Padre Antonio De Purification's Informing him, upon being Applied to, that he was Governour there for one Chanda Saib, a Rebellious Moor. For which and several other Reasons that we Suppose he will give to the Court of Portugall, and likewise having receiv'd from the lawfull Nabob of the Province a Phirmaund for that Place, He Hoisted the English Colours there, being well Acquainted that no Revenue has Accrued to his Majesty of Portugall from that Place for these fifty Years Past. CHARLES FLOYER, EDWARD CROKE, STRINGER LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER WYNCH, FOSS WESTCOTT, THOMAS COOKE.' (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 14th May, 1750.)

REHABILITATION OF MADRAS.

The Company having ordered that Fort St. George should be subordinate to Fort St. David, the Council appointed Mr. Richard Prince¹ to be Deputy Governor of the former, with Messrs. Richard Starke, John Smith, William Smyth King, and John Walsh² as his Council. Boscawen, Westcott, and, apparently Wynch also, left Madras on the 11th October,³ and, pending the arrival of Prince and the Council, Lawrence remained sole Administrator. He arrested Barnevall and de la Mettrie on the 11th, but next day accepted Mrs. Madeiros's bond in £20,000 for their appearance in

¹ Richard Prince, who entered the civil service in 1736, had lately been Chief at Vizagapatam. He married Elizabeth Simpson in 1743. His salary as Deputy Governor of Fort St. George was £100 per annum.

² Starke joined the service in 1735, and Smith five years later. King and Walsh were of the same standing as Clive.

³ Boscawen sailed for England on the 19th October, 1749, leaving Commodore Lisle with five ships on the Coast (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 8th Jan., 1749). He reached home in 1750, and in the following year became a Lord of the Admiralty, retaining the position till his death. He, nevertheless, saw further active service, being employed in North America in 1755, and later in the Mediterranean, when he defeated the French fleet in Lagos Bay. A fine seaman and commander, he was popularly known, through physical and moral characteristics, as 'Wry-necked Dick' and 'Old Dreadnought.' He died in 1761. His portrait by Reynolds is in the National Portrait Gallery. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)



January. In reporting the matter on the 13th, Lawrence, who felt out of his element in civil employ, observed :—

Major Lawrence to Fort St. David.

'I find myself greatly at a Loss for some body who is acquainted with the Civil Business, and to keep up all the Accounts. Clive¹ gives me all the help he can, but I shall want more, as there will be a good deal of writeing. He will be glad to follow any Civil Employ you shall be pleased to appoint him.

'As I am a Stranger here, for fear I should exceed or fall short in the Execution of your Orders, I shall be obliged to you if you will Honour me with particular Directions who the People are that I am to turn out of the Town, and what Houses I am to Seize for the Company's Use. . . . STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 16th Oct., 1749.)

The following list of houses to be confiscated, as belonging to persons who had lived under French protection, was accordingly sent him :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

(*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 6th Nov., 1749.)

'Agreed that a Letter be wrote to Major Lawrence containing Our Directions for the Seizure of them, Vizt.

The House of Mr. Francis Carvalho in Charles Street.

The House of Mr. De la Mettrie in St. Thomas's Street,

Do. do. in Middle Gate Street, where he now Resides.

The House of Mr. Francis Barnewall in Choultry Gate Street.

The House of Don Jeronimo d'Ita in Choultry Gate Street.

The House of Mr. Bailleau in Choultry Gate Street.

The House and Garden of Mr. Melon to the Northward of the White Town.

The House lately belonging to Signora Estraz² at Mile-End. . . .

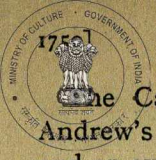
The Romish Church in the White Town of Madras, together with its Bell and Branches, but the Images, &c., to be delivered to the Reverend Father Severini. . . .'

On the 11th November, 1749, when Starke and Walsh arrived, the 'Consultation and Diary Book of Stringer Lawrence and Council'³ was opened. Councillor King came to Madras on the 24th, and Prince followed on the 30th, but the latter, being junior to Lawrence, was not proclaimed Deputy Governor until the Major departed on the 6th December.

¹ Clive returned to Fort St. David in November, and, seeing no prospect of active service, resigned his commission. He was appointed Steward from the 1st December vice Mr. John Smith, transferred to the Madras Council. (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 30th Nov., 1749.)

² *Signora Estraz*, probably Signora Estraz Gregorio, who was fined in September, 1729, for making bad bread. (*P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 31st Dec., 1733.)

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 11th Nov., 1749.



The Capuchins, who had been directed to hand over St. Andrew's Church by the 20th November, asked for more time, and an extension until the 1st December was granted :—

The Capuchin Missionaries to Fort St. David.

'The Humble Petition of Father Severini of Savoy and of Father Bernard, likewise of Savoy, Capuchins of the Order of St. Francis, Apostolick Missionaries at Madras, performing the Curial Office in the Portuguese Church there,

'Sheweth That Your Petitioners, having received Intimation the 13th November 1749 O.S. from Major Stringer Lawrence, Governour of Madras, Signified by Messrs. Starke and Walsh, that the Honble East India Company does take Possession of the said Portuguese Church, of the Cells adjoining, of two Bells, and of three Branches for Candles ; Likewise of a Chappel and Habitation situated to the West of Madrass called Vepour ; and that they and other Roman Catholicks must depart the White Town with their Effects and Appurtenances within One week from that notice ;

'Do humbly submit themselves to the pleasure and Will of Your Honour, &c., and are ready to leave the Place. But as they must be extremely Embarrass'd to Remove in so short a time the Gilded Alters which, upon Account of their largeness, must be taken to peices and pack'd up with all the other Appurtenances and Utensils both of Church and Convent that, through the Charity and Munificence of the Malabars and other Christians, have been Collecting for the Space of 107 Years past, the Duration of this Church in Madras ; Your Petitioners do Humbly beg your Honour, &c., to prolong the Term, that, in the distress'd Situation they now are, without Church or Habitation, they may have the means of lessening, as much as may be, the Damages they are to Suffer.' (F. St. D. Cons., vol. xvii., 16th Nov., 1749.)

Petrus Usacan protested on the 18th against the transfer of Vepery Chapel ; but the Council said that, as the Capuchins had claimed a right in it, the orders must stand :—

Petrus Usacan to Fort St. David.

'I cannot help acquainting your Honour, &c., of my great Surprize to find that there is an Order of Council sent here some Days ago to deliver up the Chappel and other Buildings at Viparie to the Danish Missionaries, notwithstanding the Remonstrances I have made by my Letters to the Honourable Governour Floyer to the Contrary, and to which (by the by) his Honour has not vouchsafed me an answer hitherto.

'It will be a great Satisfaction to me if Your Honour, &c., will please to let me know by what Law or Authority you give away my Property at pleasure. It may perhaps be imagin'd that I have made over Viparee Chappel, &c., to the Romish Priests, and of consequence that it is their Property ; but I declare I have done no such thing. It was Originally intended for the use of the poor Beggars of Madrass ; and how your Honour, &c., can alineate it to other purposes I must own I cannot conceive, as it cost me upwards of four thousand pagodas, which if you will please Order to be paid me here, I'm ready to

deliver it up to the Danish Missionaries or whom else your Honour, &c., thinks fit. But should your Honour, &c., not think proper to do this, nor yet let it remain appropriated to the first use I intended, I in that Case desire the favour I may have the Liberty to give it to the Priests of my own Nation, who have had their Church raised to the Ground by the French in Our late Calamity's.

'I have no ill Will to the Danish Missionaries nor to any Christian Missionaries, and have already wrote the Governour I am willing to contribute something towards building a Church for them; but to let them have Viparee Church is what I can never Consent to; and therefore I humbly desire your Honour, &c., will not insist on it, upon Consideration that the many troubles I [have] undergone was with hopes of reaping advantages with your Nation, and not to be wronged from my Right. Your doing me Justice herein will greatly Oblige PETROOS USCAWN.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 25th Nov., 1749.)

Fathers Severini and Bernard, in reporting that they had vacated St. Andrew's Church, asked permission 'to Stay Near Your White Town at Such Place as that where Our Church Yard¹ Situates, or any other that you Should think fit to grant us, with the free exercise of Our Religion towards those of our Communion as we have hitherto been Allowed.'² The Council placed them in possession of 'the Romish Church Situated at Mile End.'³ The reason for this relaxation of the Company's orders is thus set forth :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The same being deliberated on, As the papers found in the House of Padre Antonio of Purification at St. Thomé were Evident Proofs of their having a firmer Regard for Our Interest than that of the French; for which reason, and as our Boat People, who are of that Communion, may probably be induced to leave Us should We expell them Our Limits, Its Agreed to Comply with their Request, and that the Romish Church Situated at Milend be delivered over to them. . . .' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 11th Dec., 1749.)

As to the houses to be confiscated, Barnevall's in Choultry Gate Street⁴ and one at the Mount, as well as de la Mettrie's town residence and houses and gardens he had bought of Torriano, being all mortgaged, the two owners were permitted to sell them.

¹ The Churchyard was situated where the Cathedral in Armenian Street now stands.

² *Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 2nd Dec., 1749.

³ In the map of 1733 Mile End is shown on the beach, but the term seems to have been applied to the whole district of Chepauk. The church was probably that near the present Amir Mahāl, which, however, is nearly two miles from the Fort.

⁴ Barnevall's house was next to the northward of Usca'n's, and Don Jeronimo's next to Barnevall's. All three were on the east side of the street.



The house lately belonging to Signora Estra was exempted. The remainder were appropriated for the Company.

With the exception of Coja Shawmier, whose house in Charles Street it was thought might be wanted for public purposes, the Armenians were allowed to sell their property to European Protestants. Coja Petrus Uscau retained his right of residence in Choultry Gate Street, and Shawmier and Gregorio were allowed to stay for a year.¹

The proceedings against Barnevall and de la Mettrie are thus set forth in a letter to England :—

Fort St. David to the Company.

‘Messrs. La Mettrie and Barnewall address’d Us to be acquainted with the Reasons that Urged Us to Arrest them, that by their answer thereto they might be enabled to wipe off the Aspersion which that Proceedure had thrown upon them. But as Mr. Boscawen (at whose Solicitation We had taken this Step) had left Us entirely destitute of the Proofs he inform’d Us he had against them, We thought it most prudent to return no Answer. And upon further Reflecting on this Affair, We found there was Reason to apprehend that, should We send those Gentlemen to Europe, and any Accident happen to Mr. Boscawen whereby those Proofs might be lost, Your Honours might be Involved in a great deal of Troubles. We therefore came to a Resolution to deliver Mrs. Madeiras up her Bond given for their appearance, and only to expell them Your Limitts, and include their Houses in the Number of those we had Determin’d to Confiscate. But we were prevented from executing the latter part of this Resolution by Learning that their Houses were Mortgaged. However, We ordered the Gentlemen at Fort St. George to acquaint them with the former, and in pursuance thereof to Limitt their Departure with their Effects to a certain time.

‘Although by this Proceeding We had entirely acquitted them of their Obligation to go to England, they still persisted in that Design in order, as they acquainted Us, to throw themselves at the Feet of His Majesty to Implore from his Clemency and the Laws of our Country Redress of their Grievances and what they term our Illegal Proceedings; and to that end Embark’d on a French Ship that Sail’d from Pondicherry a few days since. . . . Mr. Barnewall seems to exult greatly that We have nothing more to alledge against him than his having acted as Quarter Master to Monsieur La Bourdonnais’ Troops at Madras! But since he seems determined to push matters to extremity, We must now exhibit against him a Charge of much more Importance, no less than the carrying on a Correspondence with the Enemy during the time of Actual War; for the Proof of which we enclose Your Honours Copies of two Affidavits, as also attested Copies of two Notes from him for Quartering the French Officers at Fort St. George. We were very desirous of Suppressing this Article Relating to his Correspondence with the Enemy, because we were apprehensive it might touch his Life; nor

¹ *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. ii., 17th and 25th Nov., 1749.

should we have urged it now had not his Obstinate Behaviour oblig'd Us. His withdrawing himself in Disguise from Madras the Night he was Order'd to quit it, and an Escort granted for his protection through the Moguls Dominions to this place, whither he was coming at his own request to take Passage on the Elizabeth, Leads Us to believe that he can entertain but a bad Opinion of his Cause, and would have dropt it long ago had not Mr. Duplex, from the Inveteracy he bears Us, Instigated him to Prosecute it. . . . (P. to Eng., vol. xvii., 12th Feb., 1748.)

Before the end of the year the Choultry Court was re-established at Madras. The Company's Old Garden, which had been damaged by the French, was let to Linga Chetṭi and Guruvappa for Pags. 250, and the Paddy-fields and Salt-pans to the same persons for Pags. 750.

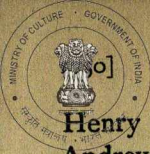
In a lengthy despatch to Fort St. David of the 17th June, 1748, the Company intimated that, the Vestry of Fort St. George having been extinguished by the taking of Madras, the Government should collect the sums due on the Church Stock, pass the amount into the Treasury, and manage the Fund. The Directors recounted the history of the Stock so far as it was known to them, but admitted that the origin was lost in the mists of antiquity. They resolved to take over the Charity School Stock in like manner. The despatch, having been elsewhere published,¹ is not here transcribed. At the end of 1749 the late Churchwardens of St. Mary's produced their accounts, and announced that several persons who were indebted to the Church Stock were ready to pay their dues:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We think it a Circumstance highly worthy our Attention, not only in Compassion to the Several Orphans whose Fortunes are deposited therein, but that So usefull and Beneficial a Fund might not be destroyed thro' Neglect, in the Wellfare of which our Honble Masters are so particularly interested, The Profits having ever been employed in relieving the poorer and needy Part of our Inhabitants, who must otherwise have been a Burthen to them.' (P.C., vol. lxxvii., 16th Dec., 1749.)

A new Vestry was constituted, and a meeting was held on the 3rd January, 1750. There were present, Richard Prince, Foss Westcott, Richard Starke, William Smyth King, John Walsh, the Rev. George Swynfen, Nicholas Morse, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, Cornelius Goodwin, Samuel Greenhaugh, Joseph Fowke,

¹ *The Church in Madras*, pp. 209-213, Rev. F. Penny.



CSL

Henry Powney, William Percival, Charles Boddam, John Pybus, Andrew Munro, Captain John Standard, George Jones, and Captain Charles Hopkins.¹ The list shows that several of the former European residents were prompt in returning to Madras.

By the end of the year the former system of management of the stock was restored.

¹ At the fall of Madras, Eyre and Harris were members of Morse's Council, and Goodwin, Greenhaugh, Fowke, Powney, Percival, Boddam, and Pybus were civil servants at Fort St. George. All appear to have been unemployed in January, 1750. Andrew Munro was the Surgeon. Captain John Standard, a seafaring man who had been in India since 1716, came to Madras from Bombay before 1733, when he owned a house at Chepauk. George Jones, a freeman, was appointed Factor in 1745. Captain Charles Hopkins, a seafaring man since 1730, or earlier, was entertained as Factor in 1750, and became Chief of Devikota. He married Phyllis Bright in 1736.



CHAPTER XXIX

1749—1752

BENJAMIN ROBINS—SAN THOMÉ REDOUBT

BENJAMIN ROBINS.

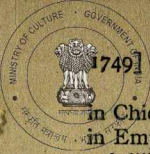
As soon as Madras was restored to the British, the Directors took the step—which they might have taken earlier—of appointing as their Engineer a man in the front rank of his profession. The choice fell on Benjamin Robins, a distinguished mathematician, who had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society at the early age of twenty. In 1728 he published a criticism of John Bernoulli's work on the laws of impact. Later, he studied civil engineering in England, and fortification and gunnery in Flanders; invented the ballistic pendulum, and advocated the use of rifled guns. In 1742 he published his *New Principles of Gunnery*, a book which was translated by Euler for Frederick the Great. This work became the standard text-book, and an edition was issued as late as 1805. In 1748 Robins edited the account of Lord Anson's voyages.¹ Such was the man chosen in 1749 to replace the unworthy Delavaux, whom the Directors had recalled before they heard of his desertion.²

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Being Determined to have Our Possessions and Estate put in as perfect Security for the future as We are able, by making such Additions to and Alterations in the Fortifications and Works at our several Settlements in the East Indies and the Island of Saint Helena as may render them Defenceable against the Attacks of any European or Indian Enemys, We have, in order thereto, Appointed Benjamin Robins, Esq^r., in whose Integrity and Capacity We have an entire Confidence, Our Engineer General, as likewise Commander

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; and *Engineering*, 19th July, 1907.

² *P. from Eng.*, vol. liii., 30th Aug., 1749.



in Chief of the Artillery. And that you may be fully apprized of our Intentions in Employing him, We have here inserted his Instructions. . . . ' (P. from Eng., vol. liii., 8th Dec., 1749.)

The instructions were that Robins should visit Fort St. David, Fort St. George, Fort William, Bombay, and St. Helena in succession, prepare drawings of all their fortifications, and report on the additions and alterations required, sending home two copies of every plan. At each station he was to have the chief command of the Artillery and warlike stores, and receive the same honours as the Third of Council. Six assistants were appointed to accompany Robins, viz., John Barker, Nathaniel Carrington, Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, and Philip Glass. Barker was to rank as a Factor, and the rest as Writers. Designs of all works projected or begun were to be drawn on a large scale, and the plans and estimates deposited with the Governor and Council. Robins was under covenant to remain in India till the end of the shipping season of 1753-54. All work at Forts St. David and St. George was to be suspended pending his arrival.

Robins and his satellites reached Fort St. David in the *Grantham* on the 14th July, 1750.¹ Carrington died within three months, giving place to Achilles Preston.² Robins set to work at once on Fort St. David, proceeded to Fort St. George on the 5th September,³ and before the close of that month despatched plans of both fortresses to England. Duplicates followed in October.⁴ The reports accompanying them have not been traced, but the Court wrote as follows on receipt of the drawings⁵ :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'The detention of the Ships Duke of Dorset and Wager by contrary winds at Spithead gives us an Opportunity of acquainting you of the arrival of the *Lapwing* on the 7th Instant with your Advices of the 26th September last, and

¹ *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th July, 1750.

² *P. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 24th Oct., 1750.

³ *Let. to F. St. G.*, 5th Sept., 1750.

⁴ *P. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 26th Sept. and 24th Oct., 1750. The plans have, unfortunately, been lost or destroyed.

⁵ The Directors saw all Boscawen's plans, and took copies of those they needed (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liv., 23rd Jan., 1750 [1751]). These also have vanished, unless one of the two War Office drawings of Fort St. George in 1749 belongs to the series.

a Letter from Benjamin Robins, Esq^r., our Engineer General, dated the day before. . . .

'We acquainted you we thought it very probable that Fort St. George would be again the Seat of the Presidency on the Choromandel Coast, and as Mr. Robins has strengthened our Opinion of its being the properest Place for that purpose, we only wait for his further thoughts upon this Affair . . . before We fully declare our Sentiments ; . . . and in the mean time, upon a view that it will be the head Settlement, you are to use all possible means for the protection of the Inhabitants, and the encouragement of Trade ; and Mr. Robins is desired to throw up such Works as may be necessary for its immediate defence.

'We observe Mr. Carrington, one of Mr. Robins's Assistants, is dead, and that he has engaged Achilles Preston, a Youth who was on board the Grantham, in his stead. We approve of the same, and direct that he be in all respects upon the same footing as his other Assistants.

'We likewise approve of his engaging Mr. Brohier to assist him, and shall consider of a suitable and proper Encouragement when we are more fully Informed of his Capacity to Serve us, as we expect in Mr. Robins's next Advices.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liv., 13th March, 1750 [1751].)

Robins' proposals regarding Madras embraced the fortification of Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta, to which jointly the appellation, Black Town, was now transferred in consequence of the demolition of the greater part of Old Black Town. The nature of this comprehensive scheme will be understood by reference to Conradi's map of Madras of 1755, which has been reproduced for this work. Robins' design for the fortification of White Town appears to have included the completion of Mr. Joseph Smith's plan of extending the west front to the Island and diverting the course of the river.

On determining that Fort St. George should again become the Presidency, the Directors wrote as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Fort St. George being now again the Seat of Our Presidency,¹ you must, with the Assistance of Mr. Robins, make it as convenient as possible by repairing the Warehouses, Magazines and Storehouses.

'We very much approve of Mr. Robins's Scheme for compleating the Fortifications and Works at Fort St. David, as mentioned in his Letter to us of the 25th September. . . .

'We likewise approve of his Scheme for compleating the New Works of the White Town at Madras in the manner described in his said Letter, as it will thereby be rendered very defensible at a moderate Expence.

'His reasons for immediately undertaking to compleat the Works at both the said Places without waiting for further Orders are very satisfactory, and

¹ It did not become so until the 7th April, 1752.



We hope by the time this will reach you a considerable Progress will be made in them.

'We have before Us Mr. Robins's Letter of the 25th September 1750. His General thoughts of securing the Black Town at Madrass, in the manner therein mentioned, with an Inclosure of sufficient Strength to require a Siege, and thereby give the Inhabitants time to secure their effects in the White Town, meets with Our Approbation; and We agree with him in Opinion that it will greatly contribute to Encourage the Wealthier sort of People to have recourse to Our protection when they find they are free from Apprehensions of being Insulted by the Country Government or Pillaged by the French. And although We have not received a Plan of the proposed Works and an Estimate of the Expences, . . . yet We are unwilling so necessary a Work should be deferr'd, and therefore, as We have an entire Confidence in the Integrity and Judgement of Mr. Robins, he is hereby directed and empower'd immediately to set about Fortifying the Black Town at Madrass without waiting for further Orders from Us, unless the President,¹ Mr. Cockle² and Mr. Lawrence object to it.

'The Inhabitants will be so immediately Benefited by this work that We are of Opinion they will readily contribute towards the Expenche. We therefore recommend it to you to find out some method of raising money from them accordingly by such ways and means as you shall find most practicable.' (P. from Eng., vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

When these lines were penned Robins was in his grave.³ From September, 1750, he suffered from fever, but, notwithstanding repeated attacks, he continued to exert himself until, on the 29th July, 1751, he expired, as his friend, Robert Orme, says, 'with his pen in his hand.'

Fort St. David Consultation.

(F. St. D. Cons., vol. xix., 29th July, 1751.)

'Mr. Brohier waits upon the Board to acquaint them with the melancholly News of Mr. Robins's having just expired, and delivers in two Letters wrote by him on his Death Bed, One to the Honble Company, the other to the Board, with a Codicil to his Will. After which he withdrew, when the same were read, and the former, with a Copy of his Letter to Us, Ordered to be transmitted Our Honble Masters by the Swallow, and all three to be entered hereafter. Ordered also that his burial be suitable to the Station he has borne, and that it be done at the Honble Company's Expenche.

'To the Honble the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.

'I am now upon my Death Bed, but cannot help giving You these few Lines in relation to your Affairs.

'I have been labouring at the Account to be sent you of Bengall, in Con-

¹ *The President*, Mr. Thomas Saunders, who succeeded Floyer.

² *Mr. Cockle*: Mr. William Cockell was sent out to be Deputy Governor of Fort St. David on Saunders' transfer to Fort St. George.

³ Robins died at the age of forty-four.

sequence of the Observations I made there.¹ Many Accidents, and lastly my Sickness, prevented me from putting of it together, so that it is of no Use, being only intelligible to my self.

'The Works here will be finished under Mr. Brohier, who has full Instructions from me. He knows my general Idea in regard to Madrass, tho' not so particularly as I could wish, never having been there together, tho' We had often been upon the point of going. He is certainly the properest Person for that Work I know, and I recommend him as such. He has hitherto behaved, I believe, with great integrity; but if you employ him at Madrass, his Trust will be considerably greater. Pray therefore do not stint his Allowances too much.

'I must add that I myself have been greatly a Sufferer by my Table Money,² which (with all my care) I constantly found greatly short of the Expence.

'Pray Gentlemen, if possible, let Calcutta be well secured, for it is a Place of infinite Consequence.

'I sincerely wish you the utmost Success in your publick Affairs, and to each of you in particular Health and Happyness.

'I must averr to you that I have served you with the most Disinterested Zeal.

'BENJAMIN ROBINS.

'Fort St. David, 25 July 1751.

'P.S. I request you to make John Call, a Youth who will be very usefull, One of my Young People before my Death. I have drawn Pay for him from the beginning of the Year.

'BENJAMIN ROBINS.'

'To the Honble Thomas Saunders, Esqr; President and Governor of Fort St. David, &c., &c. Council.

'As I believe I cannot recover of the Fever with which I am now afflicted, I take the Liberty to write you these few lines. I must request you to protect Mr. Brohier in carrying on and compleating the Works of this Place, with the whole Plan of which he is very well acquainted and perfectly instructed in every particular. I must request you too to grant to that Gentleman an additional Allowance of Ten Pagodas per Month from the beginning of this Year, his present Allowance being too scanty; and after my Death his trust will be so much greater that I must recommend it to you still to encrease it. I shall recommend him to the Honble Company as the properest Person I know to compleat the Works at Madrass, and I imagine my Recommendation will have some weight. You will be pleased to continue him his Allowance upon the finishing of the Works here till their determination is known.

'I must request you to allow to Mr. John Call the same Allowance as the rest of the Gentlemen with me have, from the beginning of this Year, in all which time he has been employed in the Companys Service.

'By the best estimate I can make, tho' poorly fitted for that now, I conceive at the end of this Month the Company is indebted to me about two hundred Pagodas. My extraordinary expences in my Voyage to and from Bengall, and residing there, were very considerable, and there have been other Articles of

¹ The date of Robins' visit to Calcutta has not been determined.

² Robins was allowed £10 a month 'Diet Money,' besides travelling expenses and free quarters.



the same kind in this interval. I must request you therefore to let my Account be closed upon that footing, tho' as to the justness of Accounts my head will at present but little answer for it.

'As I conceive that, upon my Death, the Young Gentlemen with me are in the same Situation as if my time had been compleated, I must yet desire that Mr. John Call may be permitted to be with Mr. Brohier to act as an under Engineer, and that you would be pleased to make him an Allowance of Fifteen Pagodas a month for that Service.

'I have no more to add than to wish you all possible Success in your publick Transactions, and to each of you in particular all kind of Felicity.

'BENJ. ROBINS.

'Fort St. David 25 July, 1751.

'P.S. In looking over Mr. Boddam's Account, I find I have been guilty of a great Mistake above, for instead of having two hundred Pagodas due to me from the Company, I am indebted the Same Sum to the Company.

'BENJ. ROBINS.'

Codicil to Benjamin Robins' Will.

'I Benjamin Robins, late of London, but now residing at Fort St. David in the East Indies, being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory, but weak in Body, have thought fit to make this Codicil to my last Will and Testament. I desire that my Burial may be the plainest, the simplest and the least Expensive possible. I desire that all my Effects upon my Decease be delivered into the Hands of my faithfull Servant, George Reynolds, to be by him disposed of by the advice of my Friends, and the amount to be by him transmitted into the Hands of Thomas Lewis, Esq^r., and John Heaton, Gentlemen inhabiting in London, who are my Executors; and I give unto the said George Reynolds Fifty Pounds Sterling as a Reward for his very faithfull Services. I also give and bequeath to Doctor Turing two hundred Pagodas for his diligent Attendance on me in two Fitts of Sickness.

'I give unto my dear Friend John Brohier his Choice of my Swords and two thirds of all my Books of Fortification, and one third to John Call; and when Mr. Barker recovers,¹ then he is to come in for two fifths, Mr. Brohier for two fifths, and Mr. Call for one fifth, and these three Gentlemen may take any other Books they please. I bequeath to Mr. Barker my Case of Instruments made by Bird. I bequeath to all the Gentlemen under me, including Mr. Brohier, Ten Pagodas for a Ring.

'This I have hereunder signed with my own Hand at Fort St. David in the East Indies, the twenty fifth Day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty one.

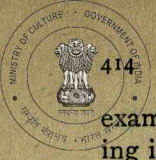
'BENJAMIN ROBINS.

'A true Copy.

'Cha^s. Bourchier, Secretary.'

Apology is not needed for transcribing these last pathetic letters of a noble and distinguished man, albeit his name is now almost forgotten in the towns whose defences he laboured to make secure, and in whose service he spent his latest breath. No more shining

¹ Barker was buried at Madras on the day Robins penned these words.



example of single-hearted devotion to duty in the face of exhausting illness can perhaps be found in the whole range of Anglo-Indian history than that of Benjamin Robins.

Fort St. David to the Company.

'After our hopes of his Recovery, We are sorry to acquaint you with the Death of Mr. Robins the 29th Ultimo. His Judgement, Assiduity and Disinterestedness in the Management of Affairs under his Direction renders the Loss of him inexpressible, as his agreeable Conduct in private Life makes him generally lamented. When He found himself in a dangerous way, he wrote your Honours the address that comes in the Packet, and one to us, Copy of which you will also receive, and We shall strictly adhere to.

'Mr. Brohier had always the Management of the Works when Mr. Robins was present, and [when he was] at Bengal, the entire Direction of them, in which he [always] acquitted himself well. . . . By this Ship he writes you very fully in regard thereto, and We beg leave particularly to recommend him to your Favour as a capable honest Servant. He is at present a Lieutenant in the Artillery, and 'tis his Choice to be prefer'd in this way. Mr. Call is a Youth We have often heard him speak of as the most promising, and of a Genius for his Profession. He presents you with a Map of Fort St. David,¹ and We hope will merit your Favour. The rest of the young Gentlemen We imagine it was your Intention shall be employ'd in this Branch ; but as the keeping a general Table for them is expensive, we shall make a proper Allowance for their Diet.

'As We imagine your Honours will send out another Engineer, We sincerely hope he may be as capable and agreeable a Man as Mr. Robins.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xix., 15th Aug., 1751.)

Brohier was accordingly placed in charge of the defence works, with Call and O'Hara as assistants. Glass and Morrice became Ensigns in the garrison of Fort St. David, while Preston was transferred to the civil service.² From 1752 Lieutenant Brohier was stationed at Fort St. George, and in the following year he was promoted Captain.

SAN THOMÉ REDOUBT.

On the south side of San Thomé, in the compound of the house called *Leith Castle*, may be seen a ruined building having massive walls of brick, faced with blocks of laterite. It is all that remains of San Thomé Redoubt, a work projected by Robins as a refuge for the garrison of Mylapore, and executed in 1751. Its present condition affords little indication of the original form of the redoubt, but the character of the work is revealed by the records :—

¹ Not found at the India Office.

² *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 29th Aug., 1751.

*Fort St. David to Fort St. George.*

'As We are Convinced of the necessity there is for a Place of Retreat at St. Thome for our People that may be Posted there In Case of an Attempt upon that Place, We have come to a Resolution to fortifie the Moors Bungalow there; which, as Mr. Robins will give Directions for being set about immediately, You must be Carefull to supply the Persons Employ'd therein with what Materials they may have Occasion for; and that it be done at as small Expence as possible.' (*Lett. from F. St. D.*, vol. v., 13th July, 1751.)

The work appears to have been carried out under the direction of Mr. John Francis Vareilles, 'a very capable Officer in the Military Branch and skillful in that of Engineering,' who had been 'very usefull at Fort St. George in overseeing the Works carried on at St. Thome, and in disciplining the Company of Artillery there.'¹ He was granted in consequence a brevet as Captain, and was awarded pay from the beginning of 1751, when he was first engaged. By December the 'Additions to the Moores Bungalow at St. Thome' had cost a large sum, and explanation was called for² :—

Fort St. George to Fort St. David.

(*Lett. to F. St. D.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Jan., 1752.)

'Account of St. Thomé Redoubt from the 1st May to the 31st December, 1751 . . . Pags. 6766-18-63.

'The reason that the Article of Bricklayers, Cooleys, &c., amounts to so much is the extraordinary wages that was given to the Bricklayers, and the Number of Tankdiggers employ'd in the Ditch, and Cooleys in removing the Earth to form the Glacis. . . .

'Advanc'd Works at St. Thomé.

Fause Bray ³	-	-	449 feet, height 13 feet, thickness 2 feet
Outside of the Ditch	-	674 "	" " 10 " " 2½ "
Covert Way ⁴	-	1079 "	" " 7 " " 1¼ "
Traverse, ⁵ Six			
Breadth of the Ditch 33 feet, Depth 7 feet.'			

¹ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 7th July, 1751.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xix., 26th Dec., 1751.

³ *Fause Bray*, fausse-braye, a low-level parapet placed in front of the main parapet to afford a second tier of fire.

⁴ *Covert Way*, covered-way, a space between the ditch and glacis, where troops may assemble for defence or counter-attack. It forms a line of communication round the fort, and is protected by the parapet of the glacis.

⁵ *Traverse*, a bank of earth built to afford protection from fire. Traverses are generally transverse to a parapet.

In 1753 Brohier furnished a detailed statement of the cost of the work :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. lxxxi., 22nd Oct., 1753.)

'*Estimate of the Expence of Buildingth e New Redoubt at St. Thome, Built in 1750. . . .*¹ Pags. 6374.'

Ditch 568 feet, 40 feet wide, 9 feet deep.

Revetment to the Body of the Place, 466 feet, 14 feet high and 3 feet thick, with 15 Buttresses.

Counterscarp² 670 feet, with 18 Buttresses.

Parapet of the Covered way 980 feet, 7 feet high and 2 feet thick.

False Bray Gates, Draw Bridge and Standing Bridge, Barrier Gate, Barracado

Door to the Upper Part of the Battery, Godowns, Levelling ground on the Glacis,³ &c.'

It is difficult to reconcile the measurements given in the two statements, and still harder to make either set agree with the present dimensions of the structure. The ruin consists in the main of a square keep, having walls 15 feet high and 3 feet thick, with an entrance near the middle of the west side.⁴ So far it accords with Brohier's description, but the sides of the keep are only 66 feet, giving a perimeter of 264 feet against Brohier's 466 feet; and the internal buttresses are only seven in number, one at each angle, and one in the middle of each face except that on the west. The buttresses extend to the top of the keep, but have a horizontal step 7 feet from the ground. Holes left in the walls at this height indicate that there was once a floor or staging. Around the keep is an 18-inch wall, standing about 5½ feet above the sandy soil. Its alignment is peculiar. On the south side it is built in prolongation of the face of the keep, extending from it 80 feet each way. On the north, east, and west the wall lies parallel to the corresponding faces of the keep, but is 80 feet away from them. Three of the wall-junctions are right angles, but the north and west walls are united by an arc of a circle whose centre is at the north-west angle of the keep. The entrance is on the west side near the south-west angle. The external wall has a perimeter of about 640 feet, or, including the

¹ Apparently an error for 1751.

² *Counterscarp*, the masonry wall forming the outer side of the ditch.

³ *Glacis*, an earthen slope, formed outside the ditch, which protects the fort, and is swept by its fire.

⁴ The following description and dimensions are taken from a sketch furnished by Mr. John Webster.



south face of the keep, 706 feet. It cannot mark the counterscarp line, for that would imply that the work was one of defence against a hostile San Thomé, the place it was designed to protect.

The estimates of 1752 and 1753 indicate that the keep had a *faussebraye* 13 feet in height, affording a second tier of fire, outside of which was a revetted ditch some 33 feet in width. Beyond the ditch was a covered way 33 feet wide, with a parapet and glacis. Six traverses across the covered way protected it from enfilade fire, and the ditch was provided with a drawbridge before the gate of the work.

NOTE.—From the beginning of 1752, under Act 24 Geo. II., c. 23, dates were recorded according to the calendar year in place of the civil year: and in September of the same year New Style replaced Old, in virtue of the same Act; the day after Wednesday, 2nd September, being called Thursday, 14th September. The latter change was made in India at the same time as in England.¹

¹ Cf. *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 18th Sept., 1752.



CHAPTER XXX

1749—1752

MADRAS A SUBORDINATE STATION—CONFISCATED
BUILDINGS—AFFAIRS IN THE CARNATIC

MADRAS A SUBORDINATE STATION.

MADRAS remained subordinate to Fort St. David from its rendition until the 6th April, 1752, when it again became the Presidency. Governor Floyer, of Fort St. David, having been tried and found wanting, was dismissed in July, 1750, his place being filled by Mr. Thomas Saunders, Chief of Vizagapatam :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

‘ The Intimations We received last Year that a Spirit of Gaming prevailed among our Servants of Fort St. David have, to our great Concern, proved too true, and We have had undoubted Assurances that it has been connived at and practised by Mr. Floyer and many of our Superior Servants to such a degree as almost to engross their whole time and attention. Hence in a great measure the Extravagant Expences of your Settlement are to be accounted for, as well as the general neglect and want of Order in every branch of our Affairs ; to remedy which a Change of hands is become absolutely necessary. We therefore Order and Direct that Mr. Floyer and Mr. Holt be immediately Dismissed from the Companys Service.

‘ And We do hereby Constitute and Appoint the undermentioned Persons Our Council for the Management of all our Affairs on the Choromandel Coast Establishment, Vizt.

Thomas Saunders, Esq^r., President and Governor for all our Affairs on the Choromandel, Orix and Sumatra Coasts.

Mr. Richard Prince, Second, and to Succeed as President in case of the Death or Absence of Mr. Saunders.

Major Stringer Lawrence, Third, and to remain as such.

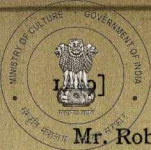
Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, Fourth.

Mr. Richard Starke, Fifth.

Mr. Joseph Fowke, Sixth.

Mr. Charles Boddam, Seventh.

Mr. Henry Powney, Eighth.



Mr. Robert Goodere, Ninth.

Mr. George Pigot, Tenth.

Mr. Samuel Greenhaugh, Eleventh. . . .

'Mr. Pigot, who was made a Prisoner of War upon the Surrender of Fort St. George to the French, and thereupon came to England, now Returns to his Duty on one of the Ships of this Season. If you think he may be of particular Service to Us at Fort St. George, you may station him there.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liii., 12th Jan., 1749 [1750].)

The receipt of these orders on the 6th July, 1750, found Stringer Lawrence the senior Councillor at Fort St. David. Pending the arrival of Saunders on the 18th September, Lawrence became provisional Governor, a position he did not relish. He wrote as follows to Prince :—

Major Lawrence to Fort St. George.

'The Honble Companys Affairs is quite foreign to my Province, as likewise the Advancing the Merchants and the Carrying on the Investment, which may, from my having but little Knowledge in these matters, rather suffer than Flourish under my Management. . . . I therefore think it highly Necessary and entirely for the Interest of the Company Mr. Prince should come here as Soon as Possible, as there is no Probability of Seeing Mr. Saunders till the end of next Month.' (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th July, 1750.)

Prince declined to move, but sent Starke and Powney down to assist the Major. Shortly after Saunders' arrival, Lawrence went to England on leave, and did not return to Fort St. David until March, 1752.

One of the problems confronting Prince at Fort St. George was the settlement of a dispute between the Right and Left hand Castes :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Deputy Governour acquaints the Board that the Ground lay'd open by the French to the Northward of the Town, and the Stopping up Middle Gate, has been the Rise of much Contention between the Right and Left hand Casts. That this having first embitter'd them one against another, they have proceeded so far as to transgress their former Regulations almost in every Point, and were now arrived to such a flame that it deserved the attention of the Board to appease it. He adds that yesterday Evening he desired Messrs. Starke and King to Survey the Ground in Dispute, and to visit Cachalli Pagoda¹ which was likewise a point of Disagreement, in order to lay the general State of this affair before the Council. That hereon their Rage was

¹ *Cachalli Pagoda*, Kachāleswarar Temple, in the street now called Armenian Street in Muthialpetta. The temple was built about 1725 between the Company's Old Garden and the Four Brothers' Garden.



boundless, and they committed the greatest Extravagances that fury could Suggest; to quiet which he had sent for the Principals of each Cast, and retained them in the White Town all Night, while Parties of Soldiers constantly patrolled the Black Town to awe the Populace. That each Party were now in waiting to present their Complaints and request the Arbitration of the Council Board. . . . ' (P.C., vol. lxxviii., 2nd March, 1748.)

The Right hand Caste, represented by Tuḷasinga Cheṭṭi and others, desired that ' the Ground of such Part of the Black Town as was levelled by the French might retain it's former Distinction of Streets, and the Lefthand Cast not suffer'd to pass over where Righthand Street had been '; and asked that certain houses in Kachāli Pagoda Street, which were appropriated to Dancing Girls, might be restored to the Brahmans. The Left hand, represented by Neru Chinna Viranna and others, wished the demolished part of Black Town to become common ground, because their people were unable to reach Choultry Gate without crossing the site of former Right hand streets.

The Council resolved to act on the basis of the compacts made in the time of Pitt and Macrae, and obtained the experienced aid of Mr. Morse in drafting a regulation :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

' We came to the following Resolutions :—That as middle Gate is Shutt up, and there is now no Way for the Lefthand Cast to enter the White Town but by crossing the Ground where Right hand Streets had Stood, And as the Righthand Cast seem chiefly to object at their having done it too near the Right hand Houses ; To order at the foot of the Glacis a Road to be marked out of 40 feet broad, Common to both Parties, which shall run quite from Choultry Gate to the Sea Side. That the Left hand Cast shall come Straight from Permal Pagoda Street¹ to this Road, and then turning to the Right, enter the White Town by Choultry Gate ; or by turning to the Left proceed² to Triplicane and elsewhere. That the Righthand Cast, if inclined, may use this Road for going from Choultry Gate to the Sea Side and so on.³

' That the rest of the Ground lay'd open shall remain to it's old Proprietors ; where righthand Streets Stood, to the Righthand Cast ; and where lefthand streets, to the Left hand Cast. But to prevent Confusion and willfull Trespass of one on the other's Limitts, No Shews or Processions shall be brought on this open Ground further than is necessary for turning out of one Street down into

¹ *Permal Pagoda Street*, a street passing the Great Gentu Pagoda in Old Black Town.

² By way of the beach.

³ The simple expedient of reopening Middle Gate seems to have been overlooked by the Council.



another, for which a Space of One hundred and twenty feet broad will be allowed. That Stone Posts be put up at the Expence of the Casts to plan out these Dispositions. . . . ' (P.C., vol. lxxviii., 3rd March, 1748.)

It was decided that the Dancing Girls should remain in Kachāli Pagoda Street in the houses which they had occupied for twenty years.

Two years later the Council resolved that the esplanade which bounded the north and west sides of Old Black Town should also be common to both castes. This strip, 200 yards wide, had been cleared of houses at the time of the threatened incursion of the Marāthas, and it was consequently known as the 'Moratta Ground':—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Neither Cast shall have any claim to the Ground at present the Glacis and Esplanade to the White Town, to the Northward and Northwestward of the Space commonly call'd the Moratta Ground, laid open at the Time of their Invading this Province, whereon the Houses of the Casts formerly stood ; but that the same be in common for all Persons of whatsoever Cast or Nation to pass over indifferently. . . . ' (P.C., vol. lxxx., 4th May, 1752.)

The following report from Prince on the Fort St. George records restored by the French excites surprise at the present good state of preservation of most of the older documents :—

Fort St. George to Fort St. David.

'We now send a List¹ of the Old Fort St. George Books now in our Possession, consisting immediately of such as respected this Settlement, without including those of Fort St. David, Fort Marlbro', and its other Subordinates, or those of the Mayor's Court,² which are very numerous. As to Papers, We have but few but what belong to the Court ; those of Our Honble Masters being usually compiled together into Books ; but such quantitys of the former, promiscuously Stuffed into a Large Cask and some Baskets, that it will require great Leisure and Application to sort them. At the foot of the List we have added such particulars as were contain'd in a Box received from Pondicherry after the Recovery of this Place, and which the French entitled Secret Papers. For further Circumstances Your Honour, &c., will please to apply to the Gentlemen who were Commission'd to receive the Town from the French, during whose stay here we understand some Books were Transmitted to Your Presidency. RICHARD PRINCE, WILLIAM SMYTH KING, JOHN WALSH.' (Lett. to F. St. D., vol. iv., 5th Oct., 1750.)

¹ The list is not found.

² The Mayor's Court records, now preserved in the High Court, were not sorted until 1907.

From a statement¹ of the revenue of Fort St. George for 1750, it appears that San Thomé with its villages was farmed to renters, from the 1st December of that year, at Pags. 4,000 per annum. Egmore and villages were let for Pags. 1,450, Trivatore and villages for Pags. 1,300, and Perambore and villages for Pags. 700. The total collection, including Sea and Land Customs, was only Pags. 32,000.

Robert Orme, the future historian of the war in India, is first mentioned in a consultation of September, 1751, at a time when he was a member of the Bengal civil service. Son of Alexander Orme,² who was Surgeon at Anjengo in 1707 and ultimately Chief of that settlement,³ Robert Orme was born at Anjengo in 1728, and from the age of six educated at Harrow. In 1742 he went out to Calcutta, where his brother William was a civil servant,⁴ and entered the mercantile house of Jackson & Wedderburn. In the following year he was appointed Writer by the Company, but it was not until 1754, after a period of leave in England, that he found himself transferred to Fort St. George. In 1751, however, he visited Madras, and probably Fort St. David also, and made the acquaintance of Clive and others, who afterwards furnished him with materials for his history of the war.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Robert Orme, having been furnished with Copy of the Honble Company's Orders relating to him, as well as those of the President and Council, delivers in a Justification of himself in writing, which he requests may be transmitted in his own words to the Presidency, and hopes that he may be favour'd so far as to have it forwarded from thence in a Seperate Paper to the Court of Directors by the Ships now bound to England. Order'd that it be enter'd hereafter, and a copy sent to Fort St. David agreeable to his request.' (P.C., vol. lxxix., 23rd Sept., 1751.)

The 'justification' occupies six closely written folio pages. The matter arose out of a family dispute. Captain Lloyd, husband of Orme's sister, died in India in 1746, bequeathing his estate to his wife and daughter in equal shares. Mrs. Lloyd had previously gone to England, leaving behind a young son who was unprovided for by the will. Orme being a minor, was unable to

¹ P.C., vol. lxxviii., 31st Dec., 1750.

² Alexander Orme is named in the 'List of Seafaring Men not constant Inhabitants' at Madras in 1712. (P.C., vol. xlv., 31st Dec., 1712.)

³ P.C., vol. lviii., 25th March, 1728.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxxvi., 21st April, 1746.



act himself, but he endeavoured to secure the appointment of Mr. Jackson, of Jackson & Wedderburn, as the boy's guardian. The nomination rested with the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. Orme pours invective on Captain Massey, the Mayor, whom he admits having bribed. Finally, Mrs. Lloyd charged her brother with misappropriating her money. The 'justification' goes to show that Orme took a commission of five per cent., in view of applying the sum for the benefit of his otherwise destitute nephew.

Orme arrived at Madras from England on the 12th September, 1754, as Seventh of Council at Fort St. George, and was appointed Export Warehousekeeper and Commissioner for the Nawab's Account. An anecdote told of him at this period is recorded in *A Vindication of General Richard Smith*, which was published in 1783¹:—

'When Mr. Orme held the office of export warehousekeeper to the East India Company at Madrass, he was remarkable for keeping the young men in the service at a sufficient distance. It happened that one Mr. Davison acted under him in his office, in whose blunt John Bull manners there appeared something odd and diverting. The former had condescended to invite the latter to breakfast with him, in the course of which he asked Davison of what profession his father was? "A Sadler, Sir," replied the other. "A Sadler!" repeated the historian with some degree of surprise; "Why did he not breed you up a Sadler?" "Why, Sir," says Davison, "I was always a whimsical boy, and rather chose to try my fortune as you have done in the East India Company's service. But pray, Sir," continued he, "What profession was your father of?" "My father, Sir," answered Mr. Orme sharply, "was a Gentleman." "A Gentleman!—humph—Pray, Sir, be so good as to inform me why he did not breed you up a Gentleman."'

The following story of the early service of General Richard Smith is taken from the same satirical *Vindication*. It appears to belong to the period of Governor Saunders,² and illustrates the customs prevailing at the gubernatorial table:—

'When the General first left the occupation of purser's mate, and became an ensign³ in the East India Company's service at Madrass, the Governor of the

¹ Communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

² Saunders moved to Fort St. George in 1752, when Madras again became the Presidency.

³ In 1758 Richard Smith was promoted Captain, and became A.D.C. to Lawrence, and afterwards Commandant at Chingleput. Four years later he had attained Major's rank. (*Orme MSS.*) Smith married in 1756 Amelia Hopkins, daughter of Captain Charles Hopkins, a master-mariner, who was admitted to the civil service.

town had in those days no particular officer whose sole duty it was to guard or attend about his person. The town or fort of Madrass was small, and the government house was situated near the landing place or water-gate; and it was the custom for the officer on guard at the water-gate, on a strange ship coming into the road, not only to report the same to the Governor, but also, when the master or commander came on shore, to go with him to the Chief. By this means the Governor received the first intelligence from abroad, and the captain of the vessel found an easy and convenient introduction to the Governor of the garrison. It happened that Ensign Smith was on duty at the water-gate when a captain of a vessel (no stranger at Madrass) came into the court of guard, and desired the serjeant in waiting to inform the officer on duty that he was come on shore. Ensign Richard Smith, either not dressed or not at leisure, called out loud enough to be heard, "Bid the *fellow* wait: I am not ready to go with him to the Governor." The Captain, who was a true born son of Neptune, bluntly answered, "Tell the *puppy* that I will not wait. I know the Governor and the way to him as well as he does," and so proceeded by himself.

'In those days, when our Governors were also merchants, it was usual for them to ask the captains of the country ships to dine with them on the first day of their coming ashore, and very common for the chief and captain to strike a bargain for the cargo over a cheerful bottle after dinner or before they parted. The ensign on duty at the water-gate had also a plate at the bottom of the table, where he officiated in the various capacities of taster, officer, carver and chaplain, (formerly military men could say grace). Ensign Smith but ill brooked the seaman's retort valiant, and had, in the guard room, after the captain was gone, thrown out some indignant threats expressive of his displeasure. The Governor sat late at the council board, and the ensign found the *fellow* walking in the hall, and a most confounded sour looking athletic *fellow* he was. Our future General had sense enough to reconnoitre the man, who under the outside cover of rough unpolished manners possessed a generous mind and good heart, equally ready to shake hands and be friends or cuff it out. "I am sorry, Sir," says the ensign, "that I was not ready to attend you, on your first landing, to the Governor." "I wish you had said half so much in the morning, Sir," said the other, "we should not now have had to apologize to one another for what is past. Zounds, I is no stranger here, man. I knows his honour, and the way to him, as well as any he in Madrass. But come, let us drink a glass to health," and so the matter ended. Was not this manly in the General, was it not great? Does such conduct mark a man for vindictive arrogance or haughtiness of disposition?

CONFISCATED BUILDINGS.

Strong in conscious rectitude, Fathers Severini and Bernard appealed to the Directors against the hard treatment meted out to them, for which no reason had been assigned. They surmised that it might be due to some action of Father Thomas, who died in 1742, or to the French misuse of St. Mary's Church, or possibly to Father René's alleged treasonable correspondence. They wrote:—

Fathers Severini and Bernard to the Company.

‘The French misused the English Church. This is true, but what was the ill usage? As the Church was Vaulted, they thought it would be Bomb proof in case they should be Bombarded by the English, which they expected for several Months; for the French Bombs which fell thereon had not broke through. They made Reservoirs in it for keeping Fresh Water to drink during the Siege,¹ there being none but Salt Water in the Town. All this is true; but when a Suspension of Arms was Agreed on, We requested Mr. Dupleix to have it repaired. He did so, and directed the Reservoirs to be filled up, and it was completely repaired in a better manner than it was before, which cost a thousand Rupees. . . .

'During the whole time of the Siege,² the English with their Wives, Children and Servants had no other Azilum than our Church, which is vaulted. There they Eat, Drank and lay, and every one acted in the same manner as if they had been at home. . . .

'That Father René held a Correspondence with Mr. la Bourdonnais. As to that, he is sent to London, and will give his reasons. . . .

'At the Siege of Madras Six persons were killed, to wit, two English and four of our people. . . .' (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, 10th Feb., 1750.)

The Danish Missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had applied for the use of St. Andrew's Church as well as that at Vepery, but Fort St. David resolved that both edifices should remain vacant until the Company's orders were received.³ The confiscated houses and some others belonging to Armenians were let to civil servants. Fort St. David wrote to England as follows:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'We wait your pleasure concerning the confiscated Houses at Madras [and] the French Portuguese Padrees. . . . We humbly beg leave to offer that, if their Houses be sold and the produce given them, We conceive it will be no injustice. The Portuguese Church is a very remarkable Nuisance, and We think ought by no means to be return'd. We cannot be tax'd with want of a due Regard to Religion in this Respect, because there are many Churches near Madrass that will answer the purpose equally as well; and We judge it quite necessary that no French Portuguese Padree or Armenian be suffer'd to live in the White Town. This can be of no Inconvenience, as they may be allow'd the same protection and Liberty of Trade, and have leave to build at a proper distance from the Fort.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xix., 15th Aug., 1751.)

¹ The prospective siege by the British.

² The bombardment by the French.

³ *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxi., 16th March, 1748, and 3rd April, 1750.



At the time these lines were penned in India, the Company at home were making their decision :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have considered the Request of Shawmer Sultan, an Armenian, in behalf of his Father¹ and himself, for leave to Continue in the White Town at Madrass, which We cannot, for many reasons, grant. And We direct for the future no Armenian whatsoever be allowed to Inhabit the White Town ; and that such of them as at present possess Houses there do forthwith dispose of them to European Protestants. We have not come to this Resolution out of any particular dislike to the Armenians : on the contrary, We think them a very useful People, and therefore you must let them have all the Accommodations that the Black Town will afford. . . .

'The Situation of a Roman Catholic Church in the very Heart of our Settlement has been very injurious to us ; and, if continued, will be attended with many Inconveniencys so obvious that there is no occasion to mention them. You are therefore, immediately on the Receipt of this, without Fail to Demolish the Portuguese Church in the White Town at Madrass, and not suffer it to stand on Pretence of setting the Danish Missionarys² in it, its usefulness for Warehouses, Storehouses, or any other Purposes whatsoever.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

When these orders reached India, the Armenians begged for delay in the execution of such as related to their community³ :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Board, having consider'd the request of the Armenians inhabiting the White Town at Madrass . . . , are of Opinion that, as the orders receiv'd from the Honble Court of Directors positively direct that they be oblig'd to quit the White Town immediately, they cannot on any account be dispensed with ; and therefore agreed that a Letter be wrote to the Gentlemen at Fort St. George directing them to acquaint the said Armenians we expect that they provide themselves Habitations in the Black Town in a reasonable Time ; but that we shall not be against their continuing their Effects in the White Town till Affairs are in a more Settled State.

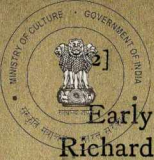
'And that, as our Honble Masters Orders are also very positive for demolishing the Portugeuze Church, we expect that Business be set about without Delay.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 30th March, 1752.)

Shawmier Sultan petitioned on his own account for compensation for his house in Charles Street, which was occupied by the Deputy Governor. The Council deferred decision.

¹ Sultan David.

² In the following January the Company directed that the church 'in the Country near the Town of Madrass' should be handed over to the missionaries. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 8th Jan., 1751 [1752].)

³ *Let. to F. St. D. and F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 25th March, 1752.



Early in 1752 Prince applied to resign and retire to England. Richard Starke, who succeeded him as Deputy Governor, assumed charge about the 21st February, and ruled until the 6th April, when Thomas Saunders moved up from Fort St. David, and Madras again became the Presidency.¹

AFFAIRS IN THE CARNATIC.

The scope of this work does not permit us to follow in detail the events of the struggle for power in the Carnatic. On one side were Muẓaffar Jang and Chanda Šāhib, supported vigorously by the French; on the other Nāšir Jang and Muḥammad ‘Alī, aided feebly and fitfully by the English. The action of the Marāthas and the intervention of the Nizam’s feudatories complicated the strife. Suffice it to say that in March, 1750, Muḥammad ‘Alī left Trichinopoly to join Nāšir Jang at Valdore,² and was by him confirmed as Nawab of Arcot. A dispute regarding the payment of the troops led to the withdrawal of the British contingent, after which Lawrence sailed for England. The French and their partisans then made rapid headway. Bussy took by storm the almost impregnable fortress of Gingee. In December, Nāšir Jang was treacherously slain by one of his own vassals in the course of an engagement with Chanda Šāhib, and Muḥammad ‘Alī again took refuge in Trichinopoly, where he was besieged. Muẓaffar Jang, who had then no rival as Nizam, was killed in battle a month later, and the French set up Šalābāt Jang, brother of Nāšir Jang, as his successor. Doubtful of the effect of direct action in the South, the British resolved to demonstrate at Arcot, and so relieve Trichinopoly.

Clive, who down to March, 1751, acted as Steward at Fort St. David,³ was again employed in a military capacity:—

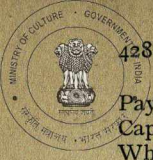
Fort St. David Consultation.

‘Mr. Robert Clive, who has lately been very Serviceable in Conducting Several Parties to Camp, Offering now to go without any Consideration of

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 6th April, 1752. Starke succeeded Cockell as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David in the following July.

² *Valdore*, a place fifteen miles west-north-west of Pondicherry on the road to Gingee.

³ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 25th March, 1751.



Pay, Provided We will give him a Brevet to Entitle him to the Rank of a Captain; As He was an Officer at the Siege of Pondicherry and Almost the Whole time of the War, and distinguished himself on many Occasions, It is Conceiv'd that His Offer may be of some Service; and therefore Now Ordered that a Brevet be drawn Out and Given him.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 22nd July, 1751.)

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Board, being of Opinion that a Diversion in the Arcot Country will Oblige the Enemy to Withdraw Part of their Forces from Trichenopoly, and put it in Our Power to Attempt Something that Way, Now Agree that Captain Clive be sent with a Party of all the Europeans We can Possibly Spare and some Seapoys for this Purpose. And that He Proceed on the Wager to Fort St. George, where he is to be Reinforced by all the Men they can any ways furnish, And March Immediately towards Arcot. And the President is now desir'd to write to the Deputy Governour to Acquaint him with the Intent of their coming.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 19th Aug., 1751.)

Prince to whom the object of the expedition was communicated confidentially,¹ was authorized to give orders to the force without reference to Fort St. David. The party duly reached Madras, and after being reinforced by all the Europeans of the Fort St. George garrison save fifty men, marched out of the Fort on the 26th August for Arcot.² It consisted of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, with eight young officers,³ half of whom were civil servants. Their commander, Robert Clive, had attained the mature age of twenty-seven years. He entered Arcot without opposition on the 1st September, and for some time operated against forts in the neighbourhood. Chanda Şāhib then detached part of his army from Trichinopoly, and on the 23rd September Clive found the enemy in the town of Arcot, and himself closely besieged in the fort. The details of his heroic defence may be read in the pages of Orme.⁴ After sustaining an active siege of fifty days, Clive successfully resisted a determined attempt to storm

¹ *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. v., 22nd Aug., 1751.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxix., 26th Aug., 1751.

³ Lieutenants Bulkley, Revel, Pybus, and Trenwith, and Ensigns Glass, Morrice, Dawson, and Turner.

⁴ Besides the narrative in the printed pages of the *Military Transactions*, two accounts of the siege—one by 'a Serjeant,' the other by Dr. James Wilson—will be found in *Orme MSS.*, *India*, vol. ii. The second is based on the first. Neither endorses the well-known picturesque story of the sepoys giving up their rice to their European comrades, and themselves subsisting on rice-water; and, indeed, the garrison does not appear to have been in straits for food. The substance of Clive's reports of his operations is recorded in *Fort St. David Consultations*, vol. xviii., 4th Sept. to 18th Dec., 1751.



the breaches, and the place was relieved by a detachment under Captain Kilpatrick. Clive then took the field, and after successes at Arnee and Conjeveram, re-entered Madras in December.

On the 14th March, 1752, Stringer Lawrence returned from England¹ as Commander-in-Chief in India on a salary of £500 per annum, and £250 additional in lieu of all allowances :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We, the said Company, do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint Stringer Lawrence, Esq^r., Commander in Chief of all Our Military Forces in the East Indies under Our respective Presidencys, that is to say, Our Presidency at Fort St. George² on the Coast of Choromandel . . . ; Our Presidency of Fort William in Bengal whenever and as often as he shall be present and reside at the said Presidency . . . ; Our Presidency of Bombay whenever and as often as he shall be present and reside at the said Presidency.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

Lawrence proceeded at once to Trichinopoly, and took command of the army. Supported by Clive and Dalton, and aided by Nawab Muhammad 'Alī and contingents from Mysore and Tanjore, he forced the French to take refuge in the Jambukrishna Pagoda, on the island of Srīrangam, in the Cauvery. There Law capitulated on the 3rd June, 1752. Chanda Šāhib surrendered to the Tanjore general, by whom he was beheaded. The war lingered on for two years, until Duplex was superseded by M. Godeheu, and a suspension of arms was agreed to.

Swiss companies were enlisted at this period. In July, 1751, Sir Luke Schaub, of Old Bond Street, and Jasper Sellon, of Austin Friars, engaged to procure 'Two Companys of Able Bodyed Soldiers' from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland for service in India. Each company was to consist of 'One Captain, Two Lieutenants, One Ensign, Six Serjeants, Six Corporals, One Drum Major, Two Drummers, One Fife, and One hundred and twenty private Centinels.' The two companies duly arrived at Madras, commanded by John Chabbert and John Henry Schaub.³

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 14th March, 1752.

² The ship bringing Lawrence carried the order for reconstituting Fort St. George the Presidency.

³ *P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 17th July and 6th Dec., 1751. The experiment did not prove satisfactory, and after 1756 the Swiss companies were gradually absorbed in the British. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755, and vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

The Directors expressed appreciation of the services of Lawrence and Clive:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘The Alacrity and Readiness which Major Lawrence shewed in taking upon him the Command of the Expedition to Trichinopoly immediately after his Arrival, and his Soldierlike Conduct and the Success attending it have given us great Pleasure, and if possible has encreased the Esteem which we have always retained of his distinguished merit and Zeal for our Service.

‘And here it is but Justice to Express the great regard we have for the merit of Captain Clive, to whose Courage and Conduct the late Favourable Turn in Affairs has been greatly owing; and he may be assured of our having a just Sense of his Services.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

At the end of 1752 Clive appears as Steward of Fort St. George on Pags. 30 per month.¹ On the 18th February of the following year he was married by Fabricius at St. Mary’s Church to Margaret Maskelyne, sister of Edmund Maskelyne, who in 1746 was a Writer on the establishment,² but who volunteered for military service, and ranked as Lieutenant in 1751. Shortly after his marriage, Clive proceeded to England on leave:—

Robert Clive to the Honble. Thomas Saunders.

‘I am much Concern’d my present Situation should be such as to lay me under the necessity of applying to your Honour, &c., for leave to return to England. Your Honour, &c., are well acquainted with how much Sickness I have labour’d under for the Nine Months past, and the opinions of Doctors Munro and Turing upon the Subject. It is really want of health that obliges me to make this Request; otherwise I should think my Stay as well as Assistance in this Country due to the Honble Company, as I have been so very fortunate in their Service. I therefore desire Your Honour, &c., will give me leave to take my Passage upon the Admiral Vernon, Capt. Cooke, and you will add to the Obligation of ROBT. CLIVE.’ (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 12th Feb., 1753.)

Clive sailed by the *Bombay Castle* in March, having as a fellow-passenger Robert Orme from Calcutta, who was thus able to obtain much of the information which he afterwards published in the earlier pages of his history of the war.

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 31st Dec., 1752.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 21st April, 1746.



CHAPTER XXXI

1752—1755

FORT ST. GEORGE THE PRESIDENCY—CHARTER OF
GEORGE II.—LAWRENCE, SCOTT, AND HERON

FORT ST. GEORGE THE PRESIDENCY.

FROM the 6th April, 1752, when Madras again became the seat of the Coast Government, the absorbing feature of the administration was the eventful struggle going on around Trichinopoly. With this subject, however, we are not directly concerned. The chief matters of purely civic interest were the re-establishment of Madras institutions and the improvement of the defences. Before dealing with these topics we must touch on a few other points which are not unworthy of notice.

In August, 1752, Governor Saunders requested Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī to grant remission of the Town Rent in view of 'the late successful turn in the Nabob's Affairs owing to the assistance the Company have lent him.' The 'rent' represented the value of the suzerain's share of the Customs dues. Originally compounded for at Pags. 380 per annum, the contribution was raised by Nawab Neknām Khān to Pags. 1,200, and it had ever since been paid at that rate :—'The President acquaints the Board that, in Consequence of the Application mention'd in Consultation of the 10th Instant to have been made to the Nabob in relation to the Rent of this Town, he had received a Phirmaund from that Prince remitting the Payment of Twelve hundred Pagodas per Annum, which was the Rent heretofore paid for this Settlement.'¹

The *farmān* was followed in 1754 by a grant of 'Country Music,' for the maintenance of which certain revenues were assigned² :—

¹ P.C., vol. lxxx., 31st Aug., 1752.

² P. from Eng., vol. lxi., 11th Nov., 1757.

Fort St. George Consultation.

(P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 7th Oct., 1754.)

'The president acquaints the Board the Nabob Annaverde Cawn¹ hath sent a Nobet² which was offered by him and accepted in Consultation the 6th May ; and lays before the Board, as entered, an Account of the Charges of maintaining the same, amounting to four hundred and thirty nine Rupees per Month. Agreed that the same be defray'd out of the produce of the Poonemalee Jaguir.

'List of the Musicians belonging to the Noubet presented by Nabob Annaverde Cawn, and their Monthly Wages agreed to be allowed by Abdul Bob Cawn,³ Commencing the 10th September 1754.

	Rupees
2 Men who beat the Nagar upon the Elephant, at 9 Rupees per Month - - - - -	18
4 D ^o . who beat the Daukas, or small Kettle Drums, upon 4 Horses, Vizt. 1 at R. 20, 1 at R. 15, 2 at R. 10 per Month	55
4 Men who play upon the Sourn ⁴ , or the Country pipes, upon four Horses, Vizt. 2 at R. 24, 2 at R. 16 - - - - -	80
3 Who blow the Carnas, or Trumpets with a broad Mouth, upon 3 Horses at R. 10 - - - - -	30
1 Man who blows the Turay, or large Trumpet, upon a Horse	10
2 Do. who play upon the Jangey, or Gingling Musick, at Rupees 9 each - - - - -	18
1 Elephant Keeper with his Assistant - - - - -	12
6 Horsekeepers to take care of the 12 Horses at Rupees 6 each	36
<u>23 Men</u>	<u>Rupees 259</u>
Feeding 1 Elephant and 12 Horses belonging to the Noubet at Rupees 6 per diem ; Amounts Monthly to - - - - -	180
	<u>Rupees 439'</u>

In 1757 the Company directed that this 'useless piece of Pageantry' be laid aside.⁵

The grant of Poonamallee to the Company by Muḥammad 'Ali appears to have been made in 1750.⁶ It was certainly anterior to Clive's defence of Arcot. At the Fort St. David Consultation of the 31st October, 1751, the President 'Judges it will require at least Three hundred Military and a very large Body of Seapoys to send to the Relief of Arcot ; and if the Bounds of Poonamallee

¹ A name assumed by Muḥammad 'Ali.

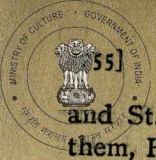
² *Nobet*, a band of music stationed at the gate of a great noble ; from Hind. *naubat*.

³ *Abdul Bob Cawn*, 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, a brother of the Nawab.

⁴ *Sourn* : M. R. Ry. P. Subba Rau, quoting from Day's *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, states that the *surnai* is a combination of reed instruments of the oboe type with a drone, producing music resembling that of bagpipes.

⁵ *P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.

⁶ *Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras.* (Mackenzie MSS. Translations, etc., xi. 1, previously quoted.)



and St. Thomé are left without Two hundred Men to Protect them, He is apprehensive they may be liable to the Destruction of the Enemy.¹

In 1751 the Ministers² and Churchwardens³ ordered a new organ from England for St. Mary's Church to replace Captain Weltden's old instrument, which had been carried off by the French. It was to be built by Mr. Bridge at a cost of £300.⁴ Writing to Government, they said:—'And as a Sum sufficient to purchase an Organ for St. Mary's Church has been deposited in the Church Stock, and We have desired Mr. Warde to make a Purchase of the same if not already sent,⁵ We request your Honour, &c., will write to the Company to permit an Organist to come out with it in One of their Ships.'⁶ They also applied for the repayment of Pags. 2,000 to the Church Stock and Pags. 3,000 to the Charity School Stock, sums which had been taken charge of by Government. By the following year the Charity School had been re-established, and the two stocks combined :—

The Minister and Churchwardens to Government.

'We beg leave to remind you that, before the Capture of this place, all Boats that were employed of a Sunday used to pay six fanams every Trip to the School Stock, which is now incorporated with the Church Stock, the Charitable Expences of which are largely encreas'd by the erecting a publick Charity School here under the Reverend Mr. Stavely, and by a Monthly Allowance to several of the European Inhabitants.

'We beg your Honour, &c., will take it into your Consideration, and give Orders for it's being collected as before.

'SAMUEL STAVELY, Minister. ALEX^R WYNCH
 CHARLES BOURCHIER } Church Wardens.'

Government Order.

'Agreed that the said Request be complied with as it is to promote a very laudable Work, and that publick Notice be given at the Sea Gate that all persons employing Boats on Sundays do pay six fanams each Trip over and above the usual hire.' (P.C., vol. lxxxii., 28th May, 1754.)

The Rev. Robert Palk, the other Chaplain, was absent from Madras on political business. He had been employed at Sadras,

¹ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1751.

² The Rev. Samuel Stavely and the Rev. Robert Palk.

³ Messrs. John Smith and Alexander Wynch.

⁴ *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 21st Oct., 1751.

⁵ The organ was delivered in 1759.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 22nd Oct., 1753.

in conjunction with Mr. Vansittart, to confer with the French regarding the recognition of Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī and the preservation of peace in the dominions of the King of Tanjore. The negotiation with Dupleix was ineffectual, and Palk proceeded on a mission to Tanjore:—

Major Lawrence to Governor Saunders.

'By what Accounts I can learn, Mr. Palk will not be much longer wanted at Sadrass. I therefore renew my Request (on his return) that he may be sent to Tanjore. The Necessity of having somebody there I hope you are convinc'd of ; and at the same Time you may think with me that Gentleman is as proper a Person for the Purpose as any body. I make no doubt you will approve of this Proposal, and agree to it, and hope soon We shall all find the good Effects of it. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*Mil. Cons.*, vol. iii., 22nd Jan., 1754.)

Two months later, the Chaplain received orders to represent Government at the Court of Tanjore¹:—

Fort St. George to Major Lawrence.

'Mr. Palk is now setting out for Tanjore, and is charg'd with this Letter to send it to you by the first safe Conveyance. The Chief of his Instructions are to press the King of Tanjore to Join [us]. Tho he should succeed in this (which We doubt), yet we are of Opinion We have no Choice but the Accommodation with the Dallaway² must take place. In Case Mr. Palk should proceed to the Army from Tanjore, as he will be then able to disburthen you of a good part of the Trouble of this Negotiation, We have in that Case empower'd him to Act Jointly with you.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 25th March, 1754.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Reverend Mr. Robert Palk having been employ'd in the Negotiations at the Court of Tanjore, as one of the Commissarys in the Congress at Sadras, and on other Occasions,³ when he has always shewn the greatest Zeal for the Companys Service, and a Capacity equal to his inclination ; and now lately, at Our and the Major's Request, again undertaken to negotiate with the King of Tanjore on the present critical Situation of Affairs ; The Board are humbly of opinion that, when the nature of these Services, which are no part of Mr. Palk's immediate Duty as Chaplain, are well weigh'd by Our Honble Masters, they will not think an Encouragement and Reward improperly bestow'd ; and in this Confidence it's Agreed that Mr. Palk be presented with a Diamond Ring, of the Value of one thousand Pagodas or thereabouts, as soon as it can be procured, and that a proper Motto be engraved on the Ring signifying it to be the Gift of the Company, and on what Occasion.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 16th April, 1754.)

¹ *M.C.*, vol. iii., 25th March, 1754.

² *Dallaway*, the designation of the Regent of Mysore ; from Can. *dhaḷavāy*, commander-in-chief.

³ In 1752 Palk had acted as Field-Paymaster to the Army. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

The cost of living at Madras may be inferred from the following estimate of the charges deemed necessary for one person :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

(*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

'Agreeable to your Honours Orders, We chearfully deliver in our declarations in regard to our Perquisites . . . ; and as We are perswaded it is not your intention to distress your Servants, but that long and faithfull Services (for long Services only have pretensions to any Post of Emolument, at the Expende of what is most valuable, Health), distant from their Country or friends, shou'd at least meet with a decent Support, We humbly lay before You a Calculation of the Expende of a single Person.

	Pags.
Charges of a Pallanqueen at 7 Pagodas per Month	84
„ of a Horse at 4 Pagodas per Month	48
Washing and Ironing	24
Barbers	12
Dubash	12
Other Servants (a Cook and another)	18
House Expences at 40 Pagodas per Month	480
Linnen and apparell	150
Liquors. Madeira Wine, One Pipe	55
Beer, Two Hogsheads	20
Goa Arrack, One Hogshead	15
House Rent at 15 Pagodas per Month	180
	Pagodas 1098'

The acquisition of territory and development of trade since the recovery of Fort St. George are shown by the following statement of revenue for 1754 :—

'List of the Honble Companys Revenues at Fort St. George.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Dec., 1754.)

[*Fixed Revenues*]

	C. Pags. fa. ca.
Poonemalee Country	44,000
Poonemalee Jagueer	2,933-12-,,
St. Thomé	4,000
Egmore, &c. Villages	1,450
The Companys Old Garden	196
Perrembore, &c. Villages	700
Trivitore, &c. Villages	1,300
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans	502
Beetle and Tobacco Farm	8,000
Arrack and Wine Licence	4,000
Weighing and Measuring Duty	1,000
Town Brokerage	700
Banksall Duties	400
	69,181-12-,,

'Variable Revenues from 1st. Jan^y. to the 31st. Dec^r. 1754

	Mss. Pags.	C. Pags. fa. ca.
Mint Customs - - -	784 - - -	1,309- 6-70
Sea Customs - - -	- - -	37,451-31-23
Land Customs - - -	- - -	6,276-24- 7
Quit Rent - - -	- - -	1,569- 3- "
		<u>46,606-29-20</u>
	Mss. Pags. 784	Curr. Pags. 115,788- 5-20

'The following *Countrys*, mortgag'd by Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn to the Company towards the Discharge of his Debt to them, are let as under, Vizt.

Chingalaput - - -	22,000
Covelong - - -	8,000
Manamangalum - - -	14,000
Seven Magans ¹ of the Tripassore Country -	20,000
	<u>Pagodas 64,000¹</u>

The development of Fort St. George and its subordinate settlements is further illustrated by the list given on pages 437 and 438 of the senior covenanted servants employed on the Coast in 1754.

Among the free merchants we find 'Nicholas Morse, Samuel Greenhaugh, John Edwards, George Mackay, Solomon Salomons, Solomon Franco, Ephraim Isaac, Samuel Moses, Norton Nicholls, David Lopez Fernandes, Samuel De Castro, Francis Barnewall, Quintin De la Mettrie, William Belsches, Peter Marriette, John Standard, Peter Eckman, and John De Morgan.'²

Mr. George Pigot came down from Vizagapatam in October, 1754, to be Deputy Governor of Fort St. David and to succeed Saunders at Madras.³ He remained at Fort St. George until the Governor resigned on the 14th January, 1755. Saunders sailed the same day for England in the *Norfolk*, Captain Pinson Bonham.⁴

¹ *Magan*, a revenue district of about half a dozen villages; from Tam. *māgānam*.

² Eckman is shown as having arrived in August, 1706, De Morgan in July, 1710.

³ *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 2nd Sept., 1754, and *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 21st Oct., 1754.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 14th Jan., 1755.



LIST OF THE HONBLE. COMPANY'S COVENANT SERVANTS ON THE COAST OF CHOROMANDEL.

(P.C., vol. lxxxii., 31st Dec., 1754.)

GL
1751

FORT ST. GEORGE THE PRESIDENCY

Names.	Time of Arrival.	Present Station.	Present Establishment.	Present Employment.	Salary.	Age.
Thomas Saunders	14 July, 1732	Governour	Fort St. George	President of the Council, Cash Keeper and Mint Master	£ 200	41
				Gratuity	100	
George Pigot	26 July, 1737	2nd of Council	Do.	Deputy Governour	100	35
Alexander Heron	12 Sept., 1754	3rd of Do.	Do.	Major (now at Camp)	250	—
Richard Starke	29 Sept., 1735	4th of Do.	Fort St. David	Deputy Governour	100	33
Charles Boddam	13 March, 1737	5th of Do.	Vizagapatam	Chief	40	34
Henry Powney	7 Aug., 1736	6th of Do.	Fort St. George	Import Warehousekeeper and Sea Customer	40	37
Robert Orme	12 Sept., 1754	7th of Do.	Do.	Export Warehousekeeper, Accountant, and Commissioner to keep the Nabobs Account	40	28
Foss Westcott	7 Feb., 1741	8th of Do.	Ingeram	Resident	40	32
Alexander Wynch	15 Aug., 1740	9th of Do.	Fort St. George	Storekeeper	40	33
William Perceval	18 Jan., 1741	10th of Do.	Do.	Land Customer	40	49
Thomas Cooke	15 Aug., 1740	11th of Do.	Do.	Suspended the Service	—	—
John Smith	15 Aug., 1740	12th of Do.	Do.	Paymaster and Military Paymaster	40	30
Charles Bouchier	30 Dec., 1741	13th of Do.	Do.	Military Storekeeper, Rental General and Scavenger	40	26 ¹
Edward Croke	18 Jan., 1708	Sen. Merch ^t .	Fort St. David	—	Gratuity 200	62
Dawsonne Drake	18 July, 1742	Do.	Fort St. George	Upper Searcher at the Sea Gate	40	30
John Walsh	20 June, 1743	Do.	Do.	Under Searcher do.	40	28
John Andrews	20 June, 1743	Do.	Madapollam	Resident	40	40
John Pybus	28 June, 1743	Do.	Fort Marlbro	Supra Vizor	40	26
Hugh Norris	1 Dec., 1744	Jun. Merch ^t .	Fort St. David	Export and Import Warehousekeeper, Accountant and Paymaster	30	26

¹ From later lists it appears that Bouchier's age in 1754 was twenty-eight.



LIST OF THE HONBLE. COMPANY'S COVENANT SERVANTS ON THE COAST OF CHOROMANDEL—continued.

Names.	Time of Arrival.	Present Station.	Present Establishment.	Present Employment.	Age.	Salary.
Samuel Ardley	28 April, 1749	Jnn. Merch ^t .	Fort St. George	Under the Land Customer, and Register of the Choultry	30	£ 29
Robert Sloper	8 Sept., 1749	Do.	Fort St. David	Sea and Land Customer of Cuddalore	30	51
Edward Edwards	8 Sept., 1749	Do.	Fort St. George	Assaymaster	30	29
Henry Van Sittart	5 Nov., 1746	Do.	Do.	Secretary to the Secret Committee and Translator	30	22
John Starke	6 April, 1747	Do.	Fort St. David	Under paymaster	30	24
Richard Fairfield	8 Oct., 1746	Do.	Do.	Storekeeper, Military Storekeeper and Secretary	30	24
Charles Turner	14 Feb., 1747	Do.	Do.	Sea and Land Customer of Tevenapatam and Military Paymaster	30	22
Charles Hopkins	1 Jan., 1750	Factor	Deve Cotah	Chief	15	48
Josias Dupré	10 June, 1752	Do.	Fort St. George	Secretary, Sollicitor and Clerk of the Peace	15	33
John Browning	17 June, 1752	Do.	Do.	Register of the Sea Gate	15	43
James Alexander	8 July, 1752	Do.	Do.	Sub Accountant Bookeeper of Deposits from the Mayors Court	15	24
John Smith	10 Aug., 1752	Do.	Do.	Under paymaster	15	45
John Lewin Smith	10 Aug., 1752	Do.	Vizagapatam	2nd of Council	15	28
Andrew Newton	17 June, 1752	Do.	Fort St. David	At present at the Court of Tanjour	15	26
Charles Saunders	8 July, 1752	Do.	Do.	Steward	15	29
Daniel Morse	28 July, 1752	Do.	Fort St. George	Register of the Mayors Court	15	20
Charles Simpson	27 March, 1751	Writer	Do.	Under the Accountant	5	—
George Stratton	17 June, —	Do.	Do.	Under the Secretary, and Clerk of the Court of Requests	15	20
[and 26 other Writers]				Gratuity	19	

The Reverend Mr. Samuel Stavelay }
The Reverend Mr. Robert Palk } Chaplains

Andrew Munro }
Robert Turing } Surgeons

Fort St. George, 31st Decem^r., 1754.
JOS^s. DU PRÉ,
Secretary.

CHARTER OF GEORGE II.

In consequence of the recent foreign occupation of Madras, it was considered desirable to issue a fresh Charter. The Charter of George I. of 1726 was recalled, and a new grant was made in its stead by George II. on the 8th January, 1753.

The document¹ recites that, since the capture of Madras and its possession by the French, the Mayor and most of the Aldermen were either dead or absent from India, whereby the Mayor's Court and its powers were dissolved. It then provides that a Corporation shall be constituted, to be called the Mayor and Aldermen of Madraspatnam, and to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen. Seven of the Aldermen must be natural born subjects of the King and the other two may be foreign Protestants. *Cornelius Goodwin* is nominated 'the next and modern Mayor of the said Town or Factory of Madraspatnam; and *William Percival, Dawsonne Drake, Robert Clive, Samuel Banks, John Walsh, Samuel Greenhaugh, George Mackay, Andrew Ross* and *William Roberts*, Merchants,² to be the next and modern Aldermen.' Two persons are to be elected by the Corporation annually from the Aldermen, on the first Tuesday in December, and presented to the Governor and Council, in whom is vested the final choice of Mayor. Aldermen continue in office for life, subject to local residence, vacancies being filled from the inhabitants by the Government. A Sheriff is to be appointed annually by the Governor and Council.

The Mayor and Aldermen form a Court of Record for the trial of civil suits, not being between natives, arising at Madras or subordinate Factories. The Court may imprison for debt, frame rules of procedure subject to alteration by the Company, and grant Probate of Wills and Letters of Administration. The Company is liable to be sued in the Court. An Accountant General may be appointed by the Company to execute the Court's orders regarding suitors' money. Appeals lie to the President and Council, whose decision up to Pags. 1,000 is final. In judgments for larger sums appeal may be made to the King in Council. Judgment after appeal is to be executed by the Mayor's Court.

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

² The Mayor and the first six of the Aldermen were Company's servants; the last three Aldermen were free merchants.



Suits for sums not exceeding Pags. 5 shall not be tried by the Mayor's Court, but by a Court of Requests. Commissioners, from eight to twenty-four in number, are to be appointed by the Government to hear and decide such suits summarily. Half the Commissioners retire annually, and the remainder elect persons to fill the vacancies.

The President and Members of Council are to be Justices of the Peace for Madras and subordinate Factories, to hold Quarter Sessions, and to be a Court of Record, and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for dealing with all offences except High Treason. The mode of trial is to follow English practice as near as may be, the Sheriff summoning persons to attend as Grand and Petit Jury.

The Company may appoint Generals of all forces by sea and land, and other military officers to train the inhabitants in military affairs; they may raise and maintain forces, repel invasions, and exercise martial law in time of war.

This Charter was put in operation on the 13th August, 1753, when the following appointments were made by Government:—Sheriff, *John Browning*; Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court, *Claud Russell*; Clerk of the Peace and Coroner in and for the Town of Madraspatnam, *Josias Du Pré*,¹ who was also made Company's Solicitor and Clerk of the Court of Appeals; Commissioners of the Court of Requests, *Hugh Norris*, *Henry Vansittart*,² *James Bouchier*, and five others.

The insignia of the old Mayor's Court being reported lost during the French occupation, new emblems were ordered from Bombay:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolved that a Pattamar be dispatched to Bombay with a General Letter to the President and Council there, advising that . . ., having received his Majesty's Charter constituting a Mayor's and other Courts, We are at a loss for the usual Ensigns of State, such as the Sword, Mace, Silver Oar, &c., which were carried away by the French, and We desire they will order such to be made for Us as are in use with them.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.)

¹ *Josias Du Pré*, afterwards Governor of Madras, 1770-1773.

² *Henry Vansittart* arrived as a Writer in 1746. His ship, the *Britannia*, had a narrow escape from being captured. Deceived by English colours at Fort St. George, she anchored in the roads on the 5th November. *Paradis* opened fire on her prematurely, and she cut her cable and got away. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, vol. v., Letter from *Cornelius Goodwin* to *John Hinde*, 5th Nov., 1746.)



It subsequently transpired that, though the Company's service of plate was appropriated as spoil by the French,¹ part, at least, of the insignia of the Mayor's Court was preserved, to be afterwards ignobly sold :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

' It follows that the Pags. 606-9-48, mentioned in the Minutes of the Mayor's Court of the 21st August 1756 to be in the Company's Cash as belonging to the Mayor's Court, and which Mr. Morse² in his letter of the 6th June 1757 explains to be the produce of the Maces, Pallankeen, Tossells, and other such Ensigns of the former Court as they had found means to save at the loss of the Place (all which were provided at the Company's Expence) . . . , do not belong to the present Mayor's Court, but to the East India Company. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 27th Jan., 1762.)

LAWRENCE, SCOTT, AND HERON.

On learning of Benjamin Robins's death, the Directors appointed Colonel Caroline Scott as Engineer General in India, on a salary of £400 per annum :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

' We have Constituted and Appointed Caroline Frederick Scott, Esquire, Lieutenant Colonel of His Majestys Twenty ninth Regiment of Foot and Aid de Camp to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, a Gentleman of distinguished Abilities and Character, to be our Engineer General of and in our several Forts, Garrisons, Factorys and Settlements of Fort St. George, Fort William, and Bombay in the East Indies, their Subordinates and Dependencies, and also of our Island of St. Helena.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 15th Dec., 1752.)

Scott's chief duties were to lie in Bengal, where he was to be Major of the Garrison and Commander of the Forces, but he was to examine Forts St. David and St. George on his way thither. He was to make a plan of the existing fortifications of Fort William, and prepare a design for their improvement. In their instructions to him the Directors said : ' If it be consistent with the Perfecting the Fortifications on the Coast of Choromandel, you may take Mr. Brohier, who was left by the late Mr. Robins in charge of Executing what he had designed on that Coast, or any of the Young People who were under Mr. Robins as his Assistants,

P. to Eng., vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.

² Mr. Daniel Morse.



with you to Bengal. Their Names are Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, Philip Glass, Achilles Preston and John Call.' To Fort St. George the Company wrote: 'If any accident should have happened to Major Lawrence, which we should be extremely sorry to find, in that case Colonel Scott is to have the Command of all our Forces in India.' Subject to Scott's control, Brohier, who was appointed Captain of Artillery, was placed in charge of the works at Forts St. George and St. David:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'In our Letter last year by the Durrington, We gave Directions for carrying on and compleating the Works both at Fort St. David and Fort St. George upon the Schemes and the Directions of our late Engineer, Mr. Robins. We observe Mr. Brohier has nearly finished Mr. Robins's Designs at Fort St. David, and have reason to believe will have made a considerable Progress in those at Fort St. George.¹ They are now to be carryed on and compleated at both Places with all convenient Dispatch, agreeable to such Directions Colonel Scott may think necessary to give; and Mr. Brohier, whose Conduct and Behaviour both under Mr. Robins and since his Death we very much approve, is to Act as an Assistant Engineer, in like manner under Colonel Scott as he did under Mr. Robins, wherever the Colonel shall think his Services most material.

'To shew our sense of Mr. Brohier's past Service, as well as to encourage him to go on with Alacrity in the same Track for the future, We have thought proper to promote him to the Command of one of the Artillery Companies, as mentioned hereafter, in consideration of his continuing to exert himself in the Capacity of an Engineer as beforementioned.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 15th Dec., 1752.)

The old Gunroom Crew had been superseded by Companies of Artillery. Captain Lewis d'Illens commanded the First Company at Fort St. George, and Captain Brohier the Second Company at Fort St. David. In this and other respects the organization of the military service had been greatly improved by Lawrence. Companies of Sepoys had been formed on the French model, and a squadron of European cavalry established.

Colonel Scott arrived at Fort St. George by the *Winchelsea*, on the 4th August, 1753. He attended Council on the following day, and after consulting with Brohier, set about a survey of the works. On the 13th he delivered in his report and sailed for Bengal.² The principal feature of his scheme, which will be described later, was a new north front.

¹ The works on the west front.
P.C., vol. lxxxi. 5th and 13th Aug., 1753.



Lawrence, whose health had suffered during his protracted campaign, desired to resign the command of the forces to Scott, and wrote as follows to Governor Saunders :—‘The minute Colonel Scott arrives, I intend to give him out in Orders as Commanding the Army, which I will resign to him, and stay with him as a Volunteer a few Days if he Chuses, to make him acquainted with some things necessary for him to know. I believe this Method will prevent any Misunderstanding between us.’¹ Saunders then wrote to Scott at Fort William :—

Fort St. George to Colonel Scott.

‘Notwithstanding the Superiority of the Enemy in Numbers, the Successes that have attended our Arms since you left Us have been so remarkable that they might give Us flattering hopes of bringing to a happy conclusion the War that has so long raged in this Country, were We not well convinced of the insatiable Ambition and Spirit of those whom we oppose ; a Spirit which appears to Us so fixed and determined that We have no hopes of ever obtaining any reasonable terms by negotiation, and must therefore place our whole relyance on the force of Arms.

‘Under such Circumstances you are perfectly sensible of how great moment it is that the Army should have an able Commander in Chief. We are Sensible that our Honble Masters primary view was the fortyfying of Bengal ; but they have acquainted Us too that, in case of any Accident to Major Lawrence, you were to have the command in Chief of all their Forces in India. The fatigue[s] of a long Campaign have, not without reason, inclined Us to wish we could with prudence give Major Lawrence some respite, especially as his health has suffered Considerably from constant Duty, so much so indeed that We are apprehensive it will not be in his power much longer to keep the field ; and tho’ we do not mean to reflect on the capacity of any of our Officers, yet we must do Major Lawrence the justice to say we should be sensible of the loss if that were to happen. We should not think we did justice to our Honble Masters if we omitted to acquaint you of our apprehensions. At the same time we are persuaded you have their Interest so much at heart that it is needless for us to desire your presence here. You will, We are assured, hasten to our assistance if the plans you have formed at Bengal can admit of it without manifest prejudice.

‘We have acquainted the Honble President² and Council of this our Application to you, that you may jointly concert your measures accordingly ; but, before we took this Step, we consulted with Major Lawrence that no difficultys might arise on your arrival with regard to the Command. A Copy of his Answer comes inclosed for your perusal. THOMAS SAUNDERS, CHARLES BODDAM, HENRY POWNEY, ALEXANDER WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.’ (*Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 24th Jan., 1754.)

¹ *M.C.*, vol. iii., 16th Jan., 1754.

² Governor Roger Drake, President at Fort William.

This communication brought Scott down to Madras in April. In the meanwhile Lawrence's position will be understood from the following characteristic letter¹:—

'Stringer Lawrence to the Honble Thomas Saunders, Esq'.

'I have receiv'd both your Favours, No. 1 and 2, in Answer to all my Letters from the 25 February to the 8th of March. It is very proper my Opinion should be ask'd as one of the Council, But it would be mighty odd If I could imagine that only my opinion was to be followed. No, Gentlemen, you cannot think me so Weak, or so unreasonable. But since I cannot have the Honour to assist at those Councils, and to hear the respective Reasons given for or against anything I may have proposed, or to know the final Determination of the Majority, It is not [un]reasonable to expect that in general I might be inform'd of the Reasons for such Resolutions. If it were only for Instruction sake, it would be right; but for a more Important Reason, which I have often given, that by knowing the result of those Debates, I might be so Instructed in the State of Affairs, and that, by my perfect Knowledge of them, I might be enabled to act in Conjunction with your resolves; for however determin'd I have been not to blend the Military and Political Business, I find they are so Intricately mix'd together that it is unavoidable. Therefore all the Lights necessary should be given to assist me.

'I am sorry to take up so much of your Time and my own with these (as it were) preliminary discourses, But I was willing, Gentlemen, to make my meaning as clear as possible, To show you the Necessity I think of your being more full and Explicit In your Orders and Instructions to me According to the Result of your Councils. I should have been sorry you might have imagin'd my Remonstrances the Effect of Dissatisfaction at thinking I was neglected. Private Picqué I scorn, because I always speak my Mind, and I hope I have a Spirit above Ill usage; and besides, when the publick is concerned, every thing gives way with me to that more Important concern. Let me beg you will take this, Gentlemen, as it is meant. Let the same Spirit Actuate us, and, if you please, let us drop this Subject for good. Let our Time be employ'd in making our Actions Unanimously prove how much we have the good and Honour of our Masters at Heart, and with how much Zeal and Disinterestedness we are willing to serve them. . . . ' (M.C., vol. iii., 3rd April, 1754.)

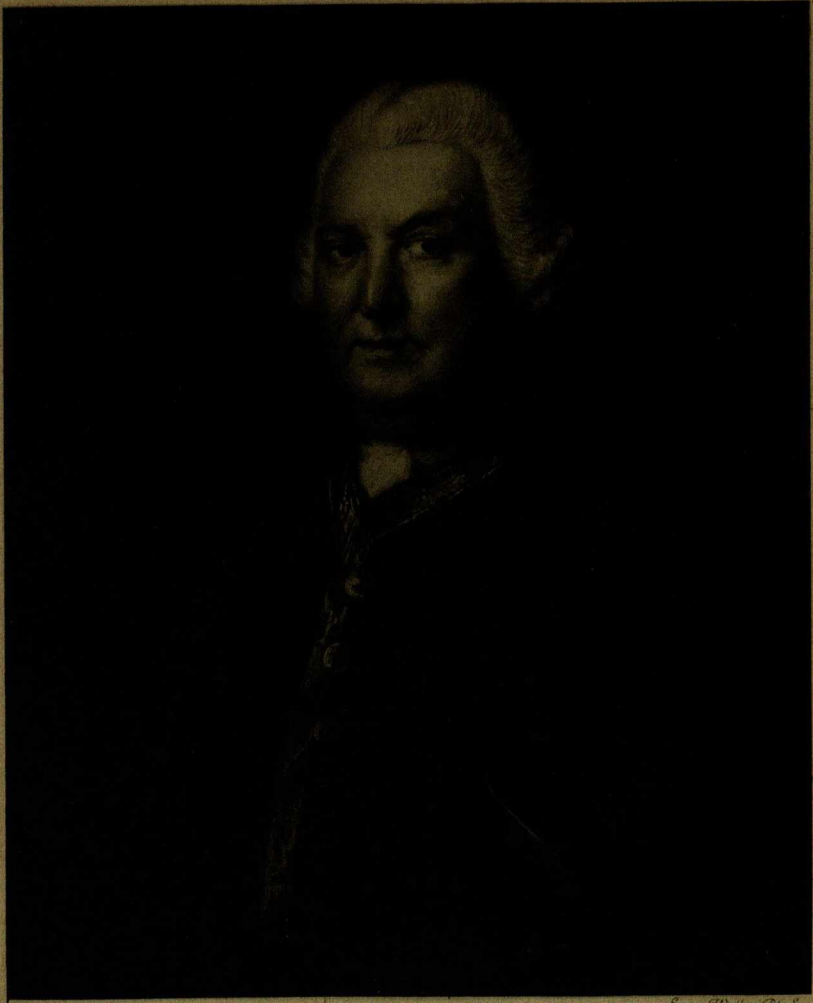
Colonel Scott arrived from Bengal about the 20th April, but, finding that Lawrence was not actually incapacitated, he declined to take over the command. His own state of health was, in fact, worse than Lawrence's. He was indisposed when he landed: 'his fever increased, and proved fatal to him' on the 12th May.² On the 18th Lawrence wrote as follows from Trichinopoly, probably before the news of Scott's death reached him:—

¹ This and a later letter of Lawrence's are quoted almost in full, because the *ipsissima verba* of the man afford a better conception of his character than would pages of description.

² P.C., vol. lxxxii., 12th May, 1754; and P. to Eng., vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.



CSL



Emer. Walker Lith. Sc.

Stringer Lawrence
after Thomas Gainsborough R.A.

*Major Lawrence to Governor Saunders.*

'You will please to take Notice that two or three Victorys more will leave us all on Trichenopoly Plains; and tho' to be sure it is a Death a Soldier would wish for, to dye a Conquering; yet, as I have the Honour of Commanding, I cannot answer it to see brave Men throw away their Lives every Day for Nothing, this is to assure you that, before it is too late, I will march down the Remains of the Army to the Settlement where you will please to Order and direct them. I have represented my Situation often enough, and in strong terms sufficient to have made you sensible, had you been willing, that, unless you would reinforce me, I could not stay much longer; but as I find Representations are of no Effect, It is time for me to take care of my Charge in such a Manner as I think I can answer to myself and those who Employ me. If I could lay under the Walls of Trichenopoly, I might wait for a Reinforcement; But, Gentlemen, I must bring in Provisions or starve. Or was I to live in the Fort, the Stores there wou'd not serve Me and the Garrison two Months. While the Enemy continue thus Superiour, the bringing in every Convoy is attended with a Risque of losing the whole. Besides, the Enemy, since the last Affair, have thought of a more effectual Method, and have marched a Strong Detachment in Tondiman's Country,¹ and have taken Post, which effectually cutts off all Supplys from that Quarter. The Tanjore Country is equally impracticable to us from the Smallness of our Force. . . .

'What Letter Colonel Scott could Receive from Me I daresay would not alter his Resolution, and the Reason he gives me in his for not coming are very little Satisfactory. His words are, "I am extreemly glad to find your Health is so much recover'd, and as there is no further occasion for me, I propose in a few Days to return to Calcutta," and that is all he says. Pray, who could tell him I was so well recover'd as not to want him here? I might be better from a severe Fit of Illness, but that sure did not Imply Health perfectly Recover'd. I want rest from a long Campaign, and Time to restore a hurt Constitution that does not insure me two Hours Ease together. I cannot but believe there are other Reasons; but from Wheresoever the Difficultys have arose, I am the Sufferer, and must be equally oblig'd to whoever have been the Occasion of it. I cannot think that, in an Affair of this Consequence, and from the general Character of Colonel Scott, that he would take his Resolution from a Common flying Report of my Recovery. He must have had it on good Authority to determine him, or it must be an Excuse to cover some other Reason he did not care to communicate to me. . . . S. LAWRENCE.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 18th May, 1754.)

Fort St. George to Major Lawrence.

'We have already wrote you so fully in relation to Colonel Scott that we scarce think it necessary to say any more to convince you of our good Intentions; yet, as you hint that he must have had his intelligence of your amended Health from better Authority than flying Report, We will not leave you to doubt whether that Authority was ours or not, and therefore We do assure you that We not only read him your Letter at the Board where you

¹ *Tondiman's Country*, the State of Pudukotta on the south-east boundary of Trichinopoly. It was under a poligar designated by his family name of Tondimān.



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complain of your incapacity to continue in the Field, but he was there also told that, from the private Advices continually receiv'd from Camp, we were convinc'd of the precariousness of your Health ; to which he replied that, even were you Dead, he did not think he could, as a King's Officer, answer taking the Command whilst we were in Arms against the French. The truth is, he thought our Affairs in a bad Way, and that there was no Honour to be got, but some might be lost. This he intimated to the Board.

'Once more let us press you to continue in the Command a little longer, and we will do our best to relieve you as soon as possible. THO^s. SAUNDERS, CHARLES BODDAM, HENRY POWNEY, ALEX^r. WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 26th May, 1754.)

Sir James Foules,¹ Bart., Major of the Bombay Garrison, desired to succeed Colonel Scott, but the Directors had, in the meanwhile, sent out Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Heron, who was permitted to exchange the King's for the Company's service. Heron took passage with Robert Orme, and arrived on the 12th September, 1754. Both were appointed to the Fort St. George Council, the former as Third, the latter as Seventh member :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have entertained Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Heron, an Able and Experienced Officer, to be Major of our Garrison of Fort St. George and of our Forces employed at and under our Presidency of Fort St. George. He is to be Third of Council, and to remain so . . . ; he is also to have the Command and Cloathing of One of the Companys . . . ; for all which stations his Salary is to be Two hundred and Fifty Pounds a Year, with the usual Appointments for Diet, Servants and Pallankeen as Third in Council.²

'Notwithstanding Lieutenant Colonel Heron is a Senior Officer in His Majesty's Service to Lieutenant Colonel Scott and Major Lawrence, yet, as the two last named Gentlemen have prior Commissions in the Companys Service, they are therefore to rank before him. . . .

'The Behaviour of Major Stringer Lawrence as Commander of our Forces having been greatly to our satisfaction, We came to an Unanimous Resolution to present him with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds, of about Seven hundred and fifty pounds Value, in Order to express our grateful Sense of his Signal Services to the Company in the Chief Command of their Forces in the Field. . . .

'We have likewise agreed to make a Present to Captain Robert Clive of a Sword set with Diamonds, to the Value of Five hundred Pounds, as a Token of our Esteem for him and Sense of his Signal Military Services to the Company on the Coast of Choromandel.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 15th Feb., 1754.)

¹ *Foules*, also written *Foulis*. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 12th Sept., 1754; and *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 19th Sept. and 7th Oct., 1754.)

² Lawrence, however, was to 'continue joined to the before-named Council.'

In March, 1754, the Directors intimated that the King had ordered a naval squadron of six ships, under Admiral Charles Watson, together with Colonel John Adlercron's regiment of foot, and a detachment of Royal Artillery under Capt.-Lieut. William Hislop, to proceed to the East Indies for the protection of the Company's possessions. Two of the ships, the *Eagle*, 60, Capt. George Pocock, and *Bristol*, 50, Capt. Thomas Latham, were damaged by a storm at the outset, and were sent to Plymouth to refit. Watson sailed with the *Kent*, 64, Capt. Henry Speke; *Salisbury*, 50, Capt. Thomas Knowle; *Bridgwater*, 24, Capt. William Martin; and the sloop *Kingfisher*. Pocock, who had in the meantime been promoted, hoisted his flag on the *Cumberland*, 56, Capt. Harrison, and with the *Tiger*, 60, Capt. Latham, followed later as second in command. The Directors issued instructions as to the compliments to be paid to Watson and Adlercron, the House-rent and Table allowances they were to draw, and the behaviour of the Company's servants towards the King's forces:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You are to carry it with great Respect to Colonel Adlercron, who is appointed by His Majesty Commander in Chief, and you are to treat all the Officers of His Majesty's Forces in a Gentleman like and Friendly manner, and take the utmost care to promote and Cultivate a good understanding and Harmony between the King's and our own Troops, as the general good of the Service depends so greatly thereupon.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 2nd March, 1755.)

In September, 1754, Watson reached Fort St. David, where Adlercron's regiment disembarked. Moved by this display of strength, M. Godeheu, who had lately succeeded Dupleix, proposed a suspension of arms, which was agreed to by Saunders, and carried out on the 11th October. Lawrence, although commissioned Lieut.-Colonel by the King,¹ had the mortification of being superseded as Commander-in-Chief by Adlercron, who was his senior. On being relieved of the direct command of the field force by Heron in October, Lawrence resumed his seat in Council, when the Company's sword was presented to him.²

¹ *P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 15th March, 1754.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Oct., 1754.



CHAPTER XXXII

1752—1755

THE FORTIFICATIONS—THE HOSPITAL

THE FORTIFICATIONS.

PRIOR to Colonel Scott's arrival, Brohier was engaged chiefly with the works at Fort St. David. Some progress was made, however, at Fort St. George with the new faces towards the west as designed by Joseph Smith and approved by Robins. Writing on the 24th January, 1753, the Directors alluded to Brohier's report and estimate of the 6th July, 1752,¹ and desired that the execution of Robins's general scheme should await Scott's decision. They added that, as the cost would be great, a reasonable assessment should be made on the inhabitants. They concluded thus:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'As large spaces of Ground² are to be built upon, you must take care to Stipulate with the Persons Building thereon for the payment of reasonable yearly Quitt or Ground Rent according to the Situation of the several Buildings.

'As almost all the Space on which the Black Town stood is to be Rebuilt upon,³ it will be convenient to divide it in such a manner as that the several Casts may have their separate Districts, which we therefore recommend to your care to regulate as far as lies in your Power.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

On the east face of the White Town some damage was done by a storm on the 31st October and 1st November, 1752:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Estimate of the Charge of building a strong and substantial Revettment to the Ditch before the East Curtain as low as the Barr, amounting to Pagodas

¹ Brohier's report has not been traced.

² Within the enlarged White Town.

³ This intention was not carried into effect.

nine thousand, five hundred and eighty seven . . . , the present Revetment having receiv'd infinite Detriment by the Sea, being broken down in several Places, and the Sand wash'd up against the Wall, which has likewise suffer'd. He [Brohier] also represents that, as the Sea has within these few Years apparently gain'd upon the Town, it will soon endanger the East Curtain if not timely prevented by such a Building, against which the Surf may throw up the Sand and secure the Curtain, that otherwise would bring down in its ruins all the contiguous Buildings, and put the Hon'ble Company to a more considerable Expende in repairing it.

'As this seems a Matter of very material Consequence, the Board Judge it improper to be too precipitate in their Determination thereupon. Agreed therefore to deferr the same for further Consideration. . . .' (P.C., vol. lxxxi., 5th Feb., 1753.)

The ditch here referred to was a dry one made by the French in connexion with those on the north and south fronts.¹ It must have been a shallow excavation, but its construction explains the remark made at the time of the rendition that the French had undermined the walls.

The Directors were anxious to see the native town fortified, as contemplated by Robins. They wrote :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You must spare no pains in forwarding the Works both at Fort St. George and Fort St. David, but more particularly at the former place, which being now the Seat of the presidency, it is absolutely necessary should be put in a respectable condition with all possible dispatch. And here We must recommend to you to be attentive to rendering the Black Town so defensible that the Country People, especially the richer sort, may be induced to resort to and reside there under Our protection, as a place of safety ; and the sooner it can be effected the better. . . .

'Mr. Brohier's Conduct in carrying on the Works has been entirely to Our Satisfaction, and We are satisfyed he would have made a more considerable progress in them had not the Troubles in the Country thrown so many Obstacles in the way.' (P. from Eng., vol. lvii., 23rd Jan., 1754.)

Within ten days of his arrival Colonel Scott framed a scheme, and submitted a brief report :—

Colonel Scott's Report.

'In Order to the more quick Dispatch of carrying on the public Works, I must request the Favour of your Orders in sundry Matters concerning those works, and which I had the Honour to mention to you when last I waited upon you.

'As We are obliged to build an entire new Wall to the North Side of Fort

¹ The ditch is shown in the plans of 1749.

St. George, with your Approbation I propose this should be done One hundred Yards further Out than the Counterscarp of the Present Wall, which will greatly enlarge this Place and at a small additional Expence.

'That you will please give your Orders prohibiting all Manner of Persons building or digging within certain Distances quite round the Works. As for destroying Houses, I am extreemly loath to propose this till Necessity obliges us thereto.

'That You will please to order the Bricks shall be made up to the Standard Size agreed upon by the late Mr. Robins, and they be sufficiently baked and burnt, and of good Clay. . . .

'That you will please allow me to employ Lieutt. Robert Barker of the Artillery as Engineer ; and, if this meets your Approbation, that you will please to order the said Lieut^t. Robert Barker to be exchanged from Captain Jones his Company to Captain Brohier his Company, and Lieut^t. Alford to go to Bengal in Lieut^t. Barkers Room. CAR. FRED. SCOTT.' (P.C., vol. lxxxi., 13th Aug., 1753.)

Lieut. Barker, who was duly appointed, completed a plan of Scott's scheme in October. His drawing is preserved in the King's Library of the British Museum, and it has been reproduced on a smaller scale for this work. Of the bastions projected by Joseph Smith,¹ the two southern ones, marked G and H, were to be constructed, but the next bastion I was to be replaced by one much larger marked K. Starting from this point, two new fronts were designed facing north-west and north respectively, the latter being advanced a hundred yards from the old north wall. These new fronts met in a second large bastion L, while a demi-bastion M was provided for next the sea. The two new bastions and the demi-bastion were furnished with *orillons*,² while *ravelins*³ O, P were designed for both the new faces. Bomb-proofs S for troops were to be constructed under the ramparts of these faces. A *glacis*⁴ with *covered way*⁵ was to extend round the fortress from sea to sea in front of all the land faces. The covered way had

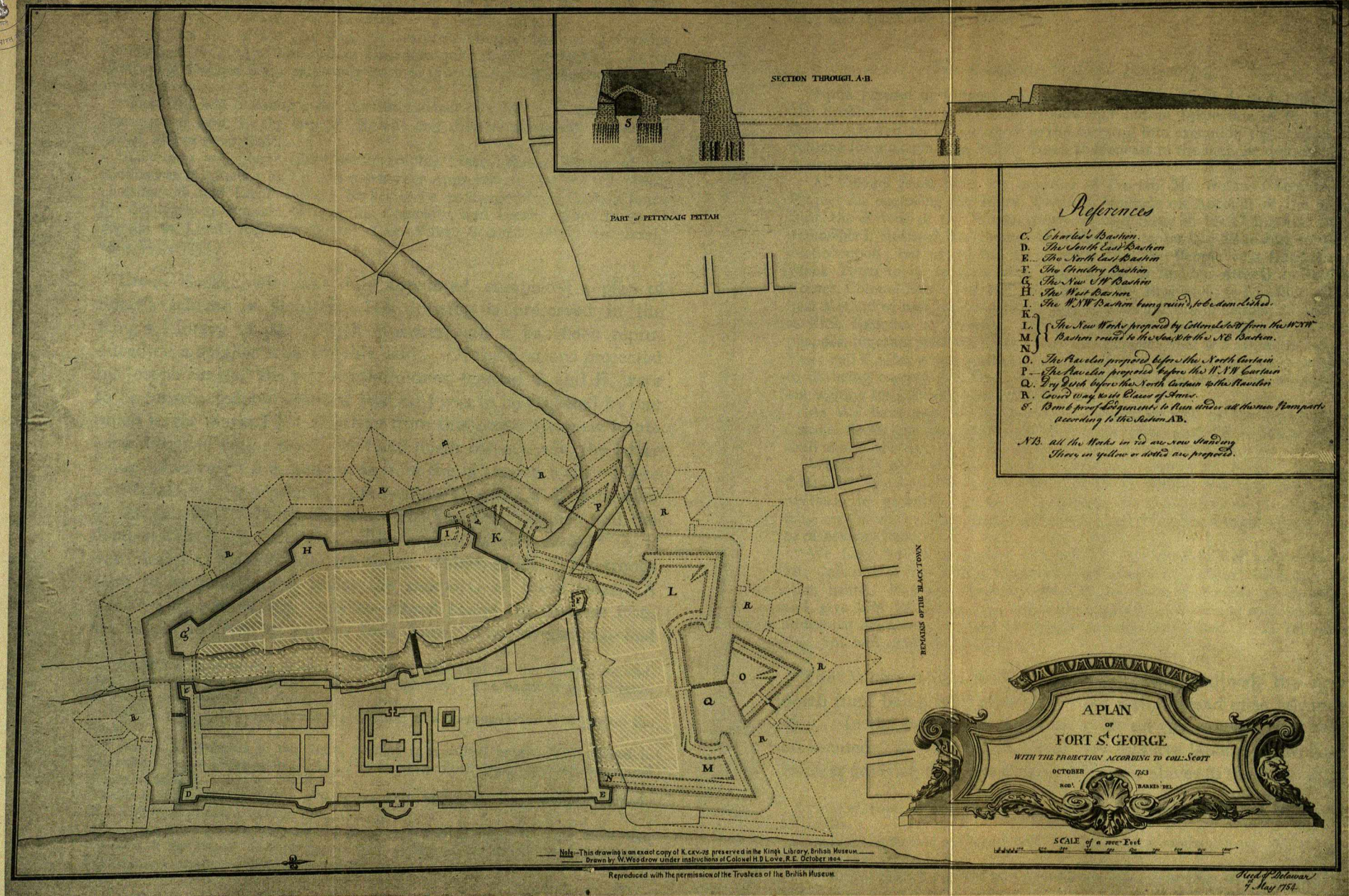
¹ Smith's work consisted in laying out a new west front on the Island, and constructing before it a wet ditch revetted with masonry. The bastions and curtains, however, were carried up only to ground-level.

² *Orillon*, a rounded projection at the shoulder of a bastion, intended to protect the flank.

³ *Ravelin*, an outwork of two faces meeting in a salient angle. It is placed in front of a curtain of the main work. Two ravelins afford cross fire over the ground before a bastion.

⁴ *Glacis*, a long slope of earth outside the ditch, hiding the scarp walls of the body of the place and outworks from view and fire.

⁵ *Covered Way*, a space between the outer ditch and glacis, at a lower level than the crest of the latter. It affords an additional line of fire round the fortress, and facilitates the massing of troops for sorties.



FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1753,
SHOWING COLONEL SCOTT'S PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS.



places of arms¹ R next the ravelins and elsewhere. Scott's scheme was approved by the Directors :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Upon perusal of Colonel Scott's Letter of the 13th of August 1753, and Mr. Brohier's of the 27th October following,² and an Inspection of the Plans therein referred to, We do agree to the carrying into execution the Project or Scheme for enlarging the White Town at Madrass in the manner described in those Letters and Plans.

'As Colonel Scott does not approve of the late Mr. Robins's Scheme or Project for enclosing the Black Town at Madrass on Account of the great Cost, the Extent of the Works proposed, and those in his Opinion so little defensible if finished, the Project or Scheme is to be laid aside and not proceeded upon ; but as [it] will be necessary for the People who Inhabit the Black Town to be secured from any Inroads or Sudden Attacks of Indian Forces, Colonel Scott, with the Assistance of Mr. Brohier, is to consider of the best Method of making it defensible against such Inroads or sudden Attacks at as little Expence as possible. He is to lay his Scheme or Project for this purpose, together with an Estimate of the Expence that will attend it, before You ; and if, after a due consideration thereof, You have no material objections to its being carried into Execution, Colonel Scott is to proceed thereon without waiting for further Orders from us. . . .

'As We have a great Opinion of the Ability as well as the Integrity of Colonel Scott, you are to give all due Attention to such Observations as he shall at any time lay before you tending to the Companys Advantage. . . .

'When We appointed Mr. Brohier to the Command of the Second Artillery Company, We intended it as a Reward for his Merit ; and how you could mistake our meaning therein by Stopping his whole Pay as an Assistant Engineer³ is very extraordinary, and seems to be a Scheme designed purposely to discourage him. . . .

'We have had a very good Account of the Abilities and behaviour of Mr. Call, one of the Young Engineers, not only from Colonel Scott, but by other hands. You are therefore, with Colonel Scott, to consider his Services, and give him all fitting and due encouragement by making him such an additional Allowance as shall be thought just and reasonable. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 29th Nov., 1754.)

The White Town design was eventually modified, the new north front being built close to the old wall, instead of in advance of it. In the meantime, however, work on the western faces was prosecuted. It was carried out in part by slave labour, for we find Brohier advising that 'the Coffrey Women, Slaves to the Company,

¹ *Places of Arms* are expansions of the covered way, where troops can be massed for sorties.

² Brohier's letter has not been found. It doubtless accompanied the plan drawn by Robert Barker.

³ Brohier's engineer pay was now raised from Pags. 35 to Pags. 60 per month.



employed on the Works' should be supplied with clothing, especially in wet weather.¹

Provision was made for the preservation of plans :—'The Board judging it proper that all Plans and Draughts of the Company's Settlements, Fortifications, Buildings, &c., should be kept in a secure Place, Order'd that a proper Chest be made, to stand in the Consultation Room, for that purpose, and that they be delivered out to Mr. Brohier as Occasion may require.'² That chest might prove a rich storehouse if it could be discovered.

Finding the gunpowder made at Fort St. David to be of indifferent quality, Brohier proposed, in 1752, to 'build a Mill here, on the Island where the former stood, and I hope we shall be able to make Powder as good as any in Europe, and supply the Honble Companys Settlements in India hereafter with it, Once we have establish'd its Reputation.'³ Early in the following year the Council decided to utilize Egmore Redoubt for the new factory.⁴ The structure was adapted at a cost of about Pags. 7,500, and the manufacture of powder was commenced in August, 1754, by a German overseer named John de Roos, who was able to turn out 500 lb. per day. The Council proposed to erect a second mill, the machinery for which was sent from England, on a different site, so as 'to divide the Risque of their blowing up.'⁵ In 1756 Capt. Brohier complained that the quality of the powder was not equal to that of the product of European factories. De Roos justified his mode of manufacture in the following terms :—

Letter from John De Roos.

'As it may be conjectur'd that the Powder made here is not equally good with that of Pondicherry, I hereby declare that the Ingredients of the Composition and the working are the same, Excepting the making of Powder, moistning with Brandy, Arrack and Camphire, or Spirits of Wine, Spirits of Vinegar, Spirits of Nitre, Spirits of Salt Armonaick and Camphire incorporated together to moisten the Composition. There is also some times used Urine and fair Water or fair Water and Spirits of Wine for that purpose ; for all which several ways the different Spirits makes the strongest Powder, but is

¹ P.C., vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.

² P.C., vol. lxxxi., 12th Nov., 1753.

³ P.C., vol. lxxx., 25th May, 1752.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxxxi., 8th Jan., 1753.

⁵ P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 30th June, 26th Aug., and 2nd Sept., 1754 ; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754. The second factory, however, was not set up until after the siege. (P.C., vol. lxxxix., 17th July, 1759.)



attended with the greatest Expences ; and as all the others are in proportion weaker, so are they attended with an adequate Expence. . . . JOHN DE ROOS.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 27th April, 1756.)

After this disclosure the factory was placed under the control of the Committee of Works. Shortly before the siege, the magazines were all full, and the surplus powder manufactured was stored temporarily in 'the two Pagodas at Chindadre Pettah.'¹

During the siege of Madras by Lally, the French blew up the Powder Mill in Egmore Redoubt. Thereafter the Committee of Works manufactured gunpowder in a temporary shed after native methods, until a disastrous explosion occurred 'by which many People miserably perished.' It was then resolved to restore the factory in the Redoubt pending the erection of the machinery which had been sent out from England several years earlier.²

In April, 1754, Colonel Scott returned to Madras to die. Like Robins he laboured to the last. Six days before his end he handed in a long report exposing abuses which resulted in waste of money on the works. It appears that most of the materials were supplied by the Paymaster at his own price, which was not subject to check. Timber and any stores not in stock were furnished by the Storekeeper in the same way.³ The coolies were paid in fanams, and their wages brought to account at 36 fanams to the pagoda, although the current exchange had been 43 for some years past.⁴ Scott advised that all materials should be publicly purchased, and that wages in fanams be accounted for at the current exchange. He considered that the adoption of these measures would save the Company Pags. 25,000 on the fortifications. Elsewhere he quotes the saving as 25 per cent., whence we infer that the original cost of his scheme was estimated at Pags. 100,000. He concludes thus:—

Colonel Scott's Report of 6th May, 1754.

'Whatever other Matters that want Redress in the Engineers Branch of the Honble Companys Service, I must beg the favour to refer you to Captain Brohier, who will lay them before you as they may occur, and to which I flatter

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 29th Sept., 1758.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 17th July and 20th Dec., 1759.

³ On this point Scott seems to have been misinformed. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 28th May, 1754.)

⁴ The excess thus caused was rather apparent than real.

myself you will order such Redress as you shall deem meet for the good and Thrifty Execution of the Honble Company's Service, an Article which hath been very strictly recommended to me by the Court of Directors, both in the publick Instructions and such private Orders as they have been pleas'd to intrust to my Management only from the Secret Committee of that Court : and such is the Honour and Trust they have been pleas'd to repose in me that those my Secret Orders were docuted, in Case of my Death, to be return'd Unopened to the Honble Court of Directors. CAR. FRED. SCOTT.' (P.C., vol. lxxxii., 13th May, 1754.)

The Council debated the matter on the 13th May, the day after Scott's death :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that Messrs. Henry Powney and John Smith, Members of this Board, and Captain John Brohier as Engineer, be a Standing Committee to consider of Ways and means for carrying on the Company's Works with Economy and to the greatest Advantage, as well in providing Materials as in all other Branches ; and it is particularly referr'd to the said Committee to consider of the several Matters complain'd of in Colonel Scott's said Letter, and of the methods proposed to remedy them ; and to report to the Board their Opinion as to the most effectual means of conducting the Works with expedition and frugality.' (P.C., vol. lxxxii., 13th May, 1754.)

Thus was established the Committee of Works, a body which for upwards of thirty years administered the department of Fortifications and Buildings.

THE HOSPITAL.

In 1750 the Surgeon, Dr. Andrew Munro, represented the want of accommodation in the Hospital in the Fort.¹ Ever since the rendition of Madras in the previous year, the institution had been crowded with sick. Munro's own quarters at the south end of the hospital block were occupied by the Fort Adjutant, while the rooms at the north end formerly allotted to Dr. Barlow² had been 'immur'd and Streighten'd' by the French. The want of space, coupled with the rapidly increasing strength of the garrison, led to the transfer of the hospital to Peddanaikpetta, and the conversion of the old building into barracks. In 1752 the change was decided on :—

¹ P.C., vol. lxxviii., 2nd July, 1750.

² Barlow appears to have remained at Fort St. David after the rendition of Madras.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

‘As it is become necessary, by the encrease of our Military, to provide Barracks for their Reception; and the Hospital being, by its Situation fronting the Parade, the only proper Place for that Purpose, which at the same time renders it very improper for its former use, Agreed that, for the present, it be converted into Barracks, and that the several Houses approved of by the Major and Surgeons¹ (a List whereof is now delivered in, read, and entered hereafter) be fitted up for an Hospital.’ (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 29th June, 1752.)

The houses acquired, some of which possessed gardens, were twelve in number. They were mostly the property of Portuguese, and were situated near the middle of the Esplanade, opposite the existing Ordnance Lines. They formed a block 100 yards in length, facing south-east.² The ground stood several feet higher than at the present day. The transfer was effected in 1753:— ‘The houses hir’d in the Pettah and intended for an Hospital being now refitted, Order’d that they be appropriated for that use, and the present Hospital on the Parade converted into Barracks; and that proper necessarys, such as Cotts, Matts, &c., be provided for the Recruits expected shortly to arrive.’³

A medallion on the wall of the present General Hospital, facing the road, bears the inscription, ‘Hospital founded 1753.’ The legend is misleading. It cannot apply to the Madras Hospital irrespective of situation, because the institution in the Fort was established nearly a century earlier. Nor can it serve for the present building or site, because the hospital of 1753 had its position on what is now the north-west Esplanade. Another structure, nearer the present site, was in use in 1758, but after the siege the institution was transferred to Muthialpetta, where it remained for several years.

The adapted houses did not make satisfactory sick quarters:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Mess^{rs}. Robert Orme and Alexander Wynch report that they had visited the Hospital, and found that, by the defects of the Buildings, the Sick are greatly exposed, and had suffered much from the late Inclemency of the Weather. That they complained of Cold, which can only be prevented by adding to the present Allowance of Bedding. . . . That the Steward com-

¹ Drs. Andrew Munro and Robert Turing.

² The block is shown on the map of 1755.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 14th May, 1753.

plain'd he could not restrain the Sick from taking their Victuals out of the Kitchen without waiting till it was regularly delivered to them. That the necessary directions had been given to remove all these Inconveniencys except the want of Bedding and the defects of the Buildings, to which they are of opinion some advantageous Additions may be made at a moderate Expence. . . .’ (P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 25th Nov., 1754.)

The erection of ‘a Penthouse the whole length of the Building on both sides’ was accordingly ordered, whence it may be inferred that the dozen residences taken up formed a row of undetached houses.

In the year last mentioned a complaint was preferred against Dr. Munro by a number of the Company’s servants :—

William Percival and others to the Hon’ble Thomas Saunders.

(P.C., vol. lxxxii., 6th May, 1754.)

‘It is with Concern We address your Honour, &c., on a Subject which must be as disagreeable to you as it is to Us ; but when what is most Valuable to Us in Life is at Stake, We should be wanting in Our duty to Ourselves were We to omit it. Our Honble Masters have been so indulgent as to appoint two Surgeons at this presidency, and to furnish them with proper Medicines for the use of their Servants ; but this their benevolent Intent is of little Use unless the Surgeons perform their duty. The general Behaviour of Mr. Andrew Munro, one of them, is so notorious that your Honour, &c. Council cannot be at a loss for several Instances of his ill treatment of the Companys Servants ; yet, out of a tender regard to his Family, no publick Complaint has hitherto been made ; nor should any now appear from Us had not Mr. Munro lately given such unworthy Treatment to one of Us as loudly calls for the resentment of the whole. It is of such a nature that We beg leave to lay it particularly before You.

‘Mr. James Alexander,¹ one of the Subscribers, having several times in vain applied to the Surgeons for a few Ingredients to compose a powder for the Scurvy in his Teeth, at length he wrote to Mr. William Stewart, the Surgeons Mate, in very civil Terms, who return’d for Answer that, upon Mr. Munro’s Order, he would send them, but that his (Mr. Alexander’s) direction should have little or no weight with him. Mr. Alexander then wrote Mr. Munro to beg he would order the Ingredients to be delivered, upon which Mr. Munro wrote a Note to Mr. Stewart which he sent Mr. Alexander for his Perusal, a Copy of which We insert for your Honour, &c. Council’s Notice, Vizt.

“Mr. Stewart—Sir, Pray give that Impudence what he wants, and let me not be plagued with his Nonsense. Yours, A. M.”

‘We appeal to your Honour, &c. Council whether this is such Usage as a Company’s Servant is entitled to from the Companys Surgeon, and humbly

¹ Afterwards 1st Earl of Caledon.



request your Honour, &c. Council will do Us such Justice as you shall think the Case deserves.

WILLIAM PERCEVAL¹
SAMUEL ARDLEY
EDWARD EDWARDS
HENRY VANSITTART
RICHARD FAIRFIELD
CHARLES TURNER
JOSIAS DU PRÉ
JOHN BROWNING
JAMES ALEXANDER
JOHN SMITH

DANIEL MORSE
CHARLES SIMPSON
GEORGE DAWSON
MATTHEW CLARKE
JOHN WHITEHILL
CLAUD RUSSELL
GEORGE PYNE
CHARLES SMITH
JNO. DAVIDSON.

Government Order.

'A Letter sign'd by nineteen of the Honble Company's Covenant Servants at this Settlement read. . . .

'The President then acquainted the Board that Mr. Alexander having complain'd to him of the said Insult, he had sent for Mr. Munro and reprimanded him; but the Board being of opinion that, as the Complaint is publick and General from the whole Body of the Companys Servants, the Satisfaction should be publick, Mr. Munro and Mr. Stewart, the Doctor's Mate, were therefore sent for, who with Mr. Alexander attending, and the Complaint being read to them . . . , the Secretary then, by Order of the Board, acquainted Mr. Munro and Mr. Stewart with their Resolution, Viz. :—

"Mr. Munro, Upon the Complaint of the Company's Servants against you for your ill Treatment of them in General, and particularly for an Insult offered to Mr. Alexander, it is the order of this Board that you now ask Mr. Alexanders Pardon. I am also ordered by the Board to acquaint you that, agreeable to the Company's Orders and Intention, you are to give due Attendance to the Company's Servants; and if it shall appear that on any occasion you neglect your duty, the Board will immediately dismiss you the Service agreeable to the Company's Orders."

"Mr. Stewart, It is the Order of this Board that you are also to ask Mr. Alexander's Pardon for what is alleg'd against you in the said Letter of Complaint."

'Which they both did, and were permitted to withdraw. THOS. SAUNDERS, CHAS. BODDAM, HENRY POWNEY, ALEX^R. WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHAS. BOURCHIER.'

Mr. Dawsonne Drake, having been ordered to Bencoolen as Supervisor, declared himself physically unfit. He was told that if his health was unequal to the climate of Sumatra, he must try that of Europe. He then submitted the following medical certificate :—

Certificate from the Surgeons.

'Mr. Dawsonne Drake, We have received your Letter of the 15th Instant, requesting Our opinion of the State of your Health, and whether We think it

¹ Percival here signs 'Perceval,' a spelling which is henceforward observed in the records.

advisable your undertaking a Voyage to Bencoolen in Order to supervise the Honble Company's Affairs there. In answer to which, without entering into phisical Discussions which often raise Mirth rather than serious Attention, We must declare it as Our firm Opinion that your present languid and Sickly Condition will not allow of any application or attention to Business in any Climate, and much less in a wet variable one such as Bencoolen. Should it be ask'd what this languid Sickly State of Health proceeds from, We say it is from originally weak Nerves, a Relax'd alimentary Tube, Obstructed Bowells, Want of due digestion, Perspiration, &c. These are Our Sentiments of your Case, both with a due regard to the Interest of the Honble Company and with the View We have of doing you Common Justice. A. MUNRO, ROBERT TURING.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 23rd Sept., 1754.)

Munro's ministrations did not pass unappreciated¹:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President informs the Board that Mr. Andrew Munro had been to acquaint him that his Age and great Infirmities had render'd him quite unable to go thro' the Fatigue of the Surgeon's employ ; That, being desirous of giving all the Assistance in his Power, He often went abroad when he was more indisposed than many of his Patients ; and that he found himself so little able to do the duty necessary at the Hospital that he was obliged, for the good of the People, to make known his Infirmities.

'The President adds that, upon Mr. Munro's leaving him, he had thought of writing for Mr. Wilsson, who is the next Surgeon, and now at Trichinopoly, to come hither to supply his Place ; to give Mr. Munro Liberty to retire from all Business, and to continue to him his Salary. But considering afterwards the great Merit of this Gentleman, the many Obligations the Inhabitants owe to him, and the great Opinion most of the Gentlemen in the Settlement have of his Abilities, He thought something more should be done for him as a Reward for his past Services, and that the Town should not be deprived of the Advice of so able a Man. He proposes and requests of the Board that they will call up one of the other Surgeons to assist Mr. Turing in the Hospital, and that Mr. Munro may be appointed the Companys Physician at this Settlement. . . . And that the Company may be address'd On this subject, Requesting their Confirmation hereof, and a suitable Addition to his Salary. All which the Board unanimously agree to. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 28th Dec., 1756.)

Within twelve months, Munro passed away. A copy of his will, dated 11th August, 1757, transcribed by Henry Vansittart, is preserved at Haldon House, formerly the residence of Robert Palk. Munro appoints his wife Frances Mary Munro, his nephew George Smith, Robert Orme, and Henry Vansittart to be trustees. After bequeathing legacies to George Smith and Mrs. Margarete Munro,

¹ Munro was Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. George as early as 1724 (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 15th Dec., 1724). In 1736 he was Surgeon at Fort St. David, and in 1742 he became Surgeon at Fort St. George (*P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 9th Feb., 1741½).

widow of his brother Daniel Munro, late Minister of Tain, North Britain, the testator desires the trustees to realize his estate, excepting his house in Charles Street. This residence is devised to his wife for life, and, at her death, to his son Robert Duncan, and, failing him, to the testator's daughters, Katherine and Margarete Aurora. After them it passes to his son Hugh John. The rest of the estate is to be remitted to the executors, 'Thomas Saunders, Esquire, late Governour of Fort St. George, the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk, of Fort St. George in the East Indies, Mr. William Ferguson, Druggist and Chymist in London, John Munro, Esquire, of Cullcarn, late of Bombay, and the Reverend Mr. Andrew Robertson, Minister of the Gospell in Kiltcarn, Ross Shire, North Brittain,' who are to divide it into ten shares, of which the testator's wife and two daughters are to receive each two shares, his son Robert Duncan Munro three shares, and his son Hugh John Munro one share. The witnesses to the will are Ephraim Isaac, Gilbert Pasley, and Domingos da Cruz. Then follow three codicils, dated 24th August and 13th and 22nd October. The first relates to the realization by George Smith of estate at Canton; the second gives the trustees discretion to sell the house in Charles Street; and the third is concerned with furniture. This last codicil begins:—'I, Andrew Munro, above-named, having Seen disputes arise about the Paraphernalia of Women, therefore, to prevent trouble to my Trustees or any thing of the kind, My will is, and I ordain and appoint that whatever part of our Furniture, &c., my dear Wife may want to keep for her own use, besides what is commonly meant the Paraphernalia, shall be allowed her by the other Trustees without paying for them. . . .' The testator died on the 26th October, 1757. His widow survived until 1771.

Shortly after Munro's death Drs. Robert Turing and James Wilson urged the enlargement of the Hospital :—

Letter from the Surgeons.

(P.C., vol. lxxxvii., 20th Dec., 1757.)

'In the first place, We are humbly of Opinion that the Hospital should be made capable of Lodging Two hundred or Two hundred and fifty Men; and that there should be Salivating Rooms fitted up for Thirty at least, not more than five or Ten in a Room. Likewise that a Place be fitted up for the reception of two or three hundred Seamen against the Arrival of the Fleet.



THE HOSPITAL

[1755]
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'Secondly, that the Floors of the several Wards should be raised a Foot at least above the Level of the Court Yard. . . .

'Fourthly, that there be a room fitted up for Operations, with Tables and Chairs for that purpose, and a Chest to keep Instruments and Bandages in ready prepared.

'Fifthly, that there be a room fitted up for a Shop, with shelves and a Shop board.

'ROBERT TURING.

'JAMES WILSON.'

The Government were, however, contemplating the demolition of the hospital for military reasons, and the removal of the rising ground on which it stood. They accordingly resolved that no alterations could be made save such as were indispensable.



CHAPTER XXXIII

1752—1755

BUILDINGS AND LANDS—CONFISCATED PROPERTY—
CONRAD'S MAP OF 1755

BUILDINGS AND LANDS.

THE Silver Mint in the north-west angle of the White Town appears to have been demolished in the course of the realignment by the French of a part of the western curtain adjacent to it. The Paymaster reported as follows :—

'Mr. John Smith to Richard Starke,¹ Esqr.

'Agreeable to Order of Yesterday's Consultation, I have been with Linga Chittee² to Survey the Place where the Silver Mint stood. But he says that it is impossible to rebuild it there, for the French, by building a Wall, have taken away great part of the Ground, so that there will not be room unless you take in the Horse Stable. He show'd me a place at the foot of the Glacis near the Company's Pagoda,³ which he thinks would be convenient for the Purpose.' (*Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 24th March, 1752.)

Saunders, on arrival, directed Starke and Smith to select a spot for a new mint. They reported in favour of the original site, enlarged by taking in some godowns belonging to the estate of the late Petrus Usan.⁴ The stables were converted into a timber-yard.

In May, 1752, Brohier reported that the arched bridge on the road to Triplicane was in a ruinous condition, and that its repair would cost upwards of Pags. 3,000. Government decided on

¹ *Richard Starke* succeeded Richard Prince as Deputy Governor.

² *Linga Chetfi* was the Mint Contractor.

³ *The Company's Pagoda*, the Great Gentu Pagoda in Old Black Town, which was officially recognized. The servants attached to the existing temple, which replaced this pagoda, wore until lately a badge bearing the words 'East India Company.'

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 6th and 20th April, 1752.

rebuilding it, advancing the money themselves and recovering it subsequently from 'Criminal Forfeitures.'¹ The work was put in hand, but so much damage was done by a cyclone in the following November that progress ceased, and the bridge remained impassable till 1754:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Triplicane Bridge having long been broken down, so that all passengers and Carriages are oblig'd to wade thro' the River, which is of great Inconvenience, and even prejudicial to the Settlement, the St. Thomé Road being a very great thoroughfare, Ordered that a Temporary Bridge be made in the place where the old Bridge is broken down, of sufficient Strength for Carriages as well as foot passengers to pass, and that it be completed before the Monsoon setts in.' (P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 19th Aug., 1754)

The north-east monsoon of 1752 was ushered in by a severe storm on the 31st October and 1st November, and the public buildings suffered great damage. Havoc was played with doors and windows in all directions. Walls were overthrown, the Town gates blown in, and serious injury was done to the Fort House, 'the apartments in General for the Company's Servants in the inner Fort,' the European and Coffreys' Barracks,² Hospital, Mint, the Causeway,³ Triplicane Bridge, etc. 'The House of Mrs. Medeiros, occupied by the Honble President . . ., received great Damage.' Brohier estimated the cost of repair of the Company's buildings at upwards of Pags. 4,000.⁴

A few months later this residence of Mrs. Madeiros in Triplicane was acquired by Government to replace the Company's Garden House in Peddanaikpetta, which had been demolished by the French. The new property was gradually developed into the present Government House and park:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It having been always usual for the Company to allow the President a House in the Country to retire to, and Mrs. Medeiros being willing to dispose of her House, situated in the Road to St. Thomé, for three thousand five hundred Pagodas, Agreed That it be purchased accordingly, The Companys Garden-house having been demolish'd by the French when they were in Possession of

¹ P.C., vol. lxxx., 25th May, 1752.

² The Coffreys' Barracks were on the Island within Smith's Ditch.

³ The Causeway crossed Smith's Ditch.

⁴ P.C., vol. lxxx., 5th Feb. and — Aug., 1753.



this Place, and Mrs. Medeiros's being convenient for that Purpose, and on a Survey esteem'd worth much more than the Sum 'tis offer'd at.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 28th Aug., 1753.)

The house had been acquired by Mr. Luis de Madeiros, but the name of the previous proprietor is not known.¹ The building certainly belonged to Madeiros when the French captured Madras. Government took it over before the end of 1753:—'The Secretary lays before the Board a Bill of Sale from Mrs. Medeiros duly executed, and other Titles of the Garden House beyond Triplicane Bridge in the Road to St. Thomé, Agreed in Consultation the 28th of August to be purchased. Order'd that the Purchase Money, being three thousand five hundred Pagodas (3,500) be paid.'²

The 'Prison for Debtors adjoining to and under the old Court-house' was still in use in 1753, when it and the rooms above were thoroughly repaired.'³

Captain Edmund Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law, having applied for a piece of land west of Vepery, was informed that a grant would be made directly the cowl to the Renters of the Egmore villages had expired. Doubtless he obtained the land, for ground in the angle west of the present Perambore Barracks Road and north of Pursewaukum High Road is still called 'Maskelyne-tottam.'⁴ Maskelyne's application to the Governor runs as follows:—'There being a Spot of Ground to the Westward of Vepara, uncultivated, which the Renters are willing to let me form an House and Garden upon, to comprehend the Extent of 604 Square Feet,⁵ I shall be extremely obliged to your Honour, &c., for a Grant of the Same upon the Terms usually allowed in these Cases.'⁶

Alexander Wynch owned a house on the east side of St. Thomas Street, by the Half Moon Battery, and fronting the east end of St. Mary's Church.⁷ On Colonel Scott's recommendation, the

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.

² *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 26th Nov., 1753.

³ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 8th and 15th Oct., 1753.

⁴ The property was bought by the Nawab in 1762 after Maskelyne had left the country. (*P.C.*, vol. xcii., 15th Feb., 1762.)

⁵ If Gentu feet of 60 square feet are implied, the area would contain 4,060 square yards.

⁶ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 2nd July, 1753.

⁷ Wynch bought the house in 1751 from the executor of John Saunders. (*Bills of Sale*, No. 6, 14th Sept., 1751.)



battery was enlarged by absorbing ground which lay behind the house. A plot on the north side of the building was accordingly granted to Wynch in lieu thereof.¹ Wynch also owned a house on the west side of the street, next south of the church. He sold both residences in 1756 to Captain Dugald Campbell,² from whom they passed to Mr. Charles Bouchier. Wynch's country residence appears to have been situated at Chepauk.³

Sampāti Rau, the Nawab's Dewan, was desirous of purchasing the property in Chepauk which once belonged to Signora Estra Gregorio, and which passed from her to Lawrence Van Buyten-dyke. The house had lately been occupied by Deputy Governor Starke. It must have been a substantial building, for the Dewan offered Pags. 2,200 for it. There was some divergence of opinion in the Council as to whether purchase should be allowed, and it was eventually decided to refuse permission.⁴ Sampāti Rau subsequently acquired a house in Black Town.

In the absence of hotel accommodation other than was afforded by the punch-houses, the Council had appropriated one of the confiscated buildings for the reception of distinguished strangers. After it had been in use for some time, they asked for the formal sanction of the Directors:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We have sometimes been put to great inconveniences in accommodating Strangers ; such We mean whose Stations or Character entitle them to publick Notice. If your Honours will permit Us to set apart one of the confiscated houses for that Purpose, and furnish it decently (which may be done at a very Moderate Expence), it wou'd not only answer that End, but serve likewise to accommodate your Servants on their first Arrival from England or from the Subordinates,⁵ till they can be otherwise provided for. At present, for want of such a Place, they are obliged to take up with what Conveniences are to be met with in a Punch House.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

¹ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 20th May, 1754, and *Bills of Sale*, No. 8, 20th May, 1754.

² *Bills of Sale*, No. 11, 16th July, 1756.

³ Map of 1755.

⁴ *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th Dec., 1753, and vol. lxxxii., — Jan., 1754.

⁵ Subordinate factories.



CONFISCATED PROPERTY.

As soon as Saunders assumed charge at Fort St. George, the demolition of St. Andrew's Church was begun :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As many Persons have been buried in the Portuguese Church, whose Bodys in demolishing it may be exposed ; to prevent which and preserve as great a Decency in regard thereto as may be, It is therefore proper to permit their being removed by such of their Relations and Friends as shall be inclined to do it.

'The Armenians, being obliged in Compliance with the Honble Companys Commands to leave their Habitations in the White Town, having requested that a proper Place be assigned them to build on, Agreed that they be permitted to chuse a Spot of Ground for that Purpose, provided it in no wise interferes with the intended Fortifications. Mr. Brohier is therefore hereby directed to survey the same, as well as the Portuguese and Armenian Churches in the Black Town, and report it to the Board.' (P.C., vol. lxxx., 20th April, 1752.)

These churches, or rather small chapels, appear to have occupied the sites of the Portuguese and Armenian cemeteries in the thoroughfare now called Armenian Street in Muthialpetta. A petition from Father Severini of September, 1754,¹ shows that the Portuguese burial-ground had been placed at his disposal in 1750,² when temporary buildings were erected there. Both cemeteries were afterwards used by Government as a site for hospital sheds, and were not restored until 1772, when the churches now existing were put in hand. The date 1642 on the gate pillars of the Roman Church, now the Cathedral, marks the founding of the Capuchin mission, and has no reference to the erection of the edifice. Nor does the date 1712, borne on the façade of the present Armenian place of worship, relate to the construction of that church, though it may possibly apply to the founding of the original chapel in the Cemetery. The earliest Armenian Church, situated in Old Black Town near the Bridge Gate, as shown in Thomas Pitt's map, was probably built shortly after the Company entered into covenant with the Armenians resident in India. It was destroyed by the

¹ P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.

² The ground is believed to have been Church property at a much earlier date, possibly from Greenhill's time, but the confiscatory orders rendered a fresh grant necessary.



French. In regard to the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort, the Company wrote as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

‘The materials of the Portuguese Church must be sold, and the Produce brought to our Credit. The Square adjoining to it, which, you say, with some Alterations may be made very convenient for the Military Officers, we had no Intentions should be demolished : therefore you are to make use of it for the Military Officers, or any other purposes you think proper.

‘With regard to your Opinion that, if a Gratification was made for the said Church and Square, it would be of no ill Consequence, we cannot give any Directions until you inform us what are the Pretensions thereto, and by whom, and whether they are reasonable.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Our Honble Masters . . . having been pleased to direct that the Materials of the Portuguese Church be sold,¹ and the Amount carried to their Credit, and also that the adjoining Buildings or Square be made convenient for the Military Officers, Order’d That Mr. Brohier deliver in an Account of the said Materials with a proper Valuation. . . . And with Respect to the Appartments, he is hereby directed to draw out a Plan of a Row of Buildings to be erected where the Church Stood, and made One Side of the Square, together with an Estimate of the Charge thereof, and of such Repairs and Alterations as may be necessary to render the Appartments commodious.’ (*P.C.*, vol lxxxi., 10th July, 1753.)

In 1754 Father Severini asked for a permanent grant of the Portuguese Cemetery in Armenian Street. The substance of his petition will be understood from the following disposal:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

‘Petition of Padre Severini and the Inhabitants of Madrass of the Romish Religion read . . ., setting forth that, when the Romish Church in this Town was taken from them, they were permitted to retire to a place in the Black Town which had served as a Church Yard, where they erected a Building for the Exercise of their Religion ; but the same being done in a very Slight manner, is liable to receive Damage by every strong Wind : and being desirous of building a Church there, they pray that the said Spot of ground may be granted them, with the Addition of another spot contiguous thereto belonging to the Company.

‘Recourse being had to the Company’s Orders relating to Romish priests, it appears . . . that We are absolutely forbid suffering any Romish Church within the Bounds, or even to suffer the publick profession of the Romish Religion, or their priests to dwell amongst Us.

¹ The materials were actually used in fitting up Egmore Redoubt as a Powder Mill. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 3rd March, 1755.)

It is therefore Agreed that the said Petition be not complied with ; but that, in Consideration of the good Character of the Padre Severini, and his having always shewn himself a friend to the English, he is still permitted to reside there untill Our Honble Masters further pleasure be known. THOS. SAUNDERS, ALEX^r. HERON, HENRY POWNEY, ALEX^r. WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHAS. BODDAM, ROB^t. ORME, WILL^m. PERCEVAL, CHAS. BOURCHIER.' (P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.)

The Danish Missionaries were put in possession of the church at Vepery in November, 1752, when they received a building grant of Pags. 500 from the Company. Uschan, who had claimed ownership, was dead, but 'Fr. Severino, Meenasa Cawn and Joannes Gregorio,' his executors, lodged a protest against the transfer.¹

Petrus Uschan died on the 15th January, 1751, at the age of 70, and was buried at his chapel in Vepery. His tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of St. Matthias, just opposite the principal entrance to the church, a building erected on the site of the older chapel. The stone bears a bilingual inscription in Latin and Armenian testifying to the virtues of the deceased. Petrus Uschan was the son of Coja Uschan, and grandson of Coja Pogose of Julfa, near Ispahan. He was a notable personage in Madras, and he will long be remembered by his works, especially the Marmalong Bridge and the Mount Steps.²

The claim made by Uschan's executors in November, 1752, was referred to England. The Directors ordered an inquiry into the allegations, and the Council consulted Uschan's will. The document proved to be of such inordinate length that Coja Shawmierz Sultan and Coja Thaddæus Agapery were desired to extract the relevant portions.³ The abstract here quoted was before the Council at an earlier date :—

'The Translation of an Abstract of some Paragraphs of the Deceased Petrus Uschan's Testament from the Armenian Language.

(P.C., vol. lxxxii., 25th Feb., 1754.)

'After I expire, let my body be buried in the Chappel Nossa Senhora de Milagres, which I got erected at Viparee.

'Let 1,500 Pagodas be placed in the hands of the Superior, Padre Severini, to

¹ P.C., vol. lxxx., 9th Oct. and 6th and 20th Nov., 1752.

² An oil-painting of Petrus Uschan, executed in Madras in 1737, hangs in the Cathedral at Julfa. (*History of the Armenians in India*, Mesrobian Seth.)

³ P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 29th July, 1754.



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finish the remainder work of the Chappel Nossa Senhora de Milagres (which I begun), and ornamenting the Same.

'The Superior, Padre Severini, had bought a Ground distant from Madrass upon which I got the Chappel erected, and for which Chappel let 1,500 Pagodas more be placed in the hands of the said Superior to let them at Interest, and with the Interest thereof a dayly Mass to say for my Soul.

'I gave Vipary and its Ground to Padre Severini to be his prayer Chappel, and no person on my part shall have power to govern them, and the same padree, being my first Executor, shall likewise take all the Money I kept for Vipare.

'Madrass.

'9 Jan^y 1759.

A True Translation.

PHILLIPPUS AGAPEREY, Calandar.'

The Council ultimately arrived at the conclusion that Vepery Chapel had really been Uscan's property :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Pursuant to an Order of Consultation the 29th July last, made in consequence of Our Honble Masters directions touching the pretensions of padre Severini to the Church at Vipparee, Extracts from the Will and Codicills of Coja Petrus, and Translations of the same, both attested by Coja Shawmir Sultan and Coja Thaddæus Agapery, Men of Credit, are now laid before the Board and read. Whereupon the Board are of opinion that the said Church at Vipparee was really the property of the said Petrus, and that he hath by his Will given and devised the same to the said Padre Severini that Masses may be said there at certain Stipulated times for the rest of his Soul. But that Our Honble Masters may themselves be enabled to judge of the said Petrus's Right and Request, it is Ordered that Copies of the said Translated Extracts be sent to England. . . .'
(P.C., vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.)

One of the confiscated houses in the White Town, which had been the property of 'Don Jeronimo,' formed the subject of correspondence with the Marquess Ovando, Governor of Manila. The Marquess wrote on behalf of Francisco Antonio Figueroa, son-in-law of the Don, claiming compensation not only for the house in White Town, but also for one demolished in the Black Town during the progress of the fortifications. It appears that Don Jeronimo de Ytta y Sallazar married M. Francisca Melique. Their daughter, Donna Cecilia, who was born at Madras in 1718, inherited the houses from her mother, and married Figueroa of Manila. Don Jeronimo died at Pondicherry in 1751.

The Council, after consulting Mr. Morse, decided that compensation had been paid to all parties who had suffered through the extension of the fortifications, though no proof could be adduced owing to the removal of the receipts by the French. As to the