



house in the White Town, no compensation was admissible. In 1755, however, Mr. Pigot's Government advised a more conciliatory course :—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'The houses claimed by Monsieur Balleu and Don Jeronimo de Ysa de Salazar were most undoubtedly their Property before the Loss of this Settlement. On the Restitution of it, those Houses were confiscated because the Proprietors had put themselves under the Protection of the French Government by residing at Pondicherry. This was their whole Crime, for they had not committed any overt Act against the English Interest. Whether this may be construed a sufficient Cause of Confiscation We submit to your Honours. It was thought so then. Very pressing Demands have been made by the Governour at Manilha on Account of Salazar's house, and We are apprehensive that, unless they are complied with, our Trade to that Place may suffer, which would be felt in your Customs. The Value of these two houses, with one belonging to Mr. Carvalho under the same Circumstances, may be worth about Pags. 5000, a Sum too inconsiderable to be set in Competition with so valuable a Trade as that to Manilha has been; and We judge, if your Honours think proper to give up one, you will not chuse to hold the others.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

Before this letter reached England the Directors had left the disposal of the confiscated houses to the discretion of Fort St. George.<sup>1</sup> Pigot restored the buildings to the original owners on condition that they should sell them forthwith to European Protestants.<sup>2</sup> About Don Jeronimo's property there appears to have been some hitch, for it was not until the end of 1762 that a Mr. 'Dehitay Salazar' (who mentions that he is the son of Don Jeronimo and grandson of M. Ballieu) was allowed to dispose of two houses in Choultry Gate Street. One of them was bought by Mr. Pigot.<sup>3</sup>

Father Severini's claims to the ownership of Vepery Chapel, and to compensation for the demolition of St. Andrew's Church, were still outstanding. Saunders' Government held that the first had been proved good by Usca's will,<sup>4</sup> and they were in favour of the second. The Company ordered further inquiry, and in 1755 Pigot's Government wrote as follows, giving an imperfect account of the history of St. Andrew's:—

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 5th July, 1756, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 23rd Nov., 1762.

<sup>4</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.



*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'With respect to Padre Severini's Pretensions to the Church at Viparee, the Extract from the Will of the late Coja Petrus Usan, transmitted last year, is as circumstantial as anything We can say.

'We cannot authentically trace the first Building of the Portuguese Church in the White Town, which your Honours directed to be demolished; but by the best Accounts We can collect (and We believe them to be true), it was originally built and afterwards maintained by a Subscription amongst the Roman Catholic Inhabitants. But that Building falling to Decay, it appears, by the Minutes of Consultation the 10th April 1721, that the Romish Padres applied for and obtained Leave to rebuild the Church, which Permission was again confirmed in Consultation 26th October 1721.<sup>1</sup> The Fund for that Purpose, We are informed, was raised by the voluntary Contributions of the Romish Inhabitants, at whose Expence it was kept in Repair under the Management of the Capuchin Padres untill We caused it to be demolished by your Honours Orders; and as a Multitude of People have been interested in it from the Beginning, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make out any legal Claim.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

Cornered as to Vepery, and uncomfortable about St. Andrew's, the Directors sought pusillanimous refuge in procrastination. They announced<sup>2</sup> that the claims 'cannot, in the present Situation of Affairs, be taken under consideration: our Directions therefore must necessarily be deferred until more favourable Times and Circumstances of the Company.'

CONRAD'S MAP OF 1755.

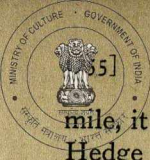
In 1755 a new survey of Madras was undertaken, and the resulting map, or the most important part of it, has fortunately been preserved. On the last day of 1754 the Council 'Ordered [that] a Survey of the Company's Present Bounds of Madras and its Districts be made by Messrs. Hume and Sausure under the direction of Mr. Brohier.'<sup>3</sup> It is doubtless a portion of the survey then contemplated, though executed by another hand, that may now be seen in the King's Library of the British Museum on a sheet measuring 85 inches by 42 inches. It is a manuscript coloured map headed '*A Plan of Fort St. George and the Bounds of Madraspatnam, Surveyed and Drawn by F. L. Conradi, 1755.*' Plotted to a scale of 60 yards to the inch, or about 29 inches to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and *P.C.*, vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721.

<sup>2</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Dec., 1754.





mile, it shows the region from the line of Choultries and Bound Hedge on the north to Chepauk on the south, and from the sea on the east to the Elambore or North River and Chintadripetta Pagoda on the west. The letters A, B, and C on the southern and western limits of the plan indicate perhaps the existence originally of other sheets depicting the outlying villages on those sides. The surveyor and cartographer is mentioned in the following letter from Fort St. George to Mr. Charles Hopkins, Chief of Devikota :—‘ We are informed that Mr. Conradt, belonging to Captain Ziegler’s Company, has some knowledge of the Engineers business, particularly the drawing of plans, &c. If so, he may be very usefull to Mr. Brohier in carrying on the works, and We would have him take the first Opportunity of coming hither.’<sup>1</sup>

Conradi’s map has been reproduced on a smaller scale for this work. It repays careful study, as it marks the transition from ancient to modern Madras. Attention may be drawn to the following points. The North River has cut a new channel for itself across the Island, and it is passed by a foot-bridge. The former course is dammed up at either end of the White Town, so that Smith’s Ditch has become the true western boundary of the fortifications, and the old river bed forms a pond in the middle of the fortress. The Coffreys’ Barracks, marked P, are situated close to the French bridge-head O, and Smith’s Ditch is traversed by a causeway. Casamajor’s house, the old Powder Factory, and other buildings on the Island have disappeared.

The Company’s Garden House in Peddanaikpetta has vanished from the map, though part of the garden, marked 8, remains. The Garden Bridge survives, and from its northern end start two dotted lines marked *aaa*, *bbb* on the map. The first, which encloses the whole of Peddanaikpetta and nearly all Muthialpetta, striking the sea 540 yards south of the Bound Hedge, shows Robins’ scheme for fortifying the Pettahs with an indented rampart, consisting of extremely large flat bastions connected by short curtains. The second shows the more restricted line proposed by Brohier, whose bastions are smaller but curtains longer, and whose line meets the sea 1,140 yards south of the Bound Hedge. Neither scheme was ever carried out, a more extended one being substituted at a later date.

<sup>1</sup> *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 15th June, 1754.



In the White Town, the Fort Square has the form which it retained till its demolition in the following century. On its north side are the Grand Magazine K and Artillery Park L, while the Artillery Barracks N are by the Half Moon Battery. The Sea Gate Colonnade is missing, having been removed by the French. St. Andrew's Church C has been levelled, but its convent buildings D remain. The most curious acquisition is 'A Statue of the Goddess of Commerce,' marked R, set up in a rectangle of green-sward between Charles Street and James Street. The records are silent regarding this work of art, whose origin and ending are alike unknown. It is noticeable, however, that the statue does not appear in Call's plan of the White Town in 1758.

The portion of old Black Town destroyed by the French extended to a distance of about 400 yards from the north rampart of the White Town, so that less than one half of the area occupied by buildings was levelled by the invader. The Great Gentoo Temple or Perumal Pagoda, marked 17, stood undisturbed.

In Muthialpetta the new Roman Catholic and Armenian Churches, marked 15 and 16, are shown in the positions formerly occupied by the Portuguese and Armenian cemeteries. These sites in the thoroughfare now called Armenian Street are retained at the present day. It will be noticed that the Church enclosures project beyond the southern boundary line of Muthialpetta. The projection is due to the old cemeteries having been spared when the demolition took place, at the time of the threatened Marātha incursion, which gave Old Black Town its esplanade. Further north, the great Kachāleswarar Temple is shown as 14. Between the two Pettahs is an open space containing gardens and a portion of the Company's paddy-fields.

In Peddanaikpetta the Hospital, marked 9, occupies a position 350 yards west-south-west of the Armenian Bridge of Old Black Town. John Pereira's and Empson's former gardens are still unbuilt on, but Peddanaikpetta has ceased to be the fashionable European quarter. The only garden houses marked are those of Messrs. Walsh and Franco, and one belonging to the estate of the late Captain 'Scrimshaw.'<sup>1</sup> The temple called Allingall's in Thomas Pitt's map is conspicuously shown in the map of 1755 as 10, 'Egam Isprah Pagoda.' It is the existing Ekambreswarar

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Scrimmour died in 1753.





Temple in Mint Street. The Jewish Cemetery has become reduced in size since Pitt's time. Much of the northern part of the Pettah, and the whole of the north-western portion, is occupied by cultivated land. Comparing Conradi's and Thomas Pitt's maps with those of the present day, and using Choultry Gate and Bulkley's Tomb as fixed points, we can determine the position of Armenian Bridge as being on the curve of the South Indian Railway in the angle between Walajah Road and Fraser Bridge Road, and about 50 yards outside the edge of the existing north-west glacis.

The river at Triplicane Bridge is shown running in two channels, with a low marshy island between them. The bridge, which appears to be partly causeway, is upwards of 200 yards in length. The highway on the south bank, which does not follow the alignment of the present Mount Road, has a guard-house on its east side, with Mr. Henry Powney's residence close behind. The road then passes the back of the 'Governour's Garden House' just acquired from Mrs. Madeiros. That property has a long garden running eastward, with an ornamental pond at the end, which is still preserved. Close to the Governor's house, on its south side, is the residence of Capt. John Standard, which figures in G. M. Pitt's map of 1733. About 750 yards south-east of the Governor's house is a fine residence with walled garden. It is probably the property once belonging to Signora Estra Gregorio, and it is not improbable that it was occupied at this time by Mr. Wynch. It is noteworthy that the south bank of the river to the north-west of Triplicane Bridge is devoid of buildings, as was indeed the case in 1733. It is, in fact, a marshy area, intersected by streams. These facts explode a current tradition that the houses in Napier Park are of great age, and that Elihu Yale had his habitation either in one of them or in their vicinity.

Early in 1755 the Council reported progress on the survey, and foreshadowed a larger project:—'We have directed a new Survey to be made of your Antient and present Bounds, and some of the Engineer's Assistants are now actually employed on that Business. It might be of great Use hereafter cou'd we obtain an accurate Survey of the whole Arcot Province; and, if Possible, we propose to have it done.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.





## CHAPTER XXXIV

1755—1763

## GOVERNORSHIP OF GEORGE PIGOT

BORN in 1719, the eldest son of Richard Pigot of Westminster, George Pigot joined the East India Company's civil service at the age of seventeen, and arrived at Madras in July, 1737.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the capture of the place by the French, when he was a Junior Merchant and Clerk of the Peace, Pigot was made a prisoner of war. He elected to go to England, where he remained until the rendition. Returning to the Coast in 1750, he was appointed a member of the Fort St. David Council. In the following year he was commissioned by Governor Saunders to take charge of a large convoy of stores for Vriddhāchalam. Accompanied by Clive, he repulsed a hostile poligar and accomplished his mission. On his way back to Fort St. David, he was surprised by the poligar. Most of the escort were slain, and Pigot and Clive narrowly escaped with their lives.<sup>2</sup> Pigot was next appointed Chief of Vizagapatam, and he served at that station until 1754, when he was nominated Deputy Governor of Fort St. David with succession to Saunders. He arrived at Madras in October, and remained at the Presidency until Saunders embarked for England on the 14th January, 1755. Pigot assumed charge as Governor on the same date.<sup>3</sup>

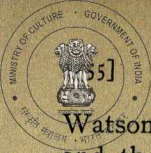
Pigot's administration was a strenuous and eventful one. It was marked by such incidents as Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī's entry into Arcot; the final extermination of Angria's nest of pirates by

<sup>1</sup> His securities were his two brothers, Robert and Hugh Pigot (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 3rd Jan., 1741), who entered the army and navy respectively. The former rose to be General and the latter Admiral. The records allude also to a Capt. Charles Pigot, who was commander of the *Dolphin*. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 6th Oct., 1745.)

<sup>2</sup> *East India Military Calendar*, Philippart, 1824.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 14th Jan., 1755.





Watson and Clive; the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, and the tragedy of the Black Hole; the relief expedition from Madras under Watson and Clive, which recaptured Calcutta and took Chandernagore; the battle of Plassey; the loss of Cuddalore and Fort St. David; the siege of Madras by Lally; the capture of Pondicherry, which put a period to the long struggle with the French; and, finally, the subjugation of Manila. Some of these events lie outside the scope of this work, but all formed the subject of anxious consideration by the Council of Fort St. George, and stamped their impress on Madras. During Pigot's administration the Company, from a trading corporation owning isolated towns, forts, and factories, blossomed abruptly into a ruling power controlling vast territories.

The suspension of arms of the 11th October, 1754, was followed by a definite peace concluded between French and English by Saunders and Godeheu on the 31st December. The time then seemed ripe for Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī to make a formal entry into his capital of Arcot:—

*Colonel Lawrence to Governor Pigot.*

(*M.C.*, vol. iv., 25th Aug., 1755.)

'We met the Nabob the 19th, and accompanied him to his Encampment about a Mile from the Fort, where, according to the Eastern Custom, he resolv'd to wait for a lucky Day to make his Entry into the City. We had a private Conference with him the 20th, when We deliver'd the Presidents Letter, and press'd him, to visit Madrass before he enter'd on any Publick Business; which he readily consented to, but said he could not propose setting out before Tuesday, as it requir'd some Days for him to settle his Family and receive the Congratulations of his Subjects. He then desir'd that We would mention aloud at his Durbar that, now the Army was arriv'd here, the Polligars and his other Tributaries should be first invited to settle Accounts and pay off their Arrears, but that if they did not comply without Delay, they should be forc'd to it. As we were convinc'd that this must have a good Effect, we took an Opportunity of doing it at a full Assembly, at which, among the rest, Abdul Bob Cawn, Sampetrow and the Velloor Vakeel<sup>1</sup> were present. . . .

'The Nabob made his publick Entry this Morning in a very splendid manner, and this Evening visited the Fort. On the 28th We hope to accompany him into Madrass.

'STRINGER LAWRENCE.

'ROBERT PALK.

'JOHN WALSH.

'Arcot Fort,  
'21st August, 1755.'

<sup>1</sup> Abd-ul-Wahāb Khān was a brother of the Nawab, and Sampāti Rau was the Dewan. The Vellore Vakeel was the representative of Murtaẓā 'Alī.





Muhammad 'Ali's visit to Madras was made on the 30th. He was received at the new Garden House by the Governor, Admirals Watson and Pocock, and a large assembly.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Heron had been despatched in February, with the army, to Madura and Tinnevely to subdue refractory poligars, as well as to collect the rents due to the Nawab, and so discharge part of Muhammad 'Ali's heavy debt to the Company. Heron prosecuted his task so unsatisfactorily that he was recalled, and charged with breach of orders and misappropriation of funds. He was suspended from Council, tried by court-martial, and cashiered<sup>2</sup>:—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'In our Address by the Hardwicke your Honours are acquainted with our having suspended Lieut. Colonel Heron from his Seat at the Board, and that a Court Martial was appointed then shortly to sit, at his own Request, to enquire into his Conduct. . . . The Articles We exhibited against him were four, Viz<sup>t</sup>.

- 1<sup>st</sup>. Of perverting the Intention of his Commission.
- 2<sup>d</sup>. Of laying or authorising a Duty on Provisions in Garrison.
- 3<sup>d</sup>. Of Breach of Orders.
- 4<sup>th</sup>. Of behaving in a Manner unbecoming an Officer.

'Of the 2<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Articles he is acquitted; Of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> found Guilty generally, and for his Punishment sentenced to be cashiered from Your Service as Major. . . .

'We were preparing to commence a Suit in the Mayor's Court against Lieut. Colonel Heron for the Money he misapplied; but the Sentence, as soon as it was approved by Colonel Adlarcron, being immediately communicated to him, he slipt out of the Bounds privately that same Night, and tho' a Party of Troopers and Seapoys were sent in Pursuit of him the next Morning, he got safe to Sadrass, a Dutch Settlement, from whence he has removed and taken Protection with the French at Pondicherry. We are sorry your Honours should have been so much deceived in his Character and Abilities; and upon the whole we must say We think you are cheaply off, notwithstanding his gross Mismanagement in the Madera Expedition; for as We could not have avoided giving him the Command of the Army shortly after his Arrival (Colonel Lawrence's ill State of Health at that time not permitting him to keep the Field), the Conduct of such a Leader might have proved fatal to your Affairs, had not the Truce taken Place.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 2nd March, 1756.)

The Directors agreed. They said:—'The Flight of Colonel Heron confirms his Guilt, and justifies your Proceedings against

<sup>1</sup> *The War in India*, R. O. Cambridge, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 29th Sept. and 15th Oct., 1755.





We think it some Happiness however that a Man of so bad a turn of Mind had not time to do Us further mischief.<sup>1</sup>

Clive, who had been at home on leave since 1753, returned to the East in 1755. Servants of the Company going to England were held to have resigned, and they could not come back unless reinstated. The Directors wrote of Clive as follows:—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

‘In Consideration of the Eminent Services Robert Clive, Esq<sup>r</sup>., has rendered to the Company while in their Employ on the Coast of Choromandel, as well as the further advantages which we are satisfied will result from his being again engaged to serve the Company, We have reinstated him upon our List of Covenant Servants, and appointed him to be one of our Council upon the Fort St. George Establishment, in Rank next below George Pigot, Esq<sup>r</sup>., and to take his Succession accordingly. If Mr. Saunders has resigned the Government, or when he does, in that Case Mr. Pigot is to be Governour of Fort St. George, and Mr. Clive Second in Council and Deputy Governour of Fort St. David, and to Succeed to the Government of Fort St. George upon the Death or Absence of Mr. Pigot. He takes his passage on the Stretham, one of the Bombay Ships, for the reasons which will be communicated by the Secret Committee to the Select Committee of Fort St. George.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 26th March, 1755.)

The Secret and Select Committees had been created a month earlier,<sup>2</sup> in view of the critical state of public affairs, to communicate with each other on naval and military matters. The former Committee was nominated from and by the Court of Directors, and the latter was appointed by the Secret Committee from the Council of Fort St. George:—

*The Secret Committee to Fort St. George.*

‘By virtue of the Power delegated to Us by the Court of Directors for constituting a Select Committee for the Purposes mentioned in the General Letter dated this day, We do hereby nominate and appoint the following Persons to be the said Select Committee, viz<sup>t</sup>. Thomas Saunders, Esq<sup>r</sup>., President of Fort St. George, or the President for the time being, George Pigot, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Second of Council, or the Second of Council for the time being, Lieutenant Colonel Caroline Frederick Scott, Lieutenant Colonel Stringer Lawrence, Messieurs Henry Powney, Robert Orme, Alexander Wynch and William Percival.

‘And in case of a Vacancy in the said Committee by Death or otherwise, We direct that the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk do fill up such vacancy, and all future Vacancys are to be filled up by such Persons as the Committee shall think proper.’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 14th Feb., 1755.)

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lviii., 14th Feb., 1755.



Writing to Bombay in the following month,<sup>1</sup> the Secret Committee referred to the ambitious designs of the French in assisting Ṣalābāt Jang in the Deccan, and urged an alliance between the Company and the Marāthas. They recalled the fact that the Marāthas had proposed to the British a joint attack on Angria, and they opined that such an expedition 'may be a good Cloak to the real Design against Salabut Jing and his Allies.' Fort St. George was directed to co-operate. The command was to be offered to Colonel Scott, or, failing him, to Colonel Lawrence; but if neither of these, nor Colonel Adlercron, could reach Bombay in time, Clive, who was then sailing from England, was to assume command in virtue of a commission as Lieut.-Colonel promised him by the King. The document, however, was delayed, and a Company's commission was issued in lieu. In November, 1755, Clive reached Bombay,<sup>2</sup> where he found Watson and the fleet. An expedition consisting of five King's ships and as many of the Company's, with a body of troops under Clive, entered the harbour of Viziadroog on the 11th February, 1756, bombarded the fort of Gheriah two days later, and annihilated Angria and his horde.<sup>3</sup>

The design against Ṣalābāt Jang fell through. Watson, after refitting at Bombay, sailed with Clive for Fort St. David, which they reached about the 13th May. Clive came on to Madras in the *Success* galley, arriving on the 22nd. On the 25th he took his seat as Second of Council, and signed the Consultation Book. A few days later he left for Fort St. David to assume the duties of Deputy Governor, *vice* Starke, who resigned.<sup>4</sup>

The news of the loss of Calcutta on the 20th June, 1756, conveyed in a letter from Messrs. Watts and Collet, dated Chandernagore, 2nd July, reached Madras on the 16th August. The intelligence was received with consternation. The Council instantly summoned Admiral Watson to concert measures for relief.<sup>5</sup> He was fortunately at hand, having brought up Adlercron's regiment from Fort St. David in the preceding month<sup>6</sup> :—

<sup>1</sup> *M. from Eng.*, vol. i., 26th March, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. v., 1st Jan., 1756.

<sup>3</sup> A full account, with plans, will be found in *The War in India*, R. O. Cambridge, 1761.

<sup>4</sup> *M.C.*, vol. vi., 17th and 22nd May; *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th May; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

<sup>5</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxvi., 17th Aug., 1756.

<sup>6</sup> *M.C.*, vol. vi., 21st July, 1756.



*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'At a Consultation Present, George Pigot, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Governour, President; Stringer Lawrence, Henry Powney, Robert Orme, William Perceval, John Smith, Charles Bouchier.

'Charles Watson, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Rear Admiral of the Red and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Squadron in India, and George Pocock, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Rear Admiral of the White, also Present at the request of the Board.

'It is the unanimous Opinion of the Board to apply to Admiral Watson for the whole Squadron, to which it is resolved to add all the Land Forces that can be spared. The President on this occasion offering his Services to accompany the Squadron, should they proceed, the Board express the highest Sentiments of His willingness to exert himself in this distinguished manner, and hope it will appear in the same light to the Company. The Board are of Opinion that the presence of the President, or that of Colonel Clive, will be necessary, as well to Advise with Mr. Watson as to Negotiate with the Nabob for resettling the Factory in a regular manner, and will, in a future deliberation, take into Consideration whom, of Mr. Pigot or Mr. Clive, they shall request to undertake this Expedition. In the mean time Order'd that Mr. Clive do repair to Fort St. George, and that the Admiral be address'd to send the whole Squadron in Conformity to the above Resolution.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 18th Aug., 1756.)

Lawrence, of course, offered his services; 'but when we consider'd the Unhealthiness of the Bengal Climate at that Season, His time of Life and State of Health, We thought the Chance of his surviving it greatly against him, and therefore desired he would wa[i]ve his Motion.'<sup>1</sup> Clive arrived on the 24th. The propriety of conferring the command of the expedition on Adlercron was afterwards discussed, but it was ultimately resolved to send Company's troops only, and to despatch them under Clive.<sup>2</sup>

Down to this time nothing was known beyond the bare fact of the fall of Fort William. On the 28th September, two letters of absorbing interest were received from Mr. J. Z. Holwell, one dated 'Muxadavad,' the 17th July, and the other 'Houghly,' the 3rd August. These communications contained a complete narrative of events, with lists of the deserters from Calcutta and of victims of the Black Hole.<sup>3</sup> Preparations for relief were pressed forward, and the expedition sailed on the 16th October.<sup>4</sup> A full

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 18th, 24th, and 29th Aug., and 21st Sept., 1756.

<sup>3</sup> *M.C.*, vol. vi., 28th Sept., 1756.

<sup>4</sup> Clive's report of the recapture of Calcutta on the 2nd January, 1757, with a copy of his journal from the 16th December, 1756, will be found in *M.C.*, vol. vii., 14th Feb., 1757. His report on the battle of Plassey, with a continuation of the journal, is recorded in *M. Sum.*, vol. xii., 2nd July, 1757.





account of the operations, with copies of original documents, is contained in Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57 (Indian Records Series)*; but the following letter from Clive to Muḥammad 'Alī relating to the battle of Plassey, and the Nawab's reply, have not, it is believed, been hitherto published :—

*'Col. Clive to Mahmud Ally Cawn Bahadre, Nabob of Arcot.*

'The last Time I wrote you I was in Hopes e'e'r this to have had the Pleasure of embracing you in Arcot. My Heart has long desir'd to be with you, but Providence has kept me here for glorious Purposes, and that Pleasure is reserved to a more distant Time. I before wrote you I had made Peace with Surajah Dowla on moderate Terms, in Hopes to gain his Confidence and Friendship, and that the Company's Trade might be immediately reestablished ; but regardless of our generous and friendly Conduct towards him, and the solemn Oath he had taken, he meditated, by a Conjunction with our old Enemies the French, to drive us again from his Country, and wrote repeated Letters to Mons<sup>r</sup>. Busie for the Purpose. I gave him frequent Warnings of the ill Consequences of this Conduct, but he still persisting, we were necessitated once more to try the Chance of War.

'Accordingly, on the 13th June, having assembled our Forces, I began my March towards his Capital, and on the 23<sup>d</sup>. June at Day break his whole Army, consisting of 100,000 Men, appear'd in Sight on the extensive Plains of Placis. The Battle immediately began, and at 4 in the Evening God declar'd for us, and this vast Army was entirely defeated. Many of his principal Officers and 4,000 Men were left on the Field of Battle, 40 Pieces of Cannon and all his Camp and Baggage fell into our Hands, and in a few Days Surajah Dowlat was Kill'd by them that pursued him.

'Nothing now prevented me possessing myself of Muxadavad with its immense Wealth, in Revenge for the Injuries of Calcutta, but I came not to this Country to destroy it. I encamped without the City, and left it to the great Men to choose a Successor, who declar'd themselves in Favour of Jaffier Ally Cawn, a very brave and good Man, who has since been universally and with Joy acknowledged throughout these Provinces.

'Besides the many Advantages and Honour the Company will receive by this happy Event, I have also the Pleasure to acquaint you that there is not in all these provinces one Frenchman but what is my Prisoner, and I hope they have for ever lost all Footing in Bengal. All the great Men here testify their Esteem for me, and have wrote to Court to obtain for me a great Title and a 6000 Munsub,<sup>1</sup> which I hope to receive shortly. The great Desire I have to see you checks the Joy of this vast Success. How happy shall I be if the Company's Affairs will admit of my returning shortly to the Coast ; for there is nothing in this World that I desire more than to fight in your Cause, and to have an Opportunity of giving you daily Proofs of the sincere Friendship and Respect I bear you.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. x., 4th Aug., 1757.)

<sup>1</sup> A 6000 Munsub, a titular honorary command of 6,000 horse ; from Ar, mansab, an office or dignity.



*'From the Nabob of Arcot to Col. Clive.*

'I have with great Pleasure received your Letter, informing me of your Success against the Nabob of Bengal and the French at Chandernagore. Captain Maskelyne has been with me, and told me of your gallant Actions in Bengal and your friendship for me. The Reason of my deferring so long an Answer to your Letter was the Death of 4 of my Daughters in one Month. In Arcot we have had a Pestilence which has destroy'd many. This, and many other Affairs, which would be tiresome to you to particularize, has occasion'd my long Silence, but there is not a Day passes that I do not remember you and have an inexpressible Desire of seeing you, which I hope will be very soon. I have many weighty Affairs to transact, which I should be glad of your Advice and Counsel in. Our Interest is mutual. I trust that, when you have concluded Matters in Bengal to your Satisfaction, You will send for my Naib (Deputy) and give him the Charge of the Country. There are with me several great and understanding Men of those Parts. I write this from the Friendship subsisting between us. Always write me of your Health and the News of those Parts.

*'Wrote in his own Hand.*

'By the Favour of God and your Bravery I hope to get Possession of Bengal. I am come to Madrass, but not seeing you I see nothing.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. x., 5th Sept., 1757.)

Hostilities had again broken out between the English and French, and though Clive had taken Chandernagore, Bussy made himself master of the Coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam. In the Carnatic the struggle was of a desultory character until the 28th April, 1758, when d'Aché arrived from France with eleven sail, and a substantial land force under Count Lally, the new Governor-General. The British fleet had returned from Bengal, where Watson had fallen a victim to climate, on the 16th August, 1757.<sup>1</sup> Pocock succeeded to the command of a squadron, consisting of the *Yarmouth*, 64, Capt. Harrison; *Elizabeth*, 64, Commodore Steevens, Capt. Kempenfelt;<sup>2</sup> *Cumberland*, 66, Capt. Brereton; *Weymouth*, 60, Capt. Vincent; *Tiger*, 60, Capt. Latham; *Newcastle*, 50, Capt. Legge; and *Salisbury*, 50, Capt. Somerset. The Admiral engaged d'Aché on the 29th April, and a warm but indecisive action ensued. On the same day Lally attacked Cuddalore, which surrendered on the 4th May, the garrison being permitted to withdraw to St. David's.<sup>3</sup>

At Fort St. David Alexander Wynch was acting for Clive as

<sup>1</sup> A monument to his memory was erected by the Company in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Admiral Kempenfelt, who went down with the *Royal George* on the 29th August, 1782.

<sup>3</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 9th May, 1758.





Deputy Governor, and Major Polier de Bottens, a Swiss officer, was in military command. Pigot wrote to Wynch on the 8th May, exhorting him to make a vigorous defence, and assuring him of the support of the Admiral. Pocock's efforts to beat to the southward were however unavailing. Lally invested the Fort with 3,500 Europeans. Batteries were established at Old and New Cuddalore on the 16th and 17th, and others at short range on the 26th and 30th. The garrison wasted their efforts and ammunition in the defence of detached posts. The sepoys deserted in large numbers, and the European troops were demoralized. On the 1st June, although the enemy had made no breach, Wynch, at the request of Polier, called a Council of War, at which it was decided to capitulate. The next day articles were signed by Wynch, Polier, and Fairfield for the English, and by Lally for the French, under which the civil servants and garrison yielded themselves prisoners of war to be exchanged on the first opportunity.<sup>1</sup> A Court of Inquiry held at Madras found that, while there was no question of Polier's personal bravery, his measures had been injudicious. The Court considered that the place should have held out much longer, and they reflected in strong terms on its early surrender. The Company's view of the capitulation was expressed incidentally in a despatch written later on a different subject :—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'Fort St. David . . . was given up for want of Economy in the management of the Stores, Ammunition and Provisions, and this absolutely owing to most shameful Neglect and Dissipation. The whole Siege was one Scene of disorder, confusion, mismanagement, and a total inattention to every important Branch ; and, after the strictest examination, we cannot yet trace who had the Care and delivery of the Stores and Ammunition. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

Wynch was released by the French in October, when he resigned the service<sup>2</sup> on the plea of failing health. Lally blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of ruins. In that condition, toned by the growth of vegetation, it remains to this day.

On the 2nd August, 1758, Pocock again encountered the French

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 12th June, 1758.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 16th Oct., 1758.





fleet, and another resolute though indecisive action was fought. A month later d'Aché left for the French Islands, and on the approach of the monsoon, Pocock, with the concurrence of the Madras Council, sailed for Bombay. After an inglorious expedition to Tanjore to replenish his treasury, Lally concentrated his efforts on the attack of Madras. The resistance offered was so stubborn that the enemy was compelled to raise the siege when it had lasted upwards of two months. The story of the successful defence will be told in subsequent pages. The war was pursued with vigour, but in 1761 the long struggle was terminated by the surrender of Pondicherry to Eyre Coote.

In 1762 an expedition under Admiral Cornish and General Draper was despatched from Madras against Manila. It was successful in reducing that fortified city, but the conquest proved of little practical value.

Pigot resigned office on the 14th November, 1763, and returned to England. He was created a baronet in the following year, and in 1766 he was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Pigot of Patshull. In 1775 he came once more to Madras as Governor. An account of his brief but eventful rule, and its tragic termination, will be given in the proper place.





## CHAPTER XXXV

1755—1759

## CHARACTER STUDIES—THE ASSAYMASTER

## CHARACTER STUDIES.

THE idiosyncrasies of the members of the Fort St. George Council are disclosed in a private letter written by Orme, about a year after his arrival in Madras from England, to John Payne, a Director of the Company. Payne, who became Deputy Chairman in 1756, and Chairman in the following year, seems to have befriended Orme when the latter was on leave, and to have expected confidential reports in return. The letter is preserved among the Orme Manuscripts at the India Office, and is designated in the Table of Contents of vol. xxviii., '*Letter from R.O. to J. Payne, dated Madrass, October 26, 1755. Characters of the Council, entrenous; nothing else material. Confidential.*' Subjoined are extracts:—

*Robert Orme to John Payne.*

(*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxviii., 26th Oct., 1755.)

'Dear Sir, The Business of my Department as Warehousekeeper for this Ship Hardwicke being finished, I am set down to communicate to You whatever I think necessary for Your having a perfect Idea of the State of this Settlement. I shall extenuate nothing, nor set down ought in Malice. I would willingly avoid a Task of this Nature, and had most certainly, Were not the Obligations I lay under to You and Mr. Drake<sup>1</sup> such as to admit no private Considerations for depriving You of the Knowledge necessary to the Management of those Affairs over which I doubt not but at this Time You preside. Were the Extent of my Communication known here, I should be called a Spy and an Informer, Characters bad enough in themselves, but which in their Acceptation here doom the Person who is branded with them to Infamy exceeded not by the Worst which ever suffered by the Publick Executioner.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Roger Drake was Chairman of Directors in 1754 and 1755.



Nothing can be so much detested here as a Man who is thought to attend to, to descendant on, or to oppose the prevailing conduct. . . .

‘Mr. Saunders, who certainly has good Abilities, and who by the Moderate fortune he carried home may be deem’d moderate in his Government, found in the latter part of it great Opposition, not without much Vexation from his Council. Nothing of this kind appear’d untill Colonel Lawrence and he disputed about the Prerogative of Military Authority. Where the fault Lay, I shall leave You to judge from a Description of their Humours and Characters, as far as it is in me to see into them.

‘Lawrence in his Military Command must have every thing dependant on his own Will, or that Will which, infused into him by others, he is taught to think his own. He is accessible, sadly accessible, from the Side of his Vanity, which indulges itself in frequent and honorable Commemoration of his Exploits. Every designing Man under him had the Reccomendation of himself in his own Power by his Behaviour to his General. Now amongst Some Good, some very indifferent got Ascendency over the old Gentleman. These, all these, must be served and promoted without Restriction. The Contempt which Lawrence always expressed for Lucrative Views, he verified in His own Conduct, altho’ he saw not into other Men, when his Favourites, acting from no other Motives. His Resolves are always violently hurried on.

‘Saunders had a much Superiour Sagacity to the Souldier, and tho’ I believe he would have acquiesced to a great deal for the Sake of Lawrence alone, Yet he thought it too much to submit to the Will of every Underling who might get an Influence over the Accessible Disposition of their Commander. If Promotion was tender’d by Lawrence and refused by Saunders, The Souldiers cryed out Peah;<sup>1</sup> and what at first I am confident was not such, became such in time through the inevitable Emotions of Human Nature. Saunders, I must say, had commonly the Reason on his Side, and had he managed it with Less Sharpness, The other had perhaps been less inflamed. Every thing now was tinctured with an Animosity which no longer was a Secret.

‘Mr. Palk, a Gentleman left in India by Mr. Boscawen and made Chaplain to St. David, was, at the time I left India, in high favour with Mr. Saunders: he was one of his Family. It is long since this Gentleman had thrown aside the Learning of Ancient or Christian Books to study the Tempers of Mankind, in which he is indeed a great Proficient, and as great a one in Adapting himself to them, I must say, with Decency. His Character as a Clergyman admitted him to the Conciliation of Disputes, and where he did not succeed, his Intentions were rewarded with the graceful Name of a Peace Maker. I had perceiv’d various Instances of his Address in the Management of Persons at Variance with another, and suppressed what was my rising Sentiment in favour of the general One. Mr. Palk was chose by Mr. Saunders to go to Camp, under the Name of a Commissary design’d to retrench Expences, but with the real View of softning and managing Colonel Lawrences Warm and Sudden Temper in the Contests then subsisting between him and Mr. Saunders. How well he fulfill’d this Commission I would willingly throw a veil over, but the Facts are known to all, and do not seem disavowed by himself. He received from Colonel Lawrence most beneficial Employs in the Camp, and by his means in other Services, which have, in the Time of my Voyage, set him independant in

<sup>1</sup> Peah, a vulgar term of abuse, from Tel. *piyya*, ordure. It implies the disgust of the soldiers at the action taken.





the World, worth at Least £10,000 from two he came with into India. And from a Month after his arrival in Camp, Mr. Saunders received no further Tokens of his Attention or Respect. Colonel Lawrence becomes all and all with Mr. Palk.

'The Influence which I have above described Mr. Palk to have over the greatest part of the Community of which he is the Pastor, shone forth eminently now in their Notions of the Governor. Mr. Palk blamed him : all the World did so too. Mr. Palk gave witness to a more than Heroick Character in Colonel Lawrence : He became immediately a Hero of the first Order.

'At Mr. Palk's going to Camp, Clive and I were coming to England, and the Post of Contractor to victual the Army became Vacant. I will conceal nothing from You. Clive had got £40,000 in that Employ at contracting to furnish for each Man at Six Fanams a day. Mr. Saunders, on Clives leaving India, reduced this Rate to four fanams, and at this, A Very handsome Profit remain'd to be made if the Commanding Officer countenanced the Contractor : otherwise, any One who engaged render'd himself liable to be ruin'd by the many Impediments and Perplexities which the Commander could at any Time fling in his Way. Mr. Boddam,<sup>1</sup> to whom Colonel Lawrence bore no good Will, accepted the Contract at 4 fanams. This Gentleman was not now acceptable to Mr. Palk. Mr. Wynch<sup>2</sup> was ; and Mr. Boddam was told to drop the Contract or to take the Consequences. At the same Mr. Wynch was told to take the Contract and fear nothing. Mr. Boddam relinquished, and Mr. Wynch was made Contractor in his Stead, and has greatly succeeded in it.

'Mr. Bouchier<sup>3</sup> shortly after was taken into Council ; a Young Man who had Strength enough to stand in his own Judgment ; would not willingly do the wrong thing ; but the Superiour Genius of Mr. Palk had enthralled him so much to the Dictates of *his* Understanding, that the Will of the Pastor became infallibly that of the Disciple. Bouchier has a great deal of Warmth both in his Temper and the Expression of it : Wynch a great deal More, even to Violence, to unconquerable and desperate Prejudices, guided by as small a Share of Understanding as can well be imagin'd ; but Twenty thousand Pounds and more, gained in the Service of the Company, gave him Independance, and his Entertainment and good Chear gave him Friends, I mean the Friends of India.

'Now began what I will venture to call the Cabal of Mr. Saunders Government, which for the last Year and more gave him infinite Vexation—and there was nothing he disliked so much as setting down to a Consultation, sure of not being treated with that Respect due to his Situation in matters of Indifference, and sure of Opposition in Matters of Importance. The Strength of the Party was at its heighth when News arriv'd of my Destination ; a lucky Circumstance, You will say, for the favour of my Reception. I will mention one great and very extraordinary Effort of this Strength which happen'd at this Time.

'Captain Campbell, the next Officer in Command to Colonel Lawrence, was not in the good Graces of his General : Captain Kilpatrick, the next to Campbell,<sup>4</sup> was very much so ; and indeed this Gentleman had behaved with very

<sup>1</sup> Charles Boddam, afterwards transferred to Vizagapatam as Chief.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Wynch.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Bouchier joined the service in 1741. In 1755 he was, like Orme, about twenty-nine years of age.

<sup>4</sup> Captains Charles Campbell and James Kilpatrick



Sufficient Gallantry at the Battle of the Sugar Loaf Rock, which, from its extraordinary Fame, I suppose You are well acquainted with. Colonel Lawrence writes to the Council that, as his health declin'd, It was necessary that a Commander should be appointed to the Army. He then draws a Contrast between the Characters of Campbell and Kilpatrick, declaring no Man so unfit as the former, nor any so fit as the Latter to take the Command. He then adds—I think I remember his Words—that this Commander must have a Major's Commission, and "I assure You, Gentlemen, Captain Kilpatrick will stay no Longer in the Service without you give him a Majors Brevet." Be pleased to turn to the Private Consultations for June 1754 or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup> I leave this Language to Your Reflection.

'Wynch and Bouchier, by Persuasions and hints of the vast Importance of Lawrences Recommendations, bring over Smyth and Powney.<sup>2</sup> I am surprized at it in Mr. Smith, because I know him to be a discerning Man, a Moderate Man, and well entitled to the Companys Favour as Men go here now a days. The Gentle Placid Temper of Powney gave way to the Instances of those whom he perpetually communicated with, and Captain Kilpatrick is presented with a Majors Brevet in opposition to the Opinion of Mr. Saunders, who enter'd his Dissent on the Face of the Consultation, where, to my great Surprise, he has missed the principal Objection, which was that an Officer should presume to dictate Terms to the Presidency for the Continuance of his Service to the Company. Mr. Boddam dissented likewise.

'No small Triumph, You may be assured, Sir, resulted from this Victory as it was called. In the heigth of all this, My Name came unfortunately on the Carpet, and the Knowledge they had that I should join no such Proceedings, together with the Disarrangement in general which my Station was likely to occasion, subjected me to the most furious Invectives from Men whom I had never dealt with, and whom I had never offended. . . .

'Mr. Pigot came, and discovered from the beginning a wonderful Complacency to Col. Lawrence. Of this You are before informed, and it is irksome to me to repeat the Particulars. I found myself confin'd to my Freinds Smith and Powney. . . .

'The many Instances of Deference paid by Mr. Pigot to Colonel Lawrence in all Military Transactions, and the Observations of by Standers on it, made every one of Colonel Lawrence's Adherents be so for a Time to the Governor. Major Kilpatrick, who commanded in Tritchanopoly, a most beneficial Post, addressed himself to the Council in Terms unworthy of their Station, and not becoming one who had been so much obliged to them as he had been. Mr. Pigot took him at his Word in the request he had made to be releived from his Command. I seconded it, and Captain Calliaud<sup>3</sup> was appointed to succeed him, an Officer of very extraordinary Merit, and at the same Time a favourite of Colonel Lawrence. . . .

'Perceval<sup>4</sup> is uncertain, and divided between his Attachments to the Governor and the Colonel, but seems much more inclined by Family Inter-course to Wynch and Bouchier than to the others: he has no degree of

<sup>1</sup> Kilpatrick's brevet had effect from 20th July, 1754. (P.C., vol. lxxxv., 6th Jan., 1756.)

<sup>2</sup> John Smith and Henry Powney entered the service in 1740 and 1736 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Orme always writes *Calliaud*. The correct spelling is *Caillaud*.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. William Perceval, formerly Chief Gunner.





Abilities, and his Signing a Paper against Mr. Munro,<sup>1</sup> the Physician who had raised him from the Grave, gives me no Opinion of the Niceness of his Sentiments. He is however a Vote. . . .'

Matters went smoothly until July, 1755, when the Company's orders were received nominating Mr. Palk, still one of the Chaplains, to the Select Committee. Then followed the proceedings against Colonel Heron, regarding which Orme continues :—

'From my Observations on the Extravagant Spirit of that Prosecution, I tremble to think what a fate any Man obnoxious to a Majority of our Council would undergo should they find an opportunity of calling him before their Tribunal. It is well their Rage fell on a Man who has behaved so vilely as Heron [h]as done. His Crimes will almost sanctify any Punishment, but Personality was the Impulse in condemning him, when the Companys Interest could prescribe nothing else. I mention this to shew the Danger to which Justice may some Time or other be exposed at our Board.'

These words were surely prophetic. Little did Orme imagine when he penned them that, within three years, he himself would be standing before that tribunal to be judged and condemned! His letter closes thus :—

'As soon as this Alteration in our Committee took place, Disatisfaction was pretended to be taken at what was called Mr. Pigot's Indolence of Disposition. To You, Sir, I am bound to have no Reserves, and for fear You should hear it worse represented than the Case deserves, I will say that I wish Mr. Pigot could bring himself to a more continued Application to Affairs, or that he had greater Vivacity in the Dispatch of them. His Understanding, tho' not quick, is sure: His Disinterestedness such that Twice the Term of any of his Predecessors in the Government will not give him half of any of their Fortunes. . . .

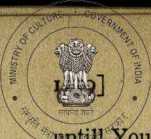
'My Intentions are, Sir, that You should be apprized, if I may demand Faith, of the Genius of those who represent the Company and Conduct their Affairs here. That the Influence of Colonel Lawrence and his Adherence prevail, viz Himself, Mr. Palk, Mr. Wynch, Mr. Bourchier, and I believe Mr. Perceval. That I have not been wanting, nor Ever shall, to cultivate the Harmony You recommend with the President; and that I think Messrs. Smyth and Powney will support me in this Intent. . . .

'I must again repeat to You, Sir, that these have been my only Views in this extraordinary Communication. I should be grieved to prove, directly or indirectly, the Cause of Detriment to any Man. At the same Time, I, with much chagrin, on this occasion found that it was a Duty to let what I knew be known to You. You will direct as you think best. Permit me to request of You to have no Regard to me in any Dispositions which may be made. Even suspend Your Judgment, if the least Doubt remains of what I have said,

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<sup>1</sup> This incident has already been recorded,





untill You hear from others More than I have chose to speak. This Information will come to You from a Man whom all who know him value for his Integrity, I mean Captain Speke;<sup>1</sup> and if he does not more than confirm all I have said, I never more desire to find Credit with You. . . .

'By this Communication I have shewn, Sir, how very much I rely on the Attachment You have ever been pleased to profess towards me. I venture to talk to no Man on Earth in this Manner. I beg that all here contained may be locked up in your own Bosom without being communicated further than in general to Mr. Drake, or in particular to him if you think benefit will arise from it to the Company, beseeching him in my Name to trust nothing to my Ipse dixit which he cannot find Grounds for from Common fame or more private Intelligence. . . .

'Your most affectionate and most obliged freind,  
'ROBERT ORME.'

The following is extracted from a letter of later date :—

*Robert Orme to John Payne.*

(Orme MSS., vol. xxviii., 11th March, 1758.)

'Dear Sir, . . . It is some time that I had observed a certain alteration in Mr. Pigots manner of carrying himself to me in Outwards, such as no longer doing me the honor to call at my Lodgings. The other day he told Speke that he knew for certain I had wrote to England of his attachment to L——.<sup>2</sup> I am informed, not to doubt of it, of an inveterate Implacability against me in Governor Saunders.<sup>3</sup> I have some reasons to think that Your Confidence in that Gentleman may have lead You to communicate to him what I have formerly wrote to You. If so, I am no longer at a Loss for the Channel of Mr. Pigot's Intelligence. I must request, as a very particular mark of your Regard, that You never communicate to Saunders any thing I may communicate to You. Had I any thing on Earth to expect or any thing to fear, he is the Man on Earth I should dread as an Enemy.

'The Government of Madras is what Mr. Saunders is pleased to think the Object of my Views, in so much that I believe he thinks I cannot live without it. Because Mr. Saunders thinks so, I no longer expect it. The Advantages of his Situation in London will give him as much Ability as I know he has Inclination to prevent it. And, Luckily for me, in my Situation I can live without it, having received full Restitution and other Advantages from the Revolution in Bengal.

'Captain Speke, who lives with me, will inform You fully of my Situation. It is none of the most happy, but nothing shall be wanting in myself to acquire Content.

'Whatever may become of me, I shall ever wish Prosperity to Your Affairs, and if my Weak Lights may be acceptable, they shall always be given to this View. Supposing myself rejected, You will want a Man to succeed Mr. Pigot

<sup>1</sup> Captain Henry Speke of H.M.S. *Kent*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Leonora Jackson, whose name appears in the List of 'Married Women of 1755. She appears to have been the wife of 'Robert Jackson, Employed in the Country Service (Absent).' One of Pigot's daughters was named Leonora.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders was in England, whither he had retired in 1755.



when he leaves the Chair. If You have one in England, it is well. If You take one of those here, You cannot in my humble Opinion take any Man with so much Propriety as —. . . .<sup>1</sup>

‘Your most faithful and most obedient Servant,

‘ROBERT ORME.’

### THE ASSAYMASTER.

Down to the time of Governor Morse the Fort St. George Mint had been managed by Sidney Foxall, the Assaymaster. On Foxall's death, application for the post was made to the Court of Directors by Edward Edwards, who had passed his apprenticeship at Goldsmiths' Hall under a working goldsmith named Videan. After examination at the Tower Mint, Edwards was reported qualified, and in January, 1749, the Company appointed him Factor and Assaymaster. On his arrival at Fort St. David in the following September, Governor Floyer directed him to teach the art of assaying to one of the covenanted civilians. Edwards demurred, on the ground that such instruction was not provided for in his contract. The matter was dropped, and in due course Edwards took up his abode at Madras, and re-established the Fort St. George Mint.

The question of teaching was revived in June, 1755, when ‘Mr. Secretary Dupre by Letter informed Mr. Edwards that the President and Council had appointed Mr. Alexander Dalrymple to be his Assistant, and to be instructed in the Art of Assaying.’ Edwards again declined to impart trade secrets, and was suspended for disobedience. In the absence of another qualified person, he was allowed to resume charge pending the receipt of the Court's orders, but another attempt to impose a pupil on him led to a second suspension in 1758. The case is presented in the following petition to the Directors:—

#### *Petition of Edward Edwards.*

‘Sheweth that your Petitioner Edwards was, in 1755, Suspended from his Place for refusing to make Mr. Dalrymple an Assay Master, tho he then offered to teach another of your Honours Covenanted Servants of known good Character . . ., but was afterwards restor'd to his Employ, and no mention made of his Assistant till January 1758, when, upon the same complaint, he was again suspended, and Mr. Pybus appointed Assay Master, and Mr. Dalrymple his Assistant with an additional Salary of £80 per Annum. . . . That Mr.

---

<sup>1</sup> Obliterated in original.





Edwards served Seven Years to a working Goldsmith, and afterwards, at a great expence of Money and time, was taught that Mysterious and usefull Art of Assaying, and was, by Order of this Board, examin'd in all it's branches by Mr. Harris, Assay Master at the Tower, and by Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Allcroft and Heywood, Refiners, in 1748. Whereupon he was appointed, and has ever since continued to be Assay Master at fforts St. David and St. George without any complaint against him, excepting this about Mr. Dalrymple.

'That, upon the death of Mr. ffoxhall, the Mint had losst it's Credit by being conducted for two years by two unskillfull people. Mr. Edwards received it from them, and boldly Appeals to all unprejudiced persons abroad and at Home that, by his industry and honesty, he has retriev'd the Honour and Credit of the Mint beyond any other in India. . . .

'Your Petitioner therefor Humbly prays that Mr. Edwards may be restor'd to the office of Assay Master, and enjoy all the benefits of it.<sup>1</sup> . . . ' (*Home Mis.*, vol. lxii., 1758.)

At the same time Edwards wrote privately to his uncle, Josias Dupré,<sup>2</sup> Secretary to the Company in England, to the effect that, about Christmas, 1757, Governor Pigot 'sent the Head Bricklayer to me . . . to acquaint me that I may have what Bricklayers I wanted to build a Furnace to instruct Mr. Dalrymple in the Art of Assaying, and my Answer to him was that I was in want of no Furnace, and that I should speake to the Governor.' A somewhat heated interview subsequently took place, which Pigot terminated by exclaiming, "'Dam' ye Sir, go out of my Sight, or I will put you under Arrest"; so I made him a Reverund bow, and walk'd Down Stairs.' Edwards was then ordered by the Council to deliver charge of 'the Mint and Mint Lodgins to one Pybus, who now has the Care of it, and says he can make an Assay as well as Mr. Edwards: however, the beauty of it is, no person will trust him with their Gold or Silver.'

The Directors resented Pigot's action in suspending Edwards before receipt of their decision on the matter in dispute, and in their letter of the 23rd March, 1759, ordered the immediate re-instatement of the Assaymaster.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the salary of £110, fees were payable to the Assaymaster of half a pagoda on every cake of gold, and half a rupee on every bar of silver brought to the Mint.

<sup>2</sup> Father of Josias Dupré, Secretary at Fort St. George.





## CHAPTER XXXVI

1755—1763

THE WALAJAH BRIDGE—ADMIRALTY HOUSE—THE TOWN  
HALL—CHINTADRI PETTA—GARDEN HOUSES

## THE WALAJAH BRIDGE.

THE progress of the fortifications on the west front closed the channel of the river, which swept in a curve along the old curtain. As Smith's ditch could not safely carry the freshes, Brohier in 1755 diverted the North or Elambore River into a passage across the Island, which had been cut by a flood five years before. The diversion is plainly shown in the map of 1755. The Water Gate Bridge, constructed in 1714, remained until the old bed was levelled up; Smith's ditch was already traversed by both a foot-bridge and a causeway; and it now remained to throw a permanent work across the new diversion :—

*'John Brohier to the Honble George Pigot.*

'As the new Works stop entirely the Current of the River which formerly passed under Water Gate Bridge, and that I have been obliged to alter it's Course thro' a Channel, cut by the Freshes in 1750, which runs before the West Front of the Town, The Freshes last Monsoon having Carried away the Banks of this Channel to near 180 Feet wide, and being now impassable without a temporary Bridge or Boats, I take the Liberty to represent to the Board that it is absolutely necessary to build a substantial one over it, with a Revetment to the Banks of the Island to the Northward and Westward of this Bridge to confine the Course of the Current within Bounds; otherwise the Banks will be washed away in a very short Time, and may render it useless. An Estimate of the Expence of which is here annexed, amounting to Pags. 8,353—,—46. JOHN BROHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th March, 1755.)

The Government assented to the construction of the bridge :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'It is therefore Agreed that sufficient Materials for the Purpose be first collected, And that then the Work be set about and compleated with all





possible Dispatch, agreeable to a Plan thereof now laid before the Board and approved. And that it may not meet with any Interruption for Want of Artificers, it is Order'd that, after the 15th of next Month, no Person whatsoever, either in the white or black Town, be permitted to employ any Bricklayers, Carpenters or Blacksmiths, but that all such as can be found be entertained on the Company's Account, of which it is Ordered that Publick Notice be affixed at the Sea Gate.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th March, 1755.)

The plan has not been preserved, but the estimate shows that the bridge was to be 250 feet long, and 24 feet wide, built with masonry piers founded on wells. Two of the piers were of brick, and the remainder of cut stone already prepared. The road surface was composed of laterite blocks, and the bridge was floored beneath to prevent scour. Training banks 900 feet in length directed the new channel to the bridge site. Progress at first, however, was slow:—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'A Channel having been cut by the Freshes cross the Island in the year 1750, the Banks of it were, by the violence of the Waters, carried away to such an Extent as to become impassible without Boats or a Bridge; and as temporary Works are in the End much more expensive than Substantial Buildings at first, We consulted Mr. Brohier, who recommended a Bridge of Masonry as absolutely necessary, and estimate[d] the Cost at about Eight thousand Pagodas. As the Expençe was inevitable, We order'd it to be begun immediately, in hopes that it might have been compleated in about four Months according to Mr. Brohier's Proposal; but by unavoidable Delays for want of Coolies, the Work has been so greatly protracted that even the Piers are not yet finished.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

The work was accomplished in 1756, but at a cost greatly exceeding the estimate. Writing to the Company, the Council said:—'The Bridge upon the Island has been compleated some Months, but We are sorry to observe that, instead of Eight thousand Pagodas at which the Cost was estimated, it stands you in upwards of Eighteen Thousand. However, in this Expençe a great part of the Glacis is included, the Ground remov'd from the Bed of the River being carried to form it.'<sup>1</sup> At a later date the work was named the Walajah Bridge, to correspond with the designation of a new gate of the Fort to which it gave access. An inscription on a stone at the west end of the structure records these words:—'*Wallajah Bridge, Erected by Order of Government in 1755 On Piers which had been laid about 1740, Mr. John Brohier,*

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.





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*Engineer. Widened and improved under the same authority in 1820, Major De Havilland, Engineer.' This legend, which probably dates from 1820, is in error as to the year 1740, for the piers could not have been built before the new channel was formed in 1750.*

## ADMIRALTY HOUSE.

The 'Great House in Charles Street' belonging to Sultan David had passed to the latter's son, Shawmier Sultan. In November, 1749, Shawmier received instructions from Fort St. David, through Stringer Lawrence, to refrain from selling his property, as the house, with two large godowns attached, might be required by the Company. Shortly afterwards Prince entered the residence, and occupied it during the whole term of his Deputy Governorship. In February, 1752, Shawmier applied for the payment of rent, and inquired whether the Company proposed to purchase the house.<sup>1</sup> Decision was deferred pending orders from England. About the end of 1757 the patient Shawmier petitioned again. His letter is of interest, for it discloses the fact that Clive occupied the house, probably at the time of his marriage. Seeing that the building is still extant as the office of the Accountant-General, there can surely be no more fitting spot for the erection of a memorial tablet to a great man, whose inestimable services are commemorated by no visible object<sup>2</sup> in the city where he began his Indian career, and whence he issued forth to perform an exploit which would alone have sufficed to render him famous:—

*'The humble Petition of Shawmier Sultan of Madras.*

(P.C., vol. lxxxviii., 9th Jan., 1758.)

'Humbly Sheweth That, in the month of November, in the Year One thousand seven hundred and forty nine, your Petitioner received an Extract of a Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. David to the Government of this Place, dated the seventeenth of that Month, directing your Petitioner not to sell his Great House in Charles Street in the White Town. . . . Your Petitioner did, in conformity to the said Order, deliver his said House and the

<sup>1</sup> P.C., vol. lxxx., 3rd Feb., 1753.

<sup>2</sup> The Banqueting Hall, built in 1802, commemorates Plassey and Seringapatam, but it does not bear Clive's name. The *Clive Battery*, *Clive Pettah*, and *Clive Canal* take their designations from Edward, Lord Clive.





Two large Godowns belonging thereto, with all the Household furniture that were contain'd in the same, to Richard Prince, Esq<sup>r</sup>., then Deputy Governor of this Place, who dwell therein all the time of his Government till his Departure for Europe. Your Petitioner, some time before Mr. Prince's leaving India, demanded of him the Rent of his said House and Godowns. He reply'd that the Honble Company would pay your Petitioner, and advised your Petitioner to apply to the Governour and Council of Fort St. David. Your Petitioner therefore went to Fort St. David, and Address'd the President and Council there by a Petition, to which they were pleas'd to give your Petitioner an Answer in writing . . . , setting forth they deferr'd coming to any Resolution on the Subject till the arrival of the expected Orders from Europe that Season.

'The House continued in the Possession of the Honble Company from the time of Mr. Prince's departure till the 10th July 1752 (during which Interval Richard Starke, Esq<sup>r</sup>., and Captain Speke<sup>1</sup> liv'd in it), and the same was deliver'd over to your Petitioner after the removal of the Presidency from Fort St. David to this Place. Your Petitioner made several applications to the late Governor Saunders for the Payment of the Rent of your Petitioner's said House and Godowns, but was always Answer'd that his time was so much taken up with the War and other Affairs of Government that he could spare none to settle that matter. . . .

'An Account of this Rent, agreeable to what your Petitioner receiv'd afterwards from Colonel Clive and other People, is subjoin'd. As is also an Account of some Furniture left in the House by your Petitioner when the House was bought by the Company at the desire of the Honble George Pigot, Esq<sup>r</sup>., which is valued at prime Cost. . . . Your Petitioner being directed by Governour Saunders likewise that he should acquaint you and the Honble Council when he might determine to sell his 2 Houses in the White Town, standing to the Southward of the Great House,<sup>2</sup> now the Company's, that the Company might have the preference, if they chose to buy them, As by their Situation they would greatly incommode the Great House should they be bought and upper Rooms be built upon them ; Your Petitioner therefore, now intending to dispose of them, takes this Occasion of giving your Honour Notice thereof. . . .

'An Account of House and Godown Rent due from the Honble Company to Coja Shawmier Sultan, charged at the same Rate as paid by other Persons, Vizt.

Rent for the House from the 17th Nov. 1749 to the	
10th July 1752, at P. 30 per month - - -	930
Ditto for the Two Godowns, at 6 Pags. each - - -	372
	<hr/> 1302
Interest on Pags. 1302 from the 10th July 1752 to the	
10th Dec. 1757, at 8 per cent - - - -	564
	<hr/> Pagodas - 1866

<sup>1</sup> Henry Speke, Captain of the flagship *Kent*.

<sup>2</sup> The building next southward of the Great House was acquired by the Company, and Shawmier was allowed to dispose of the other. (P.C., vol. lxxxviii., 9th Jan., 1758.)



'An Account of Furniture belonging to Coja Shawmier Sultan left in the Great House and charg'd at their first Cost, Vizt.

2 Marble Tables	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200
2 Large Looking Glasses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
2 do. do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
1 Large Lanthorn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
1 do. Picture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
8 Small do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
								<hr/>
Pagodas -								437'

It thus appears that the building was restored to Shawmier in July, 1752, after which he let it to Clive and others. The house was ultimately acquired by the Company, but Shawmier does not give the date of purchase, nor mention whether he or some other person was the immediate seller. Now Pigot's Government, at the beginning of 1755, bought a large house in Charles Street, with godowns attached, from David Lopez Fernandes and Samuel De Castro :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'It being proposed to the Consideration of the Board whether it is not necessary that, in so Considerable a Settlement as this (where there is a constant Resort of Strangers and frequently Persons of Rank and Publick Station), a house should be always in Readiness for the Reception of such who might otherwise be at a Loss for Accommodation, The Board are of Opinion that it is very proper. And the House in which Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Lopez and D'Castro now live in Charles Street being judged the most Commodious for that Purpose, Agreed that Proposals be made them for purchasing the same on the Honble Company's Account.' (P.C., vol. lxxxiv., 6th Jan., 1755.)

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

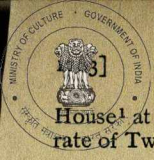
'The President acquaints the Board that . . . he had discoursed with Messrs. Lopez and De Castro about the Purchase of their House in Charles Street, and that they consented to dispose of the same for Six thousand Pagodas. . . .

'Agreed that the said House be purchased of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Lopez and de Castro at the Price abovementioned, and that the Godowns in the Front<sup>1</sup> of it be rased to make an Area. And as those Godowns have for Time immemorial been in the Occupation of Tellisinga Chitty and his Family as Company's Merchants, tho' not actually their Property, it is Agreed that a proper Spot to build on be assign'd them hereafter of the Ground that now lies waste and is added to the White Town by the new Works.

'The President also acquaints the Board that Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Lopez and De Castro, in Case of the Sale of their House, are desirous of renting the Confiscated

<sup>1</sup> The house was on the west side of the street, but its front appears to have been towards the Island.





House! at the Corner of Charles Street. Agreed that it be let to them at the rate of Twelve Pagodas per Month.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 15th Jan., 1755.)

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'We requested your Honours Permission by the Norfolk to set apart and furnish one of the confiscated Houses for the reception of Strangers and other necessary Purposes. We have since had an opportunity of purchasing a House in Charles Street, which in every respect will answer the intention much better than either of the others; and as it was offered to Us for six Thousand Pagodas, which We esteem a very moderate Price, considering its extent, and that the Godowns alone might be let for three hundred Pagodas a year, some of which have long been rented for your use, we therefore bought it, the rather as we were at a loss for a Place to accommodate Admiral Watson suitable to his Station.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.)

Shawmier Sultan's house was afterwards known as 'Admiralty House.' The design of the Government's purchase would evidently render this designation applicable to De Castro's residence. In July, 1755, moreover, it was 'Agreed that a Court of Admiralty be held at the Company's House in Charles Street' for the trial of certain mutineers.<sup>2</sup> This resolution implies that the Company owned only one house in that street, and it supplies an additional reason for the designation 'Admiralty House,' the origin of which has been the subject of speculation. The title is first quoted in a return of buildings made by Mr. Call in May, 1758.<sup>3</sup> On the whole, it is inferred that, in obedience to the Company's orders regarding Armenian ownership of White Town property, Shawmier sold his Charles Street house to De Castro, from whom the Government purchased it. In 1762 Admiralty House was supplied, at the Company's expense, with 'Furniture, Cotts, Linen and all other necessarys for the reception and Accommodation of Strangers,' a housekeeper being appointed to superintend the establishment.<sup>4</sup>

In 1773, when Alexander Wynch became Governor, the long-suffering Shawmier once more petitioned for payment of 'the Rent of the House and Godowns in Charles Street, now Admiralty,' outstanding since 1752 :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'As Shamier Sultan before petitioned the Board on this subject in 1758, and they thought proper to refuse his Request, We cannot take upon Us to grant

<sup>1</sup> Formerly the property of Francis Carvalho.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 7th July, 1755.

<sup>3</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.

<sup>4</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 17th Feb., 1762.



it at this time. It is Agreed however to forward Copy of his Petition to the Honble Court by the next Ship, and to leave it to them to make him any and what allowance they may think proper. The President informs the Board that he remembers well that Shamier's House was occupied by Mr. Prince for some-time without any Rent being paid for it.' (P.C., vol. cix., 5th Feb., 1773.)

### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Honble Court of Directors having . . . referred to the Board the Consideration of Shamier Sultan's Claim of Rent for the Admiralty House in Charles Street, and empowered them to make him such satisfaction upon this Account as may appear reasonable, The Board proceed to examine the Petition of Shamier Sultan . . . with the Papers in support of it. They find there that Shamier Sultan made Application to the Board for Payment of this House Rent in 1758, and that it was rejected without any Reason assigned. The Board cannot now trace the Motives of the Council at that time for refusing Shamier's Request. They think, however, that Circumstances appear strong in favour of his Claim, and as the Foundation of it does not seem at any time to have been disputed, they are of opinion and accordingly resolve that he be paid the Rent charg'd by him.' (P.C., vol. cxiii., 10th March, 1775.)

Later in the century the Admiralty House became the Governor's town residence; and in Lord Clive's<sup>1</sup> time it was used for the celebration of State functions until the present Banqueting Hall was erected. It is now utilized as the office of the Accountant-General.

### THE TOWN HALL.

In 1755 the Mayor's Court resolved to revive a rule of practice of the 5th June, 1733, and deal summarily with petty causes involving values not exceeding Pags. 20 and not less than Pags. 5.<sup>2</sup> Under the Charter of George II. of 1753, suits for sums not exceeding Pags. 5 were tried by Commissioners of a Court of Requests. This Court, like that of the Mayor, sat in the Town Hall, but in 1757 a difference arose between it and the Mayor's Court as to its accommodation. In consequence partly of this difference Mr. Daniel Morse, Registrar of the Mayor's Court, addressed Government in a letter which affords information regarding the buildings in use:—

#### *From the Mayor's Court to Government.*

(P.C., vol. lxxxvii., 20th June, 1757.)

'The House which has been occupied by the Mayor's Court as a Town Hall since the re-establishment of the Court was mortgaged to the former Court in

<sup>1</sup> Edward, Lord Clive, Governor of Madras 1799 to 1803.

<sup>2</sup> P.C., vol. lxxxiv., 15th Jan., 1755.



June 1746 by Mr. John<sup>1</sup> Smith, the then Gunner of this Place, for the Sum of Two thousand Pagodas, lent to him by the Court at 7 per Cent. per Annum. It remained so Mortgaged when the Court was re-established ; and as the old Court House<sup>2</sup> then was (and still is) in a very ruinous condition, and not fit to be occupied unless it was entirely rebuilt (which would take much time and require a large sum, besides the employing of Materials which were necessary for the Fortifications), the Court thought it most expedient to make use of the Mortgaged House for assembling in, notwithstanding the whole House had only a Ground Floor with a low Roof, which render'd the Room in which the Court assembled very close, as it was too small also for the purpose.

'The holding Courts in such a House constantly once a Week, and very often twice, for three Hours, and frequently for five hours, for near four Years in this Hot Town has been found extremely inconvenient. . . .

'Advertisement appearing at the Gates in August last that the Executor of Petrus Uscan, Armenian Merchant Deceased, was (by order of the President and Council) to sell a large House<sup>3</sup> which was built by the said Petrus Uscan before the loss of the Place, in Choultry Gate Street, then occupied by Mr. Ephraim Isaac ; The Mayor<sup>4</sup> and Aldermen considered that that House, by having a more spacious and airy upperroom Hall, with proper Rooms on each side in good repair for Offices, was in every respect more Suitable and convenient for the Mayor's Court than any other that was likely to offer in future. . . . And as the Corporation found, upon examination, that the Funds which they were possess'd of . . . would go nearly, if not be quite sufficient, for the purchase of Petrus's House, therefore it was Agreed that the Corporation should, as much as possible, avoid putting the East India Company to any Expence for Building or Purchasing a Court House. . . . The Mayor reported the matter accordingly to the President ; and the President desired him to Signifie to the Corporation that there was no intention of purchasing the House for the Company, nor had he any objection to its being purchased by the Corporation for their own use ; and further likewise the President acquainted the Mayor that the President and Council had leave from the Court of Directors to build a Town Hall, but that the Members of the Court must be very sensible that it could not, without great Inconvenience, be undertaken 'till the Fortifications were Erected. Hereupon, the Resolution which the Corporation had come to, at their former Meeting, for purchasing the House was confirm'd ; and it was further proposed that, if the Money which the Corporation were possess'd of should fall anything short of the purchase Money, the Deficiency . . . might be taken up as a Loan to the Corporation . . . under the head of Sundry Persons Unknown. . . .

'But the last part of the purpose of the Corporation they have not found it necessary to put in execution, as there has been no occasion to take up any Money at all for Compleating the purchase of the House ; for tho' it was

<sup>1</sup> An error for Joseph. The situation of his house has not been determined.

<sup>2</sup> The old Court House or Town Hall in St. Thomas Street.

<sup>3</sup> In May, 1756, Father Severini, as Executor of Petrus Uscan's will, was directed to sell Uscan's property in Choultry Gate Street within three months—viz., a house and godowns next the Mint on the west side of the street, and a private residence on the east side. The former was required by Government for the extension of the Mint. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th May, 1756.)

<sup>4</sup> Mr. George Mackay.





bought by them for 5000 Pagodas (on the 26th August last, to be deliver'd on the 1st May thereafter, and the Money to be paid at the delivery), Yet, by a favourable sale of the House which had been Mortgaged by Mr. Joseph Smith, and which sold for Pagodas 3,150 (after four Months notice given to the Representatives of Mr. Smith to redeem the same, and no Persons whatsoever appearing), the whole sum of the purchase money is compleated. . . .

'Almost all the Cash Books of the former Courts from the Year 1688 to the month of July 1746 are preserv'd, and by these it appears that the Mayor's Court, which was Established by the Company's Charter in 1687, had Grants of Revenues and Fines, &c., which produced Funds for building a Town Hall, Bridges and other publick Works, and left some Stock to the Corporation. And tho some of these Revenues were lessen'd (by means not particularly known at this distance of time) before the Charter granted in 1727 came out, yet such Revenues as continued from the old Corporation to that which was then established seems for some Years to have exceeded the Current expences of the Court. For the Court did, in Anno 1743, (finding the Revenues much decreas'd) give up to the President and Council on behalf of the Company their Rents and Revenues for the Banksall, Sea Gate and Weighing Duty, &c., on condition that the Company should bear the Expences of Court keeping. . . .

'Although the Corporation are thus provided with a House, the Money they had being expended in that purchase, they find it necessary to represent to the Directors that the Goal which belongs to the Court is bad and inconvenient for the confinement of the Debtors, or even Felons. It is the Ground Floor room of the old Court House in a ruinous condition, the only part of that House that now remains, and (as it stands in St. Thomas's Street), by being so far detach'd from the present Court House it is not so properly situated as it ought to be. The Corporation are of opinion that the House which stands behind their present House, belonging to the Church, which is a House of one Story only, and likewise a Warehouse which stands betwixt that House and the old Portuguese Church, belonging to one Sunca Ramah, a Gentoo Merchant, ought to be purchased, and by that means a better passage from Middle Gate Street might be made to the Court House than what it has at present fronting the new Barracks in Choultry Gate Street;<sup>1</sup> and a proper Goal might be made that would be close to the Court House, and render'd as convenient and comfortable to poor Debtors as such a Place ought to be in all well regulated Settlements. These Purchases and Alterations would not cost a great deal. . . .

'The Court of Requests being establish'd by His Majesty's Charter for the more easy and speedy recovery of small Debts, . . . this Corporation could not hesitate as to the reasonableness of accommodating that Court with a proper place to hold their Courts in the House lately purchas'd, and now possess'd by this Corporation. . . .

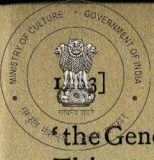
'DANIEL MORSE,  
Regr.'

'6th June 1757.'

In forwarding this letter to England, the Government suggested that the ground-floor of the new Town Hall should be converted into a gaol. They had permitted the Court of Requests to sit in

<sup>1</sup> The new barracks, forming a prolongation to the northward of the old range, were built in 1755 and 1756.





‘the General Hall under the Consultation Room in the Fort House.’<sup>1</sup> This statement throws some light on the internal arrangements of the Fort House. It is known that the Consultation Room and the Governor’s quarters had always been on the top floor. The Fort Hall, so frequently mentioned in the older records, which formerly accommodated the ‘General Table,’ must therefore have been on the first floor, while the ground-floor bomb-proofs were devoted to offices.

During the siege of Madras in 1758-59 the Town Hall and adjacent buildings sustained serious damage. In December, 1759, the Mayor’s Court drew attention to their proposal for a new gaol, and stated that the houses behind the Town Hall, being in ruins, could be acquired for a small sum. They also asked for an advance of cash for the repair of the Court House. The Government were not satisfied that the Town Hall was the Corporation’s property. They pointed out that the former Corporation being dissolved by the capture of Madras in 1746, their property passed to the Company on the restoration of the place. They also called to mind that, in 1744, the Corporation resigned their revenues to the Company on the latter becoming responsible for expenses. They promised to undertake the repairs on the receipt of a conveyance to them of the Town Hall.<sup>2</sup> The Corporation contested this view, and the dispute was referred to England.<sup>3</sup> The Directors agreed with the Council:—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

‘The claim of the present Mayor’s Court to succeed to the Effects pretended to belong to the late Mayor’s Court is, in our Judgment, totally without foundation. . . .

‘The Inference is that all the Money which appears to have been applied to the purchase of the present Town Hall belonged to the India Company, and not to the present Corporation of the Mayor’s Court. And as that Court has been long, in our Opinion, forming a Plan to make itself Independent of us, we direct that you acquaint the Gentlemen of the Mayor’s Court that we insist upon their making or passing a formal Declaration or Act under their Seal that the Town House is the property of the Company. . . . We will take upon us the Expences of repairing and maintaining the Court House and of the Mayor’s Court. . . . As to the Demand the Corporation make of Rent for the Town

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 6th June, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 20th Dec., 1759.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.



House, you will of course consider it as ill founded, And we desire you will no pay them one single Pagoda for such Rent. . . .’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxv., 27th Jan., 1762.)

The matter was, however, referred to the Company’s Standing Counsel, Mr. Charles Sayer, who was of opinion that the House, ‘Regalia,’ and Legacy<sup>1</sup> of the former Court were the property of the Company, as the present Mayor’s Court could have no rights antecedent to its own creation. On learning this opinion, the Corporation agreed to pass a Deed of Conveyance of the Court House.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHINTADRIPETTA.

It may be remembered that Mr. Benyon’s dubash, Ādiappa Nārāyan, who was mainly instrumental in establishing the weaving village of Chintadripetta, held himself responsible for advances of cash made by the Government for building purposes. He was to recoup himself by the levy of certain small dues. Nārāyan died in 1743 before he had repaid the advances. He had spent some Pags. 18,000 from his private purse in founding Chintadripetta Temple, and his heirs were not in a position to pay what was due to the Company. Trustees were appointed to collect sums owed by his debtors. The village of Cattawauk, near Ennore, formed part of his estate, and after the restoration of Madras, in 1749, the rents of this village were credited to the Company. In 1751 Nārāyan’s son, Jaggu, submitted a petition to England regarding the estate. The Directors called for a full report, which was furnished by Pigot’s Government towards the end of 1756. As the report throws additional light on the founding of Chintadripetta, an extract is here given :—

#### *Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘Cuddam Narrain or Audeapah was Mr. Benyon’s Dubash, in the time of whose Government it was thought that erecting a Pettah or Village for Weavers and other Manufacturers to settle in might be of Service to your Investment ; and as none could be so proper to manage the Undertaking as Narrain, Who, by his Power and Influence over the People, might sooner than

<sup>1</sup> The *Regalia* were the maces and other insignia which had been saved when Madras fell to the French in 1746. These were sold after new insignia had been supplied by the Company. The *Legacy* was a bequest to the former Court by Mr. William Jennings. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 5th March, 1767.)

<sup>2</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 5th March, 1767, and *P.C.*, vol. xcvi., 26th Oct., 1767.



any prevail on the Manufacturers in the Country to remove to the Village, the Direction of it was therefore given to Him, and to carry it on Several Sums of Money were from time to time advanced Him and Others whom He took to his Assistance, under the Names of Pondarum, &c. Managers of Chindadre Pettah, for which Sums these Managers were to be accountable to the Company, in Consideration of certain Duties hereunder mentioned which they were permitted to receive from the People.

‘It has in former Letters been observed that, in this Country, Men who are fond of shewing their Wealth and Grandeur have as yet found no better means of displaying Them than by the building of Temples. Whether from these Motives or to draw Inhabitants to the new Pettah, perhaps Both, Narrain, out of his own Money, built two Pagodas there; and that they might not want proper Endowments, He obtain’d, not only from the Inhabitants of every Denomination in your Bounds some Contribution, but also from many of Those in the Adjacent Districts, such as the Poonemalee, the Tripossore Countries, &c. These went under the Name of Voluntary Charitable Donations; but when it is considered what Power and Influence Narrain had over the People, it will easily be conceived that what was called Voluntary, and even appears as such at this day under the hands of some of the Casts, was merely the Tribute paid to Power. These and these only were the Duties in consideration of which the Managers, or more properly Narrain, undertook to be answerable for the Moneys advanced by the Company for the encouragement of Manufacturers to settle in the Pettah. He did not enjoy Them long, but dying before he had from those Duties reimbursed Himself the great Sums he had expended, his Estate was found insufficient to satisfy his Debt to the Company and his other Creditors; and the Loss of Madrass happening shortly after, his Heirs were depriv’d of the Benefit of those Duties which otherwise might probably have been paid, at least for some time, without murmuring.

‘Since the re-establishment of Madrass, the Petition of Jaggoo, the son of Narrain, to your Honours in 1751, Your Directions to Us thereon, Our reinstating him in the Rights of his Father, and afterwards, on his declaring his Inability to comply with the Terms of his Petition, appointing Our Secretary to collect the Revenues, Our Representations thereon, and lastly the Abolition of those Duties, are Transactions so recent that We need not take up your Time with more than the bare Mention and Reference to them, remarking that the Ballance due to the Company from the Managers of Chindadre Pettah . . . is Eight thousand four hundred and forty five Pagodas, twenty six Fanams. . . .

‘Cadapukum<sup>1</sup> is a Village situate to the Northward of Madrass, and was undoubtedly the Property of Narrain by Virtue of a Saned he obtained in the Year 1741 from Nabob Subter Ally Cawn, at the same time that Mr. Benyon got for the Company the Grant for Perembore, Ernawore, Vapary and Sadiang-Copang, and the Benefit of it was enjoyed by Him and his Heirs till the Loss of Madrass. But upon the reestablishment of this Settlement, that Village (as something towards the Discharge of Narrain’s Debt to the Company) was farmed out by Mr. Floyer, &c. Council, together with the abovementioned other Four, in One Cowle, and the Rents have ever since been brought to your Account. The Value of it One Year with another may be about Two hundred Pagodas.

<sup>1</sup> Cadapukum, Catawauk.



'If We have been tedious in this Relation, it is that Your Honours, by having a full State of the Case, may be enabled to give your final Directions and be freed from further Trouble.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.)

### GARDEN HOUSES.

Allusion has from time to time been made to the acquisition by Company's servants of building ground in Egmore and Vepery. Triplicane, however, was now the favourite suburb, and the map of 1755 shows that several substantial residences bordered the Mount Road near the Government Garden House. How far they extended along this road is uncertain, but the most remote building of which mention is made was the house of Dr. Turing. This appears to have been situated on the south side of the Triplicane River, a little above the site of the existing Harris Bridge.

After the siege of Madras, the region which was known as the Choultry Plain was regarded as an eligible locality; but one or two pioneers discovered its advantages before the French attack was delivered. In Orme's time the Plain embraced the area, to the south of the Triplicane River, which lay between the Triplicane-San Thomé road on the east and the Long Tank on the west.<sup>1</sup> It included the villages of Nungumbaukum, Teynampetta, and Royapetta, and was traversed as far as the Long Tank,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of the Fort, by the high road from Madras to St. Thomas Mount. In 1721, however, when the Choultry Plain (in connexion with Horden's house) is first mentioned, the village of Egmore, though north of the Triplicane River, seems to have been included in the area.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the designation has hitherto been obscure, but two letters have been found among the records to throw light on it. In one, Mr. James West applies for 'a Piece of Ground lying between Raya Petta and the Road on the Left of White Choultry Plain.'<sup>3</sup> In the other, Governor Pigot, writing of the locality, makes mention of 'the White Choultry call'd Woodundy Choultry.'<sup>4</sup> Now Woodundy's Choultry, which still bears that name, is situated at the junction of the present White's Road with the Mount Road, just opposite Mackay's Gardens. We may accordingly infer that the White Choultry

<sup>1</sup> *Military Transactions*, Orme.

<sup>2</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xci., 17th July, 1761.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Sun.*, vol. xiii., 27th Dec., 1758.



Plain, to give it its full designation, took its name from this particular edifice, originally a conspicuous object.

The example of building on the Choultry Plain was set by Mr. George Mackay, a free merchant of Fort St. George from 1738. In 1756 he was Mayor of Madras, and four years later he became Contractor for Supply and Transport to the Army :—

### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

‘The President acquaints the Board that Mr. George Mackay is desirous of having a Lease of a Piece of Ground on Choultry Plain, a plan or Ground Plot whereof is now laid before the Board containing three Millions four hundred and forty eight thousand One hundred and Fifty Feet of Superficies.<sup>1</sup>

‘Agreed that a Lease be granted him on the following Conditions, Vizt., The Term Ninety nine years, a Fine on Granting the Lease of Thirty Pagodas, The Rent one Pagoda per annum if demanded, A Fine of Thirty Pagodas at the expiration of every thirty years of the term, and, at the expiration of Ninety nine Years, the Ground with all Buildings and improvements to revert to the Company.’ (P.C., vol. lxxxviii., 10th May, 1758.)

At the present day there are two separate properties in Nungumbaukum called ‘Mackay’s Gardens,’ one being on the north side of the Mount Road, near the ‘Thousand Lights,’ while the other is further north-west off Nungumbaukum High Road. There can be no doubt that the former site was the one acquired by George Mackay, for the other was occupied by paddy fields as late as 1798.

In December, 1759, Captain Charles Tod<sup>2</sup> received a lease of ground on the Choultry Plain on the same terms as Mr. Mackay. The Directors discouraged grants of land unless made for utilitarian purposes :—

### *The Company to Fort St. George.*

‘If our uncultivated Grounds can be Leased out to Europeans or others with Views of Improvement, it is undoubtedly a Judicious Measure and should be encouraged ; but if it is merely to gratify the Vanity and Folly of Merchants in having the Parade of Country Houses and Gardens, We think these are Distinctions which belong only to our Governour and the principal Persons of Madras. We mention thus much because we conceive that Mr. Mackay,

<sup>1</sup> About 620 yards square. George Mackay went to Europe in 1761, but returned five years later as a Member of Council. On his death the property passed to his son, Alexander George Mackay.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Charles Tod, Town Major, married in 1759 Frances Empson, daughter of Matthew Empson, junior.



to whom you have granted a Lease of a Spot of Ground on the Choultry Plain, has no intention of turning Planter.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol lxiii., 15th Feb., 1760.)

The Company's Garden at Chepauk had been enlarged in Saunders' time by the addition of a considerable area belonging to Shawmier Sultan, who received in lieu the grant of a smaller piece to the west of the Armenian Church.<sup>1</sup> The garden appears to have been further enlarged in 1756.<sup>2</sup> The 'Company's Old Garden' in Muthialpetta, so often mentioned in the earlier records, was allotted to the inhabitants of the northern part of old Black Town, in compensation for land taken up for the esplanade.<sup>3</sup>

In 1759 an investigation of titles to property was ordered:—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'As there is good Reason to believe that many Persons have, in a long Course of Years since any Account has been taken, enclosed Grounds and Planted Gardens where they have no right, and no Account having been yet taken of the Gardens and enclosures in St. Thomé and other Villages which have of late Years fallen under the Company's Jurisdiction,

'Resolved That all Persons who occupy or claim a right to any Houses, Gardens, Inclosures or other Possessions within the distance of Ten Miles of Fort St. George be called upon to bring in and deliver to the Secretary the Bills of Sale or other Titles by which they claim, within Six Months from this day, in order that the said Titles may be examined. . . .

'Resolved that all such Houses, Gardens, Grounds and enclosures to which no just Title shall be proved within the time aforesaid be appropriated to the Company's Use as proprietors of the Soil.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 5th April, 1759.)

After the siege, land was taken up apace. Between 1760 and 1763 applications were received from Mr. James Taylor, a Writer, for ground 'at the Luce' by San Thomé; from Mr. John Debonnaire, a free merchant, for a large area 'in the Village of Kepock,'<sup>4</sup> three miles west of the Fort; Mr. Peter Marriette, also a free merchant, for land on the Choultry Plain; from Lieut. James West,<sup>5</sup> for ground near Royapetta; Captain Charles Tod, on the Choultry Plain, and Mr. Daniel de Castro in Chintadripetta. In several cases the leases were granted at once; in others, surveys were ordered.

<sup>1</sup> Shawmier Sultan's petition of 9th Jan., 1758.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 19th May, 1756.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 3rd April, 1759.

<sup>4</sup> *Kepock*, Kilpauk, a village west of Pursewaukum.

<sup>5</sup> Ensign James West retired from Draper's Regiment, and became a free merchant.





## CHAPTER XXXVII

1755—1758

NAWAB MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ—MILITARY MATTERS—THE  
CURIOUS CASE OF ROBERT ORME

## NAWAB MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ.

AFTER his public entry into Arcot in August, 1755, Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī came on to Madras. Captain Maskelyne's house at Vepery was placed at his disposal during the visit.<sup>1</sup> Two years later the Nawab sent his family to the Presidency, and himself followed to confer with Marāṭha agents, who had presented a claim for tribute:—

*Proceedings of the Select Committee.*

'Their Business is to Settle the Chout<sup>2</sup> of this Province, which has not been paid for some time, and at a more unseasonable one it could not have been demanded. That the Nabob may be enabled to make as good Terms as possible, we have sent an Invitation as well to him as to Aremetaraw (the Moratta Vackeel) to come to Madras. We expect them in a few days ; and by the Appearance of Things at present there are only three Alternatives : either we must comply in part with their Demand for the Chout, entertain them in our Service for some time at a heavy Charge, or submit to the Inconvenience of having the Nabob's Possessions laid waste. . . .' (M.C., vol. viii., 5th Aug., 1757.)

*Proceedings of the Select Committee.*

'The President acquaints the Committee that Yesterday he took an Opportunity of making to the Nabob the Proposals mention'd in the Minutes of last Monday relating to his remaining at Madras and making over his Districts to the Company. That the Nabob positively refused to comply with them, alledging that, as soon as such a Resolution became Publick, he shou'd be

<sup>1</sup> P.C., vol. lxxxv., 20th Feb., 1756.

<sup>2</sup> *Chout*, tribute levied by the Marāṭhas as the price of immunity from invasion ; from Mar. *chauth*, a fourth part.





look'd on universally in the same Light as Chunda Saib's Son at Pondicherry is ; not one of his Subjects wou'd pay him the least Allegiance. . . .

'The Nabob being thus Positive, the President press'd it no further, but told the Nabob it was at least necessary he shou'd make some further Assignment to the Company to reimburse the Deduction of two and a half Lacks which we consent Shou'd be paid the Morattas out of the four Lacks which will be due this Month. The Nabob reply'd that the Districts now left in his hands were so very inconsiderable that it was absolutely out of his Power to assign over any more of them to the Company ; But he wou'd make up the Deduction on account of the Morattas by an order for the same sum payable out of the half of the Revenue of the Tinnevely Country due to him.' (M.C., vol. viii. 1st Sept., 1757.)

Shortly before the siege, the Nawab applied for a house in the White Town, where he might lay in a stock of provisions, and himself retire thither in case of necessity. The house assigned him was one at the corner of Charles Street, formerly occupied by Dr. Munro :—

*The Nawab to Governor Pigot.*

'As there is a great Friendship between us, We regard each other's Houses as the same. In consideration of this, I write this that you'll be pleas'd to order that a House in the Fort, by itself, be appointed, that I may lay in some Grain, &c., as a Stock. In case of Disturbance of the Enemy (which God forbid), I intend to leave my Family in your Garden for Safety ; but if the Strength and troubles of the Enemy increases, then they shall be left in the House in the Fort. I thought fit to advise you with it. What can I say more?' (M. Count. Cor., vol. vi., 14th Nov., 1758.)

*Governor Pigot to the Nawab.*

'I had the Pleasure to receive your Letter desiring that a House may be appointed for you in Town, as you want to send in the necessary Stock of Provisions. Accordingly I have appointed a proper Place for lodging the said Provisions, and whenever it may be necessary for you and your Family to remove into Town, you shall be accommodated in the best manner possible. But I must observe to you that it will be requisite to reduce the Number of your Attendants to as small a Number as possible ; and also, as to Provisions, that you will send only such Articles as will be absolutely necessary for the subsistence of yourself and your Family.'

Early in December, 1758, the Nawab and his relatives were accommodated at the Government Garden House. On the approach of the French on the 12th, they retired to the Fort, and occupied a corner house at the south end of Charles Street.





## MILITARY MATTERS.

Although the old hospital in the Fort had been converted into barracks, there was still a deficiency of accommodation for troops:—

*'Mr. John Brohier to the Honble George Pigot, &c.*

'The present Barracks being too small to contain the Troops of the Garrison even in time of Peace . . ., I take the Liberty to represent that the Buildings from the Northernmost Pavillion of the Barracks to Mr. Edwards's <sup>1</sup> House are mostly tumbling down . . ., and that as that Space of Ground will be Sufficient to contain Barracks for 250 Men commodiously, and for 20 Officers Rooms over them, A Considerable Expençe will be saved in the Terrass of the Barracks, and in laying Foundations for such Rooms should they be built in another Place.

'Herewith is an Estimate of the Expençe attending the additional Building, amounting to Pags. 11,921. JOHN BROHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th Jan., 1755.)

The Government approved the plan of concentrating all the barracks, including the Officers' quarters, in one block, and sanctioned the estimate, which provided for a prolongation, 223 feet in length, of the old range to the northward. All available labour was put on this work and on the Walajah Bridge, with the result that 'not a single Stone has been laid on the Fortifications all this year.'<sup>2</sup> By the end of 1756 the quarters were nearly finished:—'The New Barracks are so far advanced as to be habitable, and have served to lodge the King's Regiment<sup>3</sup> ever since they have been at the Presidency. The Cost of these Buildings, tho' not yet finish'd, amounts to upwards of Twenty two Thousand Pagodas, and already exceeds the estimate by more than Ten thousand Pagodas.'<sup>4</sup> The new building was thenceforward known as the *King's Barracks*, a designation which still clings to the principal block in Choultry Gate Street.

One of Pigot's earliest acts as Governor was the creation of the appointment of Town Major. In virtue of his commission, the Governor of Fort St. George exercised supreme military command

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edward Edwards, a Junior Merchant, was the Assaymaster, and resided close to the Silver Mint.

<sup>2</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.

<sup>3</sup> The 39th Foot (now the 1st Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment), commanded by Lieut.-Col. Adlercron, arrived at Madras from Fort St. David in July, 1756.

<sup>4</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.





within the White Town. The Town Major was to be the medium of communication between Governor and Garrison:—‘For the better regulating the Military in this Garrison, and issuing the Orders relating to the same, it is Agreed that a proper Person be appointed to act as Town Major; and Captain Timothy Bridge being recommended as an Officer well qualified for that Post, Order’d that a Commission be made out to him as Town Major accordingly.’<sup>1</sup> The Directors disapproved of the appointment, and, in their letter of the 19th December, 1755, decreed its abolition. The order was, however, evaded:—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

‘The President acquaints the Board that the reason for appointing such an Officer was the great ease and Assistance it is to him in dispensing the necessary Military Orders in the Garrison, and which is become extremely necessary since the vast encrease of Business in every Branch. And as the resolution of the Honble Court of Directors to abolish it seems not to have arisen from any dislike to the Office, but to the Expence attending it, he acquaints the Board that Captain Bridge is willing to execute it without any Additional Pay. The Board considering the Company’s Orders in that light, It is Agreed that the Office of Town Major subsist so long as it be executed without any additional Charge to the Company.’ (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 5th July, 1756.)

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘In like manner, the Appointment of a Town Major We judge for the good of the Service, it being requisite the Governour should be assisted by a proper Officer in dispensing the necessary Orders in the Garrison, and other Occasions respecting the Military. However, upon Receipt of your Commands, the additional Pay was taken off, and We have now no Officer acting in that Capacity, Captain Bridge being gone Aid de Camp to Colonel Clive;<sup>2</sup> but on his return, as the Governour finds such an Officer quite necessary, he will act again in that Capacity, and We hope You will please, in answer hereto, to permit Us to allow Him the usual Pay.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov. 1756.)

The Town Major had his quarters over the western gate of the Fort Square. The appointment subsisted for more than a century, and until Sir Charles Trevelyan relinquished authority over the Garrison to the Commander-in-Chief. The Town Major’s records are preserved, but they have yet to be sorted and listed.

Although rolls of the civil servants, often supplemented by those of free merchants and other unofficial inhabitants, are given

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 20th Jan., 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Timothy Bridge was killed in action near Calcutta in February, 1757.





annually in the Consultation books, lists of military officers are rarely supplied. Such a list is, however, given for January, 1756, and the following extract is made from it :—

*'List of Officers doing duty upon the Coast of Choromandel in the Service of the Honble the United East India Company, 1st January, 1756.*

(P.C., vol. lxxxv., 6th June, 1756.)

	Date of Brevet.	Date of Commission.	What Corps.
<i>'Major</i>			
James Kilpatrick <sup>1</sup>	20 July 1754	—	—
<i>'Captains</i>			
George Gardner -	—	28 Sept. 1750	Eng. Inf. Coast.
Francis de Vareilles -	21 July 1751	—	Do. do.
Edmund Pascall -	—	30 Oct. 1751	Do. do.
John Henry Schaub -	—	21 Nov. 1751	Swiss Inf. do.
Paul Polier de Bottens -	—	18 Dec. 1751	Do. Bay.
Edmund Maskelyne -	—	17 Feb. 1752	Eng. Inf. Coast.
George Frederick Gaupp -	—	3 Aug. 1752	Swiss Inf. do.
Lewis D'Illens -	—	20 Dec. 1752	Train do.
John Brohier -	—	11 May 1753	Do. do.
John Caillaud -	12 May 1753	26 June 1753	Eng. Inf. do.
Joseph Smith <sup>2</sup> -	—	26 March 1754	Do. do.
Timothy Bridge -	17 Aug. 1754	17 June 1755	Do. do.'

Besides these, eight other Captains are particularized. Then follow the names of one Captain-Lieutenant, 29 Lieutenants, 5 Second Lieutenants, and 31 Ensigns and Fireworkers. Among the Lieutenants is Thomas Rumbold,<sup>3</sup> of the English Infantry, commissioned 19th November, 1753; and among the Second Lieutenants Robert Barker, of the Train, commissioned 7th November, 1753. Both officers subsequently rose to eminence.

The two companies of Artillery were commanded by Captains Lewis d'Illens and John Brohier. The former officer went with Clive to Calcutta, and was placed on the Bengal establishment. On d'Illens' death, Brohier's company was divided into two, the command of the second being given to Captain Robert Barker,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kilpatrick, who had served at Fort St. David before Lawrence's first arrival, was sent with a detachment to Bengal in advance of Watson and Clive. There he died in October, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the army. He was son of the late Gunner Joseph Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Governor of Madras.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Barker.





the draftsman of Colonel Scott's design for the fortifications of Madras. Lewis Conradi, the draftsman of the map of 1755, and of Call's plan of the Fort in 1758, had become a Lieutenant Fire-worker in the Train, and Assistant Engineer under Call.<sup>1</sup> Call himself had been graded as a civil servant since January, 1751.

The old connexion between artillerymen and sailors, established by former methods of recruitment, and illustrated by the use of such terms as 'matross,' etc., seems to have been still maintained. The Select Committee resolved, in 1759, that, 'there being a great want of Conductors<sup>2</sup> in the Company's Artillery, the President is desired to enquire for six among the Inhabitants of Seafaring People to be appointed in that Capacity.'<sup>3</sup>

The notorious Sir Robert Fletcher, afterwards Commander-in-Chief at Madras, began life as a locally engaged Writer:—'The Military Storekeeper represents to the Board that, as Mr. Milton is shortly going to Camp, he shall want one or two Assistants. Agreed that Mr. Robert Fletcher be entertained a Monthly Writer, and Stationed under the Military Storekeeper.'<sup>4</sup> He was transferred to the Army as Ensign in September, 1757, and became Captain three years later.<sup>5</sup> His subsequent stormy career will be sketched in due course.

Adlercron's regiment was recalled to England in 1757, but some 350 of his men enlisted in the Company's service. Several of the officers, including Major Francis Forde and Lieutenant John Carnac, accepted employment in Bengal, where each received a step of rank. The corps was replaced by a regiment raised by Lieut.-Colonel William Draper, a Master of Arts of King's College, Cambridge, who had seen active service at Culloden and in Flanders. Arriving at Madras in September, 1758, with a portion of his command, he was able to take an important part in the defence of Fort St. George.

The sepoy force was organized as independent companies, each of a hundred men, under native officers. The companies were

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 19th May, 1756, and *M.C.*, vol. vi., 20th May, 1756.

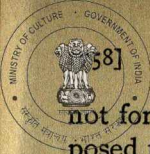
<sup>2</sup> The duties of the Conductor are not specified. The term now marks the rank of certain warrant officers of the Ordnance and other departments of the Indian Army.

<sup>3</sup> *M.C.*, vol. x., 20th Feb., 1759.

<sup>4</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 24th May, 1757.

<sup>5</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 7th March, 1761.





not formed into battalions until 1759. In April, 1756, Pigot proposed to clothe the men in broadcloth, a material of which there was a surplus stock in hand:—‘The President acquaints the Board that, there being a great number of sepoys in the Company’s pay, it had occurred to him that, if they could be prevailed on to wear an uniform of Europe cloth, it would serve at once to give them a more martial appearance, and take off a considerable quantity of woollen goods. That he had therefore used his endeavours to introduce that cloathing amongst them without compulsion, and has the pleasure to acquaint the Board that he has in a great measure succeeded; and the better to establish the custom, he offers to undertake the management of the cloathing himself, and for that purpose desires that an order may now pass to the Import Warehousekeeper to issue such quantities of cloth from time to time as he shall find necessary: Which is now ordered accordingly.’<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CURIOUS CASE OF ROBERT ORME.

In defence of Robert Orme’s conduct in criticizing his seniors through the medium of private letters to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, it may be urged that the criticisms were honest, and that Orme acted under superior authority. Payne no doubt was the greater sinner, but Orme the principal sufferer. Retribution indeed was not long delayed. Either through Payne’s indiscretion or by other means, suspicion of Orme’s proceedings was aroused in Madras, and Pigot ceased holding intercourse with his Councillor. Lawrence and others probably followed his example. Orme cherished hopes of succeeding Pigot as Governor, but although he gradually rose in Council, his social ostracism appears to have rendered his life so intolerable that he resolved to resign his post and leave the country. When his preparations were nearly complete, the arrival of the following despatch from the Court showed the way clear to the attainment of the object of his ambition:—

#### *The Company to Fort St. George.*

‘By the Appointment of Colonel Clive to the Government of Fort William, the Station of Second in Council of Our Presidency of Fort St. George will be

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 126.



vacant. We have therefore appointed, and do hereby order and direct That Mr. Robert Orme be Second in Council of Our Presidency of Fort St. George, and that in case of the Death or coming away of Our Governour Mr. Pigot, he is to be succeeded as Governour and President of Fort St. George by the said Mr. Robert Orme.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxi., 8th March, 1758.)

It was at this instant, when success seemed assured, that a weak spot in Orme's armour was disclosed, and Pigot thrust hard and swiftly. Immediately after the arrival of the despatch just quoted, and three months before the siege of Madras, Orme's Indian career was abruptly terminated under the circumstances set forth in the following extracts :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 25th Sept., 1758.)

'The President Exhibits a Charge against Mr. Orme, which, having read to the Board, he delivers in Writing to be enter'd on these Minutes, and is as follows :—

'Gentlemen, . . . You cannot be uninform'd, since it is publicly known in the Settlement, That in the midst of our late dangers, when the Success of the French Arms before the Fort of St. David had caused a general consternation in the Inhabitants, and the Superiority of their Troops on this Coast gave Us the greatest reason to apprehend they had in view the Siege of this place also ; At this time and under these Circumstances, when it more especially became the duty of those to whom the Company have principally entrusted the Management of their Affairs to inspire the rest, by their Example, with Notions of firmness and Spirit ; At this Crisis I say, Gentlemen, Mr. Orme thought it not unbecoming his Station to dispose of his Effects and Concerns, to remit his Fortune home in Dutch Bills, and publicly to avow his Fears by taking his Passage for Europe in the Grantham. When I consider, Gentlemen, the bad tendency, in our present Situation, of an Example so Unmanly and dishonorable ; When I consider too the Natural propensity of Mankind to Censure, And that the defection of one, unprov'd, too often reflects disgrace on the whole, That Justice which I owe to the Company and my own Honor requires not only that I should myself signify thus Publicly my disapprobation, but that I should also, as I now do, desire that your Sense of this Part of Mr. Orme's Conduct may be made known to the Court of Directors.

'I hope you will not think, Gentlemen, that I mean to aggravate what I have already referr'd to by the relation of a Subsequent Transaction which has within these few days come to my knowledge : It is however of such a Nature as ought not to be conceal'd. I shall therefore state it to you as it has been undeniably prov'd to me, and leave you upon the whole to your own Candour and reflection.

'Having attended Colonel Draper and Major Brereton the other day to the Mount, and introduced them to the Nabob ; after that Ceremonious Visit was perform'd, I alone paid the Nabob a second Visit in his Durbar.

'I must acquaint you, Gentlemen, that some time before this, I had come to



the Knowledge of Mr. Orme's having often directed the Nabob's Vackeel to wait on him, and that his discourse on such occasions had chiefly tended to display his Power, and services to the Nabob, with something more than hints that the Nabob had not properly rewarded them.

'I had heard also of a Letter Mr. Orme had Address'd to the Nabob shortly after the Arrival of the Pitt, and some Circumstances of a Visit he paid him at the Mount, which the Nabob wished to have made known to Me.

'This gave me reason to conjecture that that Gentleman had some Point in View dishonorable to the Government and injurious to the Company. I therefore took occasion to mention something of my Suspicion in the Durbar. . . .

'I there became thoroughly satisfied that my Information had been well grounded ; That Mr. Orme had at several times sent for the Nabob's Vackeel ; That his discourse had always tended to what I have before related ; That he had particularly enforced the Services he had done to the Nabob ; That he expected to be largely rewarded, or he should put the Management of the greatest part of the Nabob's Dominions into hands that would amply gratify him. That upon the Arrival of the Pitt, Mr. Orme had Address'd a Letter to the Nabob acquainting him that he was appointed Deputy Governor of this Settlement, That Mr. Pigot was order'd Home and Colonel Clive to Bengal. . . .

'The Nabob, notwithstanding he had been acquainted with the Extraordinary behaviour of Mr. Orme to his Vackeel, thought he could do no less, in Answer to his Letter, than acquaint him he should take great Satisfaction in Congratulating him on his being Appointed to Succeed to the Government whenever he should have the pleasure to see him.

'Mr. Orme therefore waited on the Nabob ; and after again mentioning the New honor that had been Conferr'd on him by the Company, and how soon he expected the Government by Mr. Pigot's being recall'd, Observ'd that, in whatever light he (the Nabob) might look upon the Governor, Colonel Lawrence and the other Gentlemen, He only was his particular Friend ; That it was he who had espous'd his Cause and prevented the Management of his Affairs going into other hands than his (the Nabob's) ; That he could have had Sixty thousand Pagodas from Teterapah Moodilly if he would have farm'd out to him the Countries to the Southward of Trichinopoly, And that Issoff Cawn<sup>1</sup> would have given him Forty thousand Pagodas to have rented from him the Countries of Syringham and Trichinopoly. But that, Notwithstanding it was in his Power, by the Sway he had in the Council, to put this in Execution, his desire of rendering the Nabob Service made him decline it, Not in the least doubting but that the Nabob would make him a Suitable Acknowledgement.

'To all this the Nabob, in his usual polite Manner, express'd how sensible he was of Mr. Orme's great Merit, and his strong friendship towards him ; And assur'd him how ready he should be at all times to make him proper Acknowledgements. But that kind of Eastern Compliment not Answering Mr. Orme's purpose, He very frankly came to the Point himself, and acquainted the Nabob that he thought he well merited a present of Twenty Thousand Pagodas.'

<sup>1</sup> Issoff Cawn, Yūsuf Khān, Subahdar of Nellore and commandant of the Company's native troops.





The Nawab explained that his purse was depleted, but that he hoped in a year or two to be able to meet Mr. Orme's wishes :—

'This Concession proved by no means satisfactory. On the contrary, Mr. Orme, upon the mention of such a distant time, appear'd more Irritated than ever, and, rising in a very abrupt Manner, declared that, if the Sum he had mention'd was not immediately paid down, He should take the necessary Measures for putting the Management of the Circar's Affairs into other Hands.

'The Nabob, tho' happy in a remarkable Calmness and Command of Temper, could no longer endure a behaviour so insulting; and reasonably Apprehending from this Instance what he might expect should Mr. Orme succeed to the Government, Thought it even better to forego the Protection of the English and leave himself to Fortune than to be subject to such Affrontive Treatment in the Face of his Durbar, and in the hearing even of the Centry's round his Tent; And therefore told Mr. Orme that his Visit had been long enough, and he was at liberty to Act in the Affairs of the Circar as he thought proper.

'This, Gentlemen, is a plain Narrative of Facts handed down to me from such Authority That I could not avoid laying before You.

'It will give me pleasure if the Gentleman whose Reputation is no nearly touch'd Should be able to Vindicate himself to the Satisfaction of the World and his Employers. And that he may have full opportunity of doing so before the departure of the Grantham, I move that he be now call'd upon for his reply.

*'To which Mr. Orme Replys as follows—*

'That, as to the first part of the Charge, of taking the Resolution to quit the Companys Affairs and to return to England when they appear'd to be threatened with the greatest distress, Mr. Orme is not Conscious That his Motives for so doing either proceeded from that want of Resolution which is call'd Personal, or from the want of that other kind of Resolution, much more rare to be found, which is call'd Steadiness. . . . In some Measure indeed it may be Construed, and he confesses that he did not think himself in a Situation, and perhaps, thro' Infirmities both of body and Mind, might think himself incapable of rendering any material Services in the present involv'd Circumstances of the Company's Affairs. That he had long thought the assurances which were given to him by the Principal Members of the Court of Directors on his leaving England were so long Postpon'd that he could not but esteem himself no longer in their favor: to which he begs leave to add that a very ailing Constitution and particular Habits in his way of Life had for a long term render'd his stay in this Country very irksome. These, with his having then collected his small Affairs, were all the Motives that he can recollect to have had any Influence over him in that determination. As soon as his Affairs, which had been much dissipated, were Contracted, he took the Resolution, perhaps a culpable one, and, if so, it must be his Fortune to submit to the Censure he deserves, tho' he cannot think it merits so harsh an Epithet as the President has Characterised it with of being dishonorable.

'That as to the Allegation of the Nabob, he is Overwhelmed with Astonishment. . . . As to any Conversation detrimental to the Character of any Gentleman in Authority in the Company's Affairs, he utterly denies any such. That it is very true during his being in India the Nabob has made him some



presents. . . . That, in regard to the late Resolution taken, he never made any Stipulation directly or indirectly for any reward for that particular service. . . . That the Nabob will doubtless support his own Allegations by the Evidence of his own Creatures ; and such is the Misfortune of Mr. Orme's Defence that he is able only to oppose a single Negative to perhaps the Voice of Multitudes. That there is a Letter which he is charged of having wrote to the Nabob, which he asserts to be an absolute Forgery. . . . That he is too sensibly affected with the degradation attending such Imputations to have even the Capacity left of filling any Station in this part of the World, and therefore begs leave to resign the Service of the Company.'

*Government Order.*

'*Resolv'd* that Enquiry be made concerning the Letter which Mr. Orme is charged with having wrote to the Nabob, and which he denies.

'The Board then Adjourn'd till tomorrow. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.'

On Thursday, the 28th September, the Council met at the Garden House, the Nawab and his Vakeel Antāji Pantulu being also present. The Nawab confirmed the President's statements 'with the additional Circumstance that, upon the demand which Mr. Orme made of the twenty thousand Pagodas, he (the Nabob) only assuring him of his present inability and future good intention, Mr. Orme, joining his forefinger and thumb together and thrusting his hand forward, said he would not take even *that* less.' The Nawab stated that the note mentioned in the charge was delivered to him at the Mount by Sunku Rāma, Mr. Orme's dubash. The note, produced, proves to be written in Persian 'upon a Slip of Indian paper, the top of which being uneven, something seems to have been cut off.' Its translation runs :—

'Mr. Orme is appointed Deputy Governor, and Mr. Pigot is called to Europe. The Government in Bengal was given to Mr. Clive, and a Title to Admiral Watson. . . .'

The Council met again on the 29th, when Sunku Rāma denied all knowledge of the note. Being confronted with Antāji Pantulu, however, he admitted that he drafted and delivered the document without the knowledge of Mr. Orme.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Board, thinking it their Duty to signify their Opinion on the whole, do therefore offer the same as follows, Vizt.—

'It is the unanimous Opinion of this Board that Mr. Orme's selling off his





Effects, remitting home his Fortune, and taking his Passage for Europe at a time when the Settlement was threaten'd with a Siege was an ill timed Step, and unbecoming the Station he bore in the Company's Service.

In regard to the Letter or Note Mr. Orme is charged of having wrote to the Nabob, it appears by the Testimony of Sunca Ramah that Mr. Orme was not privy to it (a Testimony which it were to be wish'd had not been weaken'd by the Instance he has . . . now given of his disregard to truth, added to a Character not untainted before) ; and, as there is no evidence to the contrary, the Board do not see sufficient Cause to Charge Mr. Orme with having sent that Letter or Note, Tho' the Board cannot help remarking that it seems extraordinary and unaccountable that Sunca Ramah, when he was himself going to the Mount to the Nabob on other Business, should, without Orders, but of his own free choice, be at the trouble of Writing that Note, first in the Gentoo and then of getting it translated into Persian, rather than communicate the same News verbally to the Nabob.

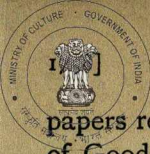
As to the other parts of the Charge, to wit, the discourse at several times between Mr. Orme and the Vackeel, and Mr. Orme's Visit to the Nabob at the Mount, with what is said to have passed between them, The Testimony of the Nabob and his Vackeel appearing strong and clear, and no Circumstance or reason being even suggested as an inducement to the Nabob to make such a Complaint against Mr. Orme undeservedly, the Board have the greatest reason to believe that that part of the Charge is just and true ; And cannot help in this place remarking that Mr. Orme alledges in his Answer that the Nabob (at the time of the Visit) told him he had a Sum of money ready to deliver him, which Mr. Orme refused accepting, Whereas Sunca Ramah says he has been sometime soliciting the Nabob the Payment of nine hundred and seventy four Pagodas (974), the amount of Emeralds sold him on Mr. Orme's account, but without being able to obtain it ; and if the Nabob is so low in Cash as to be drove to the necessity of delaying the Payment of so small a Sum, there seems no great probability that he should have a sum of money ready to give as a Present.

Mr. Orme having in Consultation the 25th Instant resign'd the Company's Service, it becomes unnecessary for the Board to form any other Resolution than that of transmitting their proceedings in this matter to the Honble Court of Directors. . . . GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 29th Sept., 1758.)

The success of the French at Fort St. David and the prospect of an attack on Madras may have influenced Orme in realizing his property and remitting it to England ; but these circumstances are surely inadequate to account for his own contemplated departure. Although the President's first charge is one of intended desertion, and though Orme virtually accepts it, the real reasons for his action are probably to be found in his exclusion from the society of his colleagues, coupled with the delay of the Directors in fulfilling the expectations they seem to have held out to their servant.

The *Grantham*, which carried Orme himself, as well as the





papers relating to his case, was taken by the French near the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th January, 1759, and the documents she conveyed never reached the Company. The substance of the charges and finding was, however, known to the Directors through a separate communication, and they dealt with the matter as follows:—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

‘Although, by the Loss of the Grantham’s Packets, we are deprived of your proceedings and sentiments in Consultation upon Mr. Robert Orme’s Conduct, yet your Letter of the 10th October convinces us it has been extremely bad. We are acquainted [that] instead of coming forward to England from the Cape, he proceeded to the French Islands on board one of their Ships. What his views and designs may be in this step we are at a loss to guess ; but, upon the whole, we are satisfied he is a very unfit Person to continue in India. If therefore he should return to Fort St. George or any where within your Jurisdiction, you are hereby positively ordered to send him to England by the first conveyance. . . .’ (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiii., 23rd Nov., 1759.)

Orme arrived home in 1760, and settled in Harley Street. Some investigation regarding his conduct must have been made, for in the following year the Directors expressed themselves assured that he had extorted large sums from the Nawab.<sup>1</sup> In 1763 Orme published the first volume of his classic work on the War in India. The second volume in two parts was not issued until 1778. He maintained frequent communication with Madras, his principal correspondents being George Mackay, Thomas Pelling, Sunku Rāma, Josias Du Pré, and Robert Fletcher. Extracts from some of their letters will be found on subsequent pages. In 1769 Orme’s behaviour at Madras was condoned, and he was appointed Historiographer to the Company on £400 per annum. This post he retained until his death in 1801. He lies buried in the churchyard of St. Mary’s, Ealing. A bust of Orme by Nollekens adorns the India Office Library,<sup>2</sup> and watches over the historian’s voluminous manuscripts which are there preserved.

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> To the less serious frequenters of the Library it is known as *The Great Orme’s Head* !





## CHAPTER XXXVIII

1755—1758

## EXTENSION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

INSPECTION of the map of Madras of 1755 shows that, when Pigot took charge of the Government, the fortifications were in practically the same state as at the rendition. Brohier's efforts had been devoted mainly to damming the old river channel and improving the new one. On Colonel Scott's death, Brohier succeeded as Engineer, and he was so commissioned by the Directors, who, at the end of 1755, urged the prosecution of Scott's scheme.<sup>1</sup> The Council deprecated any attempt to tax the inhabitants for the works. They said that, though the few wealthy natives in Madras might properly contribute to the protection of their own quarter, yet the strengthening of White Town was the first desideratum.<sup>2</sup> On the 1st March, 1756, Brohier submitted his proposals. His letter has not been preserved, but later communications show that his plan was a combination of the schemes of Joseph Smith and Colonel Scott. Scott's fine design of a large bastion and demi-bastion for the north front was adopted, with the modification that it was to be constructed close to the old north front instead of a hundred yards in advance. The change involved, of course, the suppression of Scott's large north-west bastion. For the west front Brohier adopted Joseph Smith's plan of three small bastions. These, it will be remembered, had been built to ground level before the capture of Madras. At the same time Brohier advocated the fortification of the Pettahs in the manner indicated on the map

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755.

<sup>2</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.



of 1755.  
follows :—

The Directors passed orders on the proposals as

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'It is with much concern we observe the very small Progress made in the Fortifications for want of Materials and Workmen. . . .

'In Captain Brohier's Letter to Us of the 1st March last, he describes his Project for carrying on the Fortifications at the White Town, by which, he says, the Place will be rendered defensible against any Force that can be expected at so great a distance from Europe : at the same time it will be much sooner finished, be far short of the Expence, and require a less Garrison than the old Plan. You cannot but be the most competent judges of the Facts, and therefore, if you are of opinion it will be best to proceed upon this Project, We shall have no Objection thereto. Neither shall We to that of Throwing up Works about the Pettah or Black Town in the manner mentioned in the said Letter, provided you are likewise of Opinion it is such an improvement upon Mr. Robins's System<sup>1</sup> as will answer what Mr. Brohier lays down, [viz.] That the most considerable Buildings of the Black People will be hereby enclosed, [and] the Inhabitants more collected together ; That it will require a less Garrison to defend it, and the Expence will be considerably lessened ; add to which its being capable of Improvements hereafter. . . .

'As you represent the Ill consequences that at this time may attend your levying a Tax upon the Inhabitants towards defraying the Expence of the Works, We do agree that you do defer it until a more seasonable time. . . .'  
(*P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.)

Rumours of impending war with France were the occasion in July, 1756, of the vigorous prosecution of the works. The southernmost of Smith's three projected bastions appears to have been completed and provided with water tanks, and the other two were pressed on.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ives, who belonged to the squadron, arrived at this period from Fort St. David. He wrote<sup>3</sup> :—

'On . . . arrival at Madrass we had the satisfaction to find the active and spirited Governor *Pigot*, at the head of a great number of artificers and labourers, making incredible additions to the fortifications of the place, hardly allowing himself any refreshment, and showing by his own example that it was possible for men, in times of imminent danger, to expose their persons in the hottest hours of the day and in the most sultry season of the year.'

Thanks to the Governor's energy, rapid progress was made :—

*Consultation of the Select Committee.*

'The Fortifications having been so far advanc'd . . . that the West Side of the Town is esteem'd to be thereby pretty well Secured ; To the Southward

<sup>1</sup> Both Robins's and Brohier's designs for the defence of the Pettahs are shown on the map of 1755.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. vi., 12th July, 1756, and *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 3rd Aug., 1756.

<sup>3</sup> *A Voyage from England to India*, Ives, 1773.





there being only a narrow Slip of Land between the River and the Sea, quite open and expos'd to the Cannon of three Bastions, it wou'd be very difficult for an Enemy to carry on approaches on that Side. To the Northward, the Houses of the Black Town<sup>1</sup> being within less than 4 hundred Yards of our Walls, which are also weak on that Side, and defended with but few Cannon, and having no Covert way for the defence of the Glacis; it is there that, according to the General Judgment, the Town is most in danger from the Attack of an Enemy.

'Ordered therefore that the Engineer do forthwith lay before the Committee a Plan of such Works as he thinks will best and most Speedily Secure the Northward of the Town.

'Order'd also that proper Plans be prepar'd to contain a further Quantity of Water, the large Tank under the New Bastion,<sup>2</sup> which is already fill'd, being found insufficient.

'And that Notice be given to the Several Families to lay up a Sufficient Quantity for themselves in their own Houses, that there may be no Draft from the Publick Stores on their Account.

'The President is desir'd to acquaint the Nabob of the War, and to make him an Offer of the best Accommodations procurable in Madras, if he and his Family chuse to reside here for their Greater Security. GEORGE PIGOT, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, WILLIAM PERCEVAL, ROBERT PALK.'<sup>3</sup> (M.C., vol. vi, 13th Nov., 1756.)

### *Consultation of the Select Committee.*

'The President lays before the Committee two Plans of Works propos'd by the Engineer for the Defense of the North end of the Town, one of them being an Outwork to be built upon the Glacis to cover the present Fortifications, the other being a Plan for thickening and enlarging the Present Curtain and Bastions so as to bear a large additional Number of Cannon, and for making a Covert way to the Glacis. Either of these wou'd answer the desired end; but as the last will take up by far the least time, and the Engineer Judges that, with the Number of four thousand Cooleys, it may be compleated in Six Weeks,<sup>4</sup> it is Ordered to be immediately set about; and the President is desired to write again to the Nabob to order Cooleys to be sent in from the Arcot Districts, and to the several Renters and Pollygars in the Neighbourhood to furnish as many as possible.

'And, as it is absolutely necessary that some Person instructed in the Business Shou'd be constantly on the Works, where it is impossible for Mr. Brohier continually to be himself, it is Agreed that Mr. Charles Noble, who was Colonel Scot's Secretary, Mr. Mac Donald, Voluntier of the King's Train, and Mr. Leigh, a Company's Servant brought up in the Engineering way, who have offer'd their Service to act as Sub Engineers, be employed in that Quality for the

<sup>1</sup> The remains of Old Black Town.

<sup>2</sup> The southernmost of Joseph Smith's outlined bastions, afterwards called *The Nabob's Bastion*. It was executed in masonry.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence was present, though he did not sign the Consultation Book.

<sup>4</sup> The estimate was afterwards increased to six months. (*M. to Eng.*, vol. i., 28th Feb., 1757.)





Purpose Beforementioned; and it is likewise Agreed that Mr. Brohier have Liberty to engage such further Assistance of Sub Engineers, Overseers, &c., as he shall see necessary.' (*M.C.*, vol. vi., 18th Nov., 1756.)

The new works on the north were begun in December, 1756. By the following February the west front was considered defensible.<sup>1</sup>

The Company's Hospital and the buildings surrounding it—among which were hospitals for the squadron and the King's Regiment, and houses belonging to the Capuchins, Mrs. Madeiros, and Captain Eckman—occupied rising ground on the north bank of the old course of the river. Reference to the map of 1755 will show that the hospital was only a hundred yards from the bank. In consequence, however, of the diversion of the river, the site corresponds with the middle of the esplanade opposite the present Ordnance Lines, a locality level as a bowling-green. Originally the ground had some little elevation: in the seventeenth century it was marked as a suitable site for a new Fort when the old one should be washed away by the sea. This rising ground prejudiced the new works, and Brohier advocated the demolition of all the buildings situated thereon:—

*Captain Brohier to the Government.*

'All the Buildings which compose the present Hospitals being on high Ground, and their Situation of great [dis]advantage to the Fortifications of the Place by overlooking them, and that Batteries Erected on that Spot by an Enemy would Enflade<sup>2</sup> the greatest part of Our North front, and greatly perplex the Beseiged; This being the Case, it is Absolutely necessary those Houses should come down immediately, the best Bricks of which may serve to Line Our Earthen Works, and the Rubbish and Ground on which they stand to fill the River, and finish the Glacis to the Westward. J. BROHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 14th May, 1757.)

The hospital and surrounding buildings were demolished towards the end of the year, and some of the elevated ground was cut away. The records of the siege show that the hospital was transferred to some houses lying further south-west, and near the site of the present General Hospital. Writing to the Company in 1757, the Council remarked, 'We have been under a necessity of pulling down several Houses in the Pettah to the

<sup>1</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. i., 28th Feb., 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *Enflade*, fire along a line of defence from a point in its prolongation.





Westward, as well to enlarge the Esplanade as to remove the rising ground on which they stood to form the Ramparts and Glacis. The Value of these Houses, according to an Estimate made by the Engineer, amounts to upwards of Seven thousand Six hundred Pagodas.<sup>1</sup> Many years elapsed, however, before the elevated ground, known as Hoghill, was finally levelled, at the expense of great labour and at the instance of Sir Eyre Coote.

In June, 1757, Brohier was transferred to Bengal to lay out the new Fort William, and Call from Fort St. David replaced him at Madras. The former's final report, dated 7th June, 1757, shows how far its author was responsible for the new works which met Lally's attack in the following year :—

*Captain Brohier to the Select Committee.*

(M.C., vol. vii., 10th June, 1757.)

'I beg leave to acquaint you that, in order to put this Place in a proper Posture of Defence, it is necessary the Bastions now erecting to the Northward shou'd be compleated in the manner they are begun with all the diligence possible; and as the Curtain between them will take up some time to raise it up to the Cordon,<sup>2</sup> I propose it Shou'd only be carried up for the present to the Level of the Terraplane<sup>3</sup> of the Gateway, and from that Level form a good Parapet and Banquet<sup>4</sup> to it, which will in some measure serve as a false Braye<sup>5</sup> before the old Curtain, and of infinite use to cover the Reliefs of the covered way, or Sorties which may be made in time of Siege. The covered way already formed on this Line must also be immediately Pallissaded, with it's Banquets and necessary Traverses, Guard Rooms, and Expencc Magazines for the Ammunition of the Troops posted in it for it's defence.

'When The North front is compleated, it will be absolutely necessary to Secure the South front of the Place by cutting down the Glacis, and forming the covered way and a Place of Arms<sup>6</sup> to it, the Earth of which will serve to prolong the Glacis to the Salliant Angle of the South West Bastion. . . .

'A Ditch of 30 feet wide and 10 feet depth will be necessary to be sunk before that front, from the main Ditch<sup>7</sup> to the Revetment of the dry Ditch on the east Side of the Town, but far enough from the Bastions so as not to endanger their foundations. . . .

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<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 6th June, 1757.

<sup>2</sup> *Cordon*, the projecting top course of the masonry wall supporting the earthen parapet. The new curtain was built in front of the old one, and at a lower level.

<sup>3</sup> *Terraplane*, terreplein, the ground surface within the work.

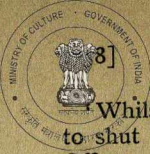
<sup>4</sup> *Banquet*, banquette, an earthen step within the parapet, from which musketry fire can be delivered.

<sup>5</sup> *False Braye*, fausse-braye, a low-level parapet outside the main parapet. The fausse-braye before the old curtain wall on the north front still exists.

<sup>6</sup> *Place of Arms*, a widening of the covered way to admit of the massing of troops.

<sup>7</sup> Smith's Ditch.





Whilst this will be doing, the Gateway to the Westward may be erected to shut up the Town on that side, but the Guard Room necessary for an Officer and his Guard may be deferred building 'till the Earthen Works are cased,<sup>1</sup> which I am afraid will suffer greatly in the Monsoons if not Secured against the Weather.

'After which, the Glacis to the Westward must be finished with all its necessary Traverses, Guard Rooms, Banquets, and Pallisaded.

'The Sea Gate in its present condition being liable to a Surprise, it will be necessary to have a Ditch sunk round the Battery<sup>2</sup> before it, the Buildings on each side of it pulled down immediately, and the Parapet of it continued to the Wall of the Godowns, by which means the Battery will have six Guns to Scour the East Front of the Town, and the Gate will be Secured.

'In case of a Siege, it will be necessary to erect two Redoubts under the North East and South East Bastions to scour all the Sea Shore, and prevent any Attempts on that Side. These Redoubts will cover all the Boats, &c., which, if kept here, must be hauled up under the Town walls to prevent an Enemy's making use of them.

'The houses in the Black Town<sup>3</sup> being within 270 Yards of the Parapet of the Covered way, and consequently within Musket Shott, it is necessary that whatever Buildings are within 400 Yards of it Shou'd come down as soon as possible. . . .

'The South Flank of the North West Bastion and the Return from the West north west Curtain across the River must be formed in Clay, and at the same time, and the Narrow Channel left in that Curtain Pallissaded across it to prevent a Surprise thro' that Passage, 'till the River is filled, and the Terraplane of the Town is raised to its proper height.

'When the Ground inclosed by the New-works is raised to its proper level and the River filled up, there will be a Slope from the Fort House to all the Ramparts of the Town, and consequently the Waters will direct their Course that way. It will be therefore necessary to form Cesspools or Receivers for the Mud and dirt which will naturally be carried in heavy Rains into them, and from these Receivers drains must be formed thro' the Sorties of the Chemins de Rondes<sup>4</sup> to discharge the Waters of the Town into the Ditch. . . .

'The Three principal Standing and Drawbridges of the Town must also be done as soon as possible. . . .

'These things being executed will, I flatter myself, put the Place in such a State of defence as will, with a good Garrison, Ammunition and Provisions, frustrate all Attempts of our Enemys. . . .

'Mr. John Call being come here, in Consequence of your Orders, to carry on the Works in my absence, I have left him Directions for the Execution of what I now have the honour to mention, and which, I flatter myself, will meet with your Approbation.

'JOHN BROHIER.

'7th June 1757.'

<sup>1</sup> Two of the bastions of the west front were built of earth in the first instance.

<sup>2</sup> This battery was constructed by the French.

<sup>3</sup> Old Black Town.

<sup>4</sup> *Chemin de Rondes*, a patrol path formed between a parapet and its escarp wall.



Call's first progress-report was submitted on the 6th October following.<sup>1</sup> Work had been concentrated on the Royal and Demi Bastions of the new enveloping north front, and on the covered way and places of arms of the north, west, and south fronts. The east face of the Demi-Bastion was 'partly formed of the old Town wall,' and it carried a parapet of brickwork. The parapets of its north face and west flank were of clay reveted with turf. The Royal Bastion was being constructed in a similar manner. Its north face opened ten embrasures, and its east flank six. The other face and flank were incomplete. Progress had also been made with the new curtain between the Royal and Demi Bastions, and with the glacis before the South-West or Nabob's Bastion. Call asserted that the safety of the town could be ensured by January, provided certain precautions were taken :—

*Mr. John Call to the Select Committee.*

'I Speak if the Garrison is moderately strong, and such Obstacles are remedied as this Letter was chiefly intended to point out. These are the Hospital and the high Ground it stands on to the Westward ; and the Pagoda with the Adjacent Houses before the North Front of the Town. From the first of these Places, the Covered way to the Westward, particularly the Place of Arms before the Gate, will be plunged into and enfiladed. The South Flank and North Face of the Royal Bastion will also be much incommoded, and the Troops which are posted to defend the covered way before the said Face will be greatly exposed. Tho' the North Front by Art will be much the Strongest, yet the Proximity of the Black Town will take away great part of the Defence it might otherwise make. For as the Houses are now within 200 Yards of the Glacis, an Enemy wou'd easily lodge himself amongst them ; with the same Facility wou'd establish Batteries to dismount our Defences, and without breaking Ground wou'd be advanced to the Second Parallel.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, by Such a Situation it wou'd be out of our Power to make Sallies, to attempt ruining their Batteries or nailing up their Cannon, or even to interrupt their Workmen protected by Troops posted so near at hand and under Such convenient Cover.

'For these Reasons it is my humble Opinion that the Hospital shou'd be Speedily remov'd, and that the Pagoda and the Houses on the North Front shou'd be demolished, without Loss of time, to the Distance of 400 Yards from the Cover'd way. And though, according to my Judgment, the advantages which might arise from demolishing the Houses to a greater distance wou'd not answer the Expence if the Owners are to receive a full compensation for

<sup>1</sup> *M.C.*, vol. viii., 6th Oct., 1757.

<sup>2</sup> Call's meaning is that an enemy might advance to the usual position of the Second Parallel of an attack without having been compelled to construct a First Parallel.



them, yet a more extensive Esplanade will add no Small Strength to the Place, and may be shortly acquired by prohibiting all Persons within the Distance of 600 Yards from building new, or repairing their old houses. . . . ' (M.C., vol. viii., 6th Oct., 1757.)

The Perumāl Pagoda, one of the earliest buildings of Madras, must have come down forthwith, for in November Call states that he has used up all its bricks in the works. Being still short of materials, he proposed to pull down the four old outguards at the northern boundary of the pettahs, and utilize the bricks obtained from them.<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th January, 1758, Call reported that good progress had been made with the new North Curtain 450 feet in length, as also with the Royal Bastion. The covered way on the south front, 1,170 feet in length, and its Place of Arms were complete, and the glacis round the north, west, and south fronts nearly finished :—

*Mr. Call's Report to the Select Committee.*

(M.C., vol. ix., 16th Jan., 1758.)

'I also think it necessary that something should be added for the Defence of the Eastern Front ; for though the Sea secures it from any Regular Attack, yet, as there is not any Defence by Musquetry, the whole is only flanked by two Guns, and the Gate is at present too much exposed. To secure this Front, then, against a Surprize, and to flank the Sea Shore, I beg leave to lay before you, Gentlemen, a Project for enlarging the Sea Gate Battery, for which there will be four Guns in each Flank to scour the Beach, and the Faces will afford a front fire of 12 Guns. I propose to surround the Battery with a Ditch 20 feet wide, and fix a Pallisadoe in the middle, that it may not be subject to an Escalade. This Battery will inclose that part of the East Curtain which rises on each side the Gate considerably higher than the rest, and where there are arched Godowns on the Inside. . . .'

Call also proposed to begin the ditch on the south front, and to use the earth for a covered way before the east face of St. Thomas Bastion. He concluded by naming the various new works :—

'The Several Works which compose the Fortifications of this Place being yet undistinguish'd by any Particular Names, I find myself under the Necessity of using Circumlocutive Descriptions when I have Occasion to address you on this Subject. That I may avoid them in future, I beg Leave to propose the following Nominations, which, besides the Convenience I have pointed out,

<sup>1</sup> M.C., vol. viii., 29th Nov., 1757. The Choultries survived, however, for several years.





will be attended with a much greater in placing of Guards, or fixing with Certainty Alarm Posts.

'The Bastion lately built at the North West Corner of the Town to be called *The Royal Bastion*.

'The Bastion situated at the North East Corner of the Town, *The Demy Bastion*.

'The Gate to be built in the Curtain between the said Bastions, *The North Gate*.

'The Redoubt propos'd before the Gate, *The North Redoubt*.

'The Gate to the Eastward, *The Sea Gate*.

'The Redoubt before the Sea Gate, *The Sea Gate Redoubt*.

'The Bastion at the South East Corner of the Town, *St. Thomas's Bastion*.

'The Bastion at the South West Corner, *The Nabob's Bastion*.

'The Gate in the South Curtain, *St. Thomas's Gate*.

'The Earthen Bastion to the Northward of the Nabob's Bastion, *Lawrence's Bastion*.

'The Earthen Bastion to the Southward of the Royal Bastion, *Pigot's Bastion*.

'The Gate in the Curtain between the Earthen Bastions, *St. George's Gate*.

'The Redoubt intended before the Gate, [*St.*] *George's Redoubt*.

'I hope, Gentlemen, the Method in which I propose to proceed with the Works will meet with Your Approbation ; but should you think any other Method more Eligible, please to honour me with your Commands, and they shall be punctually executed.

'JOHN CALL.

'January 15th 1758.'

*Order of the Select Committee.*

'The Committee approve of the Works Mr. Call proposes to be carried on ; And Order'd that a Letter be wrote to signify the same to him, and to acquaint him that the Diligent Attention which he gives to the Works at this Critical Time is much to be commended. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, ROBERT PALK.'

The Directors appear to have called for the views of the Fort St. George Council on proposals sent home by Brohier. The Council replied<sup>1</sup> that Brohier carried off with him to Bengal 'all his Projects and Drafts, as well as his Books and papers, so that it is impossible for Us, by this Conveyance, to Offer you our Sentiments on the late project he laid before you : besides, the Works of the White Town are too far advanced to admit of any considerable Alteration without great additional Expence.' There is no reason to suppose, however, that the works carried out by Call differed materially from Brohier's designs.

On the same day, the 13th March, Call submitted<sup>2</sup> 'a very

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 13th March, 1758.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 13th March, 1758.





Particular Account of the Works at this Place, and those intended to be carried into Execution.' This report was ordered to be copied fair and despatched to England that same night. It was accompanied by a plan :—

*The Select Committee to the Secret Committee.*

'You will receive by this Ship a Letter from your Engineer, Mr. Call, with plans of what is, and what is to be, carried into execution. As we have approved of his designs in general, we shall give him all the assistance in our power to carry them into execution.

'Notwithstanding your honor's will observe by the plan that a great part of it is not so compleat as is intended, you will be under no uneasiness on that head, as we can assure you the Town is already in a sufficient posture of defence to put it out of danger, even should the Enemy receive the reinforcements so much talked of. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, ROBERT PALK.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 13th March, 1758.)

Call's letter cannot be traced, but the plan<sup>1</sup> which accompanied it has fortunately been preserved in the King's Library of the British Museum. It is headed '*A Plan of Fort St. George, with the Projects humbly proposed by John Call, 1758,*' and is superscribed, 'Referr'd to in Mr. Call's Letter 12th March, 1758.' The drawing and colouring, which are excellent, are the handiwork of F. L. Conradi. The plan has been reproduced for this work. It shows the vast changes which had been wrought by Brohier and Call since 1755. The portions coloured yellow were still incomplete ; but the drawing marks the old course of the river in the midst of the enlarged fort, the new enveloping north front with its extensive Royal and Demi Bastions, the three faces of the west front, the extension of Smith's ditch completely round the fort, the covered way and glacis stretching from sea to sea, and the ravelins<sup>2</sup> occupying the places of arms and protecting the various curtains. It shows also the improvement of the east front by the enlargement of the redoubt before the Sea Gate, and by the continuation

<sup>1</sup> There was probably only one plan, notwithstanding the use of the plural in the first of the paragraphs quoted. The plan and two sections, which appear on the same sheet, are, however, separately numbered.

<sup>2</sup> *Ravelin*, an outwork of two faces meeting at a salient angle, and sometimes provided with short parallel returns. It is placed before a curtain, outside the main ditch, to protect the body of the place. Ravelins and their adjacent bastions afford each other mutual defence. To protect the whole length of a curtain, the faces of the ravelin should be directed on the shoulders of the bastions. Large ravelins Call denominates 'redoubts,' small ones 'lunettes.'





of the covered way round the Demi-Bastion and St. Thomas Bastion. Charles Point is marked for demolition,<sup>1</sup> and it is evident that Gloucester Point must be modified before the new south flank of the Royal Bastion can be built. The names of the works correspond with those proposed by Call in his letter of the 15th January, 1758. At the sides of the drawing are two sections marked No. 2 and No. 3.<sup>2</sup> The former is a profile through the Royal Bastion, its ditch, and the covered way and glacis beyond. The bastion is hollow, its gorge being closed by a line of bomb-proof casemates. The other section cuts through the middle of the south-west face, the ditch, the lunette beyond it, and the covered way and glacis.

As recommended by Call in October, 1757, the Select Committee ordered the immediate demolition of all buildings in Old Black Town standing within 400 yards of the covered way of the north front. They appointed a Committee of Compensation, consisting of George Pigot, John Smith, Charles Bouchier, and John Call, to value the property. The Committee reported that the houses destroyed were worth Pags. 180,000; but as the proprietors retained the materials and would receive a grant of land, a sum of Pags. 18,150 was regarded as a suitable money equivalent.<sup>3</sup> In September the Committee of Works assigned<sup>4</sup> two plots of compensation-ground, and asked for power to take up compulsorily so much of it as was necessary to form regular streets. This power was granted, the freshly dispossessed owners being compensated by ground taken from 'the Company's Old Garden or any other convenient place.'

<sup>1</sup> Charles Point was, nevertheless, preserved for a further period of twenty years on account of a useful cistern which it contained. (*M.C.*, vol. lxiii., 4th July, 1778.)

<sup>2</sup> No. 1 is the number assigned to the plan.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 25th April, 1758.

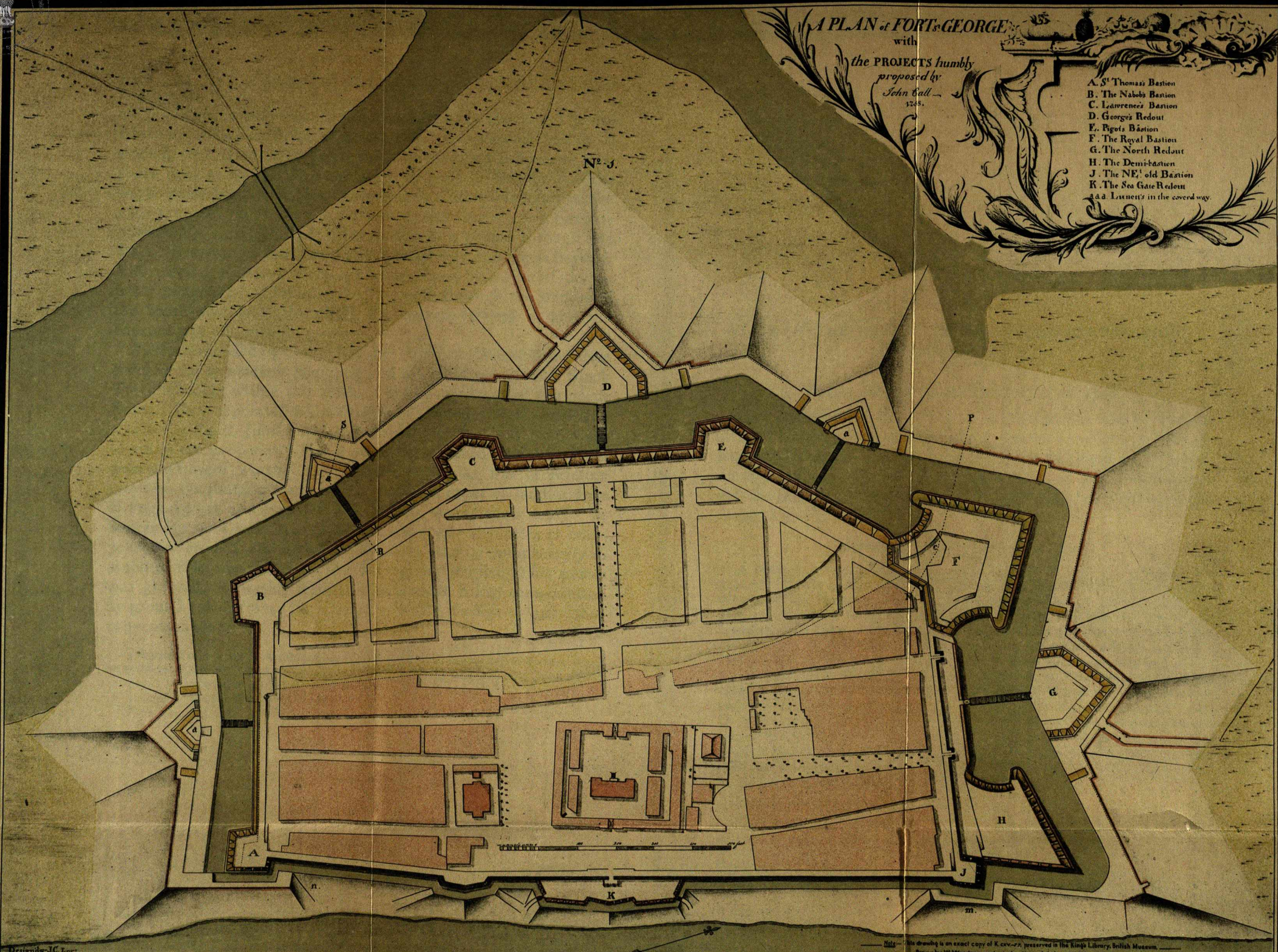
<sup>4</sup> *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 5th Sept., 1758.





A PLAN of FORT GEORGE  
with  
the PROJECTS humbly  
proposed by  
John Call  
1748.

- A. St Thomas Bastion
- B. The Nabob's Bastion
- C. Lawrence's Bastion
- D. George's Redout
- E. Pigot's Bastion
- F. The Royal Bastion
- G. The North Redout
- H. The Demi-bastion
- J. The NE. old Bastion
- K. The Sea Gate Redout
- a. a. a. Lunnet's in the cover way.



N<sup>o</sup> 3

N<sup>o</sup> 2

Designed by J.C. 1758

Note—This drawing is an exact copy of K. 100. 2. 2. preserved in the Kings Library, British Museum.  
Drawn by W. Woodrow under instructions of Colonel H.B. Love, R.E. October 1894.

Engraved by G. G. 1758

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FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1758,  
SHOWING THE EXTENSION CARRIED OUT BY CAPT. BROHIER AND MR. CALL.





## CHAPTER XXXIX

1758

STATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS IN 1758—PREPARATIONS  
FOR DEFENCE

## STATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS IN 1758.

THE condition of the works of defence at the time of Lally's attack is explained in a statement prepared for Orme in 1776 by Edward Cotsford, who was a Practitioner Engineer and Ensign during the siege.<sup>1</sup> Cotsford's description of the fortifications will be understood by reference to Call's plan of 1758 and the Siege plan :—

*Memorandum by Edward Cotsford.*

'A Project was made and begun upon in the Year 1743 for enlarging the Area of the Fort by the Addition of several new Works on the Western Side, Which, at the Time Mr. Delabordonnais appear'd before the Town in the Year 17[46], was so far executed that a Foundation was laid and the Works brought to the Level of the Ground, and a wet Ditch dug before them but not compleated. At that Time It was so ill provided in all Respects for making a Defence that no Advantage was derived from these Works already begun. It was restored to the English Company in the Year 1751,<sup>2</sup> but nothing was done towards increasing its Strength untill the Year 1756 When the Works already begun, being approved by Mr. Robins, at that Time Engineer General,<sup>3</sup> were forwarded on the same Plan. The Space inclosed by these additional Works increased the Area of the Town by taking in nearly as much Ground as the original Inclosure occupied. These Works consisted of three Bastions with their respective Curtains, One to the South West, and the other Two to the West, the First mounting 14 Guns, and the two last 12 each.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Cotsford became Capt.-Lieut. in 1761, and was employed on the Manila expedition of the following year. In 1766 he seems to have elected for the civil service, as his name appears in the civil lists down to 1782, when he was in England.

<sup>2</sup> An error for 1749.

<sup>3</sup> Robins had then been dead some years.





'In the Year 1757 the South West or Nabobs Bastion was perfected in Masonry with casemated Flanks (3 Guns in each) and other necessary Bomb-Proofs. The other two Bastions with their Curtains were rais'd in Earth only on the Foundations already compleated. . . . The Counterscarp of the Ditch was finish'd, and the Works were cover'd with a sufficient Glacis, leaving a Cover'd Way . . . between the Crest and the Ditch. The Cover'd Way was palisaded, and capacious Places of Arms were constructed between all the Bastions for the Purpose of erecting Ravelins When they should be judged necessary.

'The South Front of the Fort, Which from the saliant Angles of its two Bastions was 133 Yards in length, was extended 80 Yards more by the Addition made to it of the South West or Nabob's Bastion. The former Bastions were inconsiderable, and the Wet Ditch before them very incompleted.

'The North Front of the Fort, being by Situation much more exposed to an Attack than either of the Fronts already mention'd, had in Consequence more considerable Works erected for it's Security on that Side. The old Bastions to the North West and North East, Which form'd the North Front, were very inconsiderable, and between them, nearly at equal Distances from each Other and the Bastions, were two small Square Towers in Which were constructed two Gates leading out of the Fort to the Northward.

'To the North West was erected a noble Bastion, and before the North East a demi-Bastion in the same Style. The Faces of each Which presented to the North were defended respectively by concave Flanks. The new Bastion to the North West (from its superior Strength call'd the Royal) cover'd the old North West Bastion intirely. It was very extensive, each Face being 100 Yards long, and a Battalion might be drawn up in it for it's Defence. The Demi Bastion did not intirely cover the North East Bastion ; the Eastern Face or Wing of It which looks towards the Sea was carried from its saliant Angle to the Shoulder of the North East Bastion, the North Face of Which defended the Demi, the Ditch before it, and the North East Angle of the Cover'd Way, and would greatly obstruct an Enemy passing the Demi Bastion to attack the Sea Line. The Royal Bastion mounted 9 Guns in each face, and 6 in the concave Flank which defended the North Face of the Demi, and was cover'd by an Orillon.<sup>1</sup> The other Flank of the Royal Bastion mounted only four Guns. The North Face of the Demi Bastion mounted 7 Guns, and the concave Flank Which defended the Royal Bastion 4 Guns. The new Bastions communicated by a low Curtain Which served to defend the Ditch before it with Musquetry and, running parallel to the Curtain between the two old Bastions, cover'd and served as a Fauss Bray to It.

'As the Level of the Ground on this Front of the Fort was higher than to the Westward, the Ditch before these Bastions was dry, in the Middle of Which was a Cuvette<sup>2</sup> 25 feet Wide, with 7 feet Depth of Water in It. The Counterscarp<sup>3</sup> of the Ditch was compleat, and the Works cover'd with a very good Glacis, the Cover'd Way palisaded, and a spacious Place of Arms was constructed between the new Bastions Where a Ravelin might be erected if necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Orillon*, a rounded projection of the face of the bastion to protect the flank.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuvette*, cunette, a trench dug in the ditch longitudinally.

<sup>3</sup> *Counterscarp*, the outer wall of the ditch.



The Royal Bastion was compleated in Masonry and the East Face of the Demi Bastion : all the Rest of the Demi Bastion, and the low Curtain or Fauss Bray were raised of Earth only.

The Eastern Face of the Fort was parallel to the Beach, and within about 20 Yards of the Surf. The French had raised a low Redoubt of 9 Guns before the Sea Gate, Which stands about the Middle of this Front, and this had lately been enlarged to carry 13. Fifty Yards to the Southward of this Redoubt, in the same Line, was a Battery of old Standing of 14 Guns, Which fired in Barbet,<sup>1</sup> from whence Salutes were return'd.

The original Wall in the Sea Line was high ; there was also an inconsiderable dry Ditch before It, but had no Rampart on Which Guns could be mounted. Little or no Danger was to be apprehended by Battery from Ships As, from the Shallowness of the Soundings, Vessels carrying heavy Metal could not approach the Walls within the Distance necessary for making a Breach : added to this, there is a constant Swell in that open Road even in the most serene Weather, Which would render the Effect from the firing very precarious and unprofitable. The only Danger on this Side was from a Surprise.

This was the State of the Fortifications at Madrass When the English received the Advice of the Armament coming from France with a Force under Mr. Lally, Which threaten'd the English Company with the Loss of their Possessions in Asia. It was favourable to the Affairs of the English that the French General consider'd the taking of Fort St. David as the Object most worthy of his Attention.

During the Siege of that Place and the Campaign which the French made in the Tanjour Country for raising Money, the Government at Madrass was indefatigable in the Attention given to the Fortifications there, and laying in Provisions and Necessaries in every Kind. All the Coolies, Labourers and Tank Diggers which the adjacent Country could supply were from this Time constantly employ'd ; their daily Number generally amounted to 4,000 of all Denominations untill lately driven away by the Approach of the French Army from Conjeveram.

During this Interval of Time, a demi-Counterguard<sup>2</sup> was erected before the South East Bastion, a Ravelin in the South Front between the South East and the Nabob's Bastions, and on each Side the Ravelin a Lunette<sup>3</sup> with a dry Ditch, and before all a good Cover'd Way and Glacis. Ravelins were erected in all the Places of Arms between the Bastions, but Those to the West and the North were the most extensive, as covering two of the principal Gates of the Town. The Ditch in the North Front being dry,

<sup>1</sup> In Barbet, over the parapet wall, not through embrasures.

<sup>2</sup> Counterguard is a narrow outwork, placed before a bastion or ravelin to prevent its escarp wall from being breached. The faces of the counterguard are parallel to those of the work it covers. A Demi-Counterguard consists of one face only, with a short return. In the case of St. Thomas Bastion the south face was the one protected (*vide* Siege-plan).

<sup>3</sup> Lunette, a work of two faces meeting at a salient, and having two short flanks. The works mentioned in the text (and shown on the Siege-plan) would be more correctly described as *Demi-Tenaillons*, designed to remedy the defects of the small ravelin on the south front.





the Communication to the Ravelin was covered by a Caponière.<sup>1</sup> . . . Before the North East Bastion, in the Ditch, a demi Caponière or Blind was constructed, Which served to cover the Foot of the Bastion, defended the Ditch before It and saliant Angle of the Cover'd Way with Musquetry. All these Works were rais'd in Earth, and added greatly to the Strength of the Place. Notwithstanding the Addition made to the Westward, the old Wall was left standing, and increased its Strength on that Side as serving for a Retreat after defending the Works before it to Extremity.

'The outer Door of the Grand Magazine, Which look'd to the North, was further secured by a substantial Traverse in Masonry, Which intirely defended It from Shells.

'Great Quantities of Fascines, Gabions and fire Wood were collected, and Nothing was left undone Which would contribute to a vigorous and successful Defence. The Town was however very ill provided with Bomb-proof Lodgings for the Security of the Garrison off Duty.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.)

### PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.

On the arrival of Count Lally from France with d'Aché's squadron, the Select Committee hurriedly met to concert measures for the defence of Madras. Call advised<sup>2</sup> that a lunette be constructed in the Place of Arms on the south front, that the ditch be continued round St. Thomas Bastion, and a battery<sup>3</sup> erected in the south-east angle of the covered way. After these works, he recommended the raising of redoubts in the Places of Arms on the north and west. The Committee directed the Engineer to report on the water-supply and on the allotment of buildings, in readiness for a siege.

Call submitted his report on the 28th May.<sup>4</sup> He estimated for a garrison of 1,500 Europeans, 3,000 sepoys, and 1,000 native non-combatants, to be provisioned for six months, and to receive water at two quarts per man per day. The cisterns under the Nabob's and Charles Bastions held only one-ninth part of what was necessary. The wells could not be safely depended on, although the water of several was potable; so that additional cisterns were needed:—

<sup>1</sup> *Caponière*, caponier, a double parapet, built across the bottom of a dry ditch to afford flanking fire in two directions, and provide protected passage to the ravelin. A *Demi-Caponière* has only a single parapet.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 9th May, 1758.

<sup>3</sup> Referred to by Cotsford as the South-East Counterguard.

<sup>4</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.



*Mr. Call's Report on Defence Measures.*

'The following List will show the Remarks and disposition I have made of the Buildings which appeared most commodious :—

Names or situation of the Buildings.	Length feet.	Breadth feet.	How they can be made most secure.	Purposes each will serve for.
Old North Curtain	500	11	By filling in two feet of Earth over the Rampart	To lodge Men 300
Arch'd Godowns on each side the Sea-Gate	156	22½	By laying thereon Straw Gabions and Earth or other light materials	To lodge Men 150
Piazzas on each side the Sea-Gate	90	22½	Ditto	To dress Provisions for the Garrison
The Church, 3 Isles	192	16½	By laying thereon Cotton Bales or something very light	To lodge Men 150. The Middle Arch is semi-circular; the other two elliptical, and all three so high and thin that no great weight can be laid thereon
Admiralty House, two wings below	304	16	By setting up Stations below, and laying Bales in the upper Rooms	To lodge Men 200
Old South Curtain	302	11	By laying on 2 feet of Earth on the Rampart	To lodge Men 150
The 6 Arch'd Godowns under the old West Curtain	293	17	By filling in the Span Drills with Earth, and laying Fascines and Earth three feet thick on the Arches	To lodge Men 200
Solomon Franco's House	—	—	By laying Earth and Straw thereon	For an Hospital
The Square, formerly the Convent	161	16½	By Stantioning the Terrasses, and laying on Fascines and Earth	For an Hospital, jointly with Franco's House. This, with Franco's House, will hold about 200 Men, and I think much more proper than the Church for an Hospital
Mayor's Court House, the lower part	200	16	By Stantioning the lower floor, and laying Bales above	To lodge Men 130



Names or situation of the Buildings.	Length feet.	Breadth feet.	How can they be made more secure.	Purposes each will serve for.
Mrs. Madeiro's House	—	—	By Stantioning the lower part and laying Bales above	To lodge Men 200. The floors of this House are not very strong, but by Stantions may be made tolerably secure
The lower part of the New Barracks	—	—	By setting strong Stantions below, and laying some Materials above to break the force of a Shell	To lodge Men 300. The Inconvenience of this Building is its Size, for a Shell coming through in any Part may do damage through the whole
The Barracks along the old West Curtain	—	—	By setting up Stantions and Cross-Timbers below to support the Weight of Earth and Fascines which may be laid above	To lodge Men 400. These have the same Inconveniences almost as the new Barracks, and are besides much weaker; they must therefore be stantioned with greater care

'Besides the Buildings inserted in the preceeding Tables, there are in the Town several others which occasionally might be made to serve the same purposes; but I believe I have already provided sufficient Room for the Troops, black and white, which will be off duty. Should there not, one hundred and fifty Men or more may be lodg'd under the Nabob's Bastion; but these men will be totally destroyed should any Accident happen to either of the Magazines behind the Flanks. There are also the Lodgings now inhabited by the Company's Servants<sup>1</sup> in the inner Fort, and the rest which at present serve for other purposes. Of these, many may be allotted for lodging Troops if necessary, and the lower part of the Fort House will serve for Officers or Civil Servants. JOHN CALL.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.)

By August, the glacis and covered way were finished, three ravelins nearly completed, and gun-platforms had been laid in the Royal and Demi Bastions.<sup>2</sup> In November, Call submitted a plan of possible attack on the south front,<sup>3</sup> and proposed to strengthen that face by the erection of a pair of demi-tenaillons to strengthen the ravelin on the south front.<sup>4</sup> Before this work could be undertaken, a French force had reached Conjeveram.

<sup>1</sup> The junior civil servants.

<sup>2</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 10th Aug., 1758

<sup>3</sup> A detailed project for attack on this front was actually drawn up by the French Engineers, and a sketch-plan is preserved in the Pondicherry archives.

<sup>4</sup> *M.C.*, vol. ix., 2nd Nov., 1758.



*Mr. Call to Government.*

'The junction of the whole French Force at Conjevoram and the Preparations making by them at that Place gives Room to believe they are forming some Immediate or Future Design to the Prejudice of this Settlement. Their Superiority indeed at present is not so great as to make us apprehensive for the Safety of the Fort, but they doubtless Conclude the taking of the Black Town will greatly Advantage them and Distress us. . . . To deprive them of such an Advantage, if possible, I carefully Examined the Town to the Westward, and the Bound Hedge to the Northward, both of which for an Inconsiderable Sum I think may be made Capable of a good Defence.

'To this End I propose to make two Dams in the River to the Westward, the one just by the Bound Hedge, and the other near the Arrack Distillery.<sup>1</sup> These, I hope, will keep Back the Water, and form an Inundation over the Country adjacent to the River. There is a Chance that the Dams may not have the desired Effect; but if they should, the Black Town will need but one or two small Works on the West Side to make it tolerable Secure, and oblige the Enemy to march above Trivatore to pass the Inundation.

'In that Case, some Opposition may be made by Irregulars before they get near the Bounds; but as the Hedge is defective in many Places, and particularly by the Sea Side, they will be able to pass it with facility unless some Obstacles are thrown in their Way. These I propose shall be making good the Defects of the Hedge with Caldera Bushes and such Prickly Shrubs as can be Collected nearest at Hand, Erecting between each Brick Out Guard<sup>2</sup> a Redoubt of Palmeira Trees stuck vertically in the Ground, between the Intervals of which Troops may fire under good Cover.

'Should the Enemy, in spite of all these Difficulties, force their Way towards the Body of the Town, they may be there opposed with little Risque to the Garrison by Barricadoes or Redoubts of Palmeira Trees, formed across the Streets thro which they must pass; and by many other Chicanes which Experienced Officers will Practise.

'This is in general the Scheme I have formed for preserving the Black Town and Inspiring the Inhabitants with Confidence. The Honble President and some of the Field Officers have Rode 'round with me, and are satisfied that it may be of the greatest Use. I have also communicated the whole Plan to Colonel Lawrence and the other Field Officers, who are entirely of Opinion that the Enemy, with their Present Force, will hardly Attempt to Enter when the Town is Secured in the Manner I have Described. I therefore humbly Submit this Scheme to your Consideration, and wait your Orders how to Act.  
JOHN CALL.'

*Government Order.*

'The Board entirely approve the Scheme proposed by the Engineer for Securing the Black Town. Ordered that all possible Assistance be given to him that it may be carried into Execution as speedily as possible. GEORGE PIGOT, HENRY POWNEY, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, JOHN PYBUS, HUGH NORRIS, HENRY VAN SITTART.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 20th Nov., 1758.)

<sup>1</sup> The Arrack Distillery was situated on the North or Elambore River, opposite John Pereira's Garden.

<sup>2</sup> The old Choultries.



On the 6th December the enemy was reported to be at Vandalūr. Colonel Lawrence at the Mount asked for reinforcements, and received the portion of Draper's regiment lately arrived, some Marines left by Admiral Pocock, and a detachment of Artillery with two 12 pounders. The native troops in the bounds marched into the fort, leaving parties at the hospital, the tope near Dr. Turing's house on the Mount Road, at Egmore Powder Mill, etc. Arms were issued to the Company's servants and other inhabitants, and the Inner Fort was assigned as the Alarm Post.

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Colonel Lawrence came into Town at 10 o'Clock this Night, and Signified that the Enemy having advanced with their whole Force in Sight of the Mount at 5 in the Afternoon, and judging it might Probably be their Intention, by a quick March in the Night, to take Post between our Army and Madras, and by that means force us to an Action, he thought proper to Retire with our Troops, and Encamp on a convenient Spot on the Choultry Plain, which was Effectuated that Evening. At 11 the Colonel returned to the Army.

'The French under Count de Lally took Possession of the Mount, where the Main Body Encamped, and their Advanced Guard took Post at Marmelan.' (M.C., vol. ix., 9th Dec., 1758.)

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Enemy having Marched this Morning from the Mount, and appeared about Day break upon Choultry Plain, Our Army, after about two Hours Cannonading, retired into Garrison, and the Enemy Encamped upon the Spot where our Troops were last Night, about a Mile and a half to the Southward of the Fort. At the same time their Advanced Guards were seen at the Garden House and Chepauk, the Village just on the other Side the Bar.

'From these Motions it appearing to be the Enemy's Design to form immediately the Siege of Madras, and the Board being of Opinion that the necessary Orders for Conducting the Defence cannot, without great Inconvenience and Delay, be debated on and Issued by the whole Council, It is therefore unanimously Agreed to Leave the Conduct of the Defence to the Governor, who, with Colonel Lawrence, is Desired to take the Assistance of the other Field Officers and the Engineer as often as may be Requisite, and Immediately to Issue the necessary Orders. GEORGE PIGOT, HENRY POWNEY, STRINGER LAWRENCE, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, JOHN PYBUS.' (M.C., vol. ix., 12th Dec., 1758.)





## CHAPTER XL

1758—1759

## THE SIEGE OF MADRAS

THE detailed events of the siege were recorded in *Public Department Sundry Book*, vol. xiii., 1758-59, entitled *Journal of Transactions during the Siege of Fort St. George*. The volume was compiled by the Secretary to Government, Josias du Pré. It contains 461 folios,<sup>1</sup> of which 161 constitute the journal proper, the remainder consisting of tabular statements and returns, and copies of letters despatched and received during the siege. A journal maintained by Mr. John Call, the Engineer, was published in 1761 in Cambridge's *Account of the War in India*. In the following pages the official account is followed, but the plan which accompanies the narrative is reproduced from Cambridge.

Lawrence's force fell back from the Mount to the Choultry Plain on the evening of the 10th December, 1758, and camped 'near the Seapoy Choultry.'<sup>2</sup> The following evening it occupied Dr. Turing's house and the adjacent gardens on the Mount Road, a little south of the present Harris Bridge. On the 12th the French Army under Count Lally advanced to the Choultry Plain, cannonaded the British force, and drove in the detachments at San Thomé and Egmore Powder Mill. Lawrence retreated to the Island and thence to the Fort, leaving small bodies to guard the approaches to the Black Town. The French encamped on the Plain by Turing's house and the Government Garden. Their force was estimated at 3,000 Europeans, horse and foot, 500 native cavalry, and 3,000 sepoys. The British garrison

<sup>1</sup> The volume is badly bound, some of the folios being misplaced.

<sup>2</sup> The map of 1755 shows a Sepoy Choultry at the south end of Triplicane Bridge.





consisted of 1,758 Europeans and 2,220 sepoys. The European troops were thus composed :—

*'General Return of the Troops in the Honourable East India Company's Garrison of Fort St. George, December the 12th, 1758.'*

	Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
'Troop of Horse - - - - -	3	35
Royal Artillery - - - - -	16	132
The Honourable Companys Artillery - - - - -	6	64
His Majestys 64th Regiment <sup>1</sup> - - - - -	16	195
The Detachment of Marines - - - - -	2	100
The Honourable Companys 1st Battalion - - - - -	23	625
Do. do. 2nd do. - - - - -	23	575
Supernumeraries - - - - -	5	32
	<u>94</u>	<u>1758</u>

ROBERT BANNATYNE,  
Town Major.'

Captain Achilles Preston had a body of troops at Chingleput, and Major Caillaud was ordered to join it from Tanjore, and operate against the enemy's line of communications.

*December 14th.* The French crossed the Triplicane River by Turing's house at daybreak, marched through Vepery, and entered the Black Town without opposition, the British picquets retiring to the Fort. The French flag was hoisted on the Armenian Church. An immediate sally was ordered, and Colonel Draper with 600 men marched out of the western gate at 8.30 a.m., crossed the Garden House Bridge over the old channel of the river and entered Peddanaikpetta by the present Devarāya Mudali Street. His route is marked (1) on the accompanying plan. He detached a party of 100 men under Major Brereton to protect his right flank by route (9), and himself advanced northward along the street. The enemy expecting him to march by Nyniappa Naik Street, a parallel thoroughfare to the westward, had drawn up the Lorraine and Indian Regiments in China Bazar facing southward, with an advanced party in Nyniappa Naik Street. Looking down a cross street parallel to China Bazar, the advanced

<sup>1</sup> This return is abbreviated from one given in *Public Sundries*, vol. xiii. According to the article on William Draper in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Draper's regiment was the 79th foot, 'but in an early impression of the army list for 1758, it figures wrongly as the 64th.' Cf. *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i., 101.





party saw the head of Draper's column in Devarāya Mudali Street and opened fire. Draper left a detachment to oppose this party, advanced with the main body to China Bazar,<sup>1</sup> and took the Lorraine Regiment, with its four guns, in flank. Sharp fighting on a restricted front ensued, and many combatants on both sides sought cover in the buildings lining the street. Brigadier-General Count d'Estaing was made prisoner. When the fight had lasted half an hour, Draper found his retreat threatened by part of the Lally Regiment (10) advancing from the Armenian Church. He moved eastward in some confusion along China Bazar, and joined Brereton. A party of 80 grenadiers, who were under cover in a small square at (7), failed to notice the signal of recall. Endeavouring to follow the main body, they were forced to take refuge in a building *b*, where they surrendered. Draper, with two-thirds of his original force, was successful in reaching the Fort by route (8) across the northern esplanade. In this hotly contested action the British loss was nine officers (among whom was Major Polier mortally wounded), and upwards of 200 men. The enemy's casualties, it was afterwards ascertained, numbered 30 officers and 220 men.

In the meantime Call was engaged in making a dam at *c* across the old river channel, lest the enemy should cut the bank at *d* near Garden Bridge, and thereby drain off some of the water in the Fort ditch. He also palisaded an opening in the rampart at *e* at the end of the south flank of the Royal Bastion. On the following day he began a Blind V in the ditch before the old North-East Bastion, and a fascine battery T on the eastern glacis. The work before the Sea Gate was also strengthened.

December 16th. Hircarrahs<sup>2</sup> reported that Lally's headquarters were at 'Tomby Chitty's Pagoda,' that there was an officer's guard 'at the old Town Ditch near Tomby Chitty's House,'<sup>3</sup> and a detachment at the Burying-ground. A sortie was made at night by a few volunteers under Ensign Crawley, but the party was discovered as it left the glacis, and was compelled to retreat with loss. The next day a proclamation was issued to the Garrison that, 'in case the Enemy shall be either defeated or

<sup>1</sup> The Town Temple, which now stands at this point, had not been built.

<sup>2</sup> *Hircarrah*, from Hind. *harkāra*, a messenger, spy.

<sup>3</sup> Tambi Chetti's house was among the surviving buildings of Old Black Town.



compelled to raise the Siege, the sum of Fifty Thousand Rupees shall be divided amongst them five days after their defeat or retreat.'

*December 19th.* The enemy having begun two works A and B by the seaside, the first near the south-east angle of Muthialpetta now called Parry's Corner, and the other 200 yards farther south, it was judged that the principal attack would be made against the North-East bastion and Demi-Bastion. The Governor resolved to send the Nawab to Negapatam by sea, partly for the protection of his person, and partly to get rid of his attendants, numbering 400 people. Muḥammad 'Alī embarked on the 20th, accompanied by Mr. Hugh Norris. He reached Negapatam safely, and proceeded to Trichinopoly. His cavalry escort was ordered to make its way to Major Preston at Chingleput. Several deserters had come in from the enemy, but 'it is worthy remark that not one man has Deserted from Us or been seen in Liquor since We have been Invested.' An hircarra reported that:—

'All the Enemy's European Horse are quartered in the Street from the Elephants Garden to the small Portuguese Church (near Franco's Garden),<sup>1</sup> the Artillery people and Stores in a cross Street to the Westward of that Garden, Their European Soldiers in the different Streets of Muttal Pettah from Tomby Chitty's Pagoda to an old Pagoda. Between Padre Thomas's Garden and the Sea side he saw a Mortar behind a heap of Rubbish of one of the Houses lately pulled down . . . ; That they have no body in Peddanaigue's Pettah except a small guard of Seapoys posted at Audeapah's Choultry in Gungaram's Street. That he saw in the Black Town only about One hundred Moors Horse which stand among the Gardens on this side Padre Thomas's.'<sup>2</sup>

At night an ineffective sortie was made by a party under Ensign Bonjour from the covered way before the Demi-Bastion, and a second, on a larger scale, towards the south. The latter was undertaken by seapoys without European officers:—

'At one oClock Jemal Saib, Commandant of Seapoys, march'd out of St. George's Gate with one Thousand Seapoys. It was intended that he should have pushed thro' the Enemy's Guards about the Garden House . . . , and have advanced as far as St. Thomé to beat up the Enemy's Quarters and endeavour

<sup>1</sup> Franco's house, shown in the map of 1755, was situated at the north end of the present Govindappa Naik Street in Peddanaikpetta. The Portuguese Church is probably that of the Virgin in Portuguese Church Street, which, like the Cathedral in Armenian Street, bears on its portals the misleading figures 1642.

<sup>2</sup> This garden, which is referred to in 1729, appears to have been situated between the two pettahs.





to Spike up a large Gun which was seen lying upon it's Carriages on the Beach. When they came to the Garden House, the Enemy made an unexpected opposition, which, however, must have been of little purpose had the Seapoys behaved with the least degree of Resolution ; but, upon the first Fire of the Enemy, many of the Seapoys threw down their Arms and fled : the rest, struck with a Pannick, retreated in disorder, and about two o Clock returned into Garrison, and it is not known that one man amongst them was either killed or wounded. This shews that no dependance can be placed on the Seapoys ; they are however of great use in relieving the European Military from the fatigues of the Garrison Duty in the day time.'

*December 20th.*—The enemy's entrenchments were extended in spite of fire.

'This being the day appointed by the Charter for the Mayor and Sherif annually elected to enter on their respective Offices, the Council assembled as usual . . . , and the Oaths of Allegiance and Office are first administered by the President to Charles Turner, Esq<sup>r</sup>., who was chosen the 5th Instant, and then to Mr. Henry Eustace Johnston, who was the same day elected Sheriff, both for the Year ensuing.

'It having been always usual upon this occasion to Salute the New Mayor with Nine Guns, Nine Guns were shotted upon the Royal Bastion, and pointed at the Enemy's Quarters and Works, and discharged in honour of the New Mayor, and it is hoped with good Effect on the Enemy.'

A spy reported that the French were endeavouring to bring two heavy guns over 'the old Bridge on this side St. Thomé.'<sup>1</sup> Another stated that the enemy had some sepoys in Peddanaikpetta, 'fifty in the Street leading from the Governour's Fowle House, and 50 in the large Street further north called Gungaram's Street.'

*December 21st.*—During the forenoon, a detachment under the command of Captain Bannatyne, Town Major, made a reconnaissance towards the Government Garden :—

'They accordingly, about ten oClock, march'd out at St. Thomas's Gate along the Sand on the Beach. A Company of Grenadiers march'd with them as far as the Bar of the River, and took post to cover their retreat in case of need. At the same time a large body of Seapoys, under the Command of Jemal Saib, were paraded in the Covered Way of the West front, ready to Sally out at the Sortie of St. George's Gate over the Bridge<sup>2</sup> leading to Peddanague's Pettah to create a diversion that way. Lieut. Bannatyne advanced by Mr. Steevens's<sup>3</sup> House into Triplicane as far as the Pagoda, but found none of the Enemy here or any Gun. He then Struck off towards the Garden House, intending to have Passed through the Lane which leads from thence towards Mr. Turing's

<sup>1</sup> Barber's Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> Garden Bridge, otherwise called the Pettah Bridge.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Alderman Walton (or Walter) Steevens, who died in June, 1759.





House ; but before he had advanced far in it, he observed a body of European Infantry drawn up at the end upon the plain, and making front towards him. He judged their Number to be about three hundred, which he was by no means able to encounter, and therefore retreated back by the Garden House to the foot of the Bridge by Mr. Powney's House,<sup>1</sup> through Mr. Powney's Garden, and so back by the side of the River to the Bar, and joined there the Company of Grenadiers, and all returned to the Fort.'

In the meanwhile *Jemāl Šāhib* made a dash across the Island to seize a couple of heavy guns 'crossing the Plain from Egmore to the great Mettow by the Moorman's Tomb.'<sup>2</sup> On the advance of the French cavalry, however, he was recalled.

*December 22nd.*—A Company's Peon reported as follows :—

'That the Enemy have a Battery of four Guns by the Sea side Completed, and the Guns mounted. . . . From that Battery a Breast Work is thrown up to Tomby Chitty's House, behind which, on this side the old Ditch, another Battery for Six Guns is almost completed. . . . The Breast Work is continued from this Battery to Peddanigue's House close to the burying Ground, where another Battery is begun. . . . From thence the Breast Work is continued to the Canal lately made by our taking out Clay for the Works. . . . That they began to Work three days ago behind the old Hospital, near the back of Sumpetrow's<sup>3</sup> House in Peddanigue's Pettah, but having had five or Six Men killed there by the Cannon from the Fort, they have not continued that Work. But in the other Street at the Back of the old Hospital fronting the Northside of the New Hospital, they have begun . . . a Battery of Six Guns. That the Regiment of Lorrain lay by their Arms last Night in the great Buzar Street of Peddanague's Pettah, and that Fisher's Hussars and the rest of their Horse were in the Street adjoining. That the Battalion of India are quartered near the Portuguese Church and as far as Cachelly Pagoda.<sup>4</sup> That the Coffrys are in the Company's Garden, and Lally's Regiment in the Old Pagoda further North called Malleazar's Pagoda.'<sup>5</sup>

*December 25th.*—Fire had been maintained for several days against the enemy's works.

'The Governour and Principal Officers having considered the Situation of the Batteries which, according to the Intelligence received, the Enemy are erecting, Are of Opinion that the most necessary Work to be done at present is

<sup>1</sup> The map of 1755 shows Mr. Powney's house as lying between the south end of Triplicane Bridge and the Government Garden.

<sup>2</sup> Call says, 'passing from Chindadre pagoda a-cross the plain towards the Potters village.'

<sup>3</sup> *Sumpetrow*, *Sampāti Rau*, the Nawab's Dewan.

<sup>4</sup> *Cachelly Pagoda*, the *Kachālesvarar* temple in Armenian Street.

<sup>5</sup> *Malleazar's Pagoda*. Rao Sahib K. Rangachari identifies this with the old Mallikesvarar temple, north of *Kachālesvarar*, which in 1652 was known as *Mally Carjun*—i.e., *Mallikarjuna*.



to erect Traverses on, and to raise the Parapets of, the Royal Bastion, and . . . to close the Opening between the Northwest Curtain and the Blind before the Mint Sally Port. . . .

'The Intelligence received this day is from Hircarrahs. One gives an Account that the Enemy have erected a Battery near the sea Side, and are at Work upon three others,<sup>1</sup> one near Tomby Chitty's House, one behind the Tombs of the Burying Ground, and one behind the Hospital near Sumpetrows House. That they have made a Barricade and Breastwork<sup>2</sup> in the Street facing the new Hospital near the small upper roomed House. . . .'

*December 26th.*—The Fort House was protected from shells by laying the Company's bales of woollen cloth on the roof. Three days later, signals indicated that Yūsuf Khān, who had joined Preston at Chingleput on the 25th, had reached the Mount.

*December 27th.*—Pigot wrote to Preston urging him to attack San Thomé on the morning following his arrival at the Mount :—

'Usoff Cawn and you are to march so as to begin the Attack at Day break, and to carry with you the whole Force with you excepting such a Number of Horse as you judge may be spared. Those are to be detach'd so as to arrive before Day break upon Choultry Plain, and to post themselves behind the Tank in front of the White Choultry call'd Woodundy Choultry,<sup>3</sup> just at the End of the Avenue leading to the Mount. There they will be covered from any Cannon the Enemy may have about Turing's House, and will be in readiness to fall upon any Party that may be moving either to or from St. Thomé, from whence the Enemy will endeavour to Retreat by that Road if your Attempt Succeeds. In such Case, do you stay in St. Thomé Fort with the Europeans belonging to Changleput, four Companies of Seapoys, and Fifty Horse. Let the rest of the Foot march on to Trivetashium, the Village on this Side of Choultry Plain, and take Post there, and the Horse join the others on the Plain. As [y]our Attack on St. Thomé must be made on the South and West Sides, A large Detachment of Seapoys, with some Europeans and a few Horse, from hence shall attack at the same time on the North Side, and another shall take post at the Garden House. Our People, both Horse and Foot, Europeans and Seapoys, shall wear a green Branch in their Hat or Turband. Let yours do the same, by which they will distinguish each other from the Enemy. Our whole Garrison shall be under Arms, and Measures taken to prevent the Enemy's sending any large Detachment from the Black Town, or to take some advantage of them if they should venture it.'

*December 31st.*—Lally complaining that his headquarters had been fired at, Pigot sent the following letter under a flag of truce :—

'To Mr. Lally, . . . In War mutual Civilities and mutual Severities may be expected. If the first has been wanting, it has not been on my part. Upon

<sup>1</sup> Marked K, F, E respectively on the plan.

<sup>2</sup> Marked h on the plan.

<sup>3</sup> This Choultry is at the junction of White's Road with the Mount Road, opposite Mackay's Gardens.





your entrance into the Black Town, I gave Orders to the Commandant of Artillery that no fire should be directed at the Church of the Capucine Friars, where I heard you intended to reside, altho it is nearly within Point Blank Shot of the Cannon of the Fort, a distance very unusual for a General's Head Quarters. These Orders were not revoked until I received Information that you had removed from them, and that your Guards often paraded there. If you will do me the Honour to inform me at what Pagoda you fix your head Quarters, all due respect shall be paid them. GEORGE PIGOT.'

*January 2nd, 1759.*—The enemy opened fire from the gun battery E and mortar battery C.

'This morning, by break of day, the Enemy began to Fire from a Battery of Cannon opening Six Embrasures Situated a little to the Northward of the old Hospital in an alignment with the North face of the Coverd way before the Royal Bastion. . . . This Battery has also one or two Mortars near it, and being the Work of the Lorrain Regiment quartered in Peddanague's Pettah, shall henceforward be distinguished by the name of the Lorrain Battery. They also at the same time began to throw large shells from four or five Mortars<sup>1</sup> lodged behind the West End of the Epaulment which they had formed to the Northward from the sea side . . . about 300 feet in length, and Four hundred and fifty yards from the Saliant Angle of the Covered way before the Demy Bastion. As We had near 12 Pieces which fired on the Enemy's Western Battery, it was soon silenced, and two of their Guns knocked to pieces. From their Mortar Battery they continued throwing Shells till near eight at Night, and then left off, having thrown in the whole about 70 or 80, most of them 13 Inch Shells, without killing one person and only Slightly wounded two or three. Most of the Shells were directed at the Houses, and a great many at the Governour's Quarters in the Fort House. Two fell on it, and broke through the first Terras, and twelve or thirteen others fell in or upon the Buildings of the inner Fort. . . .'

*January 6th.*—The enemy opened fire from battery B by the seaside, henceforward called Lally's battery, and renewed it from the Lorraine battery. Some 200 shot and 150 shell were fired during the day. Little damage was done to the fortifications, but much to the buildings, some of which were in ruins. News arrived that three boats containing some of the lady residents, including Mrs. Morse and Mrs. Vansittart, which had been despatched to Sadras under the escort of Mr. Morse<sup>2</sup> before the bombardment began, had fallen into the enemy's hands, the French having seized the Dutch settlement a few days before. The ladies were

<sup>1</sup> Marked C on the plan.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Nicholas Morse, but possibly Daniel Morse, a civil servant and Registrar of the Mayor's Court. The latter, then twenty-five years of age, may have been a son or nephew of Nicholas Morse. He died in 1761.





treated with scant consideration.<sup>1</sup> The boats were loaded by the enemy with ammunition, and sent back to San Thomé with a guard in each. The boatmen, however, overpowered the guards, and landed the warlike stores at Madras.

*January 7th.*—A new battery F was opened by the Burying-ground, and fire continued all day from it and the Lally and Lorraine batteries.

‘From many reports and Circumstances, it appears that Mr. Lally himself forms but a mean opinion of our Garrison, and flatters himself that a body of Merchants unprovided with Bombproof Lodgment cannot long resist the Terror of his Shells and Shot. Whether this Opinion be just or not, the event must prove. The Count d’Estaing seems to be of a different Opinion. He entertains but Small hopes from the Shot and Shells which are thrown into the Town instead of the Works. Hearing them Whistle by his Window, “There is no Liberty for me (said he) in these Shot.”’

*January 11th.*—The enemy completed an approach *m n* from their First Parallel by Lally’s battery, and another from the barricade *h* towards the Pettah Bridge. They also opened a battery G by the new hospital to fire into the Royal Bastion.

*January 12th.*—A reconnaissance was made by Brereton towards the Government Garden with about 100 Europeans and 400 sepoys. He crossed the river bar by route (11) and passed up a lane to the garden. The enemy, posted in the Mount Road with two guns, opened fire with grape, but Brereton advanced and captured the guns.

‘It being found impracticable to maintain that Order and regularity amongst the Seapoys under their own Commandants as the Nature of the Service requires, and as there is reason to believe they may be made more usefull by being put under the Command of a Carefull European Officer, Lieutenant Charles Todd is therefore appointed to that Command.’

*January 14th.*—News arrived from Bombay that Admiral Pocock was sending two men of war and four Company’s ships with succours. The enemy opened a mortar battery K near the Burying-ground.

*January 17th.*—A sortie was made from the northern covered way by a party under Ensign Barnes, who was killed.

*January 18th.*—A battery O of two guns opened fire from the south side of the bar.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* a letter from Vansittart to Clive, quoted by Mrs. Penny in *Fort St. George, Madras*, p. 168. Vansittart suggested reprisals on the ladies of Chandernagore.





*January 19th.*—A short Second Parallel *o p* had been completed on the 13th, and a Third Parallel *s t* four days later. The enemy now made an approach *t v* from it towards the Demi-Bastion.

*January 20th.*—Several buildings were ignited by the enemy's fire. Commissions were issued to the Engineers :—

Names.	Engineers Rank.	Military Rank.	Date of Rank.
John Call - -	Sub Director of Engineers	Captain	1 Jan., 1759
Alexander Leigh -	Engineer in Ordinary	Capt. Lieut.	15 Jan., 1759
William Stevenson	Sub Engineer	Lieutenant	1 Jan., 1759 <sup>1</sup>
Edward Cotsford -	Practitioner Engineer	Ensign	1 Jan., 1759

*January 21st.*—A sally was made in the afternoon by a party of volunteers on the trenches at the foot of the glacis. The enemy were driven out and some of their work was destroyed.

*January 23rd.*—Having worked up the glacis by sap and made a Fourth Parallel *w*, the enemy opened a battery H against the north ravelin, but only one gun could be brought to bear on the work.

*January 24th.*—The French formed a lodgment *x y* on the crest of the glacis.

*January 27th.*—The defenders commenced a mine gallery from the counterscarp before the Demi-Bastion with the view of destroying the lodgment.

*January 30th.*—The Company's ship *Shaftesbury* arrived in the road from Bombay. Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, the sub-Secretary, went off to state the condition of affairs. The commander, Capt. Cornelius Inglis, reported that the squadron, with six companies of Colonel Draper's Regiment on board, was off Ceylon on the 7th January.

*January 31st.*—The enemy opened a breaching battery I on the crest of the glacis, the fire of which was directed against the face of the Demi-Bastion. The work was badly constructed, however, and the shot flew high. The *Shaftesbury* was attacked by a French frigate and her Dutch prize, but held her own.

*February 2nd.*—From the look-out on St. Mary's steeple an engagement was seen to be in progress beyond Vepery between

<sup>1</sup> In original 1 Dec., 1759, in error. The order nominating both Stevenson and Cotsford was dated 24th December, 1758. Stevenson died in 1765, and Cotsford was transferred to the civil service in 1770. Leigh was killed at Vellore in 1761.



Preston and the enemy. It proved indecisive. In the afternoon Mr. Pigot had a narrow escape :—

‘About 5 o Clock in the Evening, the Governour, being upon the South East or St. Thomas’s Bastion, and observing the Enemy busy at their Guns on their South Battery by the Bar, ordered a 24 lb<sup>r</sup>. to be pointed and fired at them, Which was accordingly done, the Governour Standing close by. Unfortunately the Gun burst near the Trunnon, and wounded Six Men dangerously ; several others were hurt, and the Governour himself received a Slight wound in the Leg.’

*February 3rd.*—The enemy exploded a mine under the counter-scarp before the Demi-Bastion, but gained no advantage, as the breach was exposed to the fire of the Royal Bastion’s flank. The defenders pushed forward their first mine gallery, and opened a second towards the sea.

*February 5th.*—A red flag descried at the Mount imported the arrival there of Yūsuf Khān :—

‘In Order to encourage them to make an effort immediately to join Us, it was resolved that Captain Vasserot, with a party of the Troops, Should endeavour to push by the Enemys Guards at Chindadre Pettah and the Choultry Plain, and join Usoff Cawn at the Mount, and that each Man should carry a Bag of pagodas. Accordingly, in the Evening after Dusk, Captain Vasserot with ten of the Troops (each carrying One thousand Pagodas divided into four parcells of 250, one tyed on each side the Pummel and one on each Side behind), One Hussar who Deserted from the Enemy in the beginning of the Siege, and the Governours head Horsekeeper (a Mallabar), went out across the New Bridge<sup>1</sup> and as far as the Forde of the River at Chindadre Pettah . . . , and about ten o Clock at Night We had the pleasure to observe a large Fire and 4 Rockets at the Mount, the Signal of the partys being safe arrived there.’

*February 8th.*—News was received from the Mount that Major Caillaud had arrived there from Trichinopoly, and taken over the command from Preston.

*February 9th.*—Heavy firing was seen and heard at the Mount, and the enemy displayed great activity on Choultry Plain ; but it was not till the 12th that details of the action became known. Caillaud was attacked by the enemy in force at daybreak. Fighting lasted till sunset, but all efforts to dislodge the British proved unsuccessful, and the enemy retired to Madras.<sup>2</sup> Caillaud, who was short of ammunition, fell back on Vandalūr.

<sup>1</sup> The Walajah Bridge.

A brief account of the action is given on a subsequent page.





*February 12th.*—Irritated by the protracted resistance of Madras, Lally began a destruction of the suburbs :—

‘From the Steeple several people were seen at the Companys Garden House at Work, seemingly with an intention to pull it down, amongst whom were several Europeans . . . They have already pulled down two of the Pillars of the Varanda ; and the Hircars . . . report that they came by way of Palaveram, where they heard that the French had set Fire to some Houses at the Mount, of which they saw the Smoke, and were demolishing some of the Garden Walls.’

*February 14th.*—The enemy having enlarged their lodgment on the crest of the glacis during the previous night, a constant fire was kept up on it, and at daybreak a sally was made and the new work destroyed :—

‘In the Afternoon the Enemy Set Fire to the Houses in Chepauk, and by the Great Smoke and Flame it is probable that the whole Village is Consumed. They continue demolishing the Garden House : it may be plainly seen from the Fort [that] the Varanda is now quite down.’

*February 15th.*—Hopeless of success, Lally prepared to raise the siege :—

‘Several Camels and many Cooleys passed from St. Thomé cross Egmore plain to the Black Town, . . . and Numbers of Cooleys were observed passing from the Black Town to the Southward ; and the Intelligence brought Us says that the Enemy are beginning to send away their things to Pondicherry.’

*February 16th.*—The enemy’s fire was very slack. In the evening, six sail were descried to the northward :—

‘As soon as it grew dark, three Lights were hoisted at the Flag Staff as a mark for the Ships to come by. About Eight o’Clock at Night the Six Ships Anchored in the Road, and to the great Joy of the Garrison proved to be His Majestys Ship Queenborough, Capt. Kemperfelt, and the Companys Frigate Revenge, with the Tilbury, Winchelsea, Prince of Wales and Britannia, having on board Six Companies of Colonel Drapers Regiment. Mr. Pybus, one of the Council, went off with a Letter from the Governour to Capt. Kemperfelt to Compliment him on his arrival, and to desire him to land as many of the Soldiers as he can to Night ; and Colonel Draper wrote off to Major Monson to the same effect, it being apprehended that, if Mr. Lally does intend to make any push, he will do it this night before our Succours can come to our Assistance. All the Garrison, The Company’s Servants, and Inhabitants were therefore ordered under Arms, and continued so the whole Night at their several Alarm Posts, and about two Companies were landed from the Ships in the Night. A Constant fire was kept upon the Enemys Trenches, which they sometimes returned, and threw a few Shells in the beginning of the Night, but none after Eleven o’Clock. About Midnight three deserters came in separately





from St. Thomé, and report that the French entirely abandoned that Place . . . ; that their out Posts have been ordered to Join at the Powder Mill, and that the Enemy intend to raise the Siege and march off before day break.'

*February 17th.*—The report proved to be true :—

'About three in the morning the Enemy set fire to several large Piles of Wood in the Rear of their Grand Battery ; and, as soon as the day broke, it appeared that the Enemy had abandoned their Trenches and Batterys and were retreating ; and about 9 o Clock in the morning they blew up the Powder Mill at Egmore.'

So ended a siege which had lasted sixty-seven days, during forty-six of which the defenders had sustained vigorous bombardment. It has been generally supposed, notwithstanding Cambridge's statement to the contrary, that Lally's retreat was occasioned by the arrival of the squadron. The following letter<sup>1</sup> from Lally to de Leyrit at Pondicherry, dated the 14th February, which was intercepted by Caillaud, shows that the resolution to raise the siege was taken two days at least before the ships appeared. Their opportune arrival, however, hastened the enemy's retreat, and doubtless saved the Black Town from destruction :—

'Au camp devant Madras, le 14 Fevrier 1759.

'Nous sommes toujours dans la même position ; la breche faite depuis 15 Jours, toujours à 15 toizes des Murs de la place, et jamais ne levant la tete pour la regarder. Je Compte qu'en arrivant a Pondichery nous chercherons tous a apprendre quelqu'autre metier, car celui de la guerre exige trop la patience.

'De 1,500 Cipays dont l'armee est censee Composée, J'en compte à peu près 800 Sur la route de Pondichery, chargés de Sucre et de poivre et autres Marchandizes. Quant aux Coulis, ils sont tous employés pour le même objet depuis le Jour que nous Sommes arrivés ici.

'Je prendroit mes mesures des aujourd huy pour embraser la ville noire, et faire Sauter la poudriere.

'Vous n'imagineres Jamais que ce sont 50 deserteurs Francais et une 100 Suisses qui tiennent en arret 2,000 hommes des troupes du Roy et de la Compagnie, qui sont encore ici existant, malgré les états Surcharges que chacun fait ici a Sa guise de la boucherie qu'on en a fait ; et vous seres encore plus surpris si je vous disoit que, sans les deux Combats et les 4 batailles que nous avons essaye, et sans les deux batteries qui ont été manquées ou faites de travers, pour parler plus clairement, nous n'auries pas perdu 50 hommes depuis le Commencement du Siege Jusque aujourd'hui.

'J'ay ecrit a Monsieur de Larche, S'il persiste a ne point venir ici, tirera de l'argent qui voudra des poligars, ce ne sera pas moy, et je renonce, comme je vous en ai deja prevenu il y a plus d'un mois, a me meler directement ni indirectement de tout ce qui peut avoir raport a votre administration, soit civile, soit

<sup>1</sup> The letter, with spelling corrected, is quoted by Cambridge.



militaire. J'irai plutot Commander les Coffres de Madegascar que de rester dans Cette Sodome, qu'il n'est pas possible que le feu des Anglois ne detruise tôt ou tard au defaut de celui du Ciel. LALLY.'

The French left behind them 52 guns, of which 33 were 18 and 24-pounders, and the rest smaller pieces. Nearly fifty sick and wounded were found in their hospital without attendance:—

'Mr. Lallys sudden march may account for his leaving these People behind, but nothing can justify his abandoning them without leaving a Line to recommend them to our Care. They however found that Humanity in their Enemies which was denied them by their General. Immediate Orders were given that the same care should be taken of them as of our own people. . . .

'The Company's Garden House, and the Houses belonging to the European Inhabitants in the environs and at the Mount, have suffered a severe fate: all of them are greatly damaged; some have only the Walls left, and nothing but want of time prevented the Demolition of every one.

'The Whole of our Loss during the Seige . . . amounts to:—

Commissioned Officers killed and dead of Sickness	15	
Do. Wounded, some dangerously	14	
	—	29
Non Commissioned Officers and Soldiers killed and		
dead of Sickness	- 257	
Do. Wounded	- - 182	
Do. Taken prisoners	- - 122	
Do. Deserted	- - 20	
	—	581
Sepoys, Officers and Private[s] Killed	- - 105	
Do. Wounded	- - 217	
Do. Deserted	- - 440	
	—	762

As in the siege of San Thomé eighty-five years earlier, so in that of Fort St. George, the burial-place of the fallen is unknown. The 272 Europeans who perished of wounds and sickness during the siege of 1758-59 are unmentioned in the Vestry registers. They could not have found a resting-place in the Old Burial-ground, for that area was occupied by the French attack. Wherever they were interred—and the likeliest spot is between the Fort and the river bar—it is surprising that no monument was afterwards erected to their memory.

NOTE.—A plan of the attack very similar to that which is reproduced from Cambridge for this work is furnished by Orme, who also gives an enlarged plan of the north front. In the Imperial Library, Calcutta, there is a coloured drawing headed '*The North Front and the French Attack of Fort St. George*' to a scale of 60 yards to 1 inch. Preserved in the archives of Pondicherry are



the following coloured drawings of Fort St. George, executed in 1758-59. By the courtesy of His Excellency the Governor of the French Settlements in India, and the kindness of M. Bourgoïn, Conservator of the Archives, copies of these plans have been made for the writer.<sup>1</sup> The first of those mentioned below is specially interesting, as it shows alternative schemes of attack framed by the French engineers:—

(a) '*Anciens Projets des attaques de Madras, No. 1, 1759. (Plan No. 3).*' Scale about 43 toises to the inch. The '*1<sup>re</sup> Projet d'attaque*' is directed against the south front. It consists of five parallels, each extending across the strip of sand between the sea and river. The first parallel is at a distance of about 500 yards from the Fort, and a single line of approach connects it with the second and third parallels. The batteries are situated on the flanks of the second parallel. There are two lines of approach between the third and fourth parallels, and between the fourth and fifth three lines, the centre one being in double sap.<sup>2</sup> The fifth parallel lies on the crest of the glacis, and the breaching battery is directed against the centre of the curtain. The ravelin before the south front is not shown. The front is enfiladed from a battery on the Island. The '*2<sup>me</sup> Projet d'attaque*' is directed against the north front. It embraces three parallels, the first of which lines the southern margin of the remains of Old Black Town. It contains the batteries, and has right and left approaches to the second parallel. Between the second and third parallels are three lines of approach, partly in double sap, the third parallel extending along the crest of the glacis, and containing breaching batteries. The front is enfiladed from a battery near the site of the old Garden House.

(b) '*Attaque de Madras. Plan de reconnaissance de Mrs. du Corps Royal (Plan No. 5).*' Scale about 53 toises to an inch. This drawing shows the Fort, part of Black Town, and the Lally, Burying-ground and Lorraine batteries as executed.

(c) '*Plan de reconnaissance de Madras 1759 (Plan No. 6).*' Scale about 48 toises to an inch. This drawing shows the Fort in outline, part of the Black Town, and the attack as carried out, including the battery south of the river bar.

<sup>1</sup> Not reproduced for this work.

<sup>2</sup> *Double sap*, a deep trench dug so as to leave traverses across it of unexcavated ground.





## REFERENCES TO THE SIEGE PLAN.

CSL

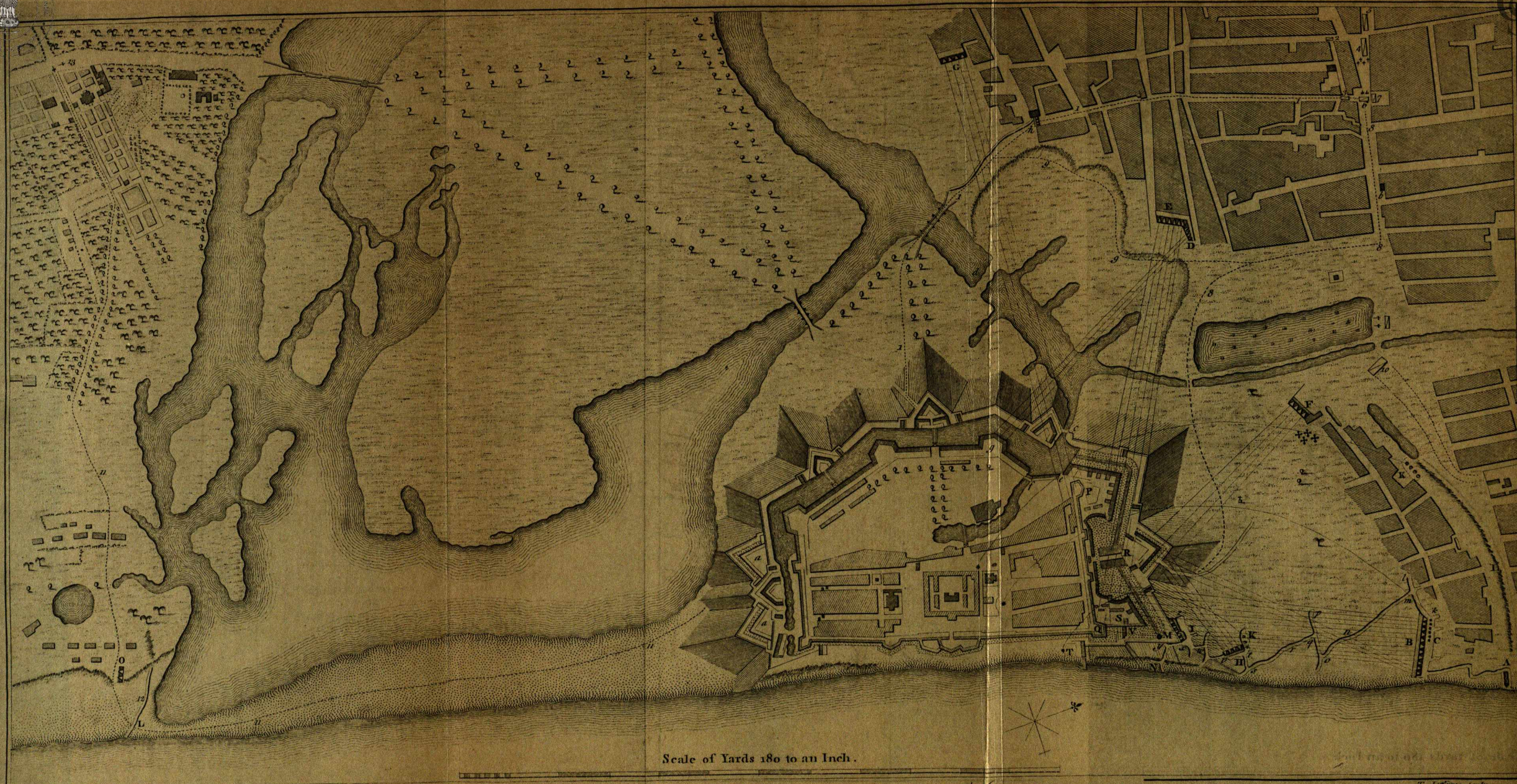
*NOTE.*—Owing to reduction of Cambridge's plan for this work, the words 'Scale of Yards 180 to an Inch,' which occur in the original, are inapplicable. Each main division of the scale, however, represents 100 yards, and the whole scale 1,200 yards.

- A Point at which the French broke ground, 17th December, 1758.
- B Grand or Lally Battery of 15 guns, opened 6th January, 1759, with 6 guns.
- C Battery of 6 mortars in rear of Grand Battery, opened 2nd January.
- D, E Lorraine Battery of 10 guns, near old hospital and Sampāti Rau's house, opened 2nd January. The portion D was directed on Pigot's Bastion, and E on the Royal Bastion.
- F Burying-ground Battery of 4 guns, opened 7th January.
- G Hospital Battery of 4 guns, near the new hospital, opened 11th January.
- H Battery of 4 guns at foot of glacis, opened 23rd January.
- I Breaching battery of 4 guns on crest of glacis, opened 31st January.
- K Mortar batteries, one near the Burying-ground, opened 14th January, the other at foot of glacis.
- L North ditch of Old Black Town. (The same symbol also serves for a trench dug south of the river bar.)
- M French mine, fired 3rd February.
- N Extreme point of enemy's advance.
- O Battery of 2 guns south of the bar, opened 18th January.
- P Royal Bastion, enveloping the old Mint Bastion.
- Q The old North-East Bastion.
- R North Ravelin, and Caponier leading thereto.
- S Demi-Bastion.
- T British Fascine Battery on east glacis.
- V Blind before the old North-East Bastion.
- a Demi-Tenaillons on the south front.
- b House from which a party of grenadiers surrendered 14th December.
- c Dam across old bed of river, serving to hold up water in the Fort ditch.
- d Bank across old river channel near Garden Bridge.
- e Gap in the rampart near the Royal Bastion.
- f Dam and wall across the old bed of the river.
- g Pigot's Bastion.
- h French barricade across Devarāya Mudali Street.
- k l First Parallel, 10th January.
- m n Approach to Second Parallel, 11th January.
- o p Second Parallel, 13th January.
- q r Approach to Third Parallel, 16th January.
- s t Third Parallel, 17th January.
- t v Approach to Fourth Parallel, 19th January.
- w Fourth Parallel, 22nd January.
- x y Lodgment on crest of glacis, 24th January.
- z Lodgment on crest of glacis, 26th January.
- 1 Route of Colonel Draper's sortie, 14th December.
- 2 Party of French firing down a cross street.
- 3 Detached party of Draper's force engaging the above.
- 4 Lorraine Regiment with 4 guns in China Bazar.
- 5 French India Regiment.
- 6 Draper's force at junction of Devarāya Mudali Street with China Bazar.
- 7 Square occupied by a party of grenadiers during the retreat.
- 8 Draper's line of retreat.
- 9 Route of advance of Major Brereton's support.
- 10 Lally Regiment making flank attack.
- 11 Route of Major Brereton's reconnaissance, 12th January.
- 12 Trench south of river bar.
- 13 Government Garden House.





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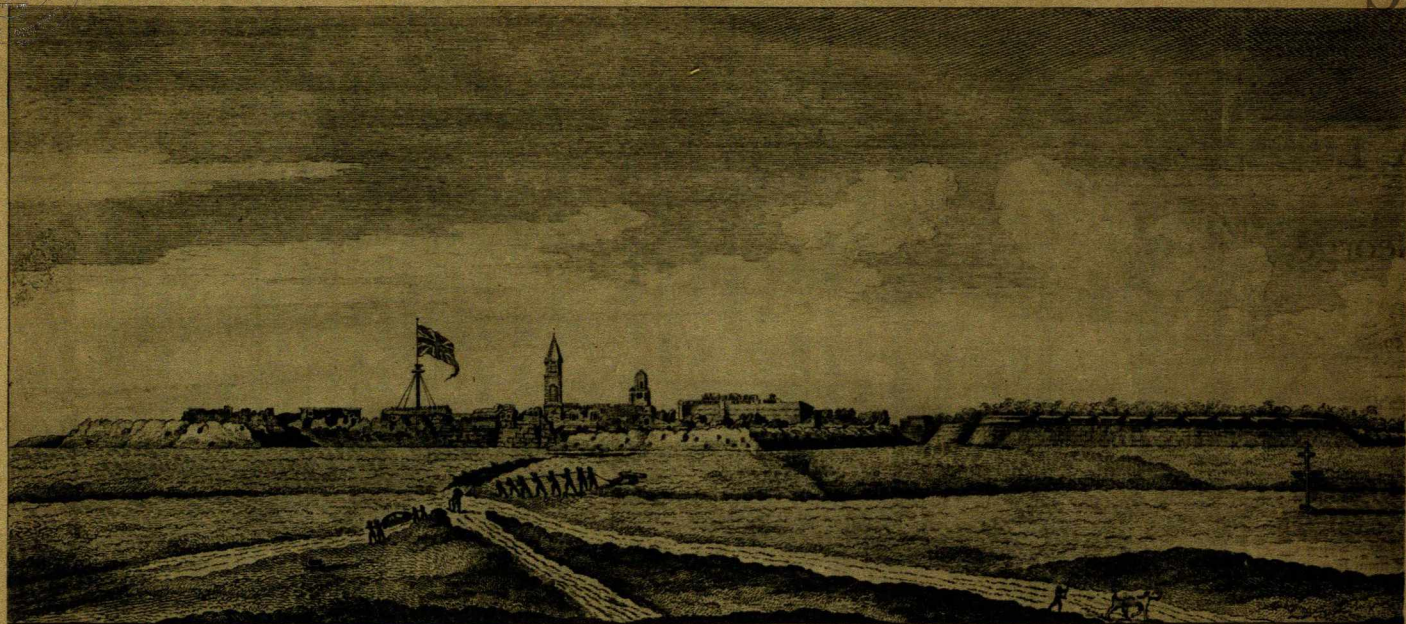


*A Plan of FORT ST. GEORGE, part of the BLACKTOWN and the Country adjacent  
as it was when besieged by the French, 12 December. 1758.*

(from R. O. Cambridge).

T. Jefferys Sculp.





*The North Front of Fort St. George  
after the Siege of 1759.*





## CHAPTER XLI

1758—1763

SIEGE ACTIONS—AFTER THE SIEGE—ADMINISTRATIVE  
DETAILS

## SIEGE ACTIONS.

THE chief actions which took place during the siege were Draper's sortie into Peddanaikpetta on the 14th December, 1758, and Caillaud's engagement at the Mount on 9th February, 1759. Both have already been briefly alluded to, but the latter deserves more detailed notice, which will presently be supplied. The full description of the former which is given in Orme's *Military Transactions* is here supplemented by the account of Captain Stephen Smith, who, as a subaltern, had taken part in the sortie. He wrote as follows to Orme in 1776 from Powick, near Worcester:—

*Captain Stephen Smith to Mr. Robert Orme.*

(Orme MSS., vol. lxii., 2nd Sept., 1776.)

'Yours of the 27th I received, but can give no further account of the Sally than here after. I was then a Lieutenant in the first company of Granadiers commanded by Captain Beaver with Lieutenant Elliot.

'Early in the morning of the 14th the two Companies Granadiers<sup>1</sup> paraded, and we marched to the North Gate, but did not goe out. The Enemy were facing us, firing their musketry very briskly, but the glassy<sup>2</sup> covered us. Myself and many more, I make no dout, were looking, when a shot came in my direction, grounded on the top, and throught the dust in my face, at the same time one of the [men] calling out with an oath I should not be kill'd that day. About ten o Clock we were ordered back to the parade, were the remainder of the Troops for the sorty were drawn up. We fell in on the

<sup>1</sup> The two battalions of Company's troops, which had been formed about 1757, each consisted of one grenadier company and six other companies. The grenadier company of the 1st Battalion was commanded by Capt. Beaver; that of the 2nd Battalion by Capt. Charles Campbell. (*Hist. of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 123.)

<sup>2</sup> Glassy, glaxis.





SL

Right. The whole were served with a dram and biscuit. About 11 o Clock we marched out West Gate giving many joifull Cheers, the 1<sup>st</sup> Company in front, and so on after us. The first Street<sup>1</sup> was clear till we came to the Cross Street,<sup>2</sup> where we Halted a little, when the Count Destaing, mistaking us for Lally's regiment, rode up to us, but finding his mistake, turned his Horse about, but fell; when two of our Drumers were, as I imagined, going to run him through, when I stepped betwixt and saved him, and sent one of the men with him to Colonel Draper, when we were ordered down the Cross Street to the left, and in about sixty yards we met the Lorrains, when a very brisk musketry commenced. Each stood their Ground tho' very Hot. After some little time, two of our guns were up, six pounders, when we sided to the right of the street to clear for the grape. After some time our Guns Ceased, when Captain, now Colonel Charles Campbell, of 2<sup>d</sup>. Company Granadiers, ordered me to advance, when I replied, "You see we Cant, Sir," when he left me, and in a few minutes the Lorrains moved on, when some one turned and saw the street clear behind us,<sup>3</sup> when we run off. I followed the men with my best speed, and they and self soon after got into a House where we remain'd near Half an hour, when two or three of the Enemy coming in that street, our people begged me to goe out to them and surrender myself and them, which I did, out of compassion to the Wounded, nine in number, 3 or 4 of whom were badly wounded, miself a shott through my ribs. Captain Beaver headed the company, though but was Ill in health. Elliot was in the rear and Wounded soon, to the best of my Knowledge. I saw no other officer but Charles Campbell after turning to the left before the Action. . . .

'Excuse this scroll, having no more paper: having had some Company when a member of House was present, my stock was used for franks, and our waters are out between this and town. Compliments to Generall Joseph Smith. His Box is safe.

'STEPHEN SMITH.'

Throughout the siege Lally was harassed by the detachment at the Mount, under Achilles Preston and Muhammad Yūsuf, which constantly threatened his communications. Early in February the French general resolved to attack the Mount in force. He accordingly detached from the besieging army 800 cavalry and 1,800 infantry, one-third of each arm being Europeans, and placed them under the command of his relative Colonel Lally, with orders to annihilate Preston. Two days before the attack was delivered, Major Caillaud, returning from a mission to Tanjore in search of mercenaries, reached the Mount, and as senior officer, took command of all the troops there. These con-

<sup>1</sup> Devarājā Mudali Street.

<sup>2</sup> The western portion of China Bazar Street.

<sup>3</sup> Unknown to the Grenadiers, the order for general retreat had been given to and obeyed by the troops in rear.

<sup>4</sup> The substance of an account by Captain Pascal of the sortie will be found in *Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.





sisted of 100 Europeans, including Vasserot's ten troopers and a dozen artillerymen; with six 3-pounder guns, 2,200 native cavalry, and 2,500 sepoy. The native contingent embraced a few British sepoy of the Chingleput garrison, and 700 under Muḥammad Yūsuf; but on the remainder, who were commanded by 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, the Nawab's brother, little reliance was placed.

St. Thomas's Mount is in plan roughly elliptical, with its longer axis lying north-east and south-west. The garden-houses were grouped at the foot of the hill near the north-eastern end, where Usca's steps from the church on the summit, winding down the steep slope, terminated at the base in a massive gateway. From this portal the Madras Road ran nearly east for half a mile, and then bent east-north-east towards the Marmalong Bridge and Little Mount. For the first six hundred yards it was bordered on both sides by garden-houses, some ten or a dozen in all. General Lawrence and Mr. Carvalho owned the outermost houses on the south and north sides, respectively, of the road, but Carvalho's projected farther eastward than the other. All the houses and their compounds, most of which were walled, were placed in a state of defence by Caillaud on the 8th February. The position faced south and east, looking over an open plain, part of which forms the present parade-ground.<sup>1</sup> Its right flank rested on the Mount. The land to the northward, being under wet cultivation, was not suitable for an advance, and the enemy would therefore be compelled to attack across open ground. On the plain, near the south-east angle of Lawrence's compound, was a deserted shrine surrounded by some ruined buildings. These formed an advanced post defended by 20 Europeans, 300 sepoy, and 2 guns. Seventeen hundred sepoy occupied the southern row of enclosures, and the remainder of the native infantry were disposed about the foot of the Mount steps. The left flank, which was evidently destined to bear the brunt of the assault, was thrown back on Carvalho's compound, and that enclosure was held by 60 Europeans and 4 guns.

At dawn on the 9th February the enemy was descried in two columns. Their native troops advanced from the east along the road. Their Europeans—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—

<sup>1</sup> The main road from Madras was afterwards shifted slightly to the southward. It now skirts the southern side of the south row of compounds.



inclined to their left, and, making a circuit, advanced from the south across the plain. 'Abd-ul-Wahāb's horsemen attacked the hostile cavalry, but were immediately repulsed and driven through the bottle-neck at the foot of the Mount-steps, whence they fled to Chingleput. The French cavalry, who boldly followed them, suffered from the fire of the sepoys posted near the steps, but they eventually made the circuit of the hill and rejoined their comrades. The enemy's guns opened and maintained a hot fire on the position. Repeated infantry attacks were directed on the British advanced post, and it ultimately fell, at 11 a.m., through the temerity of the defenders in making a counter-attack which resulted in their being cut off by cavalry before they could regain the shelter of their post. The French then continued the bombardment at short range, and drove the British from the compounds to the houses.<sup>1</sup> The assault of the main position, however, was not attempted, and at 5 p.m. the enemy drew off and retreated to the north bank of the Adyar. Caillaud remained on his ground until 8 p.m., and then, being short of ammunition, fell back on Vandalūr and Chingleput. The British casualties in the action were about 20 Europeans and 200 sepoys, half of the former and a third of the latter representing the killed.

#### AFTER THE SIEGE.

On the 21st February, 1759, the Council resumed their functions, 'the President assuring them of his gratefull Sense of the Confidence that they were pleased to repose in him, and the whole Council at the same time acknowledging with thankfullness the good Effects of his Activity during the Siege.' The 23rd March was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving for the success of the British arms.

The Council's first act was to direct Mr. Call to prepare a plan of the attack, level the enemy's works, bring the fortifications to the condition they were in before the siege, and report on the state of the shattered buildings. They then despatched a review in sextuplicate to the Directors, from which the following excerpt is made :—

<sup>1</sup> Caillaud's replies to queries regarding the details of this action will be found in *Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.



*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'We doubt not but you have already been advised by the Gentlemen at Bombay that Fort St. George was invested on the 12th December by the whole force of the French commanded by Mr. Lally. We had received from Europe but a very small part of Colonel Draper's battalion, the Pitt and the London being the only two Ships that arrived with us the last year. The Hardwick and Warren, having called at Ceylon, received intelligence of the arrival of Mr. Lally's forces in India, and of the loss of your Settlement of Fort St. David, Intelligence that must have spurr'd on any good Man to have run all risques to have thrown succours into this your principal Settlement, whether consigned here or not ; but the Commanders of both those Ships, notwithstanding they were bound here, proceeded directly to Bengal ; for which Conduct we doubt not but your honors will make a severe example of them. . . .

'We cannot too much commend the bravery of his Majesty's and your Officers and Men during the whole Siege, in which they underwent perhaps more fatigues than has fallen to the lot of almost any Garrison. We had 26 Officers killed and wounded, and about 400 Men. The Officers killed were Major Polier, Captains Hume, Monchanin, Bilhock and Brooke ; Lieutenants Robson, Little and Bates ; and Ensigns Barnes, Chace, Schomberg and Belton. The Enemy open'd their batteries on us the 6th January. Their greatest fire was from 26 pieces of Cannon and 9 Mortars. Their attack, being on the North from the vicinity of the Black Town, afforded them convenient Cover to advance immediately so near as 450 yards, which was the distance of their first and Royal Battery. Having fired a few days from this and their other batteries which enfiladed all the North side of the Town, they advanced by Sap to within 30 yards of the Crest of the Glacis, where they erected a battery against the right face of the north Ravelin ; but this was ill constructed, and their Cannon [were] destroyed by the fire from the Ravelin as often as they opened their embrasures. They succeeded as ill in the next battery they opened, which was on the Crest of the Glacis ; for having to that time destroyed none of our defences, your active Garrison continually replacing every Gun that was disabled and repairing the damaged works, we had so superior a fire on them that they were unable to live there, and were obliged to retire again to their Royal battery, but not untill they had sprung a Mine which opened the Counterscarp of our ditch before the Salient Angle of the demi Bastion, which Bastion had by that time sustained so great a fire as to be then in breach. . . .

'An Army of observation, consisting of about 50 Europeans from Changleput, a considerable number of Seapoys from Trichenopoly, and some Country Horse, commanded first by Captain Preston and afterwards by Major Caillaud, jointly with Usoff Cawn, the Commandant of your Seapoys, were of great service during the Siege by drawing off a part of the attention of the Enemy, who four times sent considerable detachments against them, but were always repuls'd with loss.

'The 15th February, this Army, being on the Pondichery road to cut off any of the Enemy's Convoy's, intercepted a Letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. de Leyrit dated the 14th,<sup>1</sup> the Original of which we have, and herewith send you a Copy, by which it will appear he despaired of succeeding, and had determined to put

<sup>1</sup> Already quoted.



in flames the houses of the Black Town ; but the 16th, in the Evening, the Queenborough and Revenge, with 4 of your China Ships appearing, he thought it prudent to lose no time in removing, which he did the 17th in the morning, and, taking his rout by Egmore, destroyed your Powder Mills ; but the Black Town escaped the destruction threatened. . . .

‘ Captain Kempfelfelt in the Queenborough, with the 5 other Ships, brought in 6 Companies<sup>1</sup> of Colonel Draper’s battalion, who were very healthy. The Shaftsbury, who had the sick on board, parted with the convoy off Galle, and arrived here near 3 weeks before them. We cannot close this without acquainting you of the great merit we think is due to Capt. Inglis on this occasion. When he arrived off the Port he found the place besieged, and two French Ships at anchor, notwithstanding which he stood very boldly into the road, and sent notice to the Governor of the succours he might . . . expect, and that he waited his orders. After a fruitless attempt made by the Enemy’s two ships either to drive the Shaftsbury ashore or possess themselves of her, they proceeded to Pondicherry, and Capt. Inglis, notwithstanding his ship had suffered very greatly by the fire from the Enemy’s batteries, very chearfully received on board an Officer with a detachment of Marines, and drove away a French Frigate which arrived at St. Thomé with a fresh supply of stores from Pondicherry. . . .

‘ The French Army were, by our last advices, marching from Terparose towards Conjeveram. We have formed a Camp upon Choultry Plain, and shall in a few days have everything ready to take the Field. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, CHARLES BOURCHIER, JOHN PYBUS, HENRY VAN SITTART.’ (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 21st Feb., 1759.)

### *Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘ For further particulars of the Siege we beg leave to refer your honors to the Journal and appendix<sup>2</sup> now sent in the packet, only adding that, as we cannot say too much in favor of the behaviour of your officers and Soldiers, so also much praise is due to your Civil Servants and Inhabitants, who chearfully attended in the delivering out of Provisions and stores in places not less dangerous than the Ramparts, and who also very willingly took up Arms upon all General alarms.’ (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759.)

The experience of the siege led to the organization of the native troops into battalions. Lawrence, Bouchier, and Pybus, members of the Select Committee, drew up a scheme early in 1759 which received sanction in the following September. Their plan provided for a sepoy force of 7,000 men formed into seven battalions, of which Madras, Trichinopoly, and Conjeveram were each to accommodate two, while Chingleput became the headquarters of the remaining battalion. Each battalion was officered by ‘ two Subalterns, three Sergeant-Majors and one Black Commandant,’ and three Inspecting Captains were appointed to

<sup>1</sup> Under Major Monson.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from the Journal have been already quoted.





superintend the whole force. A battalion was divided into nine companies, one of which, styled the Grenadier Company, was composed of picked men. A company was controlled by a Subadar, Jemadar, and a due proportion of non-commissioned officers. Each company of a battalion carried colours, those of the Grenadier Company being distinguished by a special device. The sepoys paid Rs. 6 per man per annum to a clothing fund, from which the European officers drew allowances of Rs. 2,000 per annum for a Captain, and Rs. 500 for a subaltern. The colour-scheme of the prescribed uniform, etc., is set forth in the following table<sup>1</sup>:—

Battalion.	Uniform.	Facings.	Colours.	
			Ordinary Companies.	Grenadier Company.
First	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue with red cross
Second	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow with red cross
Third	Red	Green	Green	Green with red cross
Fourth	Red	Black	Black	Black with red cross
Fifth	Red	Red	Red	Red with white cross
Sixth	Yellow	Red	Red and yellow, striped diagonally	Red, yellow, red, in three parallel stripes
Seventh	Green	Red	Red and green, striped diagonally	Red, green, red, in three parallel stripes

Call reported in March on the condition of the fortifications, and added the following remarks about the old Burial-ground:—

*Mr. John Call to the Select Committee.*

‘But above all I must beg leave to mention that we lately suffered great inconvenience from the Tombs at the burying Ground, which, being large arch’d Structures placed in a line, almost close to each other and opening into one another, not only protected the Enemy from our shot, but afforded them a cover equally safe against our Shells. I therefore hope, Honble Sir and Sirs, while these Circumstances are fresh in every ones memory, you will be pleas’d to give Orders for removing this evil.’ (*M.C.*, vol. x., 15th March, 1759.)

The tombs and enclosure wall were accordingly levelled, the inscribed stones being transferred to the pavement around St. Mary’s Church in the Fort. Two monuments only were left standing, the Powney vault, and the obelisk marking the rest-

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 143.



ing-place of Joseph Hynmers and his widow's son David Yale. Early in 1760 the Vestry applied for a new Burial-ground.<sup>1</sup> The north-western angle of the Island was allotted, and two years later the area was walled in at the expense of Government.<sup>2</sup> The earliest monument bears date May, 1763. This site, afterwards extended, forms the present St. Mary's Cemetery.

The Peddanaigue, or as he was now called, the Poligar of Madras, having died during the siege, it was resolved that his office, and the petty taxes levied for its support, be suspended till further orders. Sepoy guards in the Black Town were substituted for the Poligar's watchmen.<sup>3</sup> Five years later the old plan was resumed, and 'Koonagoree Angrapah Naigue,' son of the late Peddanaigue, was appointed Poligar.<sup>4</sup>

The fatigues of the siege caused several movements in high places. Mr. William Perceval died, Mr. Henry Powney resigned the service, Messrs. Palk and Pybus were granted long leave, and Colonels Lawrence and Draper signified their intention of returning to Europe. The last, when offered the command of the army in succession to Lawrence, wrote as follows :—

*Colonel Draper to the Select Committee.*

'The very Polite tho' unmerited Compliment you have been pleased to make me in Offering me the Command of your Troops might well infuse vanity into any man ; but as neither the Ill State of my Health, but much more of my mind, does in any Degree make me worthy of the Honour or equal to the Burden, I must beg leave to decline the acceptance of it. My own Sense of Honour and the publick Service, added to my Desire to Do you the little good in my Power, has hitherto call'd forth the utmost Exertion of my Faculty's, and I can assure you tis thence They owe their present Failure and Decay. But your Approbation of my Past Conduct is a most sufficient Reward Even for my loss of Health, which few things can compensate ; for tho' I am too High Spirited to complain much, I am as miserable a Wretch as ever existed ; Am a Stranger to rest, have no Object or attention but that of home, and making my Escape from this Country, the heat of which is grown Insupportable to me. This is Really my disease, tho more will call it Madness, for so it will certainly be thought when I quit a Regiment, Lose 2 thirds of my Income, Impair my Private Fortune, and, in the Opinion of many (who do not know what I suffer), my Reputation likewise, to make the Purchase.

'People are seldom suspected of [in]sincerity when they act so Contrary to their Interests. I ought therefore to be believed : with this Assertion likewise, that it can do the Service little Good to Drag thither a miserable Distemper'd

<sup>1</sup> P.C., vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.

<sup>3</sup> P.C., vol. lxxxix., 21st Feb., 1759.

<sup>2</sup> P.C., vol. xcii., 29th March, 1762.

<sup>4</sup> P.C., vol. xciv., 13th Feb., 1764.



Carcass, Loaded with Afflictions and Attentions quite Foreign to the Business of the Field ; and some Domestick Circumstances also, much too delicate for any publick explanation. All I can say is that I will go to Die, but I cannot live, in your Service, As I can assure you in my present Situation Death wou'd be much more welcome to me than Life. If you have anything desperate, you shall command me ; otherwise do not Trust me. Your warfare at present is in such good Hands that you need be in no pain for its Success : Major Brereton's Modesty makes him diffident of himself ; but he will do well, and it is a surer Omen of Success than Opinionated Pesumption.

'As to myself, all the favor I have to beg is an Order to be admitted on Board Mr. How's ship, and that you will not impute my Refusal to any Disinclination to Serve you. . . . WILLIAM DRAPER.' (M.C., vol. x., 28th March, 1759.)

Lawrence's farewell letter was couched in the following terms :—

*Colonel Lawrence to the Governor and Council.*

'If ever I cou'd think any pains, any trouble, too much for the good of the Service in which I was engaged, the approbation you are pleased to bestow on my past endeavours now more than rewards me. I cannot indeed sufficiently express my Satisfaction on the occasion ; I can only assure you, Gentlemen, it is equal to my Zeal, and to the tender regard I ever had to the welfare and prosperity of a Society to whom the Nation owe so considerable a share of their honor and riches. . . .

'It is needless, from your Generosity and Justice, to recommend the Troops to your Favor and Protection. Yet I cou'd not leave them without this last Testimonial of my Affection for them, and the grateful remembrance I have of their valuable Services. On this account I mention them ; and as to them I owe that Honor and Success which hath merited your thanks, In justice I cannot but acknowledge it, and recommend the Authors of it once more for what they deserve from past Services, and what I hope they will still continue to merit from their future Behaviour.

'Accept of my grateful Thanks for your Generosity in continuing my Appointments. Tho' they are advantages by no means to be despised, yet permit me to assure you my greatest pleasure in receiving them arises from considering them as marks of your Goodwill and Kindness.

'It is needless to make an Offer of what you may command. The last Efforts of my Head and Heart are at your Service, as my last Prayers and Wishes will be for your Happiness. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (M.C., vol. x., 25th June, 1759.)

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'Colonel Lawrence, finding himself at times too much oppressed by the infirmities of age to serve you with the same activity he has always before exerted, takes his passage for Europe on this ship, the Warren. All we can say in his favor cannot express what we feel, nor add to the high and just sense you already have of his zeal and attachment to the Company's Interest. His character cannot be better drawn than in the letter he did us the honor to write us the 25th June as a last testimony of his regard for your service ; and



we can venture, of our own experience, to vouch for the sincerity and truth of the sentiments he has there as politely as strongly expressed.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759.)

Two years later the Directors induced Lawrence to undertake another tour of service as Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's forces in the East Indies, with the rank of Major-General, a seat as additional member of Council next below the Governor, and a salary of £1,500 a year besides allowances.<sup>1</sup> In company with his intimate friend, Robert Palk, he arrived in Madras on the 2nd October, 1761. His duties were administrative until his final retirement in 1766.

### ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS.

The Directors having animadverted on the excessive concentration of authority in the Select Committee, the Government resolved in 1759 that all business should be transacted by the whole Council in two separate departments, one of which should deal with military and political affairs, and the other with commercial and extraneous matters. While approving this scheme generally, the Court declined to assent to the complete abolition of the Select Committee.<sup>2</sup>

The augmentation of salaries, which was effected by Lord Cornwallis many years later in view to suppressing private trade and arresting the acceptance of presents, was initiated in Pigot's time. The reform began with the salary of the Governor, which was straightway increased from £300 nominal to £3,000 actual:—

#### *The Company to Fort St. George.*

'The President, in Vindication of his receiving . . . various Sums called Presents, declares they are Acts of Necessity, as without such Aids he must be absolutely doomed to Poverty; but avows they never have nor shall bias him to one partial Act to our Prejudice. We entertain very favourable Sentiments of Mr. Pigot's Abilities and good intentions; We acknowledge his great Merit in the Masterly Conduct and very gallant behaviour in the siege of Madrass; and consequently shall handle this Subject in a tender manner.

'The whole of his Appointments he makes to be Fourteen hundred pounds per Annum, (they appear by the Books Two thousand pounds), and affirms that many times the double of this Sum will not support him with Decency. This is an astonishing, an alarming Asseveration. Can the Company bear the

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759; *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.



weight of such immense Expences? Impossible; nor is it in our power to account for such amazing Outgoings. He is under no Necessity of keeping an Open Table. His Majesty's Officers we were willing to oblige; but that the Governour should not feel it, We allow no less a Sum than Eight hundred pounds a year to the Colonel and Majors of each Regiment to keep their own Tables and entertain their Officers. The Admiral, for himself and the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships, is allowed Forty shillings a day; and therefore we must conclude that Profusion, unnecessary Parade, and uncommon Extravagance is practised to the highest Degree, or such vast Sums could not be annually expended. This we are determined you shall rectify, for it would draw Shame and Censure upon us, when the Company's distresses have forced us to reduce their dividend one quarter part, that Our President's Table Expences should infinitely exceed those of any of his Majesty's Governours in the British Dominions. . . .

'From the receipt of this Letter, the Governour is to be allowed £3,000 a year in full for Salary, Diet, Cattle, Servants, Pallankeen, Wax, Damar<sup>1</sup> and Oil. These are enumerated, being all that we can trace. If there are other Charges, they must be Comprehended, for we mean the £3,000 to be in full of all Expences. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

To encourage the improvement of the revenue, the President was to be granted in addition  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the net produce of all farms, as well as 'his perquisite on the Coinage of Silver and Gold, and his Consulage upon Coral imported from Europe.' He was to accept no gratuity from the Nawab, save an allowance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the revenues of lands mortgaged to the Company.

The question of raising the salaries of the members of Council and other civil servants was deferred until a return of allowances and emoluments should be furnished. From a statement sent home in 1762<sup>2</sup> it appears that the bare pay of the different ranks was substantially increased by allowances, thus:—

		Salary per ann.	Total salary and allowances.
		£	P. f. c.
Second of Council	- -	100	687 - 13 - 28
Third	„ - -	70	398 - 26 - 32
Fourth	„ - -	50	348 - 26 - 32
Fifth	„ - -	40	323 - 26 - 32
Chief at a Subordinate	- -	—	1,300 — —
Senior Merchant	- -	40	203 - 27 - 60
Junior Merchant	- -	30	178 - 27 - 60
Factor	- -	15	141 - 9 - 60
Writer	- -	5	116 - 9 - 60

<sup>1</sup> Damar, resin used for torches.

<sup>2</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 17th April, 1762.





To some appointments were likewise attached 'Fees, Perquisites and Emoluments' of varying value up to Pags. 1,400 per annum.<sup>1</sup>

Lawrence's salary, as already stated, had been doubled, but the Directors drew the line at the remuneration of the surgeons, the chief of whom still drew no more than £36 per annum :—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'You tell us that the Salaries of our Surgeons must be enlarged if we expect or desire to have Men of Ability in their profession. The Surgeons that we send abroad to our Capital Settlements are always acquainted with their Salaries and Emoluments, and we find no difficulties in having Able Men of that Profession, as well as all other Branches of our Service. If their heads there are turned, give us due Notice, that we may call them home again and supply their Places with Men of more humble minds, though perhaps not inferior Talents. This answer may serve you for all others who are dissatisfied with their Employers and Employers. If the Surgeons labour under any particular grievances or disadvantages which their predecessors did not experience, you ought to have said so and explained them.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

The number of surgeons at the Presidency had been increased to three. In 1760 they were Robert Turing, James Wilson, jun., and James Wilson, sen. In 1762 the younger Wilson died. Alexander Boswall was nominated to succeed, but as he was attached to the Nawab, another surgeon, Gilbert Pasley, who had come out with Adlercron's Regiment, was summoned from the army to Madras. In 1763 the elder Wilson resigned, and 'Mr. Stephen Briggs, who is lately come in from the Army, is appointed to supply his place.'<sup>2</sup> Briggs had been serving as 'Surgeon General to the Army,' an appointment which appears to have been created on the 1st December, 1760.<sup>3</sup> Briggs and Pasley were now detailed to attend the hospital and garrison, while Turing, who ranked above both, assumed the duties of Medical 'Storekeeper General.'

Lawrence was permitted in special circumstances to accept a present from the Nawab :—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'Having been informed that the Nabob of Arcot, impressed with a Grateful Sense of Major General Lawrence's singular Services to him during the course

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 2nd Feb., 1762.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xciv., 30th Jan., 1764.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 153.





of the Troubles in his Province, and in consideration of his Losses and Sufferings, particularly when the French plundered and destroyed his House and Effects at the Mount, had presented him with a Lack of Rupees ; But that the General, finding the Acceptance thereof was inconsistent with the Company's Orders, had deposited that Sum in Our Cash subject to Our future pleasure ; We have on this occasion recalled to Our minds the many important Services General Lawrence has rendered the Company, as well as to their Ally the Nabob, together with his disinterested Conduct from his first engaging in the Company's Service to this time. In consideration whereof, and under a pleasing sense of Mr. Lawrence's generous and disinterested manner of acting upon all occasions, and that his Example will have its due influence upon all the rest of Our Servants, We do therefore readily and cheerfully consent to his Acceptance of the said Lack of Rupees.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvi., 13th May, 1763.)

Before Pigot sailed, he induced the Nawab to assign extensive districts around Conjeveram as a gift to the Company.<sup>1</sup> The grant is mentioned in private letters to Orme from Sunku Rāma, his quondam dubash, and Thomas Pelling, free merchant :—

*Sunku Rāma to Robert Orme.*

'The News of this place :—The Honble Company in this Settlement got a large Jagier for about 20 Lack of Rupees<sup>2</sup> from the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, which makes great advantage to the Company ; but the Districts are as follows is, Southward side to Madrass as far as Marcaunum River, and Westward as far as Damerla, Outside to the Conjoeveram, and the Northward as far as Armogum. . . . The great Storm happened here from the 20th to 22nd October last, and good many Vessells are lost. . . . The Governour Pigot, Josias Dupre, James Alexander, Andrew Newton and James Wilson has taken their passage to England on board of the Plassey, and also Mrs. Vansittart. . . . I hear Mr. Pigot had at last for about 40,000<sup>£</sup> Present from the Nabob at the time of his going home. . . . SUNKA RAMMA.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 6th Nov., 1763.)

Pelling wrote on the 9th of the same month :—'The Nabob was lately at Madras, and the Jaggiars he has given to the Company for their assistance in protecting of him will amount to ten Lacks of Pagodas per Annum ; but I must acquaint, Sir, that it is a Gift which the Mussel Man was drawn into very distant from a free Will of his own.'

<sup>1</sup> This area, combined with Muḥammad 'Alī's previous grants of 1750 and 1756, embraced the greater part of the present Chingleput District. It was known as the *Company's Jaghire*.

<sup>2</sup> The writer's meaning is that this sum was the revenue of the *jāgīr*. According to *Mackenzie MSS., Translations*, etc., xi. 1, already quoted, the revenue of the district granted in 1763 was four lakhs of pagodas.





## CHAPTER XLII

1759—1763

## THE DEFENCES—BUILDINGS—THE TOWN TEMPLE

## THE DEFENCES.

THE residential buildings along the sea face had been so shattered by the enemy's fire during the siege that Call proposed to take advantage of their condition to improve the east front, which was at this time the oldest part of the fortifications:—

*Mr. John Call to the Governor and Council.*

'When the Lunettes,<sup>1</sup> Bonnette,<sup>2</sup> and other Works now carrying on before the South Front, the retrench'd Ravelins before the West Side, and the Demy-bastion, Curtain and Ravelin before the North Front are all completed in that durable manner they are proposed to be, I think the Town on these three Sides will be, as near as possible, in an equal State of Defence. It then remains to determine what the East Front will require to render it equally Secure against the Attacks of an Enemy. And this will best be done by considering in what manner it is liable to be attacked. Tho' it is highly improbable an Enemy will ever attempt to make regular approaches along the Sea Side when the Works on the North East and South East Angle[s] are finish'd, yet we will suppose it possible, and, to put it out of doubt, will build the Batterys 1, 2, 3 and 4,<sup>3</sup> with occasional Retrenchments 5 and 6, or some nearly like them. Nothing is now to be apprehended but an Assault, a Surprize, or the Fire from Shipping. The second of these can only arrive thro' treachery or the neglect of Duty, and consequently may happen to places ever so strongly fortified, but cannot well succeed here if any Guard is kept at the Battery's by the Sea Side. The last, I believe every one will allow, is not much to be dreaded, for tho' Ships may come near enough to make an Impression on the Walls, yet, as their Distance must be at least 700 Yards, the Cannon from the Ramparts, or from two small Batterys of four Guns each made occasionally on the beach at 7 and 8, wou'd soon destroy, by

<sup>1</sup> The Demi-Tenailions flanking the south ravelin.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonnette*, the demi-counterguard before St. Thomas Bastion seems to be implied.

<sup>3</sup> The drawing to which these figures relate has not been traced.





the Certainty of every Shott, a strong Fleet of Ships, while the uncertainty of their Fire wou'd do little hurt to the Place. All then that seems to be wanting is to provide against an Assault, which we will suppose the Enemy in a Condition to undertake by driving the defendants from the Battery's on the Beach, or by landing in Boats. To oppose such an Enterprize it will be necessary to have a Flank Fire of Cannon and Musquetry, and the Walls shou'd be of a reasonable height. At present they are not so in several places, and behind the Town Wall, along York alley and the length of St. Thomas's Street, not the least defence can be made even with Musquetry, nor a single Man without difficulty pass along. . . . (M.C., vol. x., 17th May, 1759.)

Two blocks of houses next the sea were involved, one north and the other south of the Sea Gate. The buildings in the northern range turned their faces to the ocean, those in the southern their backs. York Alley was a lane or passage, only 10 feet wide, separating the north block from the old Town Wall. In the southern range the houses faced St. Thomas Street. Between the backs of them and the Wall there had once been a lane, but the residents had blocked the passage with cookrooms and cellars abutting on the Town Wall. This structure, excepting where batteries intervened, was a mere enclosure wall, not a defensible rampart.

Call proposed to cut back the ruined houses in York Alley for a width of 45 feet, and to utilize 25 feet for roadway, and the remaining 20 for a rampart which was to contain casemates accommodating six companies of men. The casemates were to have doors and windows opening on York Alley, and ports towards the sea capable of use for small guns. The rampart was to be topped with a parapet of solid masonry. From the south end of York Alley to the arched godowns by the Sea Gate the wall was to be raised and converted into a rampart for heavy guns. The battery before the Sea Gate was to be completed and the ditch carried round it. The 'Barbet Battery,' as the old Half Moon or Saluting Battery was now called, was to be raised and provided with a parapet. From this work to St. Thomas Bastion the outbuildings of the residents were to be removed, and a line of hollow arches substituted, which would carry a rampart and provide storeroom below.

The cost of this scheme, exclusive of the battery before the Sea Gate, was estimated at Pags. 31,825, of which Pags. 3,825 represented compensation for the householders in York Alley. These were, commencing from the north end, Mr. Vansittart with a



frontage of 105 feet, Mr. De Castre 49 ft., Mr. Ralph Taylor 78 ft., Mr. Samuel Troutback 118 ft., and Mr. John Smith 126 ft.<sup>1</sup> Call also put forward alternatives which were variants of the above scheme, but the Government sanctioned the plan above described, and ordered the execution of the work.

In March, 1761 the Directors ordered plans of Fort St. George to be forthwith prepared and sent home. The instruction was doubtless obeyed, but no trace of the drawings can be found.

During this year 'the Towers and Parapetts of the North Curtain' were under construction. These towers were probably the cavaliers which crown the Middle and Choultry gateways. Damage had been done by the sea to the defences at the north-east angle, and all the earthwork had suffered severely from the rains. Call advised that such work should be brick-faced, beginning with the Demi-Bastion, the North-East Bastion and the Blind in front of the latter. He also recommended that the Fascine battery, constructed during the siege, should be replaced by a permanent work having north and east faces, with a flank to the south. All these proposals were approved.

*Mr. John Call to the President and Council.*

'The Fortifications of Madras have already cost as much as would have built the Works in a durable manner, but that extraordinary charge cou'd not be avoided. The safety of the Town depended thereon, and tho' the Works were then in such Condition as to foil the Enemy, yet it will be 10 Years before they are compleat . . . Tho' Madras has been a Settlement of note so many years, it is at present but in the infancy of that perfection to which it is proposed to carry it. . . . I hope now I shall be able to proceed on a fixed and regular System, and I must confess it wou'd be to me a most agreeable satisfaction cou'd I put the finishing Hand to the Works of Madras. . . . I flatter myself a great progress will be made for the monthly expence of 3,000 Pagodas in Fortifications. . . . JOHN CALL, Chief Engineer.' (*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 17th April, 1761.)

Several of Call's reports are missing, but one submitted in February, 1762,<sup>2</sup> shows that the Demi-Bastion was still in progress, and that both the west and south fronts claimed immediate

<sup>1</sup> Henry Vansittart, who arrived in 1746, was now fifth of Council. De Castre (or Castro) and Taylor were free merchants, dating from 1757 and 1750 respectively. Troutback was an old resident, who had been shipwrecked near Sadras in 1719. John Smith was either the Second Member of Council, or a free merchant of the same name who arrived in 1759.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. xvi., 22nd Feb., 1762.





# CSL

attention. On the west, the gap next the Royal Bastion still remained open, while Lawrence's and Pigot's Bastions and the curtains adjoining required facing with masonry. On the south, the ravelin remained unfinished, while a demi-counterguard was deemed necessary to cover St. Thomas Bastion. The Government directed that the west faces should be dealt with first, and called for detailed proposals and plans for the south front.

In December, Call sent in five alternative schemes for the southern defences.<sup>1</sup> The one selected and approved by Government will alone be described. It comprised the envelopment of the old bastion of St. Thomas by an outer one of considerable size, and the advance of the south curtain to the shoulders of the flanks of St. Thomas and Charles Bastions. The inner faces of the demi-tenaillons or lunettes were to be joined to the ravelin, so that a single indented work would be formed 'which may be called a double Tenaillon, the exterior faces of which defend each other reciprocally, and the Wings are well Flanked by the Collateral Bastions; so that here is one Capacious extensive Work which covers the whole front, instead of three.' A ditch was provided round the tenaillon, and a counterguard before St. Thomas Bastion.

In sanctioning this scheme, the Government ordered the removal of the old western Town Wall which now traversed the middle of the fortress, and approved the prolongation of the north-west curtain to meet the Royal Bastion. They were silent regarding the demolition of the old Mint Bastion, which Call had recommended. It was estimated that the completion of the works would occupy eight years, and would cost four lakhs of pagodas.

The question of fortifying the Black Town was also considered :—

*Mr. John Call to the President and Council.*

‘When the Project laid down by Mr. Robins, or that afterwards proposed by Mr. Brohier<sup>2</sup> was plann’d, the expence and length of time required for the execution was, without doubt, very lightly considered, and the charges which have since happened were not then so much as guessed at, otherwise I am apt to conclude the Projects proposed woud have been wholly omitted or much improved. I cannot say it will on any account answer the expence to enclose part or the whole Black Town by a Wall, or even an earthen Rampart ; but I

<sup>1</sup> *M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.

<sup>2</sup> Both projects are outlined on the map of 1755.



am, however, of opinion that some kind of enclosure will be of great use, and may easily be made at a very trifling expence. The manner thus :— I woud recommend to employ about 100 Tank diggers monthly, and begin to throw up a bank round the whole Black Town as traced in the general Plan,<sup>1</sup> and on this bank I woud plant Bamboos, Milkhedge, Palmeiras and all kinds of Thorny Shrubs, which in a few Years woud grow to so thick an hedge as woud be a sufficient security to the Black Town against Mahrattas, or indeed any Country Troops ; and, besides answering that advantage, woud fix the places of coming in and going out, so that no goods or people could pass or repass without being seen by the Guards. The West side of the Town is covered by a rivulet,<sup>2</sup> and the Ground well adapted for the Proposal. Half the North [side] is already secured by an Hedge, and I am so well persuaded of the use and little expence of compleating it that, if the Honble Board will admit of laying out Pags. 200 Monthly, I will take care that sum shall not be exceeded, and will answer for it that the effect of one Years Labour will fully prove how easily the Project may be executed. . . . JOHN CALL.' (M.C., vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

This scheme was approved and sanctioned by Government.

#### BUILDINGS.

The new ground contained in the enlarged Fort was laid out by Call in streets and building sites by the end of 1759 :—

#### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Letter from Mr. John Call, Engineer, dated 10th Instant, read . . . , representing that, as the River before the old Town to the Westward is now filled up and the Earth raised to its proper height, it is necessary for the distribution of the Drains and other uses that the Ground inclosed between the Old Wall and the new works should be divided into Streets and Spaces for Buildings, A Plan<sup>3</sup> of which he now lays before the Board for their Approbation, attended with the reasons which induced him to form the same.

'The Manner in lining out the Streets appearing very airy and Commodious, and the Plan being altogether formed with great Exactness and propriety, it is therefore much approved of ; and Resolved that the Committee of Works be directed to distribute the Ground, and regulate the New Buildings conformable thereto, and also to make the strictest Enquiry what Advantages may accrue therefrom to the Company. The Building belonging to Mr. Debonaire<sup>4</sup> mentioned as necessary to be pulled down, that the Street next the South Curtain may be sufficiently large to admit a free Passage for Carriages, is now order'd to be purchased, the value thereof being estimated by the aforesaid Committee. GEORGE PIGOT, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, DAWSONNE DRAKE, HENRY VAN SITTART, RICHARD FAIRFIELD, SAMUEL ARDLEY, CHARLES TURNER.' (P.C., vol. lxxxix., 11th Dec., 1759.)

<sup>1</sup> The plan has not been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> The North River was evidently degenerating.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. John Debonnaire, free merchant, an ancestor of Lord Metcalfe.



Call's scheme embraced a principal thoroughfare running north and south, the space between it and the old town being reserved for new barracks, a hospital, mint, artillery park, magazine, and other buildings for the Company. The remainder was divided by cross streets into blocks comprising sixteen large and as many smaller houses<sup>1</sup> for European residents; but Call pointed out that, if Armenians, Portuguese, and others were permitted to live in the Fort, a closer disposition would be necessary.

Eighteen months later Government informed the Committee of Works that, under ancient grants, ground was allotted 'at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Pagodas for 60 Gentue Feet, reckoning 115 Gentue to 100 English Feet,' and they resolved to adhere to that rate.<sup>2</sup> All buildings were to be constructed in a uniform manner; and persons receiving permits to erect upper-storied houses must build 'two Godowns in the lower part Bomb Proof.'<sup>3</sup> Government also ruled that 'Armenian and other Foreign Merchants' might build, subject to the decision of the Directors. The Court wrote as follows:—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'In a Mercantile View, the permitting Armenians and other Foreign Merchants to build on the beforemention'd New Ground undoubtedly is right, but in what manner, and how far it may be detrimental to the Settlement in case of a War, you on the Spot must be better Judges than We. . . .

'You appear to be as fully sensible as We of the danger and Impropriety of Suffering Inhabitants of the Romish Religion to reside in the White Town. It is a favour must be very rarely granted, and never without full Satisfaction of their quiet and good behaviour, and under the condition of quitting their Houses whenever you shall judge it necessary. Under these Restrictions, and in consideration of your particular recommendation, we acquiesce with the Family of the Carvalhos occupying their House in the White Town.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvi., 9th March, 1763.)

By the end of 1762, the Artillery Park and additions to the barracks were nearly finished, and the 'Portuguese Square,' as

<sup>1</sup> The large sites contained 6,345 square feet, and the small ones 2,843 square feet.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xci., 16th June and 7th July, 1761. The Committee calculated that a 'large block' of 6,345 English square feet should produce Pags. 330-14-68. The rate works out to about Pags. 3 for 60 English square feet, and a little more for 60 Gentoo feet.

<sup>3</sup> The houses now existing prove that this instruction was followed.





the site of St. Andrew's Church was called, converted into civil quarters. The parade-ground was enlarged and improved :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Plan proposed for building Officers Lodgings on each side of the New Square which is to be formed before the West Side of the Inner Fort appearing to the Board a very usefull and convenient Distribution, it is Agreed that the Foundations of these buildings be laid during the next Year, and the Walls raised two or three Foot above the Ground, when the Work may remain to Settle before the Arches are turned ; which, considering the foundation stands at the bed of a river, is a very necessary precaution. And as the present Main Guard is attended with great inconvenience by being placed at the Inner Fort Gate, the Engineer is ordered to form his plan of the new buildings on one side of the Square in such a Manner that the Officers and Guard may hereafter be placed therein. It is also agreed that, for the convenience of Communication, an opening be made in the old Pile of Barracks to give a direct Passage from the Inner Fort Gate to St. George's.'<sup>1</sup> (M.C., vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

After the fall of Pondicherry in 1761, the thirty-two stone pillars of the Sea Gate Colonnade were brought back to Madras, and re-erected in their original position :—

*Mr. John Call to Government.*

(M.C., vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

'The Noble Stone Pillars which formerly composed a usefull Colonnade between the Sea Gate and Inner Fort having been brought back from Pondichery, and being much in the way when they were landed, have been set up in the Position they formerly stood. There are also many of the Timbers brought with them, so that, if the Honble Board think proper, they may be replaced, and the Terras compleated as opportunity will admit. . . . JOHN CALL.'

*Government Order.*

'The Board, being fully convinced of the great Utility of the Sea Gate Varando, do agree that the Engineer Compleat it as soon as he can, and at the same time erect some buildings he formerly proposed within the Sea Gate redoubt, that the Guard may be placed therein, and a convenient Office made for the Master Attendant.'<sup>2</sup>

The streets and buildings of the Fort, and the interior of the barracks, were lighted by globe lamps burning cocoa-nut oil. From a statement of numbers and positions of lamps, which was furnished by the Town Major in February, 1762, the following

<sup>1</sup> St. George's Gate was in the curtain between Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions.

<sup>2</sup> *The Master Attendant*, or Harbour Master, Capt. George Baker, lately commanding the sloop *Cuddalore*.



items are taken as affording some detail of topography and nomenclature:—

Sea Gate and Drawbridge	-	3	Artillery Barracks and Guard	-	7
St. Thomé Gate	-	2	South Curtain Barracks	-	10
North Gate	-	2	New Artillery Park	-	2
Factory Gate	-	4	Fort House	-	4
New Barracks	-	41	Factory Square	-	3
Water Gate	-	2	Admiralty House	-	3
St. George's Gate	-	2	Sorting Godown	-	4
General Lawrence's Quarters	2		St. Mary's Church	-	2
Old Choultry Gate	-	1	East Curtain Street	-	2
Colonel Monson's Quarters	-	2	York Street	-	2
Old Hospital Barracks	-	14	Town Gaol	-	1
Old Barracks opposite Main Guard	-	21	New Bridge <sup>1</sup>	-	4
Corner of Middle Gate Street Opposite the Governor's House	-	-		-	1
Portuguese Square	-	-		-	2
Corner of Charles Street at Tomby Chitty's Godown	-	-		-	1
Do. at Mrs. Munro's House	-	-		-	1
Corner of James Street Opposite the South Curtain	-	-		-	1
Corner Artillery Barrack Street	-	-		-	1
Bridge leading to the Old Garden House <sup>2</sup>	-	-		-	2
Wooden Bridge Leading to the Garden House at Chepauk <sup>3</sup>	-	-		-	4
Small Bridge leading to Sumpetrow Street <sup>4</sup>	-	-		-	1

The damage sustained during the siege by the Government Garden House was not made good until 1762. At that time it was ordered that 'One European Gardiner at the Wages of five Pagodas per Month, Twenty Country Gardiners, and ten Weeders be the fix'd and Allow'd Number for the care of the Company's Garden at Chepauk.'

The employment of cavalry during the siege led to the formation of a Riding School. Call having reported that 'building a riding house of 100 feet long and 60 broad in a durable manner would be difficult at this Juncture' for want of labour and materials, Government ordered the erection of a temporary structure 50 feet in diameter, 'by which convenience the Cavalry may be render'd in some degree manageable by the end of the Monsoon.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walajah Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> This bridge, known as 'Garden Bridge,' or 'Pettah Bridge,' crossed the old channel of the river.

<sup>3</sup> Triplicane Bridge.

<sup>4</sup> Egmore Bridge.

<sup>5</sup> P.C., vol. lxxxix., 24th Oct., 1759.



When the Pettah Hospital was demolished, the institution was transferred to a site farther west, near the former Government Garden. During the attack of Madras it was of necessity shifted to the Fort. After the siege, cemeteries were regarded as a salubrious site, and the hospital was moved, in February, 1759, to the ground in Armenian Street which was occupied by the Capuchin and Armenian churches. In September, 1762, Father Severini<sup>1</sup> and Padre Aratoon both petitioned<sup>2</sup> for restoration of their lands. The former asked for 'a Redelivery of the Buryal Place which Serv'd him both for Church and Lodging.' The latter represented that 'it is now past three Years and a half since your Honor, &c. was pleased to take their Chappel and make use of it as an Hospital for the Troops. . . . They are reduced to the Necessity of Celebrating Divine Service in a private House; . . . they are Destitute of a Burying Place, and your Petitioner and his Companions of a Lodging for themselves, as the Spot of Ground your Honor has taken served them for all three steads.' Government replied that, though the ground must be retained for a time, a monthly rent of Pags. 15 would be allowed to each of the churches. The site was, however, recognized as insanitary:—

### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The temporary Hospitals which have for some time past been used for the Reception of the Sick and Wounded have not only occasioned a constant Annual expence, but have been far from healthfull. The Board therefore think a Proper building ought as soon as possible to be erected, and accordingly order the Engineer to consult the Surgeons<sup>3</sup> and lay before them with all convenient Expedition a Plan proper for receiving and accomodating 500 Men and thirty Officers. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, ROBERT PALK, CHARLES BOURCHIER, RICHARD FAIRFIELD, JOSIAS DU PRÉ, JAMES ALEXANDER, JOHN CALL.' (M.C., vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

The Armenian ground, part of which had been originally granted to Shawmier Sultan, was restored to the community in February, 1764. Shawmier's wife was buried there in the following year, and at length Shawmier himself, who died in 1797 at the

<sup>1</sup> Father Severini died on the 17th September, 1763, and Father Stanton was selected by Government to succeed him. (P.C., vol. xciii., 27th Sept., 1763.)

<sup>2</sup> P.C., vol. xcii., 7th Sept., 1762.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Turing, James Wilson, sen., and Gilbert Pasley.





age of 74,<sup>1</sup> was interred at the same spot. The existing Armenian Church was erected in 1772. The date 1712 which it bears may relate to the chapel by the Bridge Gate in Old Black Town; but the community must have possessed a place of worship at a still earlier period.

### THE TOWN TEMPLE.

In 1762 a grant of ground was made to the Hindus for a temple to replace the demolished Perumāl Pagoda of Old Black Town :—

#### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

‘Letter from the Committee of Works read . . ., setting forth that the Cast People belonging to the Pagoda which was demolished before the North Front to form the Esplanade, having requested that a Spot of Ground might be granted them whereon they might rebuild their Pagoda, they (the Committee) have fix’d a Spot in Gunga Ramah Street,<sup>2</sup> Peddenaigues Pettah, which for many reasons they think will be most proper; but that, as it will be necessary to remove thirty eight small Malabar Houses to gain room sufficient for the Pagoda and the Streets round it, their value has been estimated . . ., amounting to five hundred and Sixty five Pagodas and a Quarter, which the heads of the Cast are willing to pay for. . . .

‘Ordered that the houses in the Peddenaigues Pettah . . . be demolished for rebuilding a Pagoda, and that an equal Quantity of Ground be allotted to the respective owners in such part of the Black Town as the Committee may recommend for that purpose.’ (*P.C.*, vol. xcii., 15th Feb., 1762.)

The site selected, which was in China Bazar at the very spot where Draper’s action took place, was devoted to the building of two temples called Chennai Kesava and Chennai Mallikeswarar. The following particulars are taken from papers privately printed in connexion with a High Court appeal, heard in 1900, from a decree in C.S. No. 54 of 1898 :—

#### *Notification.*

(22nd Nov., 1766.)

‘Know all men by these presents that the Town Pagoda servants, being lately possessed of a spot of ground in the Black Town containing 23,994 square feet, were dispossessed of the said ground by order of the Honble President and Council to form an Esplanade before the North front of Fort St. George. Now this is to certify that we, the Committee appointed to distribute ground to the inhabitants who have been dispossessed of their property for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Armenians in India*, Mesroby B. Seth, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Gunga Ramah Street* is a lane on the west side of the present Town Temple, connecting Nainiyappa Naik Street with Mint Street.



aforesaid, do, by virtue of the authority to us delegated, allot and assign unto the said Town Pagoda servants, their successors in office, to the use of the said Pagoda, a piece or parcel of ground situate in Verda Raja Perumaul Pagoda Street,<sup>1</sup> containing in all 24,000 square feet, and measuring in length from North to South on the East side 179 feet and on the West side 165 feet, in breadth from East to West on the North end 137 feet and on the South 142 feet. To have and to hold the same in as full and ample a manner as the ground they were formerly possessed of. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Fort St. George this 22nd day of November in the year of our Lord 1766.

'GEORGE MACKAY

'HENRY MONTRESOR

'JOHN CALL

'JAMES BOURCHIER

'JOHN WHITEHILL

} Committee  
of Works.'

In 1794, George Parry, Land Customer, reported that duties were collected by him upon goods coming overland into the Fort or Black Town. He said:—'It is necessary to observe that the percentage which the Native Merchants have voluntarily appropriated for nearly half a century to the use of the several churches upon all articles of merchandise of overland Import and Export are, for the accommodation of the Church Wardens, collected at the Land Custom House by the Church Wardens themselves.' In 1795 he explained that 'fees are collected from Malabar and Gentoo Merchants for the benefit of twelve Malabar churches and one Choultry where water is distributed to travellers near the Mount, and from Moorish Merchants on account of a Burying place in the Black Town.' Also that Pagoda fees 'are paid by all persons excepting Europeans, Portuguese, Armenians and Malabar Christians.' On the 10th April, 1796, Government ordered that, in lieu of these duties, an allowance of 90 cash per pagoda on the total value of the goods, amounting to about Pags. 175 a month, should be allotted to ten temples and one water pandāl. The bulk of the contribution was to go to 'Chennacasava Perumal, the Company's Church,' and to 'Pardasaradu or Triplicane Pagoda.'

In 1831 a suit regarding the management of the temple was contested between the son and grandson of the founder, Muthukrishna Mudali. The latter, who was Governor Pigot's Dubash about the year 1760, was said to have built at his own cost the 'Chenna Casava Permall and Chenna Malleswarer Pagoda,

<sup>1</sup> This street no longer exists.





commonly called the Town Pagoda of Madras,' which he endowed with land on which boutiques were afterwards erected. An annual income of Pags. 800 appears to have been derived from rents, Pags. 500 from Government, and Pags. 100 from the Rajah of Kālahasti.

From copies of correspondence which passed in 1834 between the Collector of Madras and the Board of Revenue, it appears that in 1777 Government paid Pags. 1,173 as compensation for the temple site in Old Black Town; Muthukrishna advanced Pags. 5,202, and the total funds available at that time, largely made up of subscriptions from the inhabitants, amounted to Pags. 15,652. Muthukrishna Mudali became the first warden of the new edifice. He died in 1792, and the management of the Town Temple had since remained in his family.

The Court decided that Muthukrishna Mudali founded the temples with his own private moneys, and it decreed that his grandson, Manalli Muthukrishna Mudali, was the proper Temple warden.





## CHAPTER XLIII

1759—1763

## MILITARY AFFAIRS—VARIETIES

## MILITARY AFFAIRS.

AFTER Lawrence's departure, Brereton assumed command of the army pending the arrival of Colonel Eyre Coote. Coote had come to India originally with Adlercron's regiment. He accompanied Clive to Calcutta, and held a command at the battle of Plassy. In 1759 he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 84th Regiment, which he brought to Madras in October of that year. He at once began a campaign which resulted in the battle of Wandiwash, fought on the 22nd January, 1760. In this decisive victory over Lally, Bussy was taken prisoner, and on the English side Brereton was killed. The French strongholds then fell in rapid succession until nothing remained but Pondicherry and the hill-forts of Gingee and Thiāgar.

Prior to Coote's campaign, arrangements had been made for a mutual exchange of prisoners and for the ransom of any surplus that might remain on one side or the other. Three hundred Frenchmen who had long been confined at Trichinopoly were released in the middle of 1759, and 200 more were afterwards delivered up at Sadras. French officers arriving prisoners at Madras were allowed to go to Pondicherry on parole. Count d'Estaing had been permitted to sail for England to make submission to the King. He embarked in a French ship which attacked and overcame the English factory at Gombroon, where the British Agent was exchanged for the Count. Pigot then declined to carry out the terms of the Cartel on the grounds that d'Estaing had broken his parole, and that other French officers, who had been neither exchanged nor ransomed, had engaged in





the battle of Wandiwash. Permits were withdrawn, and all French officers were directed to report at Fort St. George. Bussy was the only one who complied.<sup>1</sup> The prisoners in Madras were confined at Chintadripetta, as there was no room for them within the walls.<sup>2</sup>

Pigot's attitude regarding the breach of compact involved an acrimonious correspondence with Lally. The latter complained to Admiral Steevens that 'Messrs. Pigot and Coote have not only carry'd away and retain'd all my Surgeons, but also my Priest and Servants and other People who should be at Liberty' by the terms of the Cartel. Steevens endeavoured to soothe the incensed Frenchman with conciliatory words and the gift of a cheese! Lally responded:—

*General Lally to Admiral Steevens.*

'I am very sensible, Sir, of the mark of regard you have been Pleased to give me in sending me a Cheese. Permit me to acknowledge it by two dozens of Champaign I send you. If you allow our Fleet to arrive here safe and sound, I flatter myself I shall be able to send you more.

'As to the right of making your Hospitals Prisoners, which you seem to dispute, nothing better proves this right in War than our respective Masters having lately made a Convention to suppress it. Besides, I do not know that I have ceded Cuddalore to your Company. It is certain you have possession of it, but its because I am not able to drive you out of it.

'If Mr. Pigot thinks Tritchenapoly too distant to bring our Prisoners thence, he may send me the forty six Germans from Madras, and I will immediately return an equal Number of Sailors. . . . LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 23rd May, 1760.)

*General Lally to Mr. Pigot.*

'I am very sorry that the Reproach Mr. Steevens made me, that People dye with hunger in our Hospitals, should have occasioned the death of three of his Prisoners, who have just expired by Indigestion upon my giving orders to the Hospital to supply the recovered Englishmen with as much bread, meat and Arrack as they should desire. I do not say this to excite you upon the Point of honour with regard to our Prisoners, for if I must lose them, it is the same to me what method is taken to effect it. LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 6th July, 1760.)

*Mr. Pigot to General Lally.*

'It is true I have had no great cause to expect much Moderation in the Laws which the fate of War might enable you to give, but yet, Sir, I will not conceal from you that those which you enjoin in respect to your unhappy Prisoners surpass anything I could have imagined. You order them to Gingi, a place to which nothing could tempt a State to doom any of its subjects but the great

<sup>1</sup> *M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 27th March, 1760.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. xii., 29th April, 1760.





Advantages resulting from its situation and Strength ; a Place whose pernicious air and Water plunge into irrecoverable sickness and pain almost all Whom necessity compells to inhabit it for a time. This is the place you have chosen for the Banishment of your Prisoners. It is true their lives are in your hands ; but it is also true that it would have been less cruel had they been sacrificed in the moment of their Captivity than to be thus sentenced to a lingering death. Touch'd with the approaching misery of these unfortunate Gentlemen, I cannot help telling you that, from the good opinion I have of the Nation you serve, I believe they will think this but an ill return for the humane treatment their Countrymen have met with from me during the War. . . . GEORGE PIGOT.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 12th Nov., 1760.)

*General Lally to Mr. Pigot.*

'I do not believe, Sir, that since Government and Society have been establish'd amongst Men there has ever been found the traces of a letter like that I have just received from you. It bears with it a character of ill faith which the savages of the Eastern Coast would blush at. You are pleased to insult me in every line, and to make me acquainted beforehand with the Treatment you intend me if chance, rather than the fate of Arms, should one day put me in your power.

'You have infring'd a Cartel made between our Respective Masters after having admitted it, and that under the frivolous pretence of two Officers being taken in Arms in the Affair of the 22nd January before the form of their exchange had been executed, although it was agreed upon. . . .

'At length you writ me an Ironical letter the 3rd of last month, wherein you ask me If I have yet left any little spot of ground where I would confine five Officers, some Councillors, and about thirty Company's Servants made Prisoners by the Count d'Estaing, and that they would repair thither upon the first order I should send them. I immediately reply'd to you, in consequence, that you knew very well Gingée was the only place I possessed in all this Peninsula, but that it appeared to me much more expedient to exchange those Councillors and Officers against a like number of the Prisoners you had of mine of the same rank. . . .

'I shall not undertake here to reply to the unbecoming Affectation with which you Separate me personally<sup>1</sup> from the Body of the Nation I command here. . . . Your Reproaches, your threats, your Ironies, your insults do not in the least intimidate me. You put it out of my power to treat with you. . . . LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 16th Nov., 1760.)

Towards the end of 1760 Pondicherry was invested by land and sea. Call went down in November to conduct the siege works. Pigot followed to support the Company's interests during prospective successes to be achieved by the King's forces. The batteries opened fire on the 9th December. A severe cyclone occurred on New Year's Day, when two of Admiral Steevens's squadron foundered with all hands, and three of his ships were

<sup>1</sup> Lally was of Irish descent.





driven ashore. Admiral Cornish fortunately arrived a week later with a reinforcement. On the 15th January the garrison made proposals of surrender, and the next day the fortress yielded at discretion. Coote announced his success in laconic fashion :—

*Colonel Eyre Coote to Fort St. George.*

‘I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Garrison of Pondichery surrendered themselves Prisoners at Discretion on the 16th Instant. In the morning of the same day we took possession of the Villenour Gate, and in the Evening of the Citadel. I beg leave to congratulate you on this happy Event. EYRE COOTE.’ (*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 19th Jan., 1761.)

Coote claimed the place for the Crown, but Pigot insisted on the Company’s right of possession, and threatened to stop supplies unless delivery were made to him. He received it on the 24th, and at once issued orders for the demolition of the fortifications. Six Commissaries were appointed to take charge of the booty, three representing the King’s naval and military forces, and as many for the Company. The latter were James Bouchier, Claud Russell, and John Whitehill, all of whom will receive further mention in the sequel. Lally was sent prisoner to the Mount, whence he was transferred, shortly before his embarkation, to the Garden House at Madras,<sup>1</sup> which still bore the marks of his destructive power :—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘Immediately after the Capture of Pondichery, Mr. Lally came to this Place, as did shortly after Mr. De Leyrit, Mr. Courtin, and many others of the late Council and principal Officers of that Place. We thought we could do no less than entertain them at the Company’s Expence. Mr. Lally was Lodged in those Appartments of the Garden House which had escaped his Fury at the Siege of Madrass, and, after his departure, Mr. Deleyrit had the same accommodation; and that they might not have cause to complain of their Treatment, a Table was ordered to be kept for them at their direction without limitation of Expence. Had these Gentlemen possessed any degree of sensibility, they would have been the more sparing for being unrestrained. We have, however, experienced in them Sentiments very different from these. They repaid our Politeness with reproaches, and seemed to have intended Revenge by Profusion. A Daily account was regularly kept by a Person for that purpose of every article Supplied them, and the whole amounts to no less a Sum than Pags. 6,153-33-70.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 9th Nov., 1762.)

Lally was sent home by the ship *Onslow*, Captain Hinde, which sailed on the 6th March, 1761. Writing to the Company, the

<sup>1</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 6th March, 1761.



Council remarked :—‘ We have paid Captain Hinde Thirty pounds for the Passage of Mr. Lally and the other Gentlemen he carries home by our Order. The Lieut.-General will certainly be an expensive Passenger, and We therefore beg leave to recommend the Captain to your notice.’<sup>1</sup>

Arrogant and of violent temper, Lally had been unpopular in India, and on his ultimate arrival in France he found many enemies to vilify and accuse him. He was impeached for the loss of the French possessions in India, and after lying three years in the Bastille, he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. Gagged to prevent his addressing the populace, he was carried in a common cart to the place of execution and there beheaded in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

In India, the demolition of the works at Pondicherry went on apace. At the end of February, 1761, Call wrote :—‘ Tho’ the Circumference of the Fortifications, exclusive of the Citadel, is not less than four Miles in Brick Work, yet I hope such diligence will be used that the Bastions, Curtains and all Public Buildings of the French Company will be ruin’d in three Months.’ Pigot advocated even more ample destruction. Speaking in Council, he first recalled the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais and the breach of the treaty of ransom.<sup>2</sup> He then passed to more recent events, and proceeded in these words :—

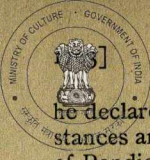
### *Mr. Pigot's Speech in Council.*

‘ The Conduct of the French General, Mr. Lally, carries full conviction of the rage and inveteracy with which he meant to execute the purposes of his Court. The Demolition of Fort St. David ; the irreparable damage done to the Private houses in the Environs ; the cruel treatment of the Inhabitants ; the Destruction of the Country Seats at the Mount and other places in the bounds of Madras ; Mr. Lally’s publick and declared purpose, during the Siege of Fort St. George, not to leave one Stone on another in the Town, should it fall into his hands ; his endeavours to ruin the private buildings after he had determined to raise the Siege, by turning all the Guns against the houses, whereby many of them, which lay out of the Line of Fire and had ’till then escaped, sustained irreparable damage ; and lastly his Letter to Mr. De Leyrit of the 14th February, wherein

<sup>1</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 6th March, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Pigot alludes in these words to Labourdonnais’ pecuniary stipulation, with which he must have been well acquainted : ‘ Madras being taken by the French, a treaty of Ransom was concluded with the French General (tho’ afterwards broken) in which his private Interest was more consulted than that of his Nation.’





he declared his purpose to burn down the Black Town . . . : all these Circumstances are sufficient, by the Laws of Retaliation, to justify the utter demolition of Pondichery.' (M.C., vol. xiv., 13th April, 1761.)

In October the Council reported that 'Pondichery is entirely destroyed, as are all its neighbouring Forts and Places.'<sup>1</sup>

Besides the pillars of the Sea Gate Colonnade, several other articles which had been taken from Madras in 1746, such as the organ of St. Mary's Church, a printing press, turret clock, etc., were recovered. The Commissaries made over to the Government 'the three Royal Pictures of France' found in the Pondicherry palace, and a vast quantity of stores and materials, including 52,625 paving stones!<sup>2</sup> Some 3,000 prisoners were in the hands of the English. They were distributed between Madras, Chingleput, Vellore, Trichinopoly, and other places. Numbers were allowed to go to neutral settlements on parole.<sup>3</sup>

Towards the end of 1760 news arrived from Calcutta<sup>4</sup> that frauds had been detected in connexion with the works at Fort William, and that Captain Brohier, Mr. John Lowis (or Lowes), Assistant Engineer, and Louis da Costa, a clerk, had all absconded. The matter was reported to England by Vansittart's Government as follows:—

*Fort William to the Honble. Company.*

'We are much concerned to have occasion to acquaint you of great Frauds committed in carrying on the new Works by a combination of those who were employ'd upon them. Mr. Holwell, then Governor, having receiv'd Hints of illegal practices committed by those persons, try'd to discover to what Length and by whom they had been carried on, and at last, by the confession of Gobindram Tacoor, it was found that the sum of [Rs] 344,565 had been shard by different servants employ'd on the works, besides the sum of 99,484 which Capt. Jno. Brohier acknowledged, in his Letter of the 25th June, to have come to the share of those immediately under him, and this he Attributed to his want of Caution over them, owing to a long Illness; but we have some reason to believe, from his conduct, the above sum was his own proportion of the Gains. . . .

'Mr. Brohier, upon the first discovery of his Malpractices, was put under Arrest, from which, a few days afterwards, he was released on his Parole, and upon the securities before mentioned being accepted, his Parole was delivered up to him. But the use he made of this Indulgence will stand as a proof of his guilt, For in the night between the 29th and 30th of July, he also absconded,

<sup>1</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 2nd Oct., 1761.

<sup>2</sup> *M.C.*, vol. xiv., 4th May, 1761; *P.C.*, vol. xci., 23rd June, 1761; and *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 23rd Nov., 1762.

<sup>3</sup> *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 8th April, 1762.

<sup>4</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xc., 24th Sept., 1760.





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and has evaded all our searches, notwithstanding Letters were immediately sent to all the Chiefs of the Country around to seize and return him to Calcutta whenever he appeared.' (*Ben. Let. Recd.*, vol. v., 16th Jan., 1761.)

Brohier escaped to Ceylon, where he appears to have settled. Lowis fled to Batavia, and died there shortly afterwards. Da Costa, who was held responsible for upwards of Rs. 30,000, was apprehended at Madras.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of 'the Elopement' of Captain Brohier, Captain John Call became Engineer-in-Chief, and Captain Robert Barker succeeded to the command of the 1st Company of Artillery.

The British Government resolved, in 1762, to send a naval and military force under Admiral Cornish and General Draper against the Spanish settlement of Manila, and the East India Company was invited to co-operate with troops. An organizing Commission was appointed at Madras, consisting of Pigot, Cornish, Lawrence, Draper, and Tiddeman.<sup>2</sup> Lawrence was opposed to the scheme from the outset, as he considered that men could not safely be spared. The local Government nominated Dawsonne Drake to be prospective Deputy Governor of Manila, and gave him John Lewin Smith, Henry Brooke, Claud Russell, and Samuel Johnson as Council. Draper, now a Brigadier-General, arrived from England at the end of June, and selected Captain Robert Fletcher as his Brigade-Major. Major Robert Barker commanded the artillery. Great booty was expected, and Pigot, mindful of the difficulty which had arisen at Pondicherry, desired that an Agent should be appointed to represent the Company. On the 31st July, when the expedition was on the point of sailing, Cornish and Draper addressed the Council as follows :—

*Admiral Cornish and General Draper to Fort St. George.*

'Our Intentions are most upright. Your Agent may certainly join with ours in taking an Inventory and Account of the whole Booty and Plunder. We

<sup>1</sup> *Ben. Let. Recd.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1761, and 30th Oct., 1762. Mrs. Penny mentions having seen in Ceylon private papers of Captain Brohier, in which that officer attributed his ruin to the malevolence of Henry Vansittart and Thomas Boddam, of the Council of Bengal. Among the documents was a memorandum of five plans of the citadel and town of Calcutta, which were stolen from Brohier by a man named Fountaigne on the night of the 2nd December, 1760 (*On the Coromandel Coast*, Mrs. F. E. Penny). As Brohier had absconded in the preceding July, the plans should not have been in his possession.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Richard Tiddeman, R.N.





want to secrete nothing from you, but we adhere to our first Determination to allow you only a Third of the said Booty and Plunder as a fixed and positive Share, as such Offers or Tenders as you are pleased to mention afford only Room for the Chicane and Tricks of Attorney.

'As all your Instructions to your Servants for the Civil Government and management of the Conquest must be subsequent to our Proceedings, we cannot interfere therein. The King has been pleased to leave it to General Draper to appoint a proper and competent Garrison for the Defence of the Place, and for it's being preserved 'till his Majesty's further Pleasure on that Head be specified. The Military Instructions will therefore be given by him according to Circumstances. SAMUEL CORNISH, WILLIAM DRAPER.' (*M.C.*, vol. xvi., 31st July, 1762.)

The Council met immediately and formulated a protest, but before it could be presented the expedition sailed. Manila was taken by assault<sup>1</sup> on the 6th October, but the conquest proved a barren one, and the place was ransomed and evacuated within eighteen months of its capture. Draper<sup>2</sup> took home the Spanish standards and presented them to his college. The chief results of the expedition, so far as Madras was concerned, were the erection of a Manila Trophy at Fort St. George, and the addition of a set of volumes to the Government records. Tradition asserts that the trophy, now dismantled, was placed near the Arsenal gates; but as the Arsenal was not begun until 1770, the Artillery Park is perhaps indicated.<sup>3</sup> The trophy was flanked by two fine Spanish cannon<sup>4</sup> dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century. These guns, with others of Danish and Mysore origin, occupied until lately a position on the parade-ground. They are now in the Madras Museum, where fragments of the trophy itself are stored though not exhibited.

At the end of 1763 the Company reconstituted their military

<sup>1</sup> Orders were given in 1763 that 'the Guachinangoes, Mexican Soldiers, Prisoners from Manilha,' should be removed from Madras to Chingleput to make room for French prisoners from Trichinopoly and Vellore. (*M.C.*, vol. xviii., 27th June, 1763.)

<sup>2</sup> Draper, created K.B. in 1766, erected a monument on Clifton Downs to the memory of the officers and men who fell in the East Indies between 1758 and 1765. He engaged in a literary passage of arms with 'Junius,' and, after a period of service as Lieut.-Governor of Minorca, he died at Bath in 1787. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

<sup>3</sup> In 1755 the Artillery Park was outside the north face of the Fort Square, next the Grand Magazine; in 1770 it appears to have been situated on the site of the present Arsenal.

<sup>4</sup> These guns represented 480 pieces of brass ordnance, captured at Manila. They are named *San Lorenzo* and *San Pedro*, and are about 12 feet in length. They bear the arms of Spain and an incused inscription, which (with the aid of Mr. R. Ryves) has been deciphered to signify that the pieces were cast in 1604 at 'Chapulrepeque,' by order of Don Juan of Mendoza and Luna, Marquess of Montesciaros.



establishment on the Coast.<sup>1</sup> They ordered that the army should consist of 2,600 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, officers included. The Europeans embraced three battalions of 700 men, each commanded by a Major; two companies of cavalry of 100 men each, and three of artillery of 100 each. The sepoys were formed into four battalions, each with three European officers, of whom the senior bore the rank of Captain. Colonel Caillaud, who was in England, was promoted Brigadier-General and appointed to command the forces in Bengal with succession to Lawrence as Commander-in-Chief. Barker and Fletcher were also at home after the Manila expedition. The former was posted to Madras and the latter to Fort William.

Six months later these orders were amended.<sup>2</sup> The three European battalions were converted into regiments, each with a Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major, and John Caillaud,<sup>3</sup> Charles Campbell,<sup>4</sup> and Achilles Preston<sup>5</sup> were nominated the three Colonels. The Directors appointed 'Major, now Sir Robert Barker,'<sup>6</sup> to be commandant of the artillery on the Bengal establishment.

Stringer Lawrence bade farewell to India in 1766. The Directors granted him a pension of £500, and the grateful Nawab an annuity of Pags. 3,750. His friend Clive also settled an annuity of £500 on him. He died in London in 1775, and was buried at Dunchideock, in Devon, where Aaron Baker had been interred nearly a century before. His monument in Westminster Abbey, erected by the East India Company, bears the inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 30th Dec., 1763.

<sup>2</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 1st June, 1764.

<sup>3</sup> John Caillaud appears to have arrived in India in 1753, and to have received his first commission, as Captain, on the 26th June in that year. His services down to the siege of Madras were rendered in the southern districts, and thereafter mainly in Bengal. He retired on a special pension in 1775, and lived in Oxfordshire.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Campbell served under Lawrence in 1753 as Captain, and obtained his majority in 1759. He must not be confounded with Donald Campbell and Dugald Campbell, who were both his juniors.

<sup>5</sup> Achilles Preston, after serving under Benjamin Robins, was appointed Ensign in 1752. He was killed at the siege of Madura in 1764, during the rebellion of Yūsuf Khān.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Barker appears to have arrived in India about 1749. He accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1756 in command of the artillery, and went with the Manila expedition in the same capacity. In 1764 he was knighted in England before proceeding again to Bengal, where he ultimately commanded the army of the presidency. He retired in 1772, and was created a baronet in 1781. He died at his seat near Godalming in 1789.





tion:—‘Discipline established, fortresses protected, settlements extended, French and Indian Armies defeated, and peace concluded in the Carnatic.’

## VARIETIES.

The following extracts from private letters sent by Call to Maskelyne exhibit the Chief Engineer in his lighter vein, and afford some items of local news of the year 1759. Maskelyne had sailed for England from Bengal early in the year:—

*Captain Call to Captain Maskelyne.*

(Orme MSS., India, vol. iii., Aug., 1759.)

‘If the war ends with the year, as I hope it will, tis more than probable you will see me in England the beginning of 1761, for I never will stay in the Service longer than I can help it unless I have my right, which would be in or next to Council. Our Corps is formed into a regular body, of which I am Captain from the beginning of 1757, Liegh Captain Lieutenant, Stevenson Lieutenant, and Cotsford Ensign. During the Siege we had a Company of Pioneers of 100 men, but we soon reduced them to 54. Money I hope soon to have enough: the next thing I want is honour, and unless I can have it here with my right, I am determined to seek it in Europe while I have youth and constitution. Draper and Lawrence are both my friends, and the first promised to get me the rank of Captain of Engineers in his majesty’s service. I don’t depend much on promises, but the good opinion of all mankind is of service. Ten thousand pounds is a good friend, and when I have such a one, I will try his interest to make it 15,000. I should rejoice to see you settled in England in a good Country Estate and happily married, in which State I wish you long health, long life, love, pleasures and a friend, not forgetting the Criances. My respects to Madam unknown, if you have one, and be assured I am with great sincerity, Dear Mun, Your devoted friend

‘JOHN CALL.

‘[P.S.] Town Major Tod is married to Miss Empson.<sup>1</sup> Oh, the rogue, how slyly he rolled off with her! Bannatyne was killed in attacking Conjeveram, and poor Brooke was cut in two by a Cannon shot just after the firing began in the Siege. Powney has resigned, and Percival walked off to the other world soon after the Siege. Our little limping late Antepenultimate<sup>2</sup> now is tertius nulli. Charles Bouchier, Pybus, Andrews, Vansittart, Fairfield, Ardley, Turner and Heath now form our August Council. What think you: are they not an intelligent and Sagacious collection? Tis well you went off, for risum teneatis amici.’

<sup>1</sup> Miss Frances Empson, daughter of Matthew Empson, jun., who was a Senior Merchant at the time of the capture of Madras, and granddaughter of Matthew Empson, sen., also of the civil service.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Smith appears to be indicated. At the time of the siege he was last but two of the Council, his juniors being Charles Bouchier and John Pybus; but the changes of 1759 brought him to the position of Second Member.



*Captain Call to Captain Maskelyne.*

(Orme MSS., India, vol. iii., 26th Oct., 1759.)

'I am quite weary of India, and wish to see my native country ; but, at any rate, I cannot go till the war is at an end, and then if I can must[er] 10,000£s, adieu to India. I have about 8 of it, and have sent home near 6,000£ to buy a Spot of land, but how to get two more, as times go, I know not. I hope, my friend, by this time you are happily fixed, and have in your eye, if not in your arms, the lass that will make you happy. The Colonel,<sup>1</sup> who has lately got from the Nabob in perpetuo the royalty of all the Company's lands, has thereby increased his fortune 20,000£ yearly, so that he can do handsomely for you. But tis not money that brings happiness. I question if he is now so easy and happy as when he first left India. God grant I may see you fixed in some pleasing villa, surrounded with a few good neighbours, and happy in yourself and family . . . I am, Dear Mun, Your devoted and sincere friend,

'JOHN CALL.'

Although Admiralty House was available for the use of guests of the Company, the want of a superior house of entertainment for the public began to be felt. The earliest Madras hotel, as distinguished from the common punch-house, dates from 1760 :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'Petition of Ralph Taylor read . . ., requesting that Licence may be granted him for keeping a House of Entertainment. As permitting the keeping of a House of Entertainment for the reception of Strangers and unsettled Persons is likely to prove of Service to the Settlement, Agreed that his request be Complied with, on condition that he will not Entertain any Person under the Degree of a Commission'd Officer, Officers of Ships or others upon the footing of a Gentleman.' (P.C., vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.)

A similar permit was given to Richard Hensman in the following month. Taylor was succeeded by John Parley at the end of 1761.

The Royal Society arranged to send two astronomers to Fort Marlborough to observe the Transit of Venus on the 6th June, 1761. The Company resolved to accommodate and maintain them, and directed Fort St. George to have additional observations made by any persons on the spot who might be competent<sup>2</sup> :—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

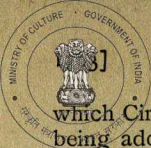
'We have the pleasure to inclose to you in this Packet a particular Account of the Observation made on the Transit of Venus the 6th of June by the Reverend Mr. Hirst.<sup>3</sup> This Gentleman is a Member of the Royal Society,

<sup>1</sup> Clive, who was Maskelyne's brother-in-law.

<sup>2</sup> P. from Eng., vol. lxiv., 31st Dec., 1760.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. William Hirst, afterwards lost in the *Aurora*, frigate.





which Circumstance, and his extreme Modesty, is the Occasion of this Account being addressed to Lord Maclesfield instead of to you. From all Accounts We have had of the Observations made in these Parts, none are to be depended on equal to this; and we wish, for your Honor and the Interest of this Worthy Clergyman, whom We recommend to you in a particular manner, that it may appear to have been the most accurate. None has equalled us in pains We can venture to assure you.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 2nd Oct., 1761.)

The second transit of the century occurred in 1769, and the help of the Company was again invoked. The records are silent as to the response elicited from Madras :—

*The Secretary, Royal Society, to the Company.*

'In obedience to the Orders of the Royal Society, I take the liberty to apply to you in their name, and Solicit your concurrence in an affair of some importance to the Advancement of Science and the honor of this Country. The next Transit of the Planet of Venus over the Disc of the Sun, which is expected on June 3rd, 1769, will afford the only means of ascertaining some of the principal and hitherto unknown elements in Astronomy, and of improving both Geography and Navigation. The first Phenomenon of this kind ever taken notice of was observed above a Century ago by an Englishman, and the last, which happened in 1761, excited the Curiosity of most Nations in Europe; but on account of the War, and the want or inexperience of Observers, the fruits expected from this Observation, and foretold by the great Dr. Halley, were but partly obtained. An opportunity of the same kind will again offer itself, and as it is the last which the present and succeeding Generations will have for at least a hundred Years to come, it is to be hoped, and indeed expected, that an universal emulation will extend itself all over the Continent on so interesting an occasion. The honor of this Nation seems particularly concerned in not yielding the palm to their Neighbours, and the Royal Society intends to exert all its strength and influence in order to have this observation made with the greatest accuracy, and, if possible, in the most uniform and satisfactory manner in various parts of the British Dominions. The experience they have had of the readiness of this potent Company to forward every great and national undertaking does not permit them to doubt of their taking a share in this. They therefore hope that it will be early and earnestly recommended to such of the Company's Servants at Madras, Bombay, Bencoolen, or other Places in the East Indies as have been accustomed to Astronomical Observations to prepare for and exert themselves in this. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxi., 22nd Jan., 1768.)

News of the death of George II. was received in Madras on the 24th May, 1761. On the following day George III. was proclaimed king with the usual ceremonial.

In 1761 the *London*, Capt. George Baker,<sup>1</sup> was sent out for local use. The Company observed that, 'as Capt. Baker is a man

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Baker is first mentioned in the records in 1756 as master of the sloop *Cuddalore*. He performed useful service during the siege of Madras.



we value and have a regard for his Interest, We more particularly recommend him to be provided for in our Service in such manner as may be a recompence for his long, Diligent and Faithful Services.' The Directors gave him £300 for renouncing private trade, in order to bring home advice of the reduction of Pondicherry, and a further sum of £130 for maintaining a Table during the voyage for two French officers of rank and others.<sup>1</sup> Pigot created the post of Master Attendant or Port Officer, and appointed Baker to it :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Board being of Opinion that a Master Attendant would Conduce very much to the well Regulating the Business of this Port, and Captain Baker being thought a fit Person for that Trust, Agreed that he be appointed thereto. That in Consideration of the Trouble he must Necessarilly be at in discharging the same, he be allowed a Salary of one hundred Pounds a Year, eight Pagodas per Month Diet Money, and an allowance of ten Pagodas per Month for House Rent.' (P.C., vol. xcii., 31st May, 1762.)

The Fort was, at a later period, indebted to Baker for a good water supply. An account of his measures will be found on a subsequent page.

The King of Kandy having solicited the Company's aid against the Dutch, Mr. John Pybus,<sup>2</sup> one of the members of Council, was sent in 1762 to his Court. The '*Diary of Mr. Pybus's Journey to and from the City of Candia, the Capital of the Island of Ceylon and place of Residence of the Emperor, with an Account of his Proceedings and Transactions at that Prince's Court*' will be found in *Military Sundries*, vol. xvii. The diary forms curious and interesting reading, but it cannot be further alluded to here.

A few months earlier Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, then a Junior Merchant, was sent on a secret service mission to Sooloo, a group of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, in view to opening up trade. In March, 1764, he was at Manila, and took charge from Dawsonne Drake for three weeks prior to the evacuation of the place. Thence he sailed to the island of Balambangan, off the north coast of Borneo, where he established a settlement.<sup>3</sup> During his voyages in those seas Dalrymple began to frame the

<sup>1</sup> *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 30th Sept., 1761.

<sup>2</sup> John Pybus married Martha Small in 1753.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 31st May, 1762; *M. Sun.*, vol. xxiv., 28th March, 1764; and *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 20th Oct., 1764.





series of charts through the publication of which his name became famous.<sup>1</sup>

In the year of Pigot's departure the King of Tanjore addressed a letter to the Governor on a long-standing difference with the Nawab about the regulation of the waters of the Coleroon. Some particulars of the old methods of distribution between the Coleroon and Cauvery for irrigation purposes will be found in *Military Country Correspondence*, vol. xi., 14th March, 1763, but the history of the dispute is outside the scope of this work.

<sup>1</sup> He was appointed Hydrographer to the Company in 1779, and to the Admiralty in 1795.





## CHAPTER XLIV

1763—1770

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ROBERT PALK AND  
CHARLES BOURCHIER—DEFENCES OF WHITE TOWN—  
FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN

## ADMINISTRATIONS OF ROBERT PALK AND CHARLES BOURCHIER.

ROBERT PALK, a member of an old Devonshire family, succeeded Pigot as Governor on the 14th November, 1763. Born in 1717, he came out to India as a naval chaplain with Admiral Boscawen, but, on the dismissal of the Rev. Francis Fordyce in 1749, he was transferred to the Company's service, and for nine years officiated at Fort St. David or Fort St. George. During this period he was on several occasions employed in political negotiations with the French and the Rajah of Tanjore, and in other civil duties. Eventually the Directors admitted him to the civil service, and in October, 1761, he returned from leave in England as Third Member of Council. His period of office as Governor<sup>1</sup> was marked by no important event except the conclusion of a settlement with the Nizam regarding the possession of the Northern Circars, a territory for which Clive had obtained a grant from the Mogul. By a treaty signed at Hyderabad on the 12th November, 1766, the Nizam retained control over Guntoor, the rest of the Circars passing into British hands. In January, 1767, Palk retired to England with a substantial fortune. He purchased Haldon House in Devonshire, and resided there with

<sup>1</sup> In 1765 Palk deputed Lieut. William Stevens, of the Engineers, to make a survey of the chain of rocks called Adam's Bridge, which connects India and Ceylon by Rameswaram and Manār. The name of Palk Strait commemorates the Governor's action.



his inseparable friend Stringer Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> On Lawrence's death Palk erected a monument, in the form of a tower or 'Belvidere,' to the General's memory on the summit of Haldon Hill. Created a baronet in 1782,<sup>2</sup> Palk represented Ashburton in Parliament for fourteen years. He died in 1798. His great-grandson was raised to the peerage in 1880 as Lord Haldon.

Moved by the conflict of authority which had occurred between the Council and the commanders of the Manila expedition, the Directors in 1766 clearly defined the Governor's powers:—

*The Company to Fort St. George.*

'We cannot suffer the least doubt to remain on a Subject of this Importance, and therefore We do hereby establish a Positive Order, never to be departed from, that the Civil Power in all Our Settlements shall be Superior to and Command the Military. That Our Governor for the time being shall be considered, by virtue of the Commission he bears from Us (and derived from the Company's Charter) as Commander in Chief of Our Forces, the Superior Military Officer, and in consequence thereof invested with a Power of Commanding all others, of putting such in Arrest who shall disobey his Orders, and in general with every other power belonging to a Superior or Commanding Officer. And if at any time any Officer in Our Service of what Rank soever, even tho' he should bear a Brevet or Commission from the King, shall refuse to obey the Orders of Our Governor or Acknowledge himself Subject to Arrest by his Command, it is Our Positive Order that such Officer be from that moment dismissed Our Service. . . .' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Feb., 1766.)

Charles Bouchier, who succeeded Palk as Governor of Madras on the 25th January, 1767, was a civil servant of long standing. He was the third son of Richard Bouchier, a seafaring man of Madras in 1724, who was appointed Chief at Anjengo in 1743, and eventually became Governor of Bombay.<sup>3</sup> Charles Bouchier joined the service as Writer at Fort St. George in 1741, when he could not have been more than fifteen years of age, and he gradually rose until, in 1754, he joined the Council as thirteenth member. His administration, which, like Palk's, lasted only three years,

<sup>1</sup> At Haldon House is preserved Palk's Indian correspondence from 1769 to 1785, including letters from Warren Hastings, Josias Du Pré, Henry Brooke, John Call, George Baker, and others. There is also a memoir of Lawrence's services in a MS. of 170 folios, signed by himself in 1755 and addressed to Admiral Watson.

<sup>2</sup> *Peerage and Baronetage*, Burke. According to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, the creation was of 1772.

<sup>3</sup> *The Indian Antiquary* for October, 1911, article *Governor Richard Bouchier*, by Mr. William Foster.



was marked by the occurrence of the first Mysore war, and the execution of the great work of fortifying the Black Town.

Hyder Ali (Haidar 'Alī), Killedar of Dindigul in 1755, had usurped the sovereignty of Mysore, and become a power to be reckoned with. Allied with the Nizam, he invaded the Carnatic in 1767. With the operations of Colonel Joseph Smith,<sup>1</sup> who took the field against him, we are not concerned, but a raid on Madras, effected by a party of cavalry under Hyder's son Tippoo, must be referred to:—

### *Fort St. George Diary.*

'This Morning, Parties of the Enemy's Horse were Scampering about the Company's Garden House,<sup>2</sup> Mr. James Bouchier's Garden, and Chindadre Pettah, on which the Picket from Hog Hill crossed the River and marched towards the Garden House, on whose Approach the Enemy retired from them, but continued about St. Thomé and in the Neighbourhood till the Evening, when they marched towards the Mount.' (M.C., vol. xxvii., 28th Sept., 1767.)

### *Fort St. George to the Company.*

'While Colonel Smith lay encamped near the Enemy, and could not, on account of their advantageous Situation, venture to attack them, they found means of detaching a considerable Body of their Horse to plunder and ravage the Country; and a party of them even penetrated into the bounds of this Place, and arrived on Choultry plain the 28th in the Morning, plundered St. Thomie and all the adjacent Villages, and carried off several of the Inhabitants without our being able to hinder them. The continual reinforcements we had sent to Camp had reduced our Garrison so low that We were obliged to confine our attention entirely to the preservation of the Fort and the Black Town, and for which purpose it was even necessary to arm all the Company's Civil Servants, the European Inhabitants both of the White and Black Town, as well as the Armenians and Portugeuze.

'The Detachment of the Enemy, by the best accounts We could procure, consisted of about three or four thousand. They continued in the Bounds till the 29th, when they retired to the Mount, from whence they decamped the next day and marched off. But as We, immediately on the receipt of the news of Colonel Smith's Victory,<sup>3</sup> sent advice of them to Camp and the different

<sup>1</sup> Son of Mr. Joseph Smith, sometime Gunner of Fort St. George. He was appointed Ensign 3rd October, 1749; Captain, 1754; Major, 1760.

<sup>2</sup> According to a contemporary writer, Mr. Charles Bouchier had a fortunate escape from capture: 'The Governor, Mohamed Ali Khan and his son, together with Colonel Call and almost all the Council, very narrowly escaped being taken in the country house in the Company's Garden. Happily for them, a small vessel, that by accident was opposite the Garden, furnished them with the means of escaping.' (*History of Hyder Ali Khan*, by M. M. D. L. T., 1784.)

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Smith's victory at Trinomalai on the 26th September, which terminated the campaign.





CSL

Very Affectionate Friend & humble Servt. Warren Hasbuis.

Robert Mure

Wm. Mure

Thos. Saunders

George Pigot

Pigot

Gio. Stratton

Robert Orme

Robt. Falk

John Whiteing

Wm. Bouchier

Thos. Turnbull

Edw. M. G. G.

Charles Smith



Garrisons, We hope a part of them at least will be prevented from escaping with their Plunder and Captives out of the Province.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 8th Oct., 1767.)

The next campaign opened after a brief interval. The Nizam made peace with the Company, but Hyder pursued the war with varying fortune. The Madras Council interfered with the plans of Colonel Smith, who was superseded by Colonel Wood, but eventually reinstated. Early in 1769, Hyder offered to come to terms, but Bouchier vacillated and, while affecting to treat, directed Smith to threaten the enemy's force. Hyder lured Smith to the southward of Cuddalore, and then, causing the bulk of his own army to retire, himself with 6,000 cavalry made a forced march to the Mount, where he virtually dictated terms of peace.

*Fort St. George Diary.*

(*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 28th and 29th March, 1769.)

'28th March. Came in the Evening a letter from Captain Pascal at Chingleput to the President, dated this Day, advising of some Parties of the Enemy's Horse having appear'd near that Place. About 12 o'clock at night the Signal appointed to be made on the approach of any Enemy's horse was seen at the Mount.

'29th March. About 8 o'Clock this morning several Parties of the Enemy's horse appear'd in the Bounds of this Place at St. Thomé and Egmore, from which latter place some Guns were fired at them. A Detachment order'd out to the Garden House. At eleven o'Clock a fellow was caught plundering at Triplicane and brought into Town, who gave Intelligence that Hyder himself was on the other side of St. Thomé with the greatest part of his horse, but without Guns or Infantry. At 12 o'Clock wrote a letter to Colonel Smith in Quadruplicate advising him of the above.

'In the Afternoon Advice came that the Enemy's horse were moving from St. Thomé round to the Northward with a Design, as was supposed, to make an attempt on the Black Town. A Detachment under Lt. Colonel Hart was order'd for its Protection, and Major Bonjour was appointed to the Command of the Detachment sent to the Garden house, with Instructions to remove at Gun Fire to the foot of the new Bridge leading to the Island, and there to take Post and be in readiness to succour any Part of the Black Town that might be attacked.

'About 6 o'Clock this Evening came in a letter from Hydre Ally to the President, and another to Mr. Du Pré . . ., mentioning his reasons for having taken the Resolution of coming into the Neighbourhood of this Place to settle the Terms of Peace, advising of his being arrived at the Mount, where he desired Mr. Du Pré,<sup>1</sup> for whom he had sent a Cowle, might meet him, when every thing would be adjusted.'

<sup>1</sup> Josias Du Pré was at this time Second of Council.



*'Hyder Ally Cawn to Josias Du Pré.*

'I have been desirous of seeing you for this long time, and, being now arrived in your Neighbourhood, have wrote to the Governor to send you hither to carry on a negociation of Peace. By the blessing of God you are a great Sardar, Wise and experienced in all Matters. You have, moreover, lately carried on a Correspondence of Letters relative to Peace, which makes me still more earnest to see you. . . . Whatever may tend to the establishing of a lasting Peace between Us, I shall inform you of in Person. Let me therefore have the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possible. You may return again to the Governor in 2 Garries.<sup>1</sup> I have sent you a Cowle under my Seal. I hope therefore you will be under no apprehension of coming to me, but come with a Mind entirely at ease. I repeat it again, that you may return to the Governor in 2 Garries time, and settle the Peace there. When you set out from Madrass you will despatch a Camel Hircarah before, with a Letter, that I may find a great Sardar to meet you near my Army.

'May your happiness always increase.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xvii., 28th March, 1769.)

Mr. Du Pré set out on the morning of the 30th. He was met at the Marmalong Bridge by an escort, and conducted to Hyder's camp, where terms were discussed. Returning to Madras in the evening, he met the Council, who deliberated for two days. They drew up the treaty on the 2nd April, and on the 3rd it was sealed by Hyder Ali. The document<sup>2</sup> provided for an offensive and defensive alliance between Hyder and the Company, and for the mutual restitution of conquests:—

*Hyder Ali to Governor Bouchier.*

'I have the pleasure of your Letter. The seeing of Mr. Stracy<sup>3</sup> gave me great Satisfaction. By him I was informed of every thing you had entrusted to him to acquaint me with, which tended to strengthen the friendship and regard between Us. Agreeable to your desire, I have put my Seal to the treaty you sent. You will receive it by the above Gentleman, to whom I beg leave to refer you for further particulars, as well as to the circumstances of Colonel Smith's Marching to-day.

'May your Happiness and joy ever last.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xvii., 4th April, 1769.)

Du Pré's views on the peace concluded with Hyder are recorded in the following private letter to Orme:—

<sup>1</sup> *Garry, ghurry*, from Hind. *gharī*; an interval of 24 minutes, but the word is generally used to represent one hour.

<sup>2</sup> The full text is given in *M.C.*, vol. xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Stracey was Persian Translator to Government.



*Iosias Du Pré to Robert Orme.*

'We have at length concluded a Peace with Hyder such as will do Us no honor ; yet it was necessary, and there was no alternative but that or worse. The reason it seems so disgracefull is that it [the war] was begun with ideas of Conquest on our part, and it is said this is the first time a Country Enemy has gained an Advantage over Us. The latter part of this War, which probably will be thought the most disgracefull, is in reality nothing more than We have always thought the Country liable to. An Army of Moratta Horse We always dreaded, because We always knew that it was not their business to fight, but to plunder, burn and destroy. The difference has only been in a Name : twas Hyder instead of Moratta, and I think there can be no doubt but that, whilst our force consists of infantry only, any Power with a large Body of Horse may plunder and ruin the Country ; and if We have nothing to support our Armies in the Field or in Garrison but the Current Revenues of the Country, the failure of these must bring ruin on Us. . . . What then must have been our condition had the War continued ! We had but provision for 15 days in the Black Town when the Peace was concluded. Nothing could have prevented him in this part more than in the South from burning and destroying all the Grain in Stock in the Villages, and on the Ground. A famine would have ensued ; and as it is, Grain is scarce, and there certainly will be great distress before the next Crop.

'Although I was clear that the peace, such as it is, was better for the Company than the continuance of the War, yet my Mortifications are not small, and I cannot avoid thinking myself unfortunate in coming to India just in time to share disgrace, and to have, from henceforth, affairs to manage which are so encumber'd and entangled that I can see no Course We can take without being exposed to New Embarrasments. . . .

'I am quite of your Opinion in regard to General Joseph Smith. A Man of a better Heart I never knew, with a great deal of good Sense ; but a little knowledge of Mankind is sufficient to evince that those are not Qualities fit to Govern Yahoos. . . . A Man at the head of a Military Corps should have an Active Mind, and Order, discipline and Subordination should never be Absent from it : an Ensign should know or be taught that he is not a Colonel. . . .'  
(Orme MSS., vol. xxx., 10th June, 1769.)

Governor Bouchier handed over charge to Du Pré on the 31st January, 1770, and, in company with his brother Mr. James Bouchier and Colonel John Call, sailed for England in the *Britannia* on the 8th of the following month. Call, who belonged to the village of Launcells, near Holsworthy in Cornwall, settled in his native county. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the governorship of Madras when Lord Macartney was appointed,<sup>1</sup> but was consoled by employment on an enquiry into the condition of Crown Lands. In 1784 he was elected to represent Callington in Parliament. He then took up residence in London, and

<sup>1</sup> *Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Barrow, 1807.





became a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1791 he was created a baronet, and he died in London in 1801 after spending the last six years of his life in total blindness.<sup>1</sup>

## DEFENCES OF WHITE TOWN.

Call was on duty with the army in Madura in 1764, but progress was made in the Madras fortifications by his assistants William Stevenson, John Maclean, Paul Benfield,<sup>2</sup> Charles Desvieux, and William Stevens. The Mint Bastion<sup>3</sup> was altered to its present form, and the Tenaillon on the south front was well advanced.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of 1765 the Council, which contained a strong military element (Stringer Lawrence, John Caillaud, and John Call),<sup>5</sup> agreed to carry out proposals of the Engineer for the construction of a sea-wall 300 yards in length to protect the glacis at the north-east angle of the Fort from the ravages of the surf; the building a Spur, or projecting outwork, before the old North-East Bastion; the enlargement of that bastion so as to extend it westward within the Demi-Bastion; and the erection of a large ravelin before the south-west curtain between Lawrence's Bastion and the Nabob's Bastion, which was open to attack.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time the Committee of Works furnished an abstract of the cost of fortifications and military buildings from the 1st May, 1759, to the 30th April, 1765, amounting to Pags. 408,320.<sup>7</sup> Among the items included were the new Artillery Park, additions to the barracks, new civil quarters in Portuguese Square, 'Bomb Proof Cazerns' for officers on the north and south sides of the new parade, and the rebuilding of the Sea Gate Colonnade. In consequence of the enhanced value of Admiralty House with the small buildings adjoining it, and of the Company's Garden House, the Committee advised that these edifices should stand in the books at Pags. 18,000 and 15,000 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The afterwards notorious Paul Benfield was appointed by the Directors as Civil Architect and Assistant Engineer, with the rank of Lieutenant. 'He is exceedingly well recommended to Us as having been regularly bred an Architect, Surveyor and draughtsman, and for his knowledge in Fortification and other Branches of the Mathematicks.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 30th Dec., 1763.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1764 Call designates it the 'Tower Bastion.'

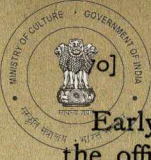
<sup>4</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 24th Oct., 1764.

<sup>5</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 4th May, 1764.

<sup>6</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcv., 20th Dec., 1765.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*





Early in 1767 the Council approved<sup>1</sup> Call's proposal to finish the officers' bomb-proofs on the north side of the parade, and improve the interior of the Royal Bastion by building 'three large Caserns under it, with casemates opening into the Ditch to defend Pigot's Bastion.' A year later the Engineer represented that several of the earthen works had been washed down by the rains, and he urged that their revetment should be undertaken. He estimated that five years would be necessary for the completion of the fortifications, and three years more for the buildings in the White Town. He added that the cost of labour had of late much increased, a cooly earning  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fanams a day. He proceeded:—

*Mr. Call's Report of 9th January, 1768.*

(P.C., vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

'I had the Honor to have the sole charge of the Works at Fort St. David near 5 years, and I have had the immediate inspection of the Works here, with the direction of all others on the Coast, since June 1757. During this time I can truly say from experience that the Engineers employ requires an infinite share of application, and an excellent constitution to discharge the Duty thereof with satisfaction to the person who holds it or justice to his Employers. Since June last I have constantly been afflicted with a Bilious complaint, and even now find myself unable to give that personal attendance to the Works which my mind dictates to me as absolutely necessary. The other Employes too which I hold, the attendance on Council days, the drawing of Plans, and the correspondence concerning the carrying on of Works elsewhere engage so much of my time and attention that I confess I cannot longer do the Company justice in continuing to act in the Capacity of Engineer of Fort St. George. For these reasons, as well as the necessity I shall be under of going to Europe if my health is not soon restor'd, I beg the Hon'ble Board will appoint some other Person as Engineer of this Settlement, that he may be particularly acquainted with what is to be done, and initiated into the charge before I leave India or go elsewhere. As I believe I can be of some Service, either by my advice here or giving Directions for Works at other places, I will still continue in the character of Chief Engineer on this Coast; and as I know no person so capable of carrying on the Works at Madras as Mr. Paul Benfield, I beg leave to recommend him for Engineer to this Presidency, being well persuaded of his Capacity and application to business. . . .'

*Government Order.*

'Mr. Call, Chief Engineer, delivers in a Letter . . . accompany'd by a paper of Instructions for carrying on the Works of Fort St. George, a large Plan of the Fort with the said Works, and a general Plan of the Fort and Black Town.<sup>2</sup> The Letter is now taken into consideration, and the plans and instructions relative thereto are order'd to be deposited in the Plan Chest, to be referr'd

<sup>1</sup> P.C., vol. xcvi., 3rd Feb., 1767.

<sup>2</sup> These plans are not to be found.





to when occasion may require. . . . The Board are sensible of the Engineer's remark . . . that many of the earthen Works are entirely defenceless, particularly the North and West Ravelins, and that such temporary Works cannot be kept in repair or any defensible State without a considerable annual Expence : it therefore becomes the more necessary that these should be faced with the utmost Diligence. . . .'

The Government decided that Benfield should be 'Engineer of Madras,' Call continuing to serve as Chief Engineer of the Coast.

In the following October, Benfield, during Call's absence on inspection duty, reported<sup>1</sup> that the Royal Bastion with the casemates beneath it, the Demi-bastion, the North-West Ravelin,<sup>2</sup> and the enlargement of the old North-East Bastion were all finished. The faussebraye on the north front had been revetted, the North Ravelin enlarged, and a caponier<sup>3</sup> constructed across the ditch between the faussebraye and ravelin. The bomb-proof quarters for officers on the north side of the parade-ground were also finished, but the sea-wall was at a standstill for want of piles.

The Engineer establishment now consisted of William Stevens, Sub-Director and Captain, Henry Montresor, Engineer in ordinary and Capt.-Lieutenant, and Thomas Marsden, Sub-Engineer and Lieutenant.<sup>4</sup> Benfield resigned to become contractor for Black Town Wall, and as Stevens was engaged on work at Masulipatam, Montresor was appointed Engineer at Madras in June, 1769.

Call retired from the service in 1770. Before his departure he gave his opinion on what remained to be done, notably the improvement of St. George's Ravelin, which he had long advocated. He remarked :—

#### *Mr. Call's final Report.*

'Considering the ruinous State of Pigot's Bastion, the absolute Necessity there is that it should be rebuilt, and indeed the very weak and improper Construction and Size both of that Bastion and Lawrence's, I am now of Opinion that Counterguards should be built before both of the Bastions, or the Ravelin carried out so far as it can be to preserve the Flanking Fire

<sup>1</sup> P.C., vol. c., 29th Oct., 1768.

<sup>2</sup> This work was proposed by Call in February, 1767.

<sup>3</sup> This work appears to have been a reconstruction of the caponier which existed at the time of the siege.

<sup>4</sup> M. Sun., vol. xl., 11th Feb., 1769. Captain Montresor married Miss Frances Cleverley in 1770.





1770]

## FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN

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without reducing its Salient Angle to less than 78 Degrees. But as I think Fort St. George hath Out Works sufficient, and that simple and large Works are capable of much greater and a more natural Defence than a Number of detach'd and small Works, I am inclined to prefer the enlarging Pigots Bastion, according to a Plan I leave with Mr. Montresor, by carrying out the Salient Angle 90 Feet, making each Face 200 and each Flank 80 feet.<sup>1</sup> In this Case the Counterscarp before it between the Northwest and St. George's Ravelin, already in a very bad State, having neither foundation nor Counterforts, must be destroyed, and another built at 100 Feet distance, which will throw out the Cover'd way before it in a good Position to flank the Salient Angle before each Ravelin, and the Bastion will afford ten times the Defence it is capable of giving at present. . . . (P.C., vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770.)

As an alternative, Call suggested a smaller advance of Pigot's Bastion. Whichever plan might be adopted, he advocated a spacious St. George's Ravelin, with a broad wet ditch and substantial covered way before it. The Government deferred consideration of the proposals until greater progress had been made with Black Town Wall.

## FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN.

The schemes of Robins and Brohier for the defence of the two pettahs which now constituted Black Town had long been shelved, and it was reserved for Call to put forward a proposal which, though more ambitious than either of them, was ultimately carried into effect. Call's rampart covered the town on its north and west sides. On the north its alignment coincided with that of the old batteries or choultries which had been erected in 1717. On the west it followed the line of the North River. A beginning seems to have been made in 1764,<sup>2</sup> when some earthwork was executed, and in the following year the old batteries were demolished by order of Government in response to the following request from Call:—'I take this Opportunity to mention that the old Square Redoubts of Brick-Work which are in the bound Hedge to the North of the Black Town are almost fallen into Ruins, and inconvenient to the new Line at present carrying on. I therefore beg leave to demolish them as our Work advances, and to employ the Bricks to face the new Batteries.'<sup>3</sup> Hyder Ali's raid

<sup>1</sup> This proposal was anticipated by Colonel Scott in 1753.

<sup>2</sup> *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 24th Oct., 1764.

<sup>3</sup> *M.C.*, vol. xxii., 20th May, 1765.





of 1767 emphasized the need of protection, but the defences were not undertaken in earnest till 1769:—

*Mr. John Call to Government.*

‘Having laid before the Honble Board a Plan<sup>1</sup> of the Black Town with the Works I would recommend to be carried round it, I wish I could devise some speedy method of putting so valuable a place in a state of defence against a Country Enemy. But at this juncture, while people are full of apprehensions, and many of the Inhabitants are gone to take Shelter with the Polygars or in other Settlements, I imagine no Scheme of a publick nature can properly take place; and tho’ the late distress, which appear’d when the Enemy’s Horse plunder’d St. Thomé and the adjacent country,<sup>2</sup> clearly evinces the necessity of securing the Black Town, yet, as it will be a great labor, I cannot recommend it to be prosecuted to the prejudice of the Fortifications of the white town, but think it by far more material to employ every Bricklayer that can with propriety be employed on the Works of Fort St. George. . . .’ (*P.C.*, vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

The Council concurred generally, but remarked that, if a few bricklayers ‘were kept constantly at work in facing the Redoubts to the North of the black town, they would compleat several of them in the course of the Year, and 300 Coolies and Tank Diggers might continue throwing up earth for the Rampart and forming the ditch, as well as planting shrubs.’

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

‘As the Security of the Black Town is of the utmost Importance, since the Entry of a Body of Horse into it, or even the approach of one, must necessarily be attended with the worst of Consequences, It is therefore resolved that the Bastions proposed by Mr. Call<sup>3</sup> be erected and finished with all Expedition; from which he may be able to form a Calculate of the expence that will attend the compleating the whole, a Plan of which he is desired to lay before Us with such Calculate, when we shall be enabled to judge of the reasonableness of any proposals that may be made for executing the whole by Contract. . . .’ (*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 13th March, 1769.)

Before the end of the month Call submitted plans and a detailed report. The drawings have not been preserved, but the references given in the report will be sufficiently understood from the map of Madras of 1798, supplemented by the following description:—

<sup>1</sup> Not preserved.

<sup>2</sup> During Hyder Ali’s first incursion.

<sup>3</sup> Call advocated work on the northern face, ‘where the greater part of the Front passes over a loose Sand on which it is Impossible to raise any Battery’s or Defences that will endure a Month unless they are faced with brickwork; and the only defence at present for near two thirds of a Mile is a Pallisadoe of Country Wood and Palmiras set up 18 Months since.’ (*M. Sun.*, vol. xl., 15th March, 1769.)





The rampart as constructed covered the north and west fronts of modern Black Town, and a portion of the south front. It consisted of seventeen bastions, connected by curtains averaging 300 yards in length. The line of the north face presented a slightly convex front towards Tandore. The alignment of the west face, which followed the North River, was nearly straight. Bastion A was situated near the sea at the north-east angle of the town. Bastion H was a prominent salient at the north-west angle, and Bastion P was at the south-west angle. Between A and H there were six, and between H and P seven intermediate bastions. The alignment of the North River, at the bend which is shown on the map of 1755 to the westward of the Ekambreswarar Temple, was straightened. At the Bastion P the rampart turned sharply to the east, so as to embrace the site of the future General Hospital, and the wall was continued to a Bastion Q, and thence to a point S near the Pettah Bridge.<sup>1</sup> The section from Q to S was constructed, but subsequently demolished as interfering with the defence of Fort St. George. That portion is consequently not shown in the map of 1798:—

*Mr. John Call to Government.*

‘The Situation of the black Town, except on the North where there is a deep heavy sand, may be regarded as strong. . . . I therefore have confined myself, as nearly as was practicable, to the Old Hedge and Line, not only that I might derive all evident advantages from the River on the west Side, but that I might enclose as much space as possible. . . .

‘The Fortification which I propose consists of a Simple inclosure, composed of Bastions and Curtains varying in their Size and Length according to the nature of the Ground. The angles made by the Prolongation of the Curtains being very obtuse, and the West face being nearly a straight Line, the Bastions naturally become flat and very open in the Gorge. My Chief aim therefore has been to have good Flanks, and they are laid down all round from 50 to 70 feet Long. The Works D, E, F are already faced with Brick work on the Exterior line. . . . The Curtains between them are also raised in a Bank of Sand. The Works G, H, N and P are also formed in Earth, and indeed so is the greatest part of the line on the west Town from G to P. . . .<sup>2</sup>

‘To be as explicit as is necessary here without being too tedious, I will follow the line of the Plan from the Sea to the North West Angle, and so on to the West, speaking of each material object as I proceed.

‘The Work A, standing in a most important Situation and where an attack will always be most probable, I have projected it pretty large, and at such

<sup>1</sup> Formerly called Garden Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> Bastion G was on the north face. The west front extended from H to P.





a distance from the Sea that it will run no risque of being overthrown by a Storm. I have thought it necessary to close this work in the Gorge, and to make it a kind of Fortin or Garrison of itself. The Work *e*,<sup>1</sup> whose Foundation must be laid deep and strong, is erected chiefly to flank the North East face of A. From hence a Wall of Brick work and strong Palisadoes fixed therein must be carried as far as can be done into the Sea, to prevent an Enemy going along the beach, which often shifts the breadth of 50 feet. . . . The height of the rampart of A, and of all the Bastions round, is to be 14 feet above the Common run of the ground on which they stand, which will bring the exterior height of the Parapet to 17 ft. 6 in. The Curtain from A to B and all along the North front to H is to be 20 feet broad at the upper base from the inner to the exterior facing, and 15 feet only on the West line. . . . There is also another addition to the Curtains of the North Front, I mean a projection of 18 feet additional breadth on the interior side and forty feet length near the middle of each, that there may be room occasionally to make a parapet of 18 feet and open a Battery of two Guns.

'The works B and C have nothing in them worth remarking. Between C and D there is a considerable hollow thro' [which] a small Rivulet<sup>2</sup> enters the Town and falls into the River near the Fort. In the Monsoon time there runs a very great Torrent of Water thro' this part . . . , and there must be turned, under the Rampart of the Curtain, an Arch 10 feet wide, fortified with strong double red Wood Gates. . . .

'The Work D stands on a very Commanding spot, and is a Fortin or Redoubt of itself, closed at the Gorge, of which a particular Plan to serve in general as a Guide to forme the rest, is now exhibited. . . . The profile annexed . . . shews the Section of an Arch under the Curtain which is to serve as Barracks for the Troops to be posted therein, and will contain two or three Companies of Sepoys. . . .

'From D to F is a level of Sand, and has nothing worth noting. The gate *q*,<sup>3</sup> near F, being a principal passage out to Pulicate, and the work standing on a high spot, I have enlarged it within and closed the Gorge, so as to make it a post. . . . From F to G the Ground descends, and begins to change into a strong Clay. From G to H is low Ground, and a most excellent Wet Ditch may be made before the Curtain.

'The work H is at present form'd in Earth, has a good Hedge on the Berm,<sup>4</sup> and a Ditch before it. The Situation is very important because it commands all along the West front as far as Guns will reach, and also flanks a Considerable part of the north front. It forms a point on the North West Angle, and scours a very extensive Plain on both sides of the River, so that it may be regarded as a Bulwark on that Corner capable of supporting both fronts. . . .

'From H to L the works follow, as near as was Convenient, the Course of the River,<sup>5</sup> which is a great defence to them. . . . From L to M the line of the

1 It is doubtful whether this work was constructed. Clive Battery was, however, built on its intended site early in the nineteenth century.

2 Its course, now subterranean, is marked by the present Popham's Broadway. Originally the channel, after passing between the pettahs, skirted the west side of Old Black Town.

3 This gate was at the end of the present Mint Street.

4 *Berm*, the space between the foot of the rampart and the edge of the ditch.

5 The North River, now Cochrane's Canal.



Hedge at present runs in. . . . It would be best to continue the Rampart nearly in a straight Line from L to N and cut a direct Channel for the River. . . .<sup>1</sup>

'The Work N was form'd of Earth four or five Years since on a rising spot. . . . As it stands opposite to the Potters Village,<sup>2</sup> where there is a great Cover and high mounds of Earth, and that three principal passages into the black Town from the Westward lead by it, I think it is necessary to have a large and Substantial Work on that spot, which will command all parts of the River which are fordable, and contain a good number of Troops to support the whole Western Line, for which Cazerns are to be made under the Rampart of the Gorge.

'From N to P the Works run over good dry Ground, rising quick from the River to the Town ; but as there was a deep Tank at O, and the Distance to P rather too great, I thought it was necessary to have a Bastion there to flank N and avoid the Tank. The Arrack Distillery, which is marked between O and P, must actually be demolished, at least one half of it, but may be rebuilt within the Rampart.

'The Bastion P is at present form'd of Earth, and finishes the line on the West Front. In the space from thence to Q it is proposed hereafter to build an hospital running up the discent where the Company's Garden formerly stood, and I really cannot discover a more Commodious Situation in any respect. I therefore suppose it will be built there, and have formed my Plan accordingly, making a good Bastion at Q, and a flank at R on the spot at present called Hog Hill. From thence the line may be continued a little way towards the Bridge ; but as the Fort and River cover all that Front, I think a good strong red wood Palisadoe and Ditch sufficient from S to the Pettah Bridge, and the line from R need only be a parapet of 6½ feet high within. . . .

'The Sand or Earth taken out to fill the Bastions and Curtains will naturally form a Ditch. . . . The Ditch, as shewn in the Profile, is to be 50 feet wide. The Surplus Sand thrown up towards the field will form a Glacis where, by planting Caldera Bushes, Aloes, Thorns and wild Sugar Cane, which grows very well there, an Hedge may be made to support the Sand and keep the Ditch in good Order. . . .

'All the Works are to be faced within and without with Bricks laid in Chunam. The Exterior facing of the Battaries is to be 3 ft. 6 in. thick on the upper Base. . . . The Exterior facing of the Curtains to be 2 ft. 9 in. . . . There are to be Buttresses or Counterforts of different Dimensions, not exceeding 18 feet nor less than 15 feet from Centre to Centre. . . .

'To this I will add that, when the Bastions and Curtains are Compleated and mounted with Cannon, and guarded with 2,000 Sepoys, no Country Enemy, even with heavy Cannon, will be able to force it, and I think a Considerable resistance may be made against an European Enemy. . . .<sup>3</sup> (M.C., vol. xxxiii., 27th March, 1769.)

<sup>1</sup> The river here bent to the westward forming a curve concave to the town. The map of 1798 shows that a direct cut was actually made.

<sup>2</sup> Now the People's Park.

<sup>3</sup> The principal gates in the rampart, as shown in Hill's map of 1837-39, were the *Boatmen's Gate*, east of Bastion A ; the *Pully Gate*, west of Bastion B, at the end of Tumboo Chetty Street ; *Trivatore Gate*, between C and D, near the Monegar



Call estimated that the work might be finished by the end of 1770 at a cost of Pags. 150,000. Government approved the scheme as proposed. Tenders were called for, and Paul Benfield was the only applicant. He offered flat rates of Pags.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per cubic yard of brickwork, and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per cubic rod (64 cubic feet) of earthwork. With a slight modification these rates were accepted, and Benfield resigned his appointment as Engineer to become contractor. He began work in June, 1769, with great energy, and by October the north front was well advanced.<sup>1</sup> In the following March Montresor reported<sup>2</sup> great progress on the west front, and expected that the whole work would be nearly complete by the end of the year. Restrictive orders as to expenditure produced a pause in October, 1770, but the rampart was then nearly finished. The town gateways and the works outside the walls, not being part of the contract, were constructed by the Engineer. In May, 1772, the ditch was still unfinished, and little had been done to the intended glacis and covered way. The total expenditure to that time appears to have been about Pags. 164,000, some two-thirds of which was incurred under contract.<sup>3</sup> In October, 1772, the Council wrote as follows :—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘No progress has been made in compleating the Wall round the Black Town. We think it already in a State sufficiently secure to prevent any Insults from Country Enemies, and We shall shortly take into Our Consideration whether anything more shall be done to it than to carry the Work down to the Sea, instead of the Palisadoes which are at present placed there for the defence of that part of the Town.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 15th Oct., 1772.)

This great work involved the construction of three and a half miles of rampart. The western face was demolished about the middle of the nineteenth century, but portions of some of the bastions and curtains in the north front still remain to testify to the excellence of Benfield’s materials and workmanship.

Choultry; *Ennore Gate*, near F, at the exit of the present Mint Street; *Elephant Gate*, between K and L; *Chuckler’s Gate*, between M and N, at the exit of Rāsappa Chetty Street; and *Hospital Gate*, between O and P. There were besides wickets at several of the bastions.

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770.

<sup>2</sup> He mentions ‘St. Patrick’s and St. David’s bastions,’ which have not been identified. They were probably on the west side.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. cv., 5th July, 1771, and vol. cvii., 1st May, 1772.





## CHAPTER XLV

1763—1770

THE NAWAB'S PALACE—MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY—MRS.  
KINDERSLEY'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—  
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

## THE NAWAB'S PALACE.

THE security which the Fort bestowed on Muḥammad 'Alī at the time of the siege prompted him to establish a permanent residence for himself in Madras. Mr. Pigot offered ground within the Fort, and the Nawab, writing from Madura in 1764, asked that the building designed for him might be put in hand.<sup>1</sup> In the following year he wrote as follows :—

*The Nawab to Governor Palk.*

'I have been desirous this long time of building a large handsome House within the Fort of Madras, that whenever I come there, either on my own or the Company's Business, it may serve as a place of Residence for me ; and in case of an enemy's raising any disturbances in the Carnatick (which God forbid), as a place of safety for my family and dependants also ; for besides the Fort of Madras, in such times I know no Place of Security. I could wish therefore that it was made both large and lofty (such in short as is fit for me to reside in), and Arched below, so that no shells whatever may be able to penetrate it. Governor Pigot, when I came here once before, not only promised that one should be built according to my desire, but took me with him, and showed me the spot of ground pitched on for that purpose, when I, in His and some other of my Friends' Presence, laid the first Brick for the foundations thereof with great Pomp and State ; notwithstanding which, and the above Gentleman's repeating his promise to me on that head another time of my coming here also, nothing further even yet [has been done] towards building the same. I am convinced that this delay must have arose from good causes, perhaps to workmen, Coolies and materials not being to be procured, owing to the vast number employed in the speedy finishing the Fortifications ; the completing of which with all expedition I was extremely desirous of before out

<sup>1</sup> *M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xii., 11th Oct., 1764.





of Friendship to the Company ; but now that I propose having a House within them, and to keep the whole of my things there, I look upon it as the greatest consequence to me of anything. . . . Two favors tho, I have to request of the Governor in Council ; one that they will be so obliging as to appoint for the building my house on, half of the ground joined lately to the new Carpenters' Yard (on which there is no structure whatever) with a sunnud<sup>1</sup> for the same under their hands : the other, that they will order the Engineer to give a constant attention to the constructing of it.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiii., 20th May, 1765.)

Palk promised<sup>2</sup> that the Engineer should put the work in hand, 'that your Palace, when it is erected, may give Security to yourself, your Family and Effects in time of Need.' A grant for an area of upwards of 18,000 square yards was accordingly prepared. In 1766 the Nawab wrote again :—

#### *The Nawab to Governor Palk.*

'Last year, in the month of June, when I had the pleasure of paying you a visit, you was pleased, out of sincere friendship, to pitch upon a piece of ground in the Fort or white town of Madras in order to build a house on it on my account, and accordingly granted me a Sanad under the Companys seal to that purpose. When a foundation was laid, you were so good as to lay the first brick by your hand, and appoint Engineer Call upon that work. I, on my part, took care to furnish with Cooleys, bricklayers, Carpenters, Iron smiths, Brickmakers, Chinammakers, &c. people who were necessary, together with the materials required, both from Arcot and other places. . . .

'I now hear the said engineer will shortly return to Europe, which induces me to write this to desire you and the Gentlemen [of] Council to appoint Mr. Benfield, one of the Company's engineers, he being a person that drew out the plan of the house and presented it to me before, and likewise he has a good skill in beginning and finishing the works of buildings. I must also desire that you'll employ him upon no other business before the house is accomplished. In so doing, I hope that, by the blessing of God and your favor, the house will be finished according to my desire in the Fort or white town of Madras in a short Time, and the same will remain in the possession of myself and posterity for ever as a foundation or connection of my friendship with the English nation. What can I say more?' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiv., 21st March, 1766.)

Palk assented to the employment of Benfield. The Directors gave a qualified approval to the palace scheme :—

#### *The Company to Fort St. George.*

'The Nabob's earnest desire to build a Palace in the Fort for the reception of himself and Family in case of a reverse of Fortune implies a confidence in our future support. We wish to have such Ideas strengthened and encouraged,

<sup>1</sup> *Sunnud*, deed of grant ; from Hind. *sanad*.

<sup>2</sup> *M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiii., 29th May, 1765.



and upon that principle we approve of the grant you made him of a piece of Ground to build on. We hope, at the same time, you have well revolved in your minds all the consequences of such a step, and that, if you saw, or at any time hereafter shall perceive any inconveniences likely to arise, you did, or will whenever they occur take proper and timely measures to obviate them.' (P. from Eng., vol. lxx., 4th March, 1767.)

This despatch seems to have prevailed with the Council to withdraw their support, for the records make no further mention of the project. The original intention is, however, commemorated by the name of Palace Street, which is still borne by the principal thoroughfare of the new portion of the Fort, lying west of Choultry Gate Street and Charles Street.

The attention of the Nawab was then directed to Chepauk, and in 1767 he acquired a house or houses there which had been mortgaged to him by his brother Maḥfūẓ Khān.<sup>1</sup> In the following year the Nawab wrote :—

*The Nawab to Governor Palk.*

'By the Blessing of God I have lived in your Town from the 6th of September last till now in a very small House situated on the Sea Shore. . . . Near the House situated on the Sea Shore as above, on the north and east Faces, there is a little spot of Sandy Ground entirely vacant, having no House thereon. This spot I flatter myself you will be so good as to confer on me, and send me a Paper under the Company's seal for the same, which I shall esteem as an Obligation, and still more if you will order the Engineer to mark it out for me.' (M. Count. Cor., vol xvi., 18th Jan., 1768.)

No details of the erection of Chepauk Palace have been traced, but the edifice is depicted on an accurate French map, which fails to indicate Black Town Wall. Hence the structure was probably built in 1768. It consisted of two blocks, the southern called the *Kalsā Maḥal* of two floors, and the northern of one floor containing the *Humāyūn Maḥal* and *Dēwānkhāna*.<sup>2</sup> Lord Valentia,<sup>3</sup> who visited it in 1804, wrote of the Durbar Hall or *Dēwānkhāna* as follows :—

'The room the Nawab [Azīm-ud-daula] uses as a durbar is extremely handsome, of large dimensions and divided by pillars. It was never finished, and

<sup>1</sup> M. Count. Cor., vol. xv., 25th Sept., 1767, and M.C., vol. xxvii., 25th Sept., 1767.

<sup>2</sup> On the death of the last Nawab in 1855 the palace was acquired by Government, and converted some six years later into offices. The south block now forms part of the College of Engineering, while the northern was enlarged and allotted to the Board of Revenue. The central tower was added by the Government Architect, Mr. R. Chisholm.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages and Travels*, Valentia, 1809.



was not even chunamed, but only whitewashed. The building was planned by a British officer, and was intended to be two stories high. As his Highness is freed from the cares of Government by the kindness of the India Company, and as he is becoming very rich, he may probably finish it, in which case it will be the handsomest durbar I have seen in India.'

The architect is not known, but it is not improbable that it was Benfield, for whom Muḥammad 'Alī entertained a predilection.

In 1770 the Nawab acquired additional ground and built a wall round his property :—

#### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The President informs the Board that the Nabob having purchased from the Inhabitants a considerable piece of Ground adjoining to his house at Chepauk, intends enclosing the same with a Brick Wall, and for that purpose has expressed his desire to burn some Brickkilns on the Spot. . . . The Board foresee the inconveniences that must attend a Compliance with the Nabob's Desire, and it is very evident that a Work such as he proposes to undertake cannot be executed without great impediment to the Public Works of the Fort and Black Town. Nevertheless, desirous of avoiding to give the least umbrage to the Nabob, and of manifesting their good will towards him on every occasion, it is Agreed that his request be complied with.' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 4th May, 1770.)

The enclosure extended 1,130 yards southward from the Bar, and 500 yards along the river bank, enclosing an area of 117 acres. Part of the wall may still be seen along the east side of the garden of the Principal of the Engineering College.

#### MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY.

Among the plans and maps of Fort St. George and the town of Madras which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is a survey, without date, of the city and environs, entitled '*Madrass, Etablissement principal de la Compagnie des Indes d'angleterre à la côte de Coromandel.*' It depicts country extending from the Boundhedge on the north to Kistnampet near San Thomé on the south, and from the sea to Pursewaukum in the west. Though full of detail, it appears to be, as a survey, only moderately accurate, as witnessed by the shape of the Island and the relative positions of Egmore Redoubt, Vepery, and Pursewaukum. Extending as it does farther south than any earlier large-scale map, it forms a valuable addition to our knowledge of Madras topography, and



the drawing has accordingly been reproduced for this work.<sup>1</sup> The library catalogue attributes the survey to Captain Leveux of the French Engineers, and assigns 1770 as its date. Internal evidence, however, indicates that it had a somewhat earlier origin. The map shows the four old redoubts or choultries on the northern line of Black Town, but no trace of the new rampart. The choultries were doomed in 1765, but they may have survived until the rampart was undertaken in earnest in 1769. The Mint Bastion in the Fort, which was finished in 1764, is depicted in its later form; but the extension of the old North-East Bastion, which was completed in 1768, is not displayed. The survey must therefore have been made between 1764 and 1768. The two blocks of the Nawab's palace at Chepauk, however, are illustrated, and as these could hardly have been finished earlier than 1768, that year may be assigned to the map.<sup>2</sup>

Reference to the map will show that the North and Triplicane Rivers are named *Paliacatte* and *Comisperon*. The latter is the name 'Comanasserum,' which the map of 1798 assigns to a village, now called Komalisvarar Kovil, on the left bank, south of Chintadripetta. Over against it on the right bank is *Chaudri d'oudamy* which may perhaps be meant for Woodundy's Choultry. We have Pigot's authority, however, for attaching this name to the White Choultry, which is marked in its proper position at the junction of the roads leading from the Fort and Triplicane to the Mount. Old Teynampett village is shown as *Tenanpate*. Farther east, the San Thomé road and the villages of Chintadripetta, Chepauk, Triplicane, and Kistnampett are named, the last as *Quichenajatapet*. In the Black Town are shown Muthialpetta, the Pariah village, and the line of old redoubts. To the west we have Periamett with a brickfield close by, Egmore powder-mill, Elambore village and tank, Pursewaukum, Vepery,

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of the late Mons. G. Marcel, Conservator of the Library, who was so good as to obtain and supply a photographic negative of the map.

<sup>2</sup> Though no evidence has been found to connect Captain Leveux with Madras, there was a French resident of Fort St. George, in 1768, who possessed both ability and opportunity to make a survey, viz., 'Peter Sornay, Captain and Engineer in the French India Company's Service' (*Register of Leases*, No. 31, 7th Jan., 1767, and Nos. 35 and 36, 4th April, 1768). He was, in 1768, a free merchant of Madras, and received grants of ground in Hanover Square. He was, no doubt, identical with that 'M. Sornay,' the Engineer officer who demolished the southern half of Old Black Town during the French occupation of 1746-1749.

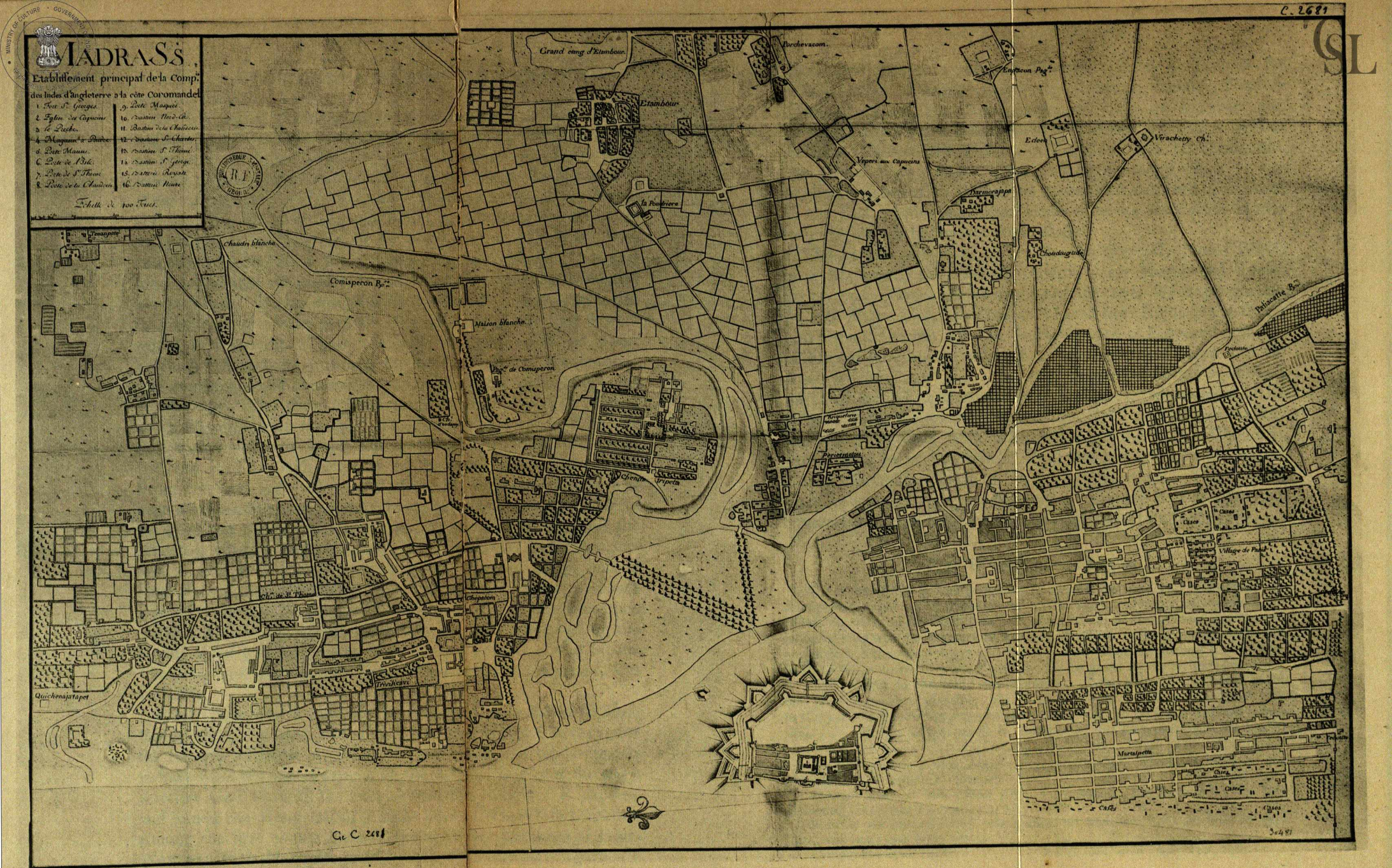


Virachetty's Choultry, and a few other names which have not been identified.

At this period the acquisition by Europeans of land to the south-west of the Fort for country houses and gardens was going on gradually. Present-day residents of Madras wonder that their mansions lie inland instead of on the shore, where the full benefit of the sea-breeze could be enjoyed. The explanation of the puzzle is to be found in the circumstance that the Company's servants of the eighteenth century longed for change of scene. They lived and toiled in the White Town, where they saw enough of sea and sand. Originally the country house was not a permanent residence for its owner. It was designed for week-ends and holidays, and its great feature was its garden. On the beach, fruit and flowers would not flourish. There the soil was sand, and the water brackish. A secondary reason for the selection of the interior was convenience of communication. Along the shore there was no highway. The thoroughfare from Triplicane to San Thomé was half a mile from the sea. The principal highways from the Fort were the Mount Road leading to Chingleput and the south, and the road through Egmore to Poonamallee and the west. From the very early days of Madras, St. Thomas's Mount had been a sanatorium and holiday resort, and the route thither from the Fort was a great thoroughfare. As the British acquired the suburban villages, Peddanaikpetta lost popularity, and Triplicane rose in favour as a residential quarter. Prior to the capture of Madras, a group of country mansions had arisen on the south side of Triplicane Bridge, and when the Company purchased one of them for the use of the Governor, the area traversed by the Mount Road was marked as the building ground of the future. That area was the Choultry Plain, where uncultivated ground was available.

From Triplicane a road to the westward, now called White's Road, joined the main thoroughfare at the White Choultry, and the triangle enclosed by Triplicane and these two roads appears to have been the site of several of the houses built after the siege. Another road towards the west skirted the village of Royapetta, and joined the Mount Road a little beyond the White Choultry. Among the first houses built in the triangle were those of James West and Peter Marriette in the year 1761. Marriette's garden is





**MADRAS**  
Etablissement principal de la Comp.  
des Indes d'Angleterre à la côte Coromandel

1. Rue St. Georges	9. Rue de la Marine
2. Rue de la Capucine	10. Rue de la Mer
3. Rue de la Pêche	11. Rue de la Charité
4. Rue de la Justice	12. Rue de la Santé
5. Rue de la Paix	13. Rue de la Miséricorde
6. Rue de la Vierge	14. Rue de la Pitié
7. Rue de la Charité	15. Rue de la Grâce
8. Rue de la Santé	16. Rue de la Miséricorde

Echelle de 100 Toises

MADRAS IN 1768.





often mentioned as a point of reference. It lay in 'front of the Village called Aurepet<sup>1</sup> facing the Common Road.' Captain Edmund Pascal, the Town Major, acquired an adjacent plot in 1764. Four years later Daniel and Moses De Castro applied for land 'between the Villages of Rajapetta and Trivatissapetta, the former laying South West and the latter North.' It was bounded westward by Marriette's garden and eastward by the road to the Luz. This description seems to locate Marriette's garden near the site of the present Amir Mahal.

The garden houses of Henry Brooke (formerly James West's near Royapetta) and George Dawson (near Royapetta) existed about 1764. George Stratton owned one near Mackay's garden. In 1766 Major Eley,<sup>2</sup> who had purchased the 'Ruins of the House and Ground<sup>3</sup> at the Spur to the Westward of Egmore,' obtained additional land to the west of it 'between the Garden and the Road by the Tank<sup>4</sup> side.' In 1767 Shawmier Sultan received a grant of ground at Marmalong or Saidapett, 'where most of his printed cloths are made.'<sup>5</sup> In 1768 and 1769 applications for land were received from John Whitehill (near the White Choultry), James West (near Marriette's), Paul Benfield (close to Mackay's), Edward Monckton (close to Mackay's), and others. The Government considered that the building of country houses promoted extravagance, and they treated the applicants to a homily:—

#### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

'The Board think it first necessary to remark that, as Luxury, Expence and Dissipation ought at all times to be discouraged, and more especially in the Junior Servants on this Establishment, there would be the greatest impropriety in complying with the request of Mr. Paul Benfield, a Writer on the List. His application is therefore rejected; and it is now made a Standing Rule that no Such Grant as desired by Mr. Benfield shall be given to any writer in future.

'With respect to the other applications . . ., the general Argument, which has been used very plausibly, Viz. That Cultivation and improvement tend to the publick Benefit, appears in the present Case to be liable to great exception. . . . In the Grants made to Europeans, the Improvements are chiefly

<sup>1</sup> *Aurepet*, from *aru*, a river, means village by the river. The word, however, may possibly be a corruption of Royapet.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps identical with 'John Elly,' a Sergeant in the Train, who was commissioned Lieutenant Fireworker in May, 1756.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the ground which was granted to Matthew Empson, jun., in 1740. (P.C., vol. lxx., 10th Nov., 1740.)

<sup>4</sup> The present Spur Tank.

<sup>5</sup> P.C., vol. xcvi., 23rd Feb., 1767.





ornamental, such as Buildings and Gardens of Pleasure, which tend to the Encouragement of Idleness, Expence and Dissipation, the Consequences of which, in a Colony constituted as this is, are but too obvious. At the same time, the Board are of Opinion that all should not be alike restrain'd from such Indulgence ; but it is the Difficulty of drawing a precise Line that should make us the more circumspect in granting them. Seven applications at once now before the Board for such Grants, compared with former times, indicate too great a Propensity to Profusion ; and tho' the means of supporting it in those who now apply may be abundant, it may tend to excite like Ideas in those who have not the like means, and therefore should be discouraged. But as the matter now stands, That Improvement is advantageous, and that every Man is the proper judge of his own Circumstances and Ability to bear the Expence ; upon these general Positions there would be no reason why, if twenty other Applications were to be made at our next meeting, We should not grant them also, and so on. The Board are therefore of Opinion, and it is accordingly Agreed, that this Subject be fully and clearly treated in our next advices to the Honble Court of Directors, that we may be guided in future by their Sentiments. . . . ' (P.C., vol. cii., 7th Sept., 1769.)

In the meantime the present applicants, Benfield excepted, were restricted to areas of 150 yards square, the leases being terminable in the year 1780.

#### MRS. KINDERSLEY'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

During Governor Palk's rule, Fort St. George was visited by a lady who, travelling to join her husband in Bengal, subsequently published an account of her journey.<sup>1</sup> Captain Nathaniel Kindersley, an officer on the Bengal establishment, married, during a visit to England, Miss Jemima Wicksted, known to her friends as 'Pulcherrima.' Circumstances compelled Captain Kindersley to return to India in advance of his wife, who was twenty-four years of age when she made the adventurous journey alone.<sup>2</sup> It was in June, 1765, that Mrs. Kindersley reached Madras, whence, after a short stay, she proceeded to Calcutta and Allahabad. She finally left India four years later. The Kindersleys' son, Nathaniel Edward, who joined as a Writer at Fort St. George in January, 1780, will be mentioned in the sequel.<sup>3</sup> From

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, etc.*, Mrs. Kindersley, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> *The Madras Weekly Mail* for the 12th December, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel Edward Kindersley was, in 1789, a member of the Board of Trade, and a Director of the Carnatic Bank. He was associated in business with Benjamin Torin, a civil servant of the same standing. His eldest son, Sir Richard Torin Kindersley, became eminent at the English Bar. His second son, Nathaniel, who





that time down to the present the civil service in the Southern Presidency has never lacked a representative of the Kindersley name and family.

Mrs. Kindersley thus records her impressions of Madras :—

*Mrs. Kindersley's Letter XIX.*

'*Madras or Fort St. George, June 1765.* It [Madras] is, without exception, the prettiest place I ever saw. Madras is built entirely by the English : it is strongly fortified, and the walls and works, as well as the barracks for the army, the storehouses, and every other public building are so calculated as to be both convenient and an addition to the beauty of the place.

'The town is laid out in streets and squares ; the houses neat and pretty, many of them large : in all the good houses the apartments are upstairs, and all on one floor : the rooms are large and very lofty : most of the houses are built with a *varendar*, which is a terrace on a level with the rooms in the front, and sometimes in the back part of the house, supported by pillars below, and a roof above supported likewise by pillars, with rails round to lean on. The *varendars* give a handsome appearance to the houses on the out-side, and are of great use, keeping out the sun by day, and in the evenings are cool and pleasant to sit in. But what gives the greatest elegance to the houses is a material peculiar to the place : it is a cement or plaster called *channam* made of the shells of a very large species of oysters found on this coast : these shells when burnt, pounded and mixed with water, form the strongest cement imaginable : if it is to be used as a plaster, they mix it with whites of eggs, milk, and some other ingredients : when dry, it is as hard, and very near as beautiful as marble : the rooms, stair-cases &c. are covered with it.

'A short distance from the town is a small elegant house and garden where the Nabób of Arcót sometimes resides :<sup>1</sup> the heat of the climate admits of an open, airy stile of building which is pleasing to the eye ; a roof supported with pillars is more elegant than a wall with windows and doors : besides, the rooms being unencumbered with chimnies makes it more easy to lay them out in uniformity. . . .

'A little without the walls of Madras is the black town, where are shops of all sorts, and where all the menial servants belonging to the English reside ; for they are such strict observers of their religion . . . that they will neither eat nor drink, and are even unwilling to sleep, in their masters' houses. . . .

'The English boast much of a delightful mount about ten miles distant, where the Governor and others have garden houses which, they say, are both cool and elegant. But let not what I have said lead you to suppose that any thing here is equal to the noble edifices in England ; I only mean that there is a neatness and a uniform simplicity throughout the whole of this town which cannot fail of being universally pleasing.

'The mode of living, from the religion of their servants, the heat of the climate and other circumstances, is so extraordinary that I can scarcely

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retired from Madras in 1843, is remembered as sometime Collector of Tanjore ; and the latter's son, John Robert, was a Judge of the Madras High Court before he left India in 1884.

<sup>1</sup> Mahfūz Khān's house ; the Chepauk palace was as yet unbuild.





believe myself among English people. I am not at present qualified to give you a particular account of it: therefore I shall only say that they are expensive in horses, carriages, palanquins and number of servants; are fond of entertainments, dress and pleasure; sociable with each other; hospitable and civil to strangers. . . .

'The heat here is excessive, but the climate, for India, is esteemed healthy, and people frequently come here for the recovery of their health from Bengal; for the soil is dry, and the benefit of the sea breeze, which constantly blows from between twelve and one at noon till the same time at night, is a great advantage. . . .

'I am detained here by the tremendous surf, which for these two days has been mountains high: and it is extraordinary that on this coast, even with very little wind, the surf is often so high that no boat dares venture through it: indeed it is always high enough to be frightful.'

### MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By the treaty of Paris of 1763, the Nawab of the Carnatic was recognized as an independent prince. In 1765, the Mogul conferred on him the title of 'Wālājāh.' He was styled 'Excellency,' and became an object of attention not only from the local government, but from the Directors and the King:—

#### *Consultation in Fort St. George.*

'Arrived this day the Nabob, and having retired to the Garden House, The Board assembled and proceeded thither with the Letter and Present of a Chinese Temple<sup>1</sup> from the Honble Company, which were presented to him under a Discharge of Cannon, and which he was pleased to receive in a most generous Manner, expressing in the strongest Terms the Sense he had of this Mark of the Company's Friendship, and his sincere Desire to do everything in his Power for promoting their Trade and Interest.' (M.C., vol. xxiii., 2nd Aug., 1765.)

#### *The Company to Fort St. George.*

'We have, agreeable to your Recommendation, caused a very elegant Coach to be built, intending it to be a present to the Nabob; and it shall be sent to You by one of the Ships of this Season. It should be presented to him in the Company's Name, at the same time with Our beforementioned Letter, in as Publick a manner as possible; and if by adding Horses You are of opinion the Ceremony of the present would be rendered more pompous and agreeable, You may purchase Six for that purpose, if they are to be procured at the time You receive the Coach: if not, presenting the Coach itself will be sufficient. The Orrery, Globes, &c., shall be sent on some future occasion,<sup>2</sup> as We

<sup>1</sup> A Temple of exquisite Workmanship, enriched with Diamonds. . . . General Caillaud . . . will be able to explain the Construction and use of the several Parts.' (M. Count. Cor., vol. xiii., 20th June, 1765.)

<sup>2</sup> An orrery was sent out in 1771. (M. from Eng., vol. vi., 10th April, 1771.)



think Presents, tho of no great Value, frequently repeated may have a better effect than to send them all at once.' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 24th Dec., 1765.)

The King and Queen sent autograph letters,<sup>1</sup> their portraits, and a lion. These gifts arrived in the *Ponsborne* in August, 1768. The Nawab was absent with the army, and the Field Deputies<sup>2</sup> were desired to learn his pleasure :—

*The Field Deputies to the President and Council.*

'Having acquainted the Nabob that their Majesty's had been most graciously pleased to write him Letters, and send him a present of a Lyon and their Pictures, . . . he replied that he entertained the highest Sense of the particular Honor done him by their Majesty's. . . . That, as he apprehended the sending the Lyon from Madras would be inconvenient, he desired it might for the present remain there: that the Pictures, if they were small and easy to be conveyed, should be sent with the Letters to Vellour, there to be lodged till he should desire and We should find a proper Opportunity to send for and deliver them in such a Manner and with such Ceremony and Distinctions of that kind merited, and as would do him most Honor in the Eyes of the Country People.' (*M.C.*, vol. xxx., 30th Aug., 1768.)

The letters and presents were ceremoniously delivered to the Nawab at the Garden House in the following January. In due course Muḥammad 'Alī sent his own portrait in return :—

*Nawab Walajah to King George III.*

'My inability to obtain the Satisfaction of seeing Your Majesty's Royall Person, which I so much desire, is the Reason that I have Your Majesty's happy Picture Night and Day before me, endeavouring to console myself therewith by imagining that I have thereby the Honor of being ever in Your Majesty's Presence. I was desirous of Attending in Person on Your Majesty to return my grateful Thanks for the Favor of Your Majesty's Picture and the Lion . . . ; but as this Happiness, on Account of some Impediments, cannot be obtained . . . , I have sent to Your Majesty the Picture of Myself and Children, together with a few Cloths and some Ottur,<sup>3</sup> agreeable to a separte List, flattering myself that the Cloths may have the Honor of serving for Handkerchiefs for Her Majesty, and humbly hoping that the Picture may have that of being affixed in Your Majesty's Royal Sight; trusting moreover that after this Manner I shall ever be honored by Your Majesty's Remembrance, favour and Regard.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xviii., cir. Feb., 1770.)

<sup>1</sup> The original letters are preserved in the office of the Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends, Madras.

<sup>2</sup> The Field Deputies, appointed to control the officer commanding the troops, were at that time Joseph Smith, John Call, and George Mackay. The last had returned to India in 1766 as Assaymaster and junior member of Council.

<sup>3</sup> *Ottur*, oil of roses; from Ar. *ʿitr*, perfume.





The large portraits of Walajah by George Willison<sup>1</sup> which are now preserved at Hampton Court and the India Office are probably those alluded to in the following letter :—

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

‘On the 4th Instant . . . The Nabob sent a Message to the President, desiring that his Picture might be forwarded to you in order to be presented to His Majesty. As Capt. Rice was unable to receive it in the Dutton, We have directed it to be put on board the Seahorse. . . .

‘The Nabob has this moment sent another Picture, which is intended for your Honors. It is forwarded by the Seahorse, but no Letter came from the Nabob to accompany it.’ (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii, 15th Feb., 1775.)

The Governor and Members of Council were also the recipients of gifts from the Nawab. The following extract relates to the period of Du Pré’s administration :—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

(*P.C.*, vol. civ., 25th May, 1770.)

‘The President and Council, accompanied by General Smith, the Secretaries of each Department,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Stracey<sup>3</sup> the Persian Translator, having proceeded . . . to the Nabob’s House at Chippaulk in order to deliver to him the Letter from the Honble Court which was brought by the Houghton, were received by him with much Pomp and Ceremony ; and, after the delivery of the Letter, were entertained with an elegant Breakfast provided by his Excellency upon the Occasion ; and on taking leave were each of them presented with a Paper containing the Words, “a Ring.” They then returned, and, shortly after their Arrival at the Fort, a Messenger from the Nabob to the President intimated that his Excellency, having no Rings by him, requested that the following Sums might be accepted in lieu thereof, and which were accordingly received, Vizt—

By the President	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000 Pagodas
„ Mr. Hastings <sup>4</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,500 „
„ General Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,500 „
„ the rest of the Council, each	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000 „
„ the two Secretaries and Mr. Stracey, each	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000 Rupees.’

A severe cyclone struck Madras on the 30th October, 1768. Many of the native inhabitants lost their lives, and cattle perished in great numbers. The buildings in both the White and Black

<sup>1</sup> Willison arrived at Madras in 1774 without a permit. He is named in the List of European residents of 1778 as then living in the Fort.

<sup>2</sup> There were two Secretaries, one for the Public, the other for the Military Department.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Stracey married ‘Mrs. Elizabeth Williamson’ in 1766.

<sup>4</sup> Warren Hastings.





Towns sustained grievous damage ; the Fort flagstaff was carried away, the Egmore powder-mill unroofed, the sepoy sheds round the bound-hedge ruined, and ' every convenience for the Sick in Hospital is totally destroyed.'<sup>1</sup>

Reference is made in 1764 to an alteration which had lately been effected in the course of the river at Chintadripetta, whereby that village was rendered convenient for washing the Company's cloth. The Engineer was accordingly instructed to erect a Washing Choultry there. The Washing and Bleaching choultries north of Black Town near the bound-hedge were rebuilt at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

Extensive additions had been made to the Company's Garden at Chepauk. The Committee of Works reported in 1765 on the different claims, aggregating about Pags. 3,000. One of the plots had been bought originally by Nicholas Morse from Francis Barnevall: the others were all acquired from natives.<sup>3</sup> In 1770 further ground and buildings ' inhabited by Potmakers and other Rabble ' were absorbed.<sup>4</sup>

On the representation of the Vestry, the steeple of St. Mary's Church, which had been damaged during the siege, was repaired in 1767 at the Company's charge :—

#### *Fort St. George Consultation.*

' As the Steeple was considerably damaged in the Siege by the Enemy's Shot and Shell, so much indeed that the Top is now in Danger of falling ; and as the Church, which was also damaged, has been repair'd at the Expende of the Church Fund, which can very ill afford it ; and as the greatest Expende in repairing the Steeple will be the Scaffold, which the Engineer acquaints the Board may be furnish'd from the Company's Stores and return'd after Use ; It is Agreed that the Engineer be order'd to erect the Scaffolding, and make such Repairs as are necessary at the Company's Expende.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcvi., 2nd March, 1767.)

The gaol under the old Court House in St. Thomas Street still remained in use, but in September, 1769, the Grand Jury represented it to be so much out of repair as to be ' very insecure for Criminals as well as Debtors.' The White Town being considered an unsuitable locality for a gaol, attention was turned to Black

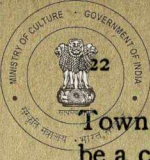
<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. c., 31st Oct., 1768, and vol. ci., 19th Jan., 1769.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xciv., 3rd and 24th Jan., 1764.

<sup>3</sup> *P.C.*, vol. xcvi., 5th Aug., 1765.

<sup>4</sup> *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 25th June, 1770.





Town Wall, and Call advised that the Armenian Redoubt would be a convenient work to adapt 'by reason of its Proximity to the Water, the Healthiness of its Situation, and the good Communications to it.'<sup>1</sup>

The ground remaining available in White Town extension was sold by auction under the following conditions:—

*Fort St. George Consultation.*

'That whosoever purchases the said ground shall regulate the exterior Line of his Building by the Form and height already prescribed, and shall erect no other building thereon than terras'd dwelling Houses that shall occasionally admit of upper rooms.

'That no person shall purchase, or sell after purchasing, any spot of ground without the consent of the President and Council.

'That any spot of Ground so purchased, and whatever building may be erected thereon, shall be resumed for the Company's use whenever Necessity may require, the Company paying a Valuation as it shall be appraised by indifferent persons chosen by both parties.

'That the sale shall only be made on the terms of long lease for 99 years, after the expiration of which the Ground, with all the Buildings thereon, to revert to the Company, on the condition that the whole be redeemable during another the like term for a fine of 100 Pagodas.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

*Fort St. George to the Company.*

'Many Persons having made Application for the Pieces of Ground which remained within the Fort unbuilt upon, We determined to sell them by Public Outcry, judging that to be the best Method not only of ascertaining their real value, but intending thereby to come to a determination regarding the Prices of the Pieces which had been before allotted. Having accordingly settled the Conditions, they were put up the 27th January, and sold far beyond our Expectations. This done, We considered at what Price We should charge those Spots which had been built upon in the year 1761. We had given it as our Opinion . . . that 60 Gentoo Feet for 2½ Pagodas was a reasonable Price, but, at the request of the Proprietors, referred to your Honors determination. By your Commands of last Season, this Affair was again left entirely to Us, and tho We had judged it more for your Interest to put up the Waste Ground at Public Outcry, We saw no Reason for altering our former Opinion respecting the Parcels before built upon, and We determined therefore to charge them accordingly at the Rate of 60 Gentoo Feet for 2½ Pagodas. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxv., 11th May, 1768.)

Those private letters of George Mackay which are preserved among the Orme manuscripts afford a few social details among

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770. The three bastions, designated A, D, and F in Call's letter of the 27th March, 1769, were built as redoubts—i.e., closed at the gorge. The Armenian Redoubt was probably F, which was near the Seven Wells and the principal road to the north.





the items of news conveyed. Mackay possessed a wide knowledge of Madras affairs. Resident as a free merchant from 1738, he married Sarah,<sup>1</sup> daughter of John Stratton and sister of George Stratton, men who both played a part in the history of the settlement. The lady appears to have had leanings towards extravagance in expenditure. Prior to the siege of Madras, Mackay acquired land on the Mount Road some two miles and a half from the Fort, and became one of the earliest proprietors of a garden-house in that locality. His town house was in St. Thomas Street. In 1761 he went to England, and five years later returned to Fort St. George in the Company's service as Assaymaster and perpetual junior member of Council. His bar to promotion was a constant grievance to him. He held, however, a lucrative appointment as Contractor to the Army, and he was for some time one of the Field Deputies. The part he took in the revolution of 1776 will be described later.

*George Mackay to Robert Orme.*

'5th Jan. 1767. We arrived here, all in good health, the beginning of August after a tolerable good passage. We pass our time here as usual with great sameness and great ease. Our little Boy is very well, runs about, and begins to talk a little. Miss Carter is much admired. The Men can find but one fault in her, and that is not her fault. Matrimony not near so much in vogue as formerly. You may remember that I often told you I was afraid Dick Smith's<sup>2</sup> temper and manners would not suit with Lord Clive, and it has so happened. They quarrelled in the passage out, and have not been friends since. . . .

'28th April 1768. My family are all well. Miss Carter has been lately Married to a Captain in the Army, a very good Young Man.<sup>3</sup> My little Boy is in fine health and spirits. My Trip to India will add very little to his fortune. . . .

'4th June 1769. This Letter . . . you will receive by your friend Mrs. Mackay who goes home in the Thames with our little Boy, with whom I part with much reluctance, but his good renders it necessary he should go. I know you will scarcely believe me when I tell you that one of my reasons for consenting to let Mrs. Mackay go home with the Boy is to save Money. The expence of living here in the manner I have hitherto done, and cannot well avoid doing in future whilst I have a family, is enormous. I have therefore resolved, after Mrs. Mackay is gone, to live entirely at my Gardens, except when business obliges me to be in Town of a Morning, and of course put an end to all Routs and Entertainments. I have put Limits to her Expences in England, beyond

<sup>1</sup> *Bill of Sale*, No. 16, 1st Sept., 1758. The marriage took place in 1756.

<sup>2</sup> General Richard Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Marian Carter became the wife of Captain Michael Gee in March, 1768.





which she is on no account whatever to go ; and if she cannot contrive to live on her allowance in London, she must retire into some part of the Country that is Cheaper. . . .

'27th Sept. 1770. Mrs. Mackay wrote me that you had been two or three times to see her, and mentions as a wonder your taking Notice of Alleck : the Boy, before he went from hence, promised to have a Mild Sweet Disposition, and I am happy to find it is so. Mrs. Mackay must find a sensible difference between her present Situation and what it was when She was in England before and had Money at command ; but this is the time to grow Wise, and indeed I am not without hopes but she will become so. It has ever been a part of my Creed that there is more Joy in Heaven &c. ; you know the rest. . . .

25th February 1772. We are anxious to know who is to be Mr. Du Pré's Successor. Call and Carter are both talked of here. . . . Rumbold's coming abroad again astonishes me. When will the foolish vanity of Mankind Stop ? Mrs. Mackay writes me that she is perfectly well contented with a Country life. I am glad to find her so prudent. I am grown much more so myself than I was before, and if this last trip to India will not increase my fortune much, it will render a large fortune less necessary for me. . . . Your most affectionate and obedient humble Servant, GEO. MACKAY.' (Orme MSS., vol. xxx.)

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