CHAPTER – I

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN

While the official settlement was designated Fort St. George, the English applied the name Madraspatam to the combined town. The name Fort St. George, given to the separate region occupied by the English fort seems to have existed since the very beginning. It finds mention in the records dated 17th July 1642. In all probability the Inner Fort wall was finished on St. George’s Day¹ that is 23rd April 1640 hence the name Fort St. George. Later Love studied the documents and inferred - first, that the site of Chinnapatam was that of modern Fort St. George., Second, the village of Madraspatam lay north of and in close proximity to Chinnapatam. Third, the space between Chinnapatam and Madraspatam was rapidly bridged by new settlements making the two places one. Fourth, the English preferred the name Madraspatam to the combined towns while the Indians preferred the name Chinnapatam.² These presumptions of Love seem appropriate about the origin of the name.

A very graphic detail can be gathered from the accounts of the contemporary travellers: Daniel Havart visited Madras between 1670 and 1678 wrote. “Having passed the Mount, one arrives at the town of Madraspatam which is very strongly built like a castle in the European

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¹ St. George was the patron saint in England. C.S. Srinivasachari, History of City of Madras, Madras, 1939, p.42.
manner, and provided with the bastions. Inside, there is a little Fort, also with four bastions built of ironstone, but without a moat. Within dwells the English governor and certain English of note. The remaining English live outside or in the city; the castle called St. George.”

Dominic Navarette, a Spanish priest visited Madras around 1670, informs that Fort St. George was ‘a noble fort.’ Along with the other aspects he emphasized on the convenience of procuring cloth from there. John Fryer visited Madras in 1673. His elaborate descriptions of Madras give a comprehensive account of the strength of the Fort, the bastions and fortifications, housing, and the Indian settlement.

Early Maps of the towns such as the one by Thomas Pitt, when he was the governor in Council at Madras, and that of F.L. Conradi, “Madraspatam” drawn in 1755 clearly reveals the physical features of Madras.

The core area of the city was the ‘Christian Town’ also referred to as the ‘White Town’ in which resided the Company officials, English private traders, many European settlers and a large number of Indo-Portuguese elements who were the permanent inhabitants of Madras. The White Town was primarily and exclusively the habitation area of the Europeans.

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3 Daniel Havart, Op-en-Ondergang Van Cormandel, 1693. in Love, I p.2 72-73
5 Dr John Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia, 1698.
presence of Portuguese and other Europeans emphasized a planned process of assimilation—'pulling together all who shared colour and race.'

Referring to the 'White Zones' in colonial cities of South-east Asia, Mcgee is of the impression that: 'It was however, the Europeans despite their small proportion of the total city population who were the most clearly defined social groups at the top of the social scale. The colonial city may not have been run for the convenience of Europeans. The European residents of the colonial city, clearly demarcated by the colour of their skin, their superior position in the social hierarchy and their responsibility as colonial rulers lived in an encapsulated communities segregated from the major part of the city’s population. The European community of the colonial city was as close knit and tight as any Asian village’. The later day colonial cities with 'the spacious residences of the European community, the clubs, the golf courses and race courses remain a permanent post of the morphology of the contemporary cities.'

Thomas Pitt’s map of 1710 gives the plan of the Fort: Four battlement curtainwalls were disposed in a square whose sides were about 60 yards in length. At the angles were four large bastions, also battlements, the salient points of which were about 100 yards apart. The Western curtain was pierced by the Fort gate, and there was a smaller opening in the east curtain giving access to the factory or Fort House. This building in the map is a flat
roofed structure facing the sea, which seems to have been replaced, according to Fryer’s description of 1673 by a domed edifice which was built diagonally to the square of the fort, so that its walls directly faced the gorges of the bastions, with the object probably of defending them. The centre of the fort was distant some 190 yards from the sea on the east, and 110 from the river on the west. The whole establishment, civil and military lived within the fort, the former in the factory-house; the latter under the curtain-walls outside where were the houses of the European town and the Capuchin church of St. Andrew. In the later years the town was enclosed by four walls forming an irregular quadrilateral with bastions at the angular points. The original or Inner Fort which thus become the citadel survived until 1714, when it was rebuilt as the Fort square.8

The White Zone was created with a distinctive purpose of assimilation of all Europeans in one area obviously for security purpose. Marriage with the local native population was discouraged and to avoid this the Company got English spinsters who had “neither relations nor recommendations to any person in this place but say they knew noe other wayes but that they were sent out by the Honourable Company and therefore have made their requests for subsistence upon their accompt.”9 It is difficult however to judge the success of this plan because in 1680, there is a record of three unmarried women viz. Catherine Barker, Mary Gainsford and Mary Milton among a list of freeman residing in the White Town. Even the

8 Fryers Account in Love I, pp. 281-282.
9 D and C., 1688, p. 118.
soldiers in the garrison were discouraged from marrying the native girls but were allowed to marry the native Portuguese women.

Even among the European residents the English practiced double standards and had a segregationist and separatist overtones. The rules to be observed in the Customhouse differed for English vis-a-vis the other foreigners. According to the record “That all English as well as the Rt Honble Company Servants, as freemen, do duly pay four percent upon the values of all goods, imported and exported by sea (Jewells and Treasurers excepted) & that all such goods having once paid the customs are free to bee sent up to the country or exported......”10 The same record has a different tone for the other Europeans in the Fort St. George, “That all French, Dutch, Portuguese and all other foreigners and natives do pay Six Cent upon the true value of all goods imported and exported.....as also the usual small duty to the Pedda Nague and Town Conicopoly......”11

The residents of the White Town comprised of the English Company personnel and Freemen which included English, Portuguese, Jews, French etc. In 1670, it was under William Langhorn that the ‘Consultations’ were compiled which gives us exact ideas about the residents of the White Zone. There were around 24 English servants of the Company other than the apprentices. The first member of the Council was the Honourable Agent and the Governor, who received a salary of £300 a year. He was frowned by the ‘Bookkeeper’ who maintained establishment accounts such as salaries and

10 D&C, 8th March 1688, p.44
11 Ibid.
general commercial expenses and received a salary of £100 a year. Third in the Council was the 'Warehousekeeper' at a salary of £70. Fourth member was the 'customer' who was the chief buyer of native merchandise and receivers of rents and customs for the Company's town of Madras. He received a salary of £50 a year. The members in the Council were denominated as 'Merchants and Senior Merchants'. They were followed by the 'Writers' and 'Apprentices'. After serving for a period of seven years 'Apprentices' rose to the rank of 'Writer'. One more year of service and the 'Writer' was promoted to the post of 'Factor' and thereafter became 'Merchant' and so on rose in the Council.

Along with this the record also gives a list of Freemen which was increasing. In 1679-80 there where 11 Freemen, most of them married, residing in the White Town which increased to 30 in 1687. This list included six Jews. Four of them namely Bartholome Rodrigues, Domingo de Porto, Alwaro de Fonseca and James de Paiva came in 1683, attracted by the diamond mines of Golconda and obtained a permission to reside in Madras. The Company in 1684 observed: "we writt you last year to permit the Jews to reside at the fort...; but nothing of any value shall go consigned by our ships to any of them or other free merchants, but to our Agent or some of our Council, which we hope may prevent their spoyling our diamond trade; our resolutions being to continue our endeavours to make your place the
most for that commodity.” 12 In 1687, two more Jews, Issac do Porto and Francis Marques came to be added to the list.

Another very large segment of the White Town were the European soldiers who increased in number with time but never more than 200 at any point of time. During the reign of Charles II (1680-85) there was a dramatic escalation in the amount of trade from Madras and hence an increase in the garrison which was still consisted of two companies of 80 to 100 soldiers each. Then there were the women of ‘White Town’ mostly wives of European in the Service of the Company, widows and unmarried single women. Other important inhabitant was the ‘Chaplain’ - the religious official with a salary of £100 year. Then there was the ‘Schoolmaster’ who got £50 per annum and was there to educate the children of English parents.

All the inhabitants of the White Town were supposed to pay a rent for building, repairing defending and maintaining the Garrison and the city. The order for paying the rent reads “... the said Rt Honourable Company have therefore ordered and appointed us all their inhabitants to pay a reasonable yearly Quitt Rent for the ground of their houses towards better fortifying and accommodation of the Towne...” 13 In 1688 Mr. John Pitt and Mr. Zouch Troughton were appointed the collectors of the said Quit Rent. Rent of the Dwelling Houses in each street combined stood at 124:9 Pagodas. 14

12 Pringle D&C., 1684, pp. X-XI
13 D&C, 16th Dec, 1680, pp.84-85.
The White Town was completely European in its outlook under a close control of the Company over it while that of Black Town was left to the caste leaders and influential local merchants.

Table 1.1: Population of Madras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Authority</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>Rough estimate deduced from comparison of revenue in 1639 and 1648.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>Deduced from figures of 1648 by deduction of reported deaths during famine of 1647.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>The company (Court Book, vol. xxii, 21st August, 1649).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Captain Thomas Bowrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>Exclusive of Europeans, Dr. John Fryer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1674</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Sir William Langhorn (O.C. No. 3992, 20th August 1674).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>The company (Letter Book, vol. ix, 22nd January, 169½)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>The company (Letter Book, vol. ix, 22nd January 169½)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The population figure compiled by H.D. Love are valid in the initial phase, however they appear inflated and erroneous in the later. He informs us that the last three figures include women and children, indicated by the fact that from 1674 to 1681, the population quadruples. Also, the figures represent both the Europeans and the Indians. The gap between the figures of 1670 by Bowrey (Europeans and Indians) and 1673 by Fryer which excludes the Europeans, suggests the presence of approximately 7,000 Europeans in Madras (discounting the increase if any, in these three years).
After taking charge as the governor Streynsham Master formulated certain rules for the Council and regulated the functions of its members. He made it mandatory for the Council to convene its meeting on Monday and Thursday at 8 a.m. The Second, Third and Fourth of Council were assigned the offices of Book-keeper, Warehouse-keeper and Choultry Justice and Customer respectively. The Fourth of Council, in the capacity of the Customer collected the sea and land customs, and the other rents and revenues except that of the mint. The land customs included toll on grain, to be collected in kind as the Paddy Banksall as well as the Company’s share of the weighing duty and the fees for registering the sale of houses and slaves. The Paymasters and Mintmaster continued with their jobs at the Justice of the Choultry. The Paymasters or Purser-General was in charge of all stores, controlled the expenditure on building and repairs and managed the estates of deceased persons. The post of Mintmaster had been vacant for seven years. Mr. Joseph Hynmers was given additional charge of Mintmaster in all these years.15

Through a letter dated 7th December 1669 the salaries of the Second, Third and Fourth in Council were fixed at £ 100, £ 70 and £ 50 respectively.16 The salaries of the factors and the writers were fixed at £ 20 and £ 10. Earlier during Langhorn’s time the English servants had complained about the salary being inadequate, owing to expensive accommodation in the White Town and the increasing cost of provision. The

15 Love, I, p. 452.
16 D & C, 28th March 1677/8, pp. 64-65.
Council resolved to increase the allowance, "pagodas ten per mensem each for Dyett, and pagodas four mensem House rent (for the Second and Third in Council); the rest of the Council pagodas eight each for Dyett, and pagodas three each for House Rent, the Surgeons and married Factors pagodas four for Dyett and pagodas two for house rent; and washing, water and Barber to be allowed the Honourable Companys servants below, as well as in the Councell..."¹⁷ Along with the revision in the salary of the Company servants a year later, the civilians also got privileges like free table and sundry allowance.¹⁸

For the English residents it wasn’t easy to acquire a post in the Council. They had to submit bonds or security deposits not only for their recruitment but also for promotion. The Consultation cites, three such cases of Elihu Yale, Francis Ellis and Vincent Sayon who paid £ 2000 each for their elevation from the post of Writer to Factor. The bond which Yale submitted to the Company appears in the Consultation as follows, "Elihu Yale signed new Bonds for the degree of factor in 2000 £ dated the 23rd June 1677, and proposed for his security to the Honourable Company as followeth: his father, Mr. David Yale, Merchant, at his house place Grono

¹⁷ D&C, 11th February 1675/6, p. 108.
¹⁸ One such allowance was the permission to senior members to keep their horses at the Company’s cost. The Consultation of 7th February 1675/6 noted “whereas it hath been a custom to allow the chief officers and factors the keeping of Horses (bought with their own money) at the Company’s charge, for which there is allowed a Horsekeeper, Grass cutter, and paddy (gram) in all fanams fifty per mensem for each Horse, it is thought fit, for the credit and security of the place, to continue the same custom, provided that all Horses belonging to such persons be of 30 pagodas value and upward, and to be kept within the walls of the Christian town".
near Denbeighshire, his brother Mr. John Hill, Merchant, at his house, on Tower Hill, and Captain Hopefor Bendall in Wapping, London”.

The indulgence of the Company servants in private trade in general is indicative of the fact that there was an obvious discontent among them against Company’s payment. The Company after all its efforts to ban private trade gave up and allowed its factors to trade on the coast provided its monopolies were respected. The extent to which the factors adhered to it is questionable. (this has been taken up in the section on Private Trade in chapter 6).

The White Town comprised of civilian residents and the soldiery. William Langhorn in the early 70s came up with orders for “prevention of disorders for the preservation of the Honourable Company’s servants and soldiers of the Garrison from distempers and disease frequently caused thereby, and by the unwholesome liquor called Parrier arrack.” The local manufacturers of arracks were prohibited from selling liquor to Company servants. The entertainment houses were to shut down after the ringing of a bell at eight. A defiance of these orders would lead to the closure of entertainment houses. The Company’s intention behind this was not only to maintain law and order in town but also to control the expenses and impose frugality among its servants. It was to this effect that it was ordered that “no

19 D&C, 6th April 1678, p.66.
20 D&C, 21st February 1672, p. 131.
victualler, Punch-house or other house of entertainment, shall be permitted
to make stoppage at the pay day of their wages..."21

Around September 1678 the governor Streynsham Master ordered the
licensing of the taverns. The English and the Portuguese keepers of taverns
and punch and arrack house were summoned by the Councils. The proposals
were laid which was approved by the majority except that “some of the
poorer sort liked it not soe well”.22 The proposal was in the form of articles –
first of these was the declaration by the licensee of his house being public
house of entertainment which would shut down at nine o’clock every night,
no unlawful game like dice and card to be played, disorder due to
drunkenness to be avoided and at its occurrence to be reported to the
Choultry. The presence of rogues, vagabonds and the sale of stolen objects
were banned. Accommodation, provision of diet and liquor to be taken care
of for guests and lastly the varieties of liquor to be sold in and their
respective prices were also mentioned.23 The Council passed the orders,
which provided for putting up the right to issue license at an annual auction,
the issue of such licenses, the fixing of prices for the sale of liquors, rules for
the proper conduct of the places where they were sold, the issuance of
security by license for their observation, and the penalties to be imposed on
offenders by the Choultry Justice were also included in the articles.24 The
license was to be issued when provided with sufficient sureties and

21 ibid.
22 D&C, 28th August 1678, p. 106.
24 ibid.
guarantees of observing the rules for another year till the 25th September 1679. The Consultations of 11th September inform that the farm for the license for sale of wine and liquors was auctioned for 205 Pagodas to John Barker at the Court of Judicature.25

Around this time the officers of the garrison petitioned for the grant of commissions, relative rank, and increase in their salary. The Council agreed to their requests and granted them commissions, as was done in the case of the garrison at Bombay. It was also decided that their respective precedence with the Company's civil servants should be settled. The Captains were placed at par with the senior merchants, lieutenants with merchants, ensigns with factors and sergeants with writers. The Council also decided, as in Bombay, that the officers in charge of the guard of the fort would be admitted to Dinner at the Company's public table.26 Master signed commission, under which Philip O'Neale was appointed the captain of the foot Company and James Bett, the Lieutenant. Lt. Bett thus gained the "power and authority to train, exercise, conduct, lead and bring them together according to Military and Martial Discipline".27 This step of Master came up for criticism from the Council. The Company under the direction of Josiah Child considered the grant of commissions as 'a vaine Ostentatious
thing.' The Commission was annulled by Gyfford who succeeded Master as the governor.\textsuperscript{28}

The Commissions were followed by the issue of new orders for the good government of the Company's civil and military servants, in supercession of those laid down by Langhorn. For convenience these were separated instead of being merged, as in the old rules. Those for the civil servants prescribed penalties for lying, swearing, drunkenness, adultery, uncleanliness, absence from the Fort at night without permission, absence from Morning and Evening prayers without lawful excuse, dwelling, sedition and the like. Penalties were imposed either in cash or by being deported back to England.\textsuperscript{29} A very important rule common to all, framed by the Company was with regard to the general security of the town. The inhabitants were prohibited from quarrelling, use of arms and weapons, sale of Company's arms, any kind of communication with declared enemies of the Company, sedition, any kind of attack on the governor and so on. The penalty would be imposed irrespective of nationality or religion.\textsuperscript{30}

Besides covering these offences, those for the military servants contained the usual articles against crimes such as a sentry sleeping on his post, absence of a soldier from his watch or guard, desertion, mutiny etc. For the better enforcement of rules, the senior sergeant, Thomas Lott, was appointed as the Provost-Marshall. Special powers were vested in him to

\textsuperscript{28} Despatches from England, 18\textsuperscript{th} November 1681, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{29} D&C, 28\textsuperscript{th} October 1678, pp.125-126.
\textsuperscript{30} ibid.
arrest, keep in custody and commit offenders for trial. His jurisdiction combined both civil and military cases.\(^{31}\) Grave offences, especially those committed by the commissioned officers, were to be presented before the governor and the Council. The lesser military offences were to be tried by a court-martial consisting of not less than three commissioned officers, who were to sit once a week and whose sentences were to be subject to an appeal to the Governor and Council, except in the case of small punishments for slight misdemeanors. A third category was that in which an offence was committed by an officer or soldier of the garrison against an inhabitant of the town, such as taking items from a shopkeeper by force at his own price, and abusing or intimidating an Indian. Such cases were placed under the jurisdiction of the Choultry Justice. The punishments by the Choultry were executed publicly “to the end the Natives may be satisfied of the justice done them.”\(^ {32}\) They could also award compensation to any one who got wounded in the scuffles. Another very important clause (Article 31) was that in case an offence or misdemeanour committed by an officer or a soldier did not find its mention in the articles, the commission was empowered and authorized to consider the case and impose fine or punishment, as was reasonable and customary. However, the same article forbade them from taking up a case of debt or demand relating to the civil government except if both the parties demanded arbitration.\(^ {33}\)

\(^{31}\) D&C, 24\(^{th}\) October 1678, pp.123-125.

\(^{32}\) D&C, 28\(^{th}\) October 1678, Articles 22 & 33, p.130.

\(^{33}\) D&C, 28\(^{th}\) October 1678, Article 31, p.132.
Streynsham Master’s concern for the welfare of the garrison could be visualized from the way in which he got the soldiers and officials salary attached for debt, except for their dieting at a rate not exceeding 40 fanams a month, or “for clothing and decent and fitting garb becoming a soldier.”

Uniforms were not provided free; and even the cost of swords and belts sent by the Company for distribution among the garrison soldiers was deducted from their salary. This led to some discontentment and uproar from the garrison. As a result two non-commissioned officers were degraded for ‘mutinous words’ and refusing to pay for their swords.

An important article (7) in Langhorn’s orders prescribed for garrison was that on the Sabbath day and on every day when they exercise, both officers and the soldiers were to be dressed in English apparel. Master in his tenure prescribed the uniform which was supposed to be red with green facings. This order was recorded in the following extract, “it is thought fit to cloath, the soldiers with the Red one at 7 fanams per yard, and line the said cloths with calico dyed green, and the money for the said clothing to be stopt out of their pay, the English in 4 months and the Portuguese in six months.”

The last two decades of seventeenth century was marked by intense political activities in Madras. The Mughal incursion in the South and the

34 D&C, 28th October 1678, Article 26, pp. 130-131.
35 The deduction would amount to 1 Pagoda per months for both belt and sword; 27 fanams for sword and a fanams for belt to be deducted for three months, D&C, 28th October 1678, pp.130-131.
36 D&C, 23rd December 1678, p.152.
37 D&C, 28th October 1678, pp. 125-133.
38 D&C, 14th July 1679, p. 42.
take over of Golconda in 1687 alarmed the English. Apprehending an attack on the English establishment a reorganization and increase in garrison assumed utmost importance. Around 1684, an Engineer Edward Fowle was sent to Fort St. George to improve the defences of Madras. Fowle’s death in the same year was a big loss to the Company. By 1685 Mughal threat seemed potent and real. Other than the regular soldiers the Company asked the Council to persuade at least hundred English, Jews, Portuguese and Gentues to keep a Horse and arms at their disposal to be used in the event of a sudden attack. On Company order a troop of cavalry was formed followed by the formation of an infantry a year later. The order was to form two companies of trainbands, ‘one of the Right Honourable Company’s Servants and English freemen, the other of Portuguese Inhabitants’. Both the newly formed trainbands and the garrison soldiers were to be trained so as to keep them ready for any eventuality.

In the Despatch of 1688 from England to Fort St. George, Benjamin Bathurst and Josiah Child underlined the significance of organising a force to the then governor Elihu Yale, “though our war be over, you must continue to train and exercise in Arms all our Factors, Writers and English servants of all Degrees, from the highest to the lowest, according to our former orders, because we must for ever after keep ourselves a Martial Nation in India”.

39 Despatches from England, 19th October 1683, p.95.
40 Despatches from England, 13th February 1685.
41 D&C, 13th August 1685.
42 D&C, 14th December 1685, p.196.
43 D&C, 30th October 1689, p. 89.
This was clearly in line with King James II’s ideas favouring an aggressive policy in India.\textsuperscript{45}

It must be noted here that preparation for self defence was not as significant as the intention behind it. In the course of half a century of the establishment of their enclave, the British had steadily progressed from a defensive position to an offensive one. This confidence was partly derived from the stability that the English received from an elaborate administrative structure that they had cautiously created over time and a well formulated symbiotic relationship that they had forged with the natives thus enhancing this commerce. But the basic inputs came from their understanding of the fragmented nature of South Indian politics. In the process of their negotiations with different powers, the English had managed to strengthen their own position to the extent that they were prepared to counter the Mughal aggression. The bargaining position that they had created for themselves was achieved by military actions and diplomatic manoeuvrings. The streaks of colonialism had started making their appearance.

The question of the grant of commission reappeared during the tenure of Governor Pitt. Pitt came up with a very diplomatic design and resolved that the power should be concentrated in one person, that of the governor. The governor would be the sole decision making authority thus overruling the ‘joint consent of the Council’.\textsuperscript{46} The activities in the garrison in the first decade of eighteenth century stood as a precursor to what was witnessed in

\textsuperscript{45} H.D. Love, I, p. 530 n
\textsuperscript{46} D&C, 2\textsuperscript{nd} January 1697/8
the later years of the century. Increasing control of the Company on both the White Town and the Black Town could be witnessed.

1.1 Quit Rent and Customs

The diplomacy of the English officials brought big returns to the Company which can be seen in the grant and affirmation of the farman from the local rulers. Whenever a new farman was granted to the Company, along with the confirmation of the old privileges, certain new privileges were also added. The Farman of 1674 conferred on the Company the right to levy taxes in addition to the customs. This farman was followed by the controversial question of imposing a Quit rent on the residents of Madras. The Company directed the Fort St. George Council to levy a Quit Rent i.e., the rent for house in the town of Madras. The Council was skeptical of this move by the Company as it feared opposition from the natives who were ‘unacquainted with such customs’. Aware of this the Company directed Council to fix a small Quit rent so as to avoid the displeasure of the inhabitants but at the same time ordered it to grant the lease for not more than ninety-nine years. The Company cleared its motive in the implementation of Quit Rent by writing to the Council “our meaning as to the Revenue of the Town is that one way or other, by Dutch, Portuguese or Indian Methods, it should be brought to defray at least the whole constant charge of the Place, which is essential to all governments in the world.

47 D&C, 16th December 1680, pp.84-85.
48 Despatches from England 28th December 1680, p. 88.
49 Despatches from England 18th November 1681, p. 66.
People protected ought and doe, in all parts of the Universe, in some way or other defray the charge of their protection and preservation from wrong and violence. The manner of raising which revenue we shall leave to your discretion, as may be most agreeable to the humours of that people. The only respite already granted to the inhabitants was the withdrawal of the levy or rent on the small shops.

Later in 1684 the Council reached a compromise with the inhabitants whereby they agreed to pay nine fanams for Great Houses, six fanams for Small House and three fanams for Round House. The payment was to be made annually starting from 1682. The next hike in these rates could be seen only in 1692.

Streynsham Master’s governorship was a period of reforms, one of them being the introduction of conservancy in 1678. It was his proposal to the Council that “for keeping the towne cleane after the manner in England by taxing every house at a moderate rate, and to appoint a scavenger to collect said monys and therewith to hire cooleys to carry away the dirt and filth, which in this, as in every other towne in these country’s lyes in the street very offensively”. The objections to this came from the Gentu or Hindu inhabitants. They were against the preparation of a list of all the houses, fearing that it would facilitate the impositions by the Golconda state or by the Government of Madras. To avoid all this they offered to undertake

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50 Dispatches from England 20th November 1682, pp. 89-90.
51 Pringle D&C, 26th January 168\(\frac{2}{3}\), p. 6.
52 D&C, 25th August 1684, pp. 94-96.
53 D&C, 13th July 1678, pp. 86-87
the cleaning of the streets themselves. The Madras Council overruled this objection of the residents and within a month decided to carry out a plan for both the Christian and Hindu towns.\(^5\)

The list was prepared of the houses in the Christian town which were liable to pay the conservancy tax. Love gives an account of the distribution of taxes which ranged from \(\frac{1}{4}\) to 1 fanam per house, and the total assessment amounted to \(110\frac{1}{2}\) fanams. Four coolies were appointed for carrying out the sanitation work and one Choultry Scrivan for collection and supervision. Out of the total collection, two thirds was given to four coolies one third to the Choultry Scrivan. The tax was levied on 193 houses altogether – 118 of White Town and 75 of Black Town. It seems that except the Governor’s house who resided in the Fort House, the dwellings of other important functionaries like that of Six Edward Winter, William Jearsey, Thomas Lucas and Timothy Sutton all came into the ambit of taxation.\(^5\) Few Portuguese names appeared in the rent roll of the White Town and a lot more for Black Town. Kasi Viranna was enlisted as the only Indian proprietor of a residence in White Town.

The ‘Hogs and Swines’ straying in the residential areas of the town were a menace. The Council authorized that ‘if any Hogs or Swine be found straying in the Street, any one may kill them and have them for their pains;

\(^5\) D&C, 1\(^{st}\) August 1678, p. 93.
but if any Person shall kill a Hog or Swine in the Owners ground or compound, he shall pay treble price for it.\textsuperscript{56}

Other than the conservancy tax there were other oppressive impositions made by Master. In May 1680 the customs on tobacco had been raised by increasing its valuation from 7 or 8 pagodas to 20 pagodas a candy and this had a discouraging effect on the tobacco-merchants who deserted Madras and went to trade from St. Thome. Realizing this, the Council reverted to the old rates of 10 pagodas per candy.\textsuperscript{57} The inhabitants in Madras Complained of heavy rates levied on them for the grant of their grounds and houses.\textsuperscript{58} Relief came only a year later when the taxes were withdrawn and instead a small Quit rent was imposed. Alongwith this, the tax on small shops were ‘in part alleviated’ as their owners were very poor. It was also ordered that the customs were to be controlled by the Customers instead of farming it to them.\textsuperscript{59} Till 1694, the Quit Rent and Scavengers duty was collected by the ‘Rental Generall’.

The Council was constantly making efforts to improve the revenue of the town. In July 1684, Gyfford put forth to the Company that the only way to improve them was to induce rich people from elsewhere to reside there as free merchants.\textsuperscript{60} Elihu Yale on the contrary believed in direct action and was of the opinion that any increase in taxation should not be so high as ‘to

\textsuperscript{56} D&C, 17\textsuperscript{th} October 1678, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{57} D&C, 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1680, p. 30; 11\textsuperscript{th} August 1681, pp. 45-46.
\textsuperscript{58} D&C, 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1680, p.30.
\textsuperscript{59} D&C, 22\textsuperscript{nd} September 1681, pp. 55-56.
\textsuperscript{60} Pringle D&C, 31\textsuperscript{st} July 1684, pp. 81-82.
disoblige the inhabitants either to complaine or leave the town’ as had already happened when Master had increased the duty on tobacco and the merchants had left for St. Thome.  

In 1684, the Council decided to enhance its revenue by separating the land customs from the Sea customs. Before this decision was taken, a total custom of 5½ per cent was charged on the importation of goods by sea. The Council realized that this kind of single duty fell heavy on traders thus acting as deterrent their import. The splitting of the land and sea customs at the rate of three per cent each on goods carried in and out of the town would lead to an estimated increase of 200 pagodas a year. The presumption was that the inhabitants would not “object to the small advance that this system would entail in the price of the goods.” The other measures taken to enhance the revenue were to build four rows of shop which were rented out to trades, the rent on houses which the Hindu caste inhabitants agreed to sell out, the reduction achieved in the cost of table expenses of the servants and by reducing the number of peons from 198 to 100.  

In 1687, the Madras Council decided to reduce the duties ‘for all English freemen, inhabitants of the city of Madras’ to 2½ per cent for export and import and three per cent was retained for Portuguese and the Natives. A year later the Council decided against the policy of discrimination between the English, the Europeans and the Natives and ordered that “all

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61 The Eastern Coast and Bay of Bengal ed., by Charles Fawcett, Oxford, 1955, p. 79.
62 ibid.
64 D&C, 13th June 1687, pp. 85-86.
sorts of goods imported by any person whatever, having once paid the custom of five percent, may freely, export the same goods, when they please without paying, further custom." A small amount of revenue yet of much significance was that of the Town Brokerage. The significance lay in terms of the functional control the English acquired by implementing this as the contribution of the town brokerage to the total revenue collected was minimal. In June 1688, the Governor of Fort St. George issued cowles to four or five merchants who were to function as the town brokers. Their duty was to conduct proper bargain between the buyers and sellers so as to protect the strangers from being abused and cheated. For this service of theirs the brokers were to charge one percent on each contract to be divided equally among the government and the broker. In 1689 these brokers were put under the charge of corporation, which henceforth became the recipient of the government’s share.

The imposition of Quit Rent seems to have been a successful venture by the English. The total collection through Quit Rent amounted to 1610 Pagodas per annum and the English were paying 1200 Pagodas as rent for the town of Madras, thus striking a perfect balance between the two. The Company had begun the process of generating revenues locally to meet the requirements of maintenance of their enclave.

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66 D&C, 28th June, 1688, p. 102.
67 D&C, 4th February 1689, p. 10.
1.2 Justice

Charters granted to the East India Company from the judicial powers were derived and exercised at Fort St. George.68 The question of justice remained a dormant subject in the initial two decades of the settlement of the enclave. A rented enclave of the British from the local naiks, a subject which was predominantly native and a close functional encounter between the two, attributed to the complexity. From the initial settlement of Madras in 1640 till 1661 when the Charter was granted to the Company ‘authorizing the Government and council of place to judge all persons, living under them in all causes, civil or criminal according to the law of England and to execute judgment’ (see appendix), this interim period was marked by absence of fixed law or formal courts of justice.

A native Adigar, or Governor of the Town sitting at Choultry or Town-House administered justice to the native population. The Agent in Council was in charge of the cases of the British subjects in which Indians were not involved. Between 1644 and 1648, Kanappa, an appointee of Ivie held the office of Choultry. Apparently Kanappa’s father held this office before him. The claims to these offices were hereditary. President Baker replaced Kanappa with Captain Martin and John Leigh who were to sit as magistrates at the Choultry. Armed with the grant of the Charter of 1661, Sir Edward Winter replaced them with the native merchants Viranna and Timanna; later to be dismissed by Foxcroft who appointed William Dawes

68 Charter of Elizabeth, 31 December 1600, Appendix-V.

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as incharge with all judicial powers. These replacements do not reflect as much on the struggle between the locals vs. the foreigners as they do on the Agents or Governors themselves, especially in the initial years of the settlement when the Governors were competing amongst themselves. Justice seemed like a process of accommodation and adjustment between the natives and the English. This is evident from two different cases which occurred in 1641 and 1644. In 1641, a native woman was found murdered the crime committed by a native man. This case was referred to the Naik for justice. The Naiks command was “to do justice upon the homicides according to the Laws in England” following which the man was hanged.69

The second case came up in 1642, which involved a Portuguese subject under British power. Antonio Mirando (a Portuguese) had killed a British soldier. The dilemma of the British authorities over the question of justice was broken by the Naik who ordered for Mirando’s execution70. In 1644 came a third case. This involved a British sergeant, Bradford, who unintentionally killed a native. The case was referred to the Principal Inhabitants of the town (the Merchants and the Kommatis), who tried him in accordance with the ‘Law and Customs of the Country.’ The verdict was in favour of the sergeant as it was declared a case of accidental death.71 The above cases demonstrate that in the judiciary there was equal partnership

69 O.C. No. 1791 as cited in Love, I, p. 42.
70 Love, I, p. 43.
71 O.C. No. 1859 as cited in Love, I, p. 60.
between the English and the natives. The Charter of 1661 however was the first step towards restoring power to the Company’s authorities.

The Agent and Council in Madras seem to be confused about their powers and limitations as is evident in the case that took place in 1665 when a local slave girl was murdered by her mistress Mrs. Ascentia Dawes, an English resident of Madras. The Madras Council approached the Company for help and enquired about the procedure that it could adopt. The Company replied to this query and asserted on the use of its charter “we have thought fit to constitute you Governor of our Town and Fort where the fact was committed, as well as Agent, and to appoint you a Counsel under our seal, which, together with some instructions and directions how to proceed in. The trial of this woman and of such as were Assistances to her…” 72

Accordingly the case proceeded. A Jury was formed which found Mrs. Dawes guilty of murder. The verdict from the Jury absolved her of the crime. The authorities at Fort St. George were uncomfortable with it. They expressed this in a letter to the Company and demanded trained person to deal in law. The letter reads, “We proceeded in those and other particulars according to the least of our Judgments.... but if like case shall occur, we shall need the direction and assistance of a person better skilled in the law and formalities of it than any of your servants here are...” 73

Foxcroft after being re appointed as the Governor in 1668, appointed two justices to the Choultry, Thomas Clarke and Nathaniel Foxcroft, who were both English.

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Messrs. Hynmers and Bridger succeeded them, which made it clear that the coveted post in court of justice was the forte of the English. This was a slow takeover of power from the natives within three decades of the establishment of the English enclave. All these years the Nawab Neknam Khan demanded the appointment of a Havaldar or a native governor for the town. The Company probably had no objections to such a proposal but Foxcroft visualized this as a threat to his authority and power. His report to the Company was meant to deter it from making such appointments.

It was at this time that the demand to appoint a Portuguese judge came from the Portuguese residents in Madras. In the letter to the Company Fort St. George authorities justified this demand by saying the appointment of a judge for the Portuguese, they could “... avoid a multitude of troublesome suits and quarrels with which they trouble your (Company’s) judges in the Choultry...”

Streynsham Master was next in the line of governors to reorganize the Choultry court. He increased the number of justices from two to three, of which the presence of two was mandatory. The Choultry was a court of petty cases, a custom house and a registration office for the record of sales of real property and for the licensing of slaves. Master appointed a Customer, Mint Master and a Pay Master as Choultry Justice and the merchants were free to assist them as and when they had time. Along with these appointments Streynsham Master brought out certain regulations to be followed by the

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Choultry. The Choultry Justice and Customer were assigned for the collection of rent and revenue of the town\textsuperscript{75} and was to maintain separate account books of both. To add to this "...the Customer, Mint Master (when there is one in that office) and the Pay Master or any two of them, do every Tuesday and Friday sit in the Choultry to do common Justice of the Town as usual and do take care that the Scrivan of the Choultry do duly register all sentences in Portuguese as formerly and that there be an exact Register kept of all Alienations, or sales of slaves, houses, gardens, boats, ships; the Company's due for the same to be received by the Customers and the bills or Certificates for such sales to be signed by the persons in the offices aforesaid, or any two of them."\textsuperscript{76}

The Civil and criminal cases however still remained a problem. A number of such cases came to the Council for which the trial was pending because the Council was still uncertain about the course of action. First, there was the case involving a Portuguese inhabitant Manoel Brandon de Lima, who had killed a native Christian in Madras. The second was the case of Gilbert, an Englishman who had killed Hartley, another Englishman. In both the cases the Fort St. George Council wanted the judgments to be "...the example made by her fair trial upon the place."\textsuperscript{77} King Charles sent the warrant for their trial by the jury and if convicted their death sentences to be carried out. Both Lima and Gilbert were tried by the Governor and Council,

\textsuperscript{75} D&C, 1678-79, 31\textsuperscript{a} Jan 1677/8, pp. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{76} ibid.
\textsuperscript{77} Love, I, p. 406.
their power for trial derived from the Charter of 1661. The jury, comprising of half Portuguese and half English convicted De Lima of murder and awarded him a death sentence. Perturbed by this decision forty four Portuguese inhabitants of Madras sent a petition to King Charles appealing for mercy. The plea was accepted and De Lima was exonerated. However he was not allowed to take residence in Madras and was sent back to Portugal.

Gilbert was acquitted of murder as it was proved that he had committed the crime in self-defence. But he was convicted of ‘manslaughter’ for which he ‘was sentenced to forfeit his goods and chattels to the king, but he hath none.’

The requirement for a higher court of law was now felt more than ever. In March, 1678, Streynsham Master established a Court of Judicature with two important features:

1. Instead of the appointment of a separate judge to preside over it, the government and councils were to try all cases, civil and criminal with a jury.

2. The Choultry justice were to continue to try all small misdemeanours and actions and debt for 50 pagodas or under, and any case of higher value by consent of the parties, subject to a right of appeal to the court of Indenture. Other clauses in the Charter were.

78 D&C, 1678-79, 25th September, 1678, p. 117.
1. The court would sit in the chapel of the fort on every Wednesday and Saturday to judge the cases.

2. The justice and justices of the Choultry... and the officers under them, shall execute all orders, write and summon for the Government and the Council for the returning of juries, executions after judgment....

3. All the trials in the said court to be by juries of 12 men and the forms of oath to be administered.

4. A Clarke of the Court to be appointed who would also function as Clarke of Peace.

5. Appointment of officers of the court, same to assist the justice.

6. Appointment of a Marshall to take charge of prisoners.

7. The procedure of cases to be followed by the Court.

The procedure in the court took three days. The complainant registered his grievance to the Clarke of the Court, following which the defendant was summoned, attached or arrested by a warrant under the Company seal. In the next court day the plaintiff/ complainant read his declaration in open court, a copy of the complaint being given to the defendant who would then prepare an answer to be read in open court. Both the complainant and the defendant would have their own Attorneys. On the
third day, the trial took place. The verdict was given by the Jury and accordingly the Governor gave the sentence. 81

In 1680 another amendment was made concerning the language used in recording of the transactions. It had been customary that all the dealings of sale and alienations of houses and grounds were to be recorded in Portuguese, Gentue and Malabar languages. To avoid the inconveniences created by this, it was ordered that all such transactions henceforth were to be recorded in English. To add to this the Choultry justice would not licence any transactions in the absence of the Company seal. 82

The Charter of 1661 leading to the establishment of the Court of Judicature indicates the swift takeover of judiciary by the English Company, which was completely guided by the norms set by Directors in England. 83 The clause on which the Court of Judicature was based, clearly pronounced the growing hegemony of the English Company. The change in the language of recording of the transactions later strengthens this view. There was however space for appeals by others (as in the case of De Lima who was Portuguese) The replication of the laws of the mother country in its enclave was a clear indication of an English colony in its embryonic form, sort of proto-colonial enclave system.

Since the work pressure of the Court of Judicature was increasing, Governor Gyfford in 1682 sent the demand to the Company for a person

82 D&C, 9th September 1680, pp. 65-66; Love, I, p. 404
83 Laws of England, Charter (Appendix-V)
'skilled in the law' to be the Recorder in the Court of Judicature. 

In these decades, the activities of the Interlopers were increasingly becoming the concern of the Company. There was pressure on Fort St. George for the appointment of a Judge Advocate. With the grant of the Charter of Charles II, dated 9th August 1683, the Council received the order to establish the Court of Admiralty consisting of one person learned in the civil laws and two other merchants. (See appendix???). The Company also empowered the Governor of Fort St. George to act as Judge Advocate of the place for the "hearing and determining of all suites and cases... with the assistance of two merchants". 

Gifford got the opportunity to share the exiting Court of Judicature. At the same time he refused to be the Judge Advocate in the interim period on the pretext of "having no directions for those proceedings and being unacquainted with the methods".

This caused complete chaos, in the town. Thus, the Council 'thought and agreed to be of absolute necessity for the Peace, Justice and Security and Honour of this Government that the old Court of Judicature be again erected...' which would function in accordance with the first Charter (1661). 

The Court of Judicature established in 1678 was revived and

84 Fawcett, English Factories in India, vol. IV, p. 60.
85 ibid.
87 ibid.
remained functional till the Court of Admiralty was established in July 1686. 88

The Court of Admiralty finally saw its establishment on 10th July 1686 with Mr. John Gray as the Judge and Thomas Wavell and Nathaniel Higginson as his assistants. 89 Later Wavell, Higginson and Cheney came to be appointed as Justices of the town for the 'speedy Administration of Justice'. 90 The duty of justice assigned to all above the mentioned was in addition to their other employment in Fort St. George, Gray was the land Customer, Wavell was the Paymaster General / Mint Master, Higginson was the Auditor of Accounts and Cheney was the Storekeeper General. 91

The Company then appointed John Biggs as Judge Advocate who reached Madras on Ship Williamson on 22nd July 1678, and took oath on the 28th July. He was third in council. He attended the Quarter session of the city in September and ordered for the punishment of four convicts. 92 In the same year John Biggs was given the additional charge of 'receiving the city revenues' with the assistance of the Land Customer, the Registrar and a Writer. 93

88 In 1686, the case of John Terry who was tried in the court where he was decalred guilty for murdering Peter Taylor a private in the Garrison was made to pay a five and burnt in hand D & C, 7th April 1686, p. 31.
89 D&C, 27th September 1686, pp. 79-80.
90 D&C, 11th October, 1886, pp. 87-88.
91 D&C, 18th July 1678, pp. 88-89.
92 D&C, 24th September 1687, Tombanes was given death Sentence and the other three, Pindarum, Verag, and Tanappa where burnt on shoulder and banished to Sumatra, p. 151.
The next major leap for the Company was its declaration of Martial Law through the Charter of 1687 granted by Charles II.\(^{94}\) The trial of eight men for piracy provides ample proof of the stringency of the martial law.\(^{95}\) The punishments accorded in the Martial law were severe, so as to make their ends more exemplary to others.\(^{96}\)

In 1688, the Mayor and Corporation were established by the Charter of 1687 (see appendix no.??? for Charters). The Corporation was established on 29\(^{th}\) September 1688 with a Mayor, twelve Aldermen and sixty or more Burgesses. A Mayor's term in the office was for a year, starting on 29\(^{th}\) September each year, the convention being that the Mayor was to be elected from among the Aldermen. The Aldermen held office for their lifetime or till their residence in Madras. A vacancy among the Aldermen was to be filled by elections from the Burgesses. The Mayor and the Aldermen elected the Burgesses.\(^{97}\) The forms and the procedure were discussed in the meeting convened to inaugurate the Corporation. The President of the Fort St. George administered oath to the Mayor and Recorder. The Mayor administered then administered the oath to the Aldermen and Burgesses.\(^{98}\)

\(^{94}\) The Charter read, "...Charles, the Second King of England... pleased to give and grant several additional annuities and privileges to his Honourable East India Co. among which, he grants them authority, for the free and full exercise of Martial Law, at all their Garrisons, Forts, Cities and Towns, within the limits of their Charter... for more security and better government of the place, strictly charged and commanded us their Governor and Council to put the said Martial Law in execution, upon all offences, whose neglects or crimes shall fall under its prescriptions ... D&C, 17\(^{th}\) November 1687, pp. 177-178.

\(^{95}\) Three of them were given death penalty and hanged, three were 'burnt in the forehead with letter, P and banished., the remaining two were dismissed from employment and had to run to Gantlope – a military punishment, in which the offender ran down a lane formed of two ranks, receiving a lash from each man. D&C, 30\(^{th}\) January 1687/8, pp. 16-17.

\(^{96}\) ibid.

\(^{97}\) D&C, 29\(^{th}\) September, 1688, pp. 148-149.

\(^{98}\) ibid.
A month later in the same year the Corporation met where it was resolved that the Mayor's court should be held once a fortnight and also that two Aldermen who were Justice of Peace should sit twice a week at the Choultry to deal with 'small offences and complaints to the amount of two pagodas fine or award'. 99

The Mayor's court was empowered to deal with all civil and criminal cases. The punishment could be anything from fine, to imprisonment to corporal punishment. The Mayor and Aldermen could 'enjoy the honour and Privilege of wearing Rundellos and Kettysols born over them, and... may ride on Horseback in the same Orders as is used by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, having their Horses decently furnished with saddles, bridles and other trimmings after one Form and Manner'. 100 In practice, the Consultations of 1689 show the limitations faced by them. The Corporation was burdened with the task of collection of petty taxes. 101 The Corporation used this revenue for other purposes which was objected to by President Yale who clarified that "if they are not benefited there is no reason they should be losers by the Corporation." 102 Conflict ensued between the President and the Mayor's Court. Another point of difference was that after John Bigg's death in 1689, the Court of Admiralty, which was the higher

100 Love, I, p. 499.
101 D&C, 12th August 1689, p. 68.
102 D&C, 27th March 1691, p. 18.
court of appeal, 103 became defunct and the Mayor’s court assumed all powers within it. Against this Yale was exercising his own authority by releasing prisoners on his own account. The tiff calmed down when Yale reinstated the duty of revenue collection to the Corporation and the latter agreed to function within its limitations. In 1692, the Company sent out an Advocate Judge, thus resuming the function of the Court of Admiralty.

The successive Charters and the course of events indicate the concentration of judicial power within the Company indicating the diminishing role of the natives in the judicial powers. Though in the Seventeenth Century parity was maintained in the sphere of verdict and punishment, the laws and procedures of judiciary remained the same for all the accused whether, European or the natives.

In 1694-95 the Judges Commission, responsible for the appointment of successive Judges in the Court of Admiralty made a provision of another appointment of Judge Advocate only in case of Mr. Dolben’s death (the present Judge Advocate). There was no provision as to who would preside in the absence of the Judge Advocate if he was not available on any other pretext. This was bound to and so it did, create confusion. After his long absence “Mr. Dolben was now sent for said Commission read, and his answer demanded whether he did accept of the station of Judge of the Court

103 D&C, 7th September 1691, pp. 44-45. This consultation consists of a Charter which stated that the judgment of the Mayor’s court was ‘not to be final but subject upon appeals to alterations by the Court of Admiralty...’

104 The confusion of 1689-90 led to the establishment of Court of Judicature in 1690 consisting of a Advocate Judge and four Judges. The Governor took charge as acting Judge Advocate. Among the other four judges were Thomas Gray and William Hatsell both English; Senor Gregorio Paroan, an Armenian Merchant and Allingall Pillai, the Chief Merchant. D&C, 16th June 1690, pp. 42-44.
of Admiralty as appointed by the Company or not whereto, he gives for an answer that at present he is so far engaged in a Voyage to China, that he cannot without hazard of ruining himself break it of..." Stylemen took the charge followed by Thomas Marshall. After Thomas Marshall’s return to England the post of Judge Advocate remained vacant. The President in Council remained the highest court of appeal on the decisions made by both the Admiralty Court and the Mayor’s Court. The first decade of Eighteenth Century was marred by the conflict between the Governor/President in Council and the Corporation on various issues of trial. These conflicts were largely centered around the questions of whose power was superior.

1.3 Town/Urbanisation

With the establishment of Fort St. George began the creation of a British urban space. This space, Castells underlines as ‘an expression of the social structure amounts, to studying its shaping by elements of the economic system, the political system and the ideological system and by their combinations and social practices that derive from them." The stress is more on the social structures and its interaction with other units. Wirth’s theory on urban space comprised of three factors of which the first is physical structure. This incorporated population, technology and ecological environment. Whether it was the Seventeenth Century or Eighteenth Century, the pre-colonial, the proto colonial or the colonial period, the

105 D&C, 13th Jan 1699, p. 5.
constitution of the population played a decisive role both for the ruler and the ruled. As far as technology and geography are concerned, in the proto colonial phase the choice was limited. Madras provided the most uncongenial environment for a settlement. In spite of its proximity to the sea, the trading ventures were marred by innumerable hurdles. But in the face of stiff competition from the Dutch and a range of political authorities to counter, they (English) did not have an option but to settle down in Madras. The second factor is the social organization. By this he meant the institutions and the status and power groups within the community. The creation of the office of Chief Merchant and the power ascribed to them explains this viewpoint. Wirth's third contention is that of 'collective behaviour' by which he meant the group attitudes and ideologies that confronted one another within the communal environment. All the settlers in the town came armed not only with their skills but also community feelings, the expression of which is seen in the frequent castes disputes. This clearly takes us to a discussion on the division of not only geographical space but also social space. As Castells writes, "... if at all spatial forms are to be regarded as cultural forms and consequently as a expression of social ideologies, an analysis of these forms must therefore set out from the encounter between a general theory of ideologies and a consideration of the rhythm proper of the existing cultural forms."\textsuperscript{107} Thus the architectures of a

\textsuperscript{107} Castells, p. 218.
city can be understood as a voice not only of social space and cultural form but also as an entire tradition.

There was clear a demarcation of space between the European and the Indian areas. But a separation based on social tradition existed within the Indian area or the Black town. According to R.E. Frykenberg, 'The city-state of Madras was founded upon a constitution of mutual respect and communal restraint in which common welfare was balanced with ritual tradition'.

The concept of factories owes its origin to the *fondachi* which were the residential quarters of Genoese, Venetian and Italian merchants in the Muslim seaports of North Africa and the Ottoman harbours. The Portuguese were first to borrow the concept when they established their *feitorias* on the Asian and African coasts. The Dutch *factorijen* and the English *factories* were derived from the same system. Nomenclature differed but the purpose of the factories remained the same; that is, to store and protect the merchandise and shelter their people in a foreign land. In Seventeenth century, factory seems to have been a Dutch innovation. As stated by W.H. Moreland; 'We see that the factories of the Seventeenth Century lead us from the region of commerce to that of politics. The earlier stages in this journey are the trading voyages, the factory, the fort and the beginning of territorial acquisition; to understand any one of these stages, we must understand those which went before and it so happens that both fort and

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factory were due to Dutch initiative. To understand the genesis of factories, it is necessary to study the early Dutch Voyages, and... the Fort, like the factory, is definitely Dutch’.\textsuperscript{110} This fact is to be reckoned with in the light of the evidences which point at English appreciation of the Dutch method of trading of which the establishment of factories was one. The strategy followed by the English in the Seventeenth Century was more of defence than offence. The sources referring to the Forts and fortification clearly indicate this strategy. The process of fortification or creating a defence mechanism by the English continued throughout this period in Madras.

The beginning of fortifying the town was made right from the time of the establishment of Fort St. George in 1640. The construction of small square known as the Inner Fort begun by Cogan and Day was completed in 1653. During this time the earthen wall or rampart including the White Town and Black Town was constructed. Immediately after the Inner Fort’s construction began the outworks. Four bastions were erected - two towards the sea flanked by cannons and two towards the river. The outer fort was made around the White Town. By 1657, the English had ‘thoroughly fortified the town of Madrasspatam’ and had ‘raised a wall round the castle’.\textsuperscript{111} (The Castle was in the Inner Fort)

In 1661, Chamber, the Agent informs of ‘finishing outworks’ about the Christian town. Regarding expenditure he adds. “... great part thereof

\textsuperscript{110} W.H. Moreland, ‘Dutch Source for Indian History from 1590 to 1650’ JIH, vol. II, Part 2, May 1923, pp. 223-34.

\textsuperscript{111} Love, I, p.206, information gleaned from Dutch sources.
being laid out in Agent Greenhill's lifetime; the rest of the charges will appear when the point by the river sides is finished.\textsuperscript{112} This point marked the North West angle of the town which was later designated as 'Sir Thomas Chambers point.'\textsuperscript{113} The White Town was protected from all side by outworks completely disaggregated and separated from the Black Town or the native settlement. In the same year the white town was designated as the 'Christian Town'.\textsuperscript{114}

Dr. John Fryer visited Fort St. George in 1673 and his description of Madras seems to be most accurate and authentic... "The outwork is walled with stone a good height, thick enough to blunt a Cannon bullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnances at each side the Water-gate* besides an Halfmoon** of five guns.\textsuperscript{115} At both Points (Fishing Point and St. Thomas point, the two bastions of the Outer Fort) are mounted twelve guns eying the sea, Madras and St. Thomas, under these in a line stand Pallisadoes, reaching from the wall to the Sea, and hedge in at least a mile of Ground. On the South side they have cut a ditch in sufficient depth and breadth to prevent scaling the Wall, which is a quarter of a Mile in length afore it meets with a third point. (Round Point, South-West Bastion) or Bastion, facing St. Thomas... From the Point to the Fourth (Caldera Point, North West Bastion) where are lodged a dozen guns more that grin upon Madras, runs no wall but what the

\textsuperscript{112} EFI, 1661-64, 28\textsuperscript{th} November 1661, pp. 51-52.
\textsuperscript{113} Love, I, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{114} Love, I, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{115} *Water-gate – The Sea-gate was at the middle of the eastern wall of the Dutch Fort which enclosed the Christian Town.
** Halfmoon – a semi circular battery near the sea gate.
inhabitants compile for their Gardens and Houses planted all along the river parallel with that braves the sea. From the first point a Curtain (Northern Wall of the Outer fort called curtain as it separated the Christian town from the Native town) is drawn with a Parapet, beneath it are two gates (Middle Gate and Choultry Gate) and Sally Ports to each for to enter Maderas; over the Gates five guns run out their Muzzles, and two more within them on the Ground....

'Over all these the Fort itself (Inner Fort) lifts up its four Turrets (towers) every Point of which are loaded with Ten Guns alike... The Governor's house in the middle overlooks all Slanting diagonally with the Court. Entering the garrison at the Out Gate (sea gate of the Outer fort) towards the sea, a Path of broad Polished stones spreads the way to pass the Second Guard into the Fort at an humble gate (small gate in the east curtain of the Inner Fort) opposite to this one more stately (Fort Gate) fronts the high-street, on both sides thereof is a court of guard (Guard room) from whence; for every day's duty are taken Two Hundred men.....'

Fryer then goes on to describe the cleanliness maintained in the White Town. The houses in the town were mostly built of bricks and stone. The Christian town as he informs us was 'oblong in shape' (Love takes it to be quadrilateral because the North side was much longer than the South and the West side was marked by the river). The only edifice to be noted was the chapel (the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew built by Father Ephraim), which was a church for Portuguese gathering.
At the same time Fryer writes about the ‘Heathen Town’ or the Black Town and the distinction between the Christian and the Native town is clear. He informs us that the Native Town had long streets chequered by other streets which imparted the town a quadrangle shape. The important buildings within its confines were Choultries (Courts of Justice), an Exchange in the market place and a Pagoda or the Temple built by Timmanna. The Burial ground stood at the north west angle of the native town. Fryer adds to this that ‘the building of least note are Low and Decent; the Town is walled with Mud and Bulwarks (bastions) for Watch places for the English Peons, only on that side the Sea washes it and Fort meets it. On the North are two great Gates (later called Tom Clarke’s gate and the other gate called the Mud Point Gate) of Brick, and one on the west (Western gate called Armenian Bridge gate), where they made over the River to the Washerman’s Town”. (A Separate Colony assigned to Washerman who bleached the cotton cloth for export).

This description clearly brings out the distinction in the living space of the European and the natives. The White Town was organized as a township - the architectures reflecting a high standard of living. The defence mechanism was meant for their own protection. The Black Town was settled for their own conveniences and benefits.

From the later half of the Seventeenth Century the question of defence assumed utmost importance in the wake of the war with Holland that was declared in April 1672. The capture and occupation of neighbouring
San Thome by the French instilled fear for the safety of Madras. Reinstating the safety network at vulnerable points caught the attention of the then Governor William Langhorn. The existing fortification was surveyed and repair work was begun. Additional work of fortifying the town was taken up so that all openings were closed.\textsuperscript{116} The question of defence came up time and again. The apprehension of the impending dangers can be seen in Longhorn's account of 1674. "... We having many instances and advertisements of the Dutch their evil Intentions towards us at the return of their fleet, as likewise the disgust of the French in St. Thomas at our not answering their expectations, so that which way soever the siege succeeds, we are not without danger..."\textsuperscript{117} All expenditure to be incurred towards the repair was approved. The north-west angle of the outer fort or the Caldera Point was raised to completely seal the city of from dangers.

The encroachment of the sea was a constant trouble for the Company. As discussed earlier the topography of Madras was most unfavourable for the settlement of a trading base. The sea was rough and its advancement towards land was a matter of concern for the company. The perils of the sea have been vividly brought out in a letter written by Fort St. George to the Company... "...how the sea, having come very near fortifications in a great storm about three years since... it has since last year come nearer and nearer; though the depth of the foundations, good Tabus (an apron of rough

\textsuperscript{116} Batteries upon Sir Thomas Chambers point, and open others on the Round Point Towards the Island for securing that side of the Town, which lies quite open to the River and unfortified, D&C, 1672-78, February 167\textsuperscript{3/4}, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{117} D&C, 1672-78, 2 February 167\textsuperscript{3/4}, p. 19.
stone to prevent scour) and a Scarp (the external wall of the bastion) we have been making these last two years to the Fishers Point have thitherto secured it...”  118 This letter was written primarily to demand “some experienced person” to carry out the work of defence towards the sea. Moreover, since “this sandy naked coast” could afford nothing the expenditure incurred would be big. 119 This was the time when the political friction between the local authorities and English was also at its peak. Madras was badly suffering due to Lingappa’s blockade. The Marathas were posing a threat due to the movement of Shivaji, down south in 1677. The fulfilment of Shivaji’s demand increased the problems for the English. The burnt of the weather and the political forces made it necessary for the English to prepare themselves to face them.

The problems intrinsic to any kind of administrative set up were all present in the establishment of Fort St. George. The competition amongst the Governors to prove their capability to the Company was one such factor. This manifested itself when Streynsham Master, after his appointment, changed and reduced the plan for the extensive fortification that was begun by Langhorn. Through this Master claims to have had saved 800 pagodas. Regarding the character of the Government at Fort St. George between 1672 to 1677 (Langhorn was the Agent) he writes, “those works of the fortifications built in his time have been most of them twice done, first with Turf, which was very chargeable, and soon mouldered and washed downe,

118 D&C, 1672-78, 22 August 1676, p. 98.
119 ibid.
then with Brick and Stone, all done upon his own fancy and humour without
advising with anyone, at double the expense need have been and much
washed into the sea through folly...” 120 Soon after, Master constituted a
committee to survey and report on the fortifications and building. (The
committee comprised the captains of the ships along with the principal
military officers of the garrison). On the basis of the report orders were
issued to begin work on the north curtain wall of the White Town and also at
the Fishing Point.121

In 1681, Lingappa approached Fort St. George, with a fresh set of
unreasonable demand. Master though blatantly denied the demands, was
well aware of the repercussions. Accordingly he got down to preparing not
only the White Town but also the Black Town to meet Lingappa’s wrath.

The violence of the sea continued unabated and within a year (1682-
83) two of the bastions were destroyed. The Company acknowledged the
problem and approved of all possible efforts to reinstate the fortifications but
this came with reservation when the company wrote to Fort St. George that
‘There is in all parts of the world (that we know) a duty which wee in
England call Murage, which is a Contribution from the people towards
walling and making fortresses to defend the place. Some thing of that kind
we think you might purswade the heads of the people to consent to for their
and their posterity’s security’.122

120 Master Papers, 11th February, 1677; cited in Love, I, 429.
121 D&C, 1679, 6th February 1679, p. 15.
The Company extended all possible help in terms of men and money. Yet it is interesting to note that it expected a return of the thirty thousand Pound it had spent on the repairs. Irrespective of the fact that Madras was a British enclave, created and existed to facilitate British commerce yet the money to be spent on maintenance was to be generated locally. This was just a step away from the colonial city.

It was in the mid 80s, that the question of raising a wall around the Black Town permanently was put forward with the suggestion that the money for this was to be generated from the residents of the Black Town. The task was finally accomplished only in the early decades of Eighteenth Century (1707). It took roughly twenty years for the company servants to institute the Wall tax assessment and mobilize and realize the money (Refer to the section on the Wall Tax Assessment). The security outpost and the garrison were geared up to meet an exigency. By the beginning of Eighteenth Century there was shift in the equation between the natives and the English from interdependence to that between the colonized and the colonizer.

Another axis of the urbanization process was the development of a cultural and religious centre. A community carries with it, its religious identity, which is to be seen in a crystallized form in the shape of churches, temples and mosques. The Portuguese nationals were present in large number in the White Town from the very beginning of the settlement of Fort St. George. By 1642; the French Capuchin Mission had already established
FORT ST. GEORGE AS COMPLETED.
itself. Around this time Father Ephraim, a Friar of the Capuchin Mission made his appearance in Madras en route to Pegu. The Portuguese residents requested Cogan for permission, for Father Ephraim’s residence in Madras as their minister. The first church known as St. Andrews was built by Father Ephraim. In 1646, Rev. William Isaacson was appointed as Chaplain keeping in mind the requirement of the English Protestants. Till the first Protestant church St. Mary’s Church was built by the Streynsham Master, a small chapel in the Inner Fort fulfilled the requirements. St. Mary’s Church was built with the donation of thirty eight persons. It was most probably completed in 1680s. Regarding this the Consultation records, ‘the New Church was dedicated by virtue of Commissions Directed to the Governor and Mr. Richard Portman, the Minister, from the Lord Bishop of London. The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with volys of small shott fired by the whole Garrison, drawn out, and the Canon round the fort…’

St. Mary’s church is the oldest masonry structure of Fort St. George. The roof of he church was made ‘bomb-proof’ in preparation of possibilities of attack. The utility of this was proved in the attacks by the French in 1746 and 1758. Within the church (64 ft x 56 ft.) there was a separate gallery for the governor. In 1693, the Mayor was also provided with a separate seat – “It is ordered that the Church wardens doe forthwith cause a handsome seat to be made in the Church for the Mayor next to the Clerks desk in the mid Isle, with a place for a Mace to lye on each side of him best

123 D&C, 1680-81, 28th October 1680, p. 75.
to be seen. And that the Mayor’s wife be placed next below him on the same side.” 125

The Town Hall was constructed around 1680 after Streynsham Master established the Court of Judicature in 1678. Later in 1688 when the Mayor and Corporation were established, constraints of space led to the requirement of new building. The Town Hall was built later (as shown in Pitts map). The first floor served as the Mayor’s court and below it was the Prison. Another important building of cognizance was the Hospital. From 1664, Cogan’s house was used for the treatment of sick soldiers. The Consultation inform us about the construction of a hospital in 1688, ‘there being a very commodious house built by the contribution of the Town inhabitants for an Hospital to entertain sick soldiers and seamen, Which lying so near the Right Honourable Company’s Sorting Godown and the Church, and in the middle of the City, and it is very offensive and inconveniently situated for that use.’ 126 The hospital building came into use around 1694. Initially the hospital was meant only for the Garrison but later the Company announced that the ‘doors are open for all truly necessitous patients belonging to the Garrison or town’. 127

The Black Town did not have too many public buildings to its claims – an Armenian church, a temple and two mosques. The two temples were, the Perumal Kovil of the Black Town built by Timanna, and the Parthasarthi

125 D&C, 4th January 169²/₃, pp. 18-20.
126 D&C, 1688, 22nd March 168⁷/₈, p. 54.
temple of Triplicane. The management of these temples was in the hands of the Chief Merchants. The Council in 1692 granted, 'them liberty to make the same use of their Pagodas, and to receive the same income for both as formerly; but reserve to ourselves the Power of recalling that Liberty, when we shall see cause.'  

In 1696, the Madras Council withdrew this right from Beri Timappa, the then Chief Merchant on the pretext of unsatisfactory conduct. Regarding the Mosque and the Muslim population, the record states that, there were two mosques, “One built by Verona within the Black Town, and the other in President Yale’s time in the Petta, sufficient for the whole cast, and for all parts of the town”. The Council resolved, not to allow the construction of mosque anymore.

The creation of suburban gardens emerged as an inherent character of colonial cities. In the English enclave of Madras the process had begun in the seventeenth century itself. While granting lands for private ownership, the Council reserved three tracts for public purposes – the first was the Inner Garden or Town Garden laid on the burial ground. Later it was partially merged into the extending town during Streynsham Master’s regime. The second being the Muthialpeta garden called the Outer Garden, later known as the company’s Old Garden situated between Muthialpeta suburb and the drainage channel. The third was the Peddanaikpetta or the New Garden and as the name suggests of much later origin.

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129 D&C, 3rd July 1694, pp. 72-73.
130 Love, I, pp. 419-420.
The town was also growing in population thus requiring more land for residential purposes. The Company within half a century of its establishment got down to acquiring territory and extend its domain. The first acquisition in this series was of Triplicane, which the English acquired through a farman. There was a great deal of controversy and contestation for Triplicane which was occupied by the French in 1672 for facilitating the movement of their supplies. The English laid their claim to Triplicane since 1658 when the final agreement for the rent of Madras was made with the diwan of the Golconda ruler. Neknam Khans' (the Diwan) Cowle of 1672 was silent about Triplicane. His successor Musa Khan, in the same year confirmed the grant of the town of Triplicane which was rented formerly to the English captain according to the Salabad at 50 pagodas per annum. 131 In spite of this, confusion prevailed at large about the possession of it. It served as the base of Dutch operations during the second siege of San Thome. The English Governor demanded another confirmation which came about in the form of a farman of 1676 recognizing Triplicane as the English territory as per the Cowle of 1672. 132

Triplicane was then rented to Verona and passed on to Pedda Venkatadri after Verona's death. The Governor Master on the pretext of 'Yenkatadri miscarryages' cancelled the deal and decided to appoint Company peons instead. Lingappa intervened in the matter. The consultation informs about this intervention in following words “this day there came a

131 Fac Rec. FSG, vol. XXIV, 12th July 1672.
132 D&C, 22nd February 1682 9/1, p. 16.
letter from Lingappa to the Governor about the said Town, declaring he had given it to Pedda Yenkatadri paying 50 pagodas per annum for God sake (for the use of the temple) for it; and rather then we should take it from him, he had now ordered it under Durmaray Moodalaree (Dharmaray Mudaliyar). the Avaldar of St. Thoma; with many other arguments to affright us from taking it under us...” 133 Within a week, Lingappa changed his words and wrote to the Governor “wherein he says he will neither give it for Gods sake nor let Pedda Yenkatadry have it; but resolve to take it under Pullemele threatening much that will be done to us upon Accanas (Akanna - minister of Golconda) coming down, who is now on the way.” 134 The question of Triplicane came up next in 1693 in the context of the renting of the Pagoda at Triplicane.

By the end of seventeenth century the acquisition of new territory for generating greater revenue formed a part of the English agenda. To this effect Elihu Yale, the governor in 1692, requested for the grant of three suburban villages, Egmore and Pursewaukam on the west and Tondiarpet on the north. The Company received a Parwana dated 10th February which stated that “the towns Tandore, Pursewacca and Yegmore ... do belong to the Pullawellee country which is granted to the English Company, these Towns President Higginson the English Governor of Chinapatam you must release to him.” 135 Apprehending trouble ahead Sir Goldsborough delayed

the process of improvement of revenue, till a 'further confirmation of the grant'.

This apprehension turned out to be true when Arasama Naik staked a claim on not only Egmore and Pursewankam but also Triplicane. The Council decided to take possession of these towns by force and send troops to Egmore to resist any such move by the Moors. This was followed by a letter to Asad Khan, the Wazir. Zulfikar Khan sent the reply in the form of Parwana to Higginson and reiterated that “I have ordered those towns to continue, and remain under you, I have agreed with Arsemonague that he shall not molest four towns nor revenue.” After this fiasco the English government decided to appoint ‘Canoungoes’ on the pattern of the Mughals so that all the deeds and grants would remain in record. The English government decided to recruit Kanungos on a cash salary of 35 pagodas per annum so as to avoid their having any kind of contact with the inhabitants. Sisaji Amaji Bachuna was assigned the Kanungo’s duty for five towns of Chinapatam and eleven of Tevnapatam and Cuddalore. Next in the series arose the question of Vepery. Vepery was a Mughal dominion sandwiched between the British towns of Pursewaukam, Egmore and Peddanaikpetta thus creating constant disturbance and assault of its merchants due to infiltration of Nawbas Junckan in the English territories.

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136 D&C, 1693, 14th June, 1693, p. 96.
137 His claim was based on a grant of Jagir by the Wazir's son, Zulficar Khan, D&C, 1693, 26th December 1693, pp. 165-166.
139 D&C, 1694, 20th March 1694, pp. 22-23.
140 The Kanungos were normally Maratha Brahmins who did not receive a fixed salary but were entitled to a share in the produce of the land.
This problem continued for quite sometime with spells of relief at times, which came as a result of English government’s pressure on the Nawab. In 1698, after the fall of Gingee, Zulfikar Khan, with renewed confidence approached the English for the deliverance of Tevnapatam and Cuddalore.\textsuperscript{142} By July 1698, the company managed a ceasefire with Zulfikar Khan.\textsuperscript{143}

The amicable relationship between the English government and Zulfikar Khan was not a lasting one. The scramble for territory had already started. In March 1703, the Governor received the news about the Peons of native government tying leaves in the company’s towns, which was the ‘custom of the country when they take possession of any place’. This was the execution of the orders from Zulfikar Khan.\textsuperscript{144} In November 1703, the Faujdar of Triposore, Tahir Khan informed about the possession of these villages at the behest of Zulfikar Khan.\textsuperscript{145} To this, Pitt gave him a stern reply reminding him of the grant and at the same time warning him of dire consequences.\textsuperscript{146} This episode at the dawn of Eighteenth Century (sixty years after the settlement of British enclave) was not just a fight for territory but a devoted power play. The English government’s idea of an enclave was to facilitate their commercial ventures. In the beginning of Eighteenth Century with an increase in administrative power, political ambition was not

\textsuperscript{142} D&C, 1698, 16\textsuperscript{th} February 1697/8, pp. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{143} D&C, 1698, 2\textsuperscript{nd} August 1698, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{144} D&C, 1703, 12\textsuperscript{nd} August 1707/8, pp. 57-58.
\textsuperscript{145} D&C, 1703, 13\textsuperscript{th} November 1703, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{146} D&C, 1703, 15\textsuperscript{th} November 1703, pp. 82-83.
far behind and by the end of that century it had all crystallized into imperialistic overtones.

The three villages of Egmore, Pursewakum, and Tondiarpet had been farmed to Serappa. In 1704, they passed on to Narayan on a ‘lease for seven years at Thirteen Hundred Pogadas per Annum’. In 1708, the villages were farmed to Kalavay Chetty and Venkata Chetty on the lease of twelve years at seventeen hundred fifty Pagodas per annum. It was in 1708 that the English put forward their desire to acquire five villages - Trivatore, Nungumbaukun, Vasalavada, Catawauk and Satangadu. The Parwana for these villages were obtained by bribing the Mughal officials. By 1708, the English had acquired ‘five new villages’ and ‘four old towns’. Kalavay Chetty and Venkata Chetty managed the lease of these new villages also for themselves for a period of twelve years at Twelve hundred Pagaodas per annum. Mughal India was passing through a phase of political turmoil after Aurangzeb’s death in 1707. The British made full use of this opportunity and demanded a farman confirming the grant of all the new town. The farman came later. However by this time the English had carved a niche for themselves which attributed to the much needed stability to further their commercial interests.

147 D&C, 1704, 8th August 1704, p. 40.
148 D&C, 1708, 16th October 1708, pp. 53-54.